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Trinity College,
University of Dublin

Materialising Ireland:
Archaeology, Identity and Modernity in Ireland

Ph.D.

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2006

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Ian Alden Russell

December 2006

Summary

This thesis explores the role of archaeology in the development of modern conceptions of the past in Ireland. The approach contextualises archaeological studies in Ireland within broader psychoanalytic, anthropological and philosophical theories of the 20th century. In particular, the applied psychoanalytic thought of Dr Vamik Volkan is utilised to provide psychoanalytic terms to describe the emotional responses of modern Irish society to archaeological discovery, conceptions of heritage and historical narrative.

The first chapter focuses on the broad theoretical concerns regarding archaeology's development within modern philosophy and science. To help situate archaeological research in modern society, it explores archaeology as a psychoanalytic phenomenon which provides narratives and objects for group cohesion.

The second chapter explores the theoretical and historical conceptions of 'Ireland' and 'Irish people'. This begins with a study of Classical, Theological and Annalistic sources which form the basis of much historical debate over narratives of Irish history. Then it moves on to discuss some modern intellectual and artistic traditions which have explored conceptions of a singular place of 'Ireland' and a singular people who are 'Irish'.

The third chapter explores 19th century antiquarianism and romantic studies of the past in Ireland. This relies on Gregory Castle's (2001) study of the Gaelic Revival and ethnographic theory, Gillian Doherty's (2004) study of the Ordnance Survey's Memoir Scheme and Elizabeth Crooke's (2001) study on the establishment of the National Museum of Ireland. It then moves on to explore the development of Neo-Celtic Art. This leads into a discussion of the use of archaeological artefacts within the modern and contemporary jewellery industries in Ireland.

The fourth chapter discusses the role of archaeology in the conception of landscapes in Ireland. This is a growth out of research conducted with the Heritage Council and Discovery Programme on Historic Landscape Characterisation in the midlands. The aim is to psychoanalyse contemporary relationships with landscape and conceptions of land in Ireland. Case studies include a discussion of Drumcree as an illustration of a use of space for commemoration, stone walls and Slievemore, Achill Island, Co. Mayo. This will lead into a discussion of the romanticisation and representation of the landscapes of Ireland in contemporary society.

The fifth chapter discusses the use of archaeological sites for political purposes. Case studies include the British Israelites at Tara following Mairéd Carew (2003), Wood Quay following John Bradley (1984) and Thomas Heffernan (1988) and Carrickmines. The approach in this section is not to the archaeology or to the management of the site. Rather it explores how non-archaeological groups appropriate archaeological spaces for staging political performances. The conclusion of this explores the political campaigns of Vincent Salafia and the 'Carrickminders' and their effect on public perceptions of archaeology.

The sixth chapter is a case study of the Hill of Tara as a spatial setting of group identity in Ireland. It begins with medieval textual studies following Edel Bhreathnach (1995; 2005) and with archaeological survey following Conor Newman (1997). It then moves on to discuss the development of a singular place known as 'Tara'. Then it discusses the appropriation of this conception for political purposes such as in 1798 and the Home Rule Movement. It concludes with a summary about the current appropriation by Salafia of Tara to advance his political career.

The seventh chapter explores current popular conceptions of heritage and looks for new ways of engaging society. It summarises the psychoanalytic and philosophical 'state of affairs' of archaeological expression within modern Ireland. The role of archaeological and historical rhetoric in political and cultural expression in Ireland will be discussed and contextualised within 20th century European traditions. Case studies of the rhetoric of Patrick Wallace, Director of the National Museum of Ireland, the Rotunda of the National Museum of Ireland – Kildare Street and the Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh will be explored to illustrate the entrenchment of the representation of archaeology within modern modes of thought in Ireland, the neutralisation of heritage space in this discourse and the opportunities that are present for undertaking reflexive and participatory heritage expression. This will lead into a discussion of the impact of other broad social phenomena such as mass consumption, mass production and mass marketing of heritage in the Information Age on archaeological expression. It will conclude with a positive statement of ways in which society can move beyond modern discourses about the past to promote a more dynamic and inclusive expression of the narrative of the past in Ireland.

To an engineer of a family,

Giovanni Cognetta

You have kept our dreams in flight.

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Abbreviations

Anon. – Anonymous author

CELT – Corpus of Electronic Texts (University College Cork) <http://celt.ucc.ie>

Co. - County

ECCO – Eighteenth Century Collections Online <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO>

e.g. – *exempli gratia* (for example)

EPCL - European Pathways to the Cultural Landscape Project 2000-2003

et al. – *et alii* (and others)

f. – following pages

HLC – Historic Landscape Characterisation

ibid. – *ibidem* (the same)

i.e. – *id est* (that is)

MS - Manuscript

NLI – National Library of Ireland

RIA – Royal Irish Academy

Chapter 1: Introduction: Archaeology and Large Group Identity in Ireland

Richard Kearney, Irish philosopher, noted in 2003 on RTÉ Radio One that Ireland has a long tradition of asking the question: 'what is my nation?'[1] In Act 3, Scene 2 of the 1623 folio version of *Henry V*, Shakespeare's first Irish character, Captain MacMorris, when asked about his nation, replies, 'Of my nation! What is my nation? … Who talks of my nation?'[2] Nearly four hundred years later, we are still engaged with the questions 'what is Ireland' and what does it mean to 'be Irish'. From 'Monster Meetings' on the Hill of Tara to debates in Stormont, Irish women and men have expounded their conceptions of Irishness, Ireland and the Irish nation throughout the modern era.[3] It is remarkable to observe a people not only preoccupied with their own collective consciousness but so engaged in criticism of the conceptions and perceptions of their group identity. This thesis will explore the construction and maintenance of group intra-relationships in Irish society which perpetuate modern notions of identity and will focus on the role of archaeology and other conceptions of the past in the formation, representation and performance of identities in Ireland. It will attempt to describe and examine the psychological 'fabric' of modern identity in Ireland by utilising contemporary applied psychoanalytic principles. This chapter will establish a vocabulary of psychoanalytic, psychological and sociological terms which will be used throughout the rest of this thesis. The utilisation of psychoanalytic terminology within the study of archaeology is not intended to endorse the continuing development of a subdiscipline of archaeo-psychology. Rather, it is intended to situate the modern practice of archaeology within the psychological relationships of modern society. This contextualisation is imperative to understand not what archaeology is but what it does within modern groups. This approach should be appreciated as a metaphorical engagement with observations of the phenomena of social being and social identity. In this way, it will illustrate and express the psychological reactions to modern existence in Ireland. The thesis will then continue with a discussion of the role of material objects within the manifestation and maintenance of modern group identity. In particular, the role of archaeology within Irish psycho-social discourse will be introduced. This will be contextualised within modern and contemporary European historical, cultural, philosophical and political discourses.

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[1] From The Marian Finucane Show, RTÉ Radio 1, 20 Februrary 2003.

[2] Shakespeare, W. 1968 [1623] *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies, Published According to the True Original Copies*, originally published by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount, London, facsimile reproduction by C. Hinman (ed.), W.W. Norton, New York.

[3] For a series of discussions of intellectual traditions in Ireland see Kearney, R. (ed.) 1985c *The Irish Mind: Exploring Intellectual Traditions*, Wolfhound Press, Dublin.

Recently, there has been an increase in academic research on the theme of Irish identity. Declan Kiberd's *Inventing Ireland* (1995), Fintan O'Toole's *The Lie of the Land: Irish dentities* (1998), Diarmuid Ó Giolláin's *Locating Irish Folklore: Tradition, Modernity, Identity* (2000), Yvonne Whelan's *Reinventing Modern Dublin: Streetscape, Iconography and the Politics of Identity* (2003), the May 2003 conference at the University of Virginia: 'Re-Imagining Ireland: Transformations of Identity in a Global Context', the November 2003 Archaeolgy Ireland conference: 'The Peopling of Ireland – The Creation of Irish Identities' and John Waddell's *Foundation Myths: The Beginnings of Irish Archaeology* (2005) all illustrate a growing surge in Irish 'identity' studies. Interest in expressing and understanding Irish identity is not a new phenomenon, as is evident from the words of Captain MacMorris. There is a long tradition of such engagements and expressions. This tradition has become more fervent as Ireland has been forced from an isolationist position on the fringes of Europe to a central role on the world stage. The Republc of Ireland recently sat on the United Nations Security Council (2001-2002) and held the presidency of the European Union (2004) during the accession of ten new member-states.[4] During these last few years, society in Ireland has come to terms with the constructed nature of its identity; however, it will be shown through the course of this thesis that the people of Ireland accept their position in the modern world and engage with the nature of the manifestation of their identity yet, at the same time, embrace idealised traditional identities for the benefit of large group cohesion and the fulfilment of tourist aspirations.

Archaeology Inspired by Psychoanalysis: Reversing Metaphors

The photographs by Edmund Engelman of Sigmund Freud's (1856-1939) office at Bergasse 19 in Vienna, taken in 1938, documented the layout and furnishings of Freud's office and consultation room.[5] As these photographs illustrated, much of Freud's work space was decorated with some object of antiquity. Indeed, subsequent photographs of the reconstuction of Freud's office at 20 Maresfield Gardens in Hampstead, London after his

[4] See Ireand 2004 Presidency of the European Union 'Europeans... Working Together: Report on Ireland's Presidency of the European Union January - June 2004', Ireland 2004 Presidency of the European Union <http://www.eu2004.ie> [Accessed 22 Mar 2006].
[5] Engelman, E. 1976 *Bergasse 19: Sigmund Freud's Home and Offices, Vienna 1938: The Photographs of Edmund Engelman*, University of Chicago Press, London.

relocation in 1938, escaping Austria's annexation by Germany, suggest, by his decision to include them in his move, the importance Freud placed on his antiquarian collections (see Figures 1.1-5). He was an avid antiquarian, amassing a collection of pieces from ancient Egypt, China, India and Classical Greece.[6] The importance of concepts from antiquity in Freud's work is popularly known. People often discuss his theories of Oedipal complex and Narcissism which were derived from Classical mythology.[7] Less well known is the amount of interest Freud actively took in archaeology. Inspired by great archaeological discoveries such as Herculaneum (1738), Pompeii (1748) and Tut'ankhamun's tomb (1922-1923), he developed a metaphor for the discovery of mental deposits in deeper layers of the conscious and subconscious mind. In archaeology, Freud found a metaphorical action which paralleled his own desires for discovery in psychoanalysis. He believed that 'the two processes [were] in fact identical'.[8] In 1896 Freud first used the term 'psycho-analysis' in 'The Aetiology of Hysteria'.[9] In the same essay, he expressed the nature of his romantic relationship to the process of archaeological discovery:



Figure 1.1 Sigmund Freud at his desk at 20 Maresfield Garden. Courtesy the Freud Museum, London.

[6] For an excellent discussion of the issue of the provenance of many of the artefacts in Freud's antiquity collection see Ucko, P. J. 2001, 'Unprovenanced Material Culture and Freud's Collection of Antiquities', *Journal of Material Culture*, vol. 6, 269-322. Also see: Gamwell, L. 1989 'The Origins of Freud's Antiquity Collection' in L. Gamwell & R. Wells (eds.) *Sigmund Freud and Art: His Personal Collection of Antiquities*, State University of New York & The Freud Museum London, London, 21-32.; The Freud Museum 1998 *20 Maresfield Gardens: A Guide to the Freud Museum*, The Freud Museum, London.8; Marinelli, L. (ed.) 1998 *'Meine ... alten und dreckigen Götter': Aus Sigmund Freuds Sammlung*, Sigmund Freud-Museum and Stroemfeld Verlag, Vienna.

[7] The Oedipus myth has been utilised for discussions of mother-love and patricide. See Sophocles *Plays*, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, Cambridge. The myth of Narcissus has be utilised for discussions of self-love. See Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.341-510.

[8] Freud, S. 1964, 'Constructions in Analysis [1937]', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 23, ed. J. Strachey, Hogarth Press, London, 257-69, 259-60.

[9] Freud, S. 1962, 'The Aetiology of Hysteria [1896]', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 3, ed. J. Strachey, Hogarth Press, London, 191-221.

Imagine that an explorer arrives in a little-known region where his interest is aroused by an expanse of ruins, with remains of walls, fragments of columns, and tablets with half-effaced and unreadable inscriptions. He may content himself with inspecting what lies exposed to view, with questioning the inhabitants – perhaps semi-barbaric people – who live in the vicinity, about what tradition tells them of the history and meaning of these archaeological remains, and with noting down what they tell him – and may then proceed on his journey. But he may act differently. He may have brought picks, shovels and spades with him, and he may set the inhabitants to work with these implements. Together with them he may start upon the ruins, clear away the rubbish, and, beginning from the visible remains, uncover what is buried. If his work is crowned with success, the discoveries are self-explanatory: the ruined walls are part of the ramparts of a palace or a treasure-house; the fragments of columns can be filled out into a temple; the numerous inscriptions, which, by good luck, may be bilingual, reveal an alphabet and a language, and, when they have been deciphered and translated, yield undreamed-of information about the events of the remote past, to commemorate which the monuments were built. *Saxa Loquuntur!*[10]



Figure 1.2 One of Freud's bookcases in his consultation room. Courtesy Freud Museum London.

[10] ibid. 192.



Figure 1.3 Freud's consultation couch. Courtesy Freud Museum London.



Figure 1.4 A cabinet of antiquities in Freud's consultation room. Courtesy Freud Museum London.

Freud's romantic relationship with archaeology and his other occupation as an antiquarian would lead him to make overt comparisons between the methodologies of the developing discipline of archaeology and the discipline of psychoanalysis which he was founding. For example, in his 1937 paper titled 'Constructions in Analysis', Freud used the metaphor of an archaeological excavation to illustrate the task of the psychoanalyst in treatment.

> His work of construction, or, if it is preferred, of reconstruction, resembles to a great extent an archaeologist's excavation of some dwelling-place that has been destroyed and buried or of some ancient edifice. The two processes are in fact identical, except that the analyst works under better conditions and has more material at his command to assist him, since what he is dealing with is not something destroyed but something that is still alive ... But just as the archaeologist builds up the walls of the building from the foundations that have remained standing, determines the number and position of the columns from depressions in the floor and reconstructs the mural decorations and paintings from the remains found in the debris, so does the analyst proceed when he draws his inferences from the fragments of memories, from the associations and from the behaviour of the subject of the analysis.[11]

Freud's romantic interest in archaeological discovery highlighted the entrenchment of the discipline's approach to existence and materiality in traditions of modern thought.[12] It also illustrated the use of archaeological methodology as an interpretative metaphor by other modern disciplines in the description of their own methodologies.[13] Freud's archaeological metaphor thus overtly declared and established a relationship between modern conceptions of the mind and of materiality.[14]

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[11] Freud 1964, 259-60.

[12] See Thomas, J. 1996 *Time, Culture and Identity: An Interpretative Archaeology*, Routledge, London.; Thomas, J. 2004, *Archaeology and Modernity*, Routledge, London. and Tilley, C. 2004 *The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology*, Berg, Oxford.

[13] Miller, D. & C. Tilley 1984 'Ideology, Power, Material Culture and Long-term Change' in D. Miller & C. Tilley (eds.) *Ideology, Power and Prehistory*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 147-52, 1.

[14] See Thomas 2004,161-69.



Figure 1.5 Freud's desk. Courtesy Frued Museum London.

Although archaeology has inspired many thinkers such as Freud in the development of new systems of thought, only recently have archaeologists begun to engage with other newly developed disciplines in order to inspire more balanced interpretations.[15] For example, since archaeological material is often found to be central to modern social and political discourses of identity, it is important that archaeological theory begin to engage with the theoretical issues being raised by other disciplines concerned with identity formation and materiality.[16] Archaeology as the study of the past is experienced socially as an emotive discourse of expression of understandings of existence. The emotional drive to understand the nature of humanity and the progression of events which resulted in the contemporary world has lead scholars to utilise many theoretical, philosophical and scientific methodologies to manifest narratives of materialised 'truths' about history and prehistory. The group psychological desire to materialise these narratives as part of the performance and representation of group identity has been capitalised upon by politicians and businessmen alike in order to generate power and profit. Archaeological research is only now beginning to become aware of the psycho-dynamics of these relationships and the methods of their exploitation.[17] Thus, archaeologists have been unable to properly diagnose the nature of the relationship of their work to modern society. This thesis will

[15] ibid.
[16] See Meskell, L. 2002 'The Intersections of Identity and Politics in Archaeology', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 31, 279-301.
[17] Thomas 2004.

situate the phenomenon of archaeological understanding and cultural representation in Ireland within the broader themes of European social, cultural and philosophical thought in order to better understand the psycho-social relationship between the modern discipline of archaeology and the societies within which it functions. This is critical if archaeology in Ireland is to move beyond a simplistic, regressive relationship with Irish society as a purveyor of 'truth' about Irish history and prehistory and of representations of Irish cultural and national identities.[18]

Bruce Trigger, in 2003, issued a call to bridge 'the rift created by Durkheimian and, more recently, anthropological preoccupations with purely social or cultural explanations...to produce more holistic and convincing explanations of cross-cultural similarities and differences in human behaviour'.[19] Émile Durkheim's (1858-1917) separation of sociological and psychological enquiry in *The Rules of Sociological Method* (1895) hindered anthropologists and archaeologists in their understanding of 'broad based similarities in human behaviour' sought for by Trigger.[20] This thesis seeks to move beyond Durkheim's separation of sociological and psychological enquiry and attempt to illustrate a way in which archaeology, psychology and psychoanalysis can act as more than metaphors for each other in the study of identity.[21] In particular, this thesis will explore the implications of research done by Dr Vamik Volkan, founder of University of Virginia's Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction, who, in recent studies, has formally introduced his theory of the nature of the manifestation of 'large group identity' and the role of 'internal object relations' in that manifestation.[22] By opening a dialogue between psychoanalytic theory and archaeological and anthropological theory, a better understanding of the role of archaeological material and enquiry in the formation of modern individual and group identity in Ireland can be developed.

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[18] See Russell, I. (ed.) 2006b *Images, Representations and Heritage: Moving beyond Modern Approaches to Archaeology*, Springer-Kluwer, New York.

[19] Trigger, B. G. 2003 *Understanding Early Civilizations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 688.

[20] ibid. 680. See Durkheim, E. 1938 [1895], *The Rules of Sociological Method*, Free Press, New York.

[21] e.g. Platt, G. M. 1976, 'The Sociological Endeavor and Psychoanalytic Thought', *American Quarterly*, vol. 28, no. 3, 343-59. and Paul, R. A. 1989, 'Psychoanalytic Anthropology', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 18, 177-202.

[22] See Volkan, V. D. 1997, *Blood Lines: From Ethnic Pride to Ethnic Terror*, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, New York.; Volkan, V. D. 2003a, 'Large-Group Identity: Border Psychology and Related Societal Processes', *Mind and Human Interaction*, vol. 13, no. 1, 49-75.; Volkan, V. D. 2003b, 'Large-Group Identity, Societal Regression and Leader-Follower Relationships' delivered at 'Traumatized Societies' conference at the Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction, University of Virginia, September.; Volkan, V. D. 2004, *Blind Trust: Large Groups and Their Leaders in Times of Crisis and Terror*, Pitchstone Publishing, Charlottesville.

Group Psychology and Group Identity

In 1921, Sigmund Freud published 'Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego' articulating a psychoanalytic group psychology.[23] Stressing the role of leader-follower interaction over intra-group relations, Freud was most concerned with what the group meant to the individual and how the dynamics of the group were manifestations of the psychological desires of the individual members. His vision of group psychology has been described by Volkan as a maypole (Figure 1.6).[24] The pole represented the leader, and the members danced around the pole, connected to it by tethers which represented Freud's concept of *leader-follower interaction.* Thus, the main avenue of identification between group members and the group was via each member's connection with the leader.

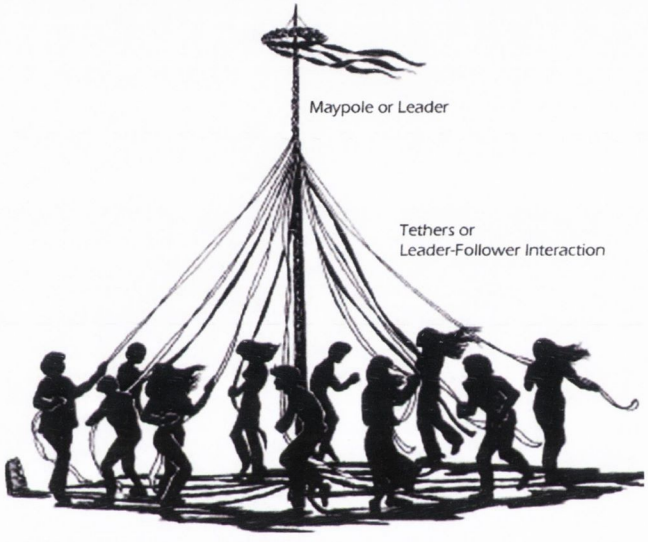


Figure 1.6 Freud's maypole of leader-follower interaction.

Wilfred Bion (1897-1979) developed Freud's theory putting forward foundational research into the relationship between group psychology and psychoanalysis.[25] Though psychoanalysis approaches the group through the experiences of the individual while group psychology approaches the individual via the group, both are dealing with different aspects of the same situation. He emphasised that just as a group depends on the existence of individuals, individual awareness always displays characteristics of group psychology.

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[23] Freud, S. 1985, 'Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego [1921]', in *Sigmund Freud 12: Civilization, Society and Religion*, ed. J. Strachey, Hogarth Press, London, 91-178.
[24] Volkan 2004, 36.
[25] Bion, W. R. 1955 'Group Dynamics: A Review (1952)', in *New Directions in Psychoanalysis*, eds. M. Klein, P. Heimann & R. Money-Kyrle, Tavistock Publications, London, pp.440-477.; Bion, W. R. 1961, *Experiences in Groups and Other Papers*, Tavistock Publications, London.

Therefore, just as individuals and groups are not mutually exclusive, so too psychoanalysis and group psychology are not mutually exclusive pursuits.

Following on from Bion's work, Volkan redacted Freud's approach to the nature of group psychology. Volkan argued that it was the group intra-relationships that created group consciousness and resulted in what he termed 'large group identity'. 'Ego' or 'core identity' was defined by Erik Erikson as 'a sustained feeling of inner sameness within oneself...[and] a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others'.[26] Expanding upon this concept, Volkan articulated his definition of large group identity as 'the subjective experience of thousands or millions of people who are connected by a persistent sense of similitude'.[27] Volkan's definition of large group identity is a general sociological and psychological definition which encapsulates the phenomena of ethnic, national, religious and ideological identity.

For Volkan, group psychology was a tent (Figure 1.7). Freud's maypole still functioned as the centre of the group, but instead of being connected to the leader via tethers, the group members were covered by a tent canvas created by weaving together the tethers and threads of their inter-relationships. The members, thus, are still concerned with keeping the pole upright (the leader in place) to keep their tent up, but they are equally concerned with keeping the tent canvas taut to protect all those underneath. It is the manufacture of the material of this tent canvas and the group members' actions to keep the canvas taut that constituted large group identity.

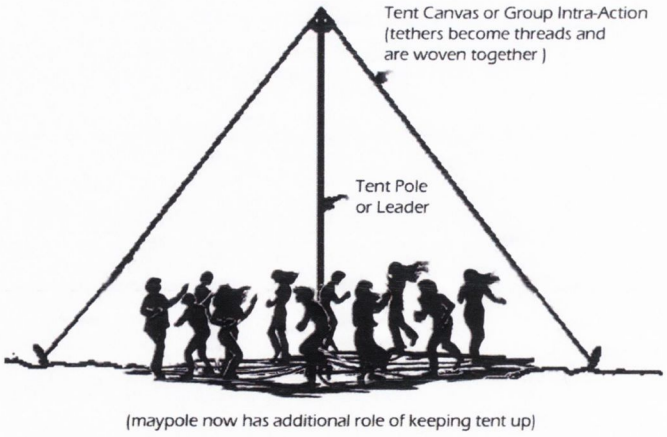


Figure 1.7 Volkan's Tent of Large Group Identity

[26] Erikson, E. 1956 'The Problem of Ego Identity', *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, vol. 4, 56-121, 57.
[27] Volkan 2003a, 50.

Large Group Identity: Seven Threads

Volkan, in his exploration of large group identity, isolated seven main threads in the 'canvas' or 'fabric' of group identity.[28] These 'threads' and the accompanying terminology will be introduced now for use throughout the rest of this thesis. These 'threads' are not intended to be understood as universal or constant. They are experienced and observable at different times and with different intensities depending on the experiential context. Thus, this section will serve as an impressionistic, illustration of some of the aspects of large group identities in Ireland rather than a definition or declaration of what Irish large group identity is.

Shared Identifications[29]

'Shared identifications' is the first thread identified by Volkan and the basic phenomenon that connects an individual ideologically with the group. Volkan argued that during early development, a child will often identify with an adult's cultural identity through the learning of language, traditional music, traditional dances, cultural preferences and mythology. All children go through this stage of development in the construction of their 'core identity', but what is significant is when children within a group share the same identification with a cultural concept. The sharing of these identifications are what lead a child to make statements such as 'I am an Arab' (ethnicity), 'I am a Catholic' (religion) or 'I am an Estonian' (nationality). This sharing brings to mind the statement made by Gabriel Cooney, an archaeologist working in Ireland, about Irish nationalism: 'National identity depends on a feeling of belonging and solidarity based on a shared past and present, which gives a sense of internal collectivity and external differentiation from others'.[30] Fundamental to a notion of group is a feeling of similitude, of 'group membership', and how membership of this group denotes a distinctive identity.

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[28] For a summary of Volkan's theory of large group identity see either Volkan 2003a, 51-61 or 2004, 23-55. Also see the Glossary of this thesis for definitions of the terms developed in this thesis.

[29] ibid.

[30] Cooney, G. 1996 'Building a Future on the Past: Archaeology and the Construction of National Identity in Ireland' in M. Díaz-Andreu & T. Champion (eds.) *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, Westview Press, Boulder, 146-63, 147. For a discussion of Irish nationalism see McBride, L. W. 1999 *Images, Icons and the Irish Nationalist Imagination*, Four Courts Press, Dublin. and Kee, R. 2000 *The Green Flag: A History of Irish Nationalism*, Penguin Books, London. McBride, L. W. 1999 *Images, Icons and the Irish Nationalist Imagination*, Four Courts Press, Dublin.

Cooney's quotation is packed with many different sociological and psychological concepts, but what is most essential here is the 'feeling of belonging and solidarity based on a shared past'. This brings to mind Volkan's 'persistent sense of similitude' which is the result of the action of 'sharing identifications' with other members within one's large group. As stated above, these are largely cultural identifications such as language, dance, cultural preferences and mythology. If one uses this concept to examine Irish cultural identifications, 'shared identifications' become quite evident. Children and adults in Ireland identify with the shared experiences of languages such as Irish or English, traditional music, traditional dances such as Irish step dancing, cultural preferences and mythology such as the *Táin bó Cúalnge* or the *Lebor Gabála Érenn*.[31]

The major push to preserve the Irish language as a symbol of Irish cultural and national identity from the time of Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847) up to the present is an excellent example of a 'shared identification' because the very nature of language requires that it be shared.[32] Speaking Irish to oneself does not make use of the nature of language as a method of communication and shared expression. The speaking of a language as a cultural experience must be shared between two people or, indeed, by an entire group. Historian D. H. Akenson when describing the Irish Free State's development of mandatory education through the Irish language stated:

> The embracing of Irish was an intuitive act. Irish was seen as a national panacea. The Irish language came to have mystical, nearly-magical properties, and in dealing with the educational aspect of the Irish language revival one has to treat it sympathetically, ... [as] a phenomenon which must be explained not by logic, but by psycho-logic.[33]

Eamon De Valera's (1882-1975) political call for the development and daily use of the Irish language illustrates this conception of the language as a shared identification for Irish

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[31] The *Lebor Gabála Érenn* is discussed further on pages 62, 99 and 101 of Chapter 2 and pages 264, 266-70, 272 and 277 of Chapter 6 of this thesis.

[32] See Chomsky, N. 1975 *Reflections on Language*, Routledge, London.; Chomsky, N. 1986 *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin and Use*, Praeger, New York.; Chomsky, N. 2000 *New Horizons in the Study of Language*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

[33] Akenson, D. H. 1975 *A Mirror to Kathleen's Face: Education in Independent Ireland 1922-1960*, McGill, London, 35.

large group identity. In his 1943 St. Patrick's Day (17 March) message, he called for individuals to:

> ... [cultivate] the things of the mind, and in particular those which mark us out as a distinct nation. ... The first of these latter is the national language. It is for us what no other language can be. It is our very own. It is more than a symbol; it is an essential part of our nationhood. It has been moulded by the thought of a hundred generations of our forebears. In it is stored the accumulated experience of a people, our people, who even before Christianity was brought to them were already cultured and living in a well-ordered society. The Irish language spoken in Ireland today is the direct descendant without break of the language our ancestors spoke in those far off days.[34]

The effectiveness of the use of language to promote shared identifications was demonstrated by its ability to create a linguistic social unit, simultaneously uniting the Irish cultural group and excluding all those who did not share the language. Thus, we can see that the movements to preserve and develop the Irish language as an active attempt made by Irish society to develop a group wide 'shared identification'.[35]

The Absorption of Others' Bad Qualities[36]

These identifications are reinforced by a second thread, 'absorption of others' bad qualities', whereby the group supports the construction of their identity by defining themselves against the 'shared identifications' of a neighbouring group. To construct an identity, one must identify *with* or *against* something else – one cannot simply identify. Again, Cooney noted this, stating that 'external differentiation from others' was key to national identity.[37] However, this is not a crude accentuation of differences; no matter how

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[34] De Valera, E. 1980 *Speeches and Statements by Eamon De Valera 1917-73*, M. Moynihan (ed.), Gill and Macmillan, Dublin, 467.

[35] For an excellent source book on the nature and politics of the development of the Irish language see Crowley, T. (ed.) 1999 *The Politics of Language in Ireland 1366-1922: A Sourcebook*, Routledge, London. For a discussion of the role of Irish language courses in the educational systems of the Irish Free State see Akenson 1975.

[36] For a summary of Volkan's theory of large group identity see either Volkan 2003a, 51-61 or 2004, 23-55. Also see the Glossary of this thesis for definitions of the terms developed in this thesis.

[37] Cooney 1996, 147. Also see page 11 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.

much a group defines itself against another group, creating an 'other', the 'self' group will inherently 'absorb qualities' from the 'other' group. Simply put, a large group will create a dichotomy of group identity through the development of a notion of 'other' in order to affirm the construction of a 'self'. This can be seen as a convenient way of creating an external object onto which the group can project its notions of 'bad qualities'. However, this is a false-dichotomy as these qualities never cease to be part of the dynamic of the 'self' group. For example, the poet Seamus Heaney stated that in Ireland there is not a simple duality of identity, an 'either/or'. Rather, it is a complex interplay of 'both/and'.[38] Although people have engaged differently with the constructed identities of 'Irish' and 'British', proclaiming one as their own, in actuality Irish society has been (and arguably is) simultaneously both. In other words, if we simply examine the situation of Irish and British identity, we could say that Ireland was and is 'doubly cultural' or that there is a dual consciousness or indeed multiple consciousnesses.[39]

This phenomenon is not restricted to modern society, for similar social awareness can be seen in Medieval sources. In a remonstrance to Pope John XXII from Donal O'Neill in 1317, the dynamic cultural situation in Ireland at that time was illustrated.

> For the English inhabiting our land, who call themselves of the middle nation, are so different in character from the English of England and from other nations that with the greatest propriety they may be called a nation not of the middle, but of the utmost perfidy.[40]

As discussed by James Lydon, the use of the term 'middle nation' (*media natio*) reflected the awareness of members of Irish or 'Gaelic' society of another cultural group who had come from England but who did not consider themselves to be purely 'English'.[41] This quotation demonstrates an attempt made by people on the island of Ireland to cope with the dynamic nature of identity within their own historical situation. Thus, in Ireland in the

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[38] Heaney, S. 1990 'Correspondences: Emigrants and Inner Exiles', in R. Kearney (ed.) *Migrations: The Irish at Home and Abroad*, Wolfhound Press, Dublin, 21-31.
[39] Orser, C. E. 2001, 'Internal Colonialism and Double Consciousness in Rural Ireland' presented at the 2001 meeting of the Theoretical Archaeology Group, University College Dublin, December 13-15.
[40] Curtis, E. & R. B. McDowell 1943 *Irish Historical Documents*, Methuen, London, 38, 42. Also see Lydon, J. 1984 'The Middle Nation' in J. Lydon (ed.) *The English in Medieval Ireland: Proceedings of the First Joint Meeting of the Royal Irish Academy and the British Academy, Dublin, 1982,* Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 1-26, 1.
[41] ibid. 1-2.

Medieval period there were not clear divisions between social groups, but there were dynamic exchanges between multiple social groups resulting in acculturations and formations of multiple new cultural identities, social consciousnesses or 'middle nations'.

A modern literary example of multiple consciousnesses can be found in James Joyce's (1882-1941) short story 'The Dead' from *Dubliners* (1904-7).[42] In the story, Gabriel Conroy, an Irishman who had made most of his life outside of Ireland in Britain and on the continent, attended Misses Morkan's annual dance in Ussher's Island in Dublin. During the evening, Gabriel had a few insightful conversations with guests at the party. Upon finding out that Gabriel wrote for *The Daily Express*, Miss Ivors stated, 'to say you'd write for a paper like that. I didn't think you were a West Briton.' This statement left Gabriel wondering, 'it was true that he wrote a literary column every Wednesday in *The Daily Express*, for which he was paid fifteen shillings. But that did not make him a West Briton surely'.[43] A later conversation between Gabriel and Miss Ivors in the story illustrated the emotive and aggressive nature manifested by individuals who are establishing group identities such Irish nationalist identity.[44] Gabriel began the conversation:

> `Well, you know, every year I go for a cycling tour with some fellows and so-'
>
> `But where?' asked Miss Ivors.
>
> `Well, we usually go to France or Belgium or perhaps Germany,' said Gabriel awkwardly.
>
> `And why do you go to France and Belgium,' said Miss Ivors, `instead of visiting your own land?'
>
> `Well,' said Gabriel, `it's partly to keep in touch with the languages and partly for a change.'
>
> `And haven't you your own language to keep in touch with - Irish?' asked Miss Ivors.

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[42] Joyce, J. 2000 [1904-7] 'The Dead' in J. Joyce *Dubliners*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 138-76. For a philosophical discussion of themes of dual consciousness in Joyce's work see Kearney, R. 1985b 'Introduction: An Irish Intellectual Tradition?: Philosophical and Cultural Contexts' in R. Kearney (ed.) *The Irish Mind: Exploring Intellectual Traditions*, Wolfhound Press, Dublin, 11. and Hederman, M. P. 1985 'The 'Mind' of Joyce: From Paternalism to Paternity' in R. Kearney 1985 *The Irish Mind: Exploring Intellectual Traditions*, Wolfhound Press, Dublin, 224-66.

[43] ibid. 148.

[44] See Castle, G. 2001 *Modernism and the Celtic Revival*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 177-88.

'Well,' said Gabriel, 'if it comes to that, you know, Irish is not my language …'

'And haven't you your own land to visit,' continued Miss Ivors, `that you know nothing of, your own people, and your own country?'

`O, to tell you the truth,' retorted Gabriel suddenly, `I'm sick of my own country, sick of it!'

`Why?' asked Miss Ivors.

Gabriel did not answer, for his retort had heated him.

`Why?' repeated Miss Ivors.

They had to go visiting together and, as he had not answered her, Miss Ivors said warmly, `Of course, you've no answer … West Briton!'[45]

The situation that developed in this exchange was very similar to the issue which Donal O'Neill was attempting to describe in 1317; however, the historical and political context is somewhat different. Writing in the beginning of the 20th century, Joyce was examining the psycho-social situation that existed for those Irish women and men who were born and raised in Ireland but were not considered to be 'Irish' by the burgeoning cultural nationalists who 'othered' them as 'West Brits'. Miss Ivors' discussion of Irish language and culture can be seen as a declaration of the shared identifications of Irish nationalist large group identity, and following Volkan's theory, it could be said that Miss Ivors in the story was externalising those aspects of herself which she considered 'bad' or 'British' onto Gabriel, creating him as her 'other' thereby supporting her own development of 'Irish' identity and precluding the opportunity for the both of them to be 'Irish' in a more open and dynamic social interaction.[46]

Such psychological relationships still exist between those claiming an Irish nationalist identity and those perceived by that group as having a 'West Brit' identity in current Irish politics. Professor John A. Murphy, Senator for the National University of Ireland, acknowledged this relationship in 1988 in Seanad Éireann in a debate concerning Northern Ireland and 'Anglo-Irish' relations:

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[45] Joyce 2000 [1904-7], 148-9.

[46] For an intriguing discussion of the significance of Joyce's 'The Dead' in illustrating the impact of anthropological and ethnographic studies on the representation and idealisation of rural Irish peasants and on Irish national identities see Castle 2001, 185-8.

> I speak as a member of the British-Irish Association which exists specifically to improve relations between our two States — which every sensible person must agree with — to dispel this negative and rancid anti-Britishness which passes in some quarters for patriotism. I speak, therefore, as a friend of the United Kingdom, as someone who has been stigmatised as a 'West Brit'.[47]

Murphy's self acknowledgement of a stigmatised identity as a 'West Brit' was used as a provocative accusation by Senator Don Lydon (Fianna Fáil) in 1990 in debates in Seanad Éireann over a motion raised by Murphy to amend the Constitution of Ireland and renounce the claim on Northern Ireland by the Republic of Ireland:

> One of the previous speakers said it was an aggressive territorial intent but surely the aggressor is the person who occupies the territory at the moment, hardly the person who intends to occupy it or to re-unite it, as I would say. It was said that Fianna Fáil were the only party out of step. Yet, there is a large proportion of the Irish population who are continually out of step with us, nearly 50 per cent of the population in every election. We do not have the following of some pseudo-intellectual left-wing west Brits but we do represent the decent people of Ireland.[48]

Murphy took direct offense to this remark. A week later during the resumed debates over his motion, he reacted to the comment, highlighting the regressive, ideological nature of its rhetoric. However, the divisive nature of the motion put him in opposition to many present in Seanad Éireann:

> Professor Murphy: The reference of one Fianna Fáil Senator to 'West Brit pseudo-intellectuals' I found deeply offensive. It is the kind of rhetoric that, if we saw it in *The Sun* and *The Star* newspapers we would talk about the English gutter press, but it indicates to me a gutter level of rhetoric which is not worthy of this debate.
>
> Acting Chairman: Senator Murphy, I do not think it is fair for you to refer to Senators in their absence and I think you should withdraw the remark.

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[47] Seanad Debates, vol. 121, c. 950, 30 November 1988.
[48] Seanad Debates, vol. 124, c. 732-3, 14 March 1990.

Professor Murphy: I have no intention of withdrawing my disapproval of such rhetoric in a debate like this. May I proceed, please, without interruption? Senator Manning has indeed reminded us — and the debate bore it out — that Fianna Fáil on the subject of the North cannot be trusted, that their use of the North from——

(*Interruptions*)

Acting Chairman: Senator Murphy, without interruption.

Professor Murphy: I demand the protection of the Chair. How dare any Senator who has not contributed now heckle me like this? I request the protection of the Chair.[49]

Absorption of the Leader's Internal Demands[50]

The previously discussed 'threads' are often orchestrated through a third thread, 'absorption of the leader's internal demands'. The impact of charismatic leadership in a large group is often crucial to the development of identity. Within a group, members will interact with the leader or the perceived image of the leadership by 'absorbing' the leader's or leaders' 'internal demands'. The group will internalise the social, moral, ethical and political tasks which the leadership internally demands of them. For instance, Volkan's study of the impact of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938) on the course of Turkish cultural identity illustrated the role that a leader can have in the instilling of social tasks and cultural virtues in members of a large group:

On August 25, 1925, Atatürk travelled to Kastomonu, north of the capital of Ankara, which had been described to him as one of the most conservative districts in Turkey. When he arrived, he appeared in a gray linen suit, its cut decidedly Western. He wore a tie and carried a white Panama hat in his hand. As though on signal, all the assembled men shed their Muslim-associated headgear – fez, turbans,

[49] Seanad Debates, vol. 124, c. 957-8, 21 March 1990.
[50] For a summary of Volkan's theory of large group identity see either Volkan 2003a, 51-61 or 2004, 23-55. Also see the Glossary of this thesis for definitions of the terms developed in this thesis.

kalpak – as Atatürk stepped into the crowd. By the time that Atatürk had returned to Ankara nine days later, he had destroyed the fez as an appropriate symbol of Turkishness; for Atatürk's Turkey, the Western-style hat was the new suitable reservoir.[51]

Similarly, the political rhetoric of politicians such as Eamon De Valera was instrumental to the formation of a new cultural nationalism in the early 20th century which supported the new Irish state.[52] De Valera actively charged Irish society with the task of bringing the Irish nation into reality through individual action. His rhetoric is summed up well in his public address on the 50th anniversary of the 1916 Easter Rising:

> We cannot adequately honour the men of 1916 if we do not work and strive to bring about the Ireland of their desire. For this each one of us must do his part, and though the tasks immediately before us now are different from those of fifty years ago, we can have today, if we are sufficiently devoted and our will be firm, a national resurgence comparable to that which followed 1916: we can have our people united as a family – a nation of brothers – each working in industrial harmony, not for himself only, but for the good of all. We could then march forward confidently to that exaltation of our nation amongst the nations to which the men of 1916 pledged themselves.[53]

The orchestration of large group identity through the encouragement of the absorption of a leadership's internal demands is also evident in De Valera's call for the revival of the Irish language and the use of it in everyday life. For De Valera following the rhetoric of Thomas Davis (1814-1845), this was an integral part of the establishment of an Irish nation.[54] De Valera believed the Irish language to be 'a vehicle of three thousands years of our [the Irish people] history'.[55] For him the end of the language was not an option since 'to part with it would be to abandon a great part of ourselves [Irish society], to lose the key of our past, to

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[51] Volkan 2004, 47. Also see Volkan, V. D. & N. Itzkowitz 1984, *The Immortal Ataturk: A Psychobiography*, Chicago University Press, Chicago.
[52] See McBride 1999 and Kee 2000.
[53] Public speech made on O'Connell Street, 10 April 1966, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Easter Rising. See De Valera 1980, 606.
[54] See pages 12-3 of Chapter 1 for a discussion of one aspect of De Valera's rhetoric concerning the Irish language.
[55] De Valera 1980, 467.

cut away the roots from the tree'.[56] De Valera felt that the establishment of the Irish language as part of daily communication was fundamental to the establishment of the Irish nation. He believed that 'with the language gone we [the Irish people] could never aspire again to being more than half a nation'.[57] His political rhetoric made the overt declaration to the Irish people that it was their task to carry out this demand and fulfil this aspiration.

> It is a task in which the attitude of the individual is what counts most. It is upon the individual citizen, upon you who are listening to me, that the restoration of the language finally depends. ... The individual citizen must desire actively to restore the language and be prepared to take the pains to learn it and to use it, else real progress can not be made.[58]

Thus, in De Valera's rhetoric a conflation between the performance of verbal communication and the establishment of an independent national political unit can be seen. The Irish language was also conflated with his chosen narrative of 'three thousand years' of Irish historical and cultural development. The tasks of appreciating and enacting the 'necessary' cultural developments were charged to the individual people of Ireland, and the practice of using the language was led by De Valera in the opening and closing of his speeches. For example, in a close to a radio broadcast on 29 December 1938:

> I must not close without reminding you that we cannot fulfil our destiny as a nation unless we are an Irish nation – and we can only be truly that if we are an Irish-speaking nation. The restoration of our language is for us vital, and that too must be the work of our generation. Now a word to those of you who are listening to me and know the language. *Is mian liom focal a labhairt anois libhse, a Ghaeilgeoirí...*[59]

De Valera's cultural beliefs are also potent illustrations of the fervent national, religious and ethnic beliefs of early 20th century Irish nationalists. In the famous 1943 St.

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[56] ibid. 467-8.
[57] ibid. 468.
[58] ibid. 468. Radio Broadcast, 17 March 1943.
[59] ibid. 365. The last line in Irish translates as: 'I would like to say a word to you Irish speakers'. The speech continues in Irish with a lengthy description of the importance of the language to the character of the nation (*náisiúin*). Notice the use of the Irish language to exclude non-Irish speakers from the close of his speech.

Patrick's Day (17 March) broadcast of 1943, he romantically recalled the 'dream' of those that fought for the establishment of the Irish nation:

> That Ireland which we dreamed of would be the home of a people who valued material wealth only as the basis of right living, of a people who were satisfied with frugal comfort and devoted their leisure to the things of the spirit – a land whose countryside would be bright with cosy homesteads, whose fields and villages would be joyous with the sounds of industry, with the romping of sturdy children, the contests of athletic youths and the laughter of comely maidens, whose firesides would be forums for the wisdom of serene old age. It would, in a word, be the home of a people living the life that God desires that man should live.[60]

De Valera's religious- and ethnic- based politics of cultural nationalism were instrumental to the development of Irish shared identifications and facilitated a discourse of an Irish historical identity rooted in prehistory.[61] For example, on St. Patrick's Day (17 March) in 1920, De Valera opened his speech saying 'Sons and daughters of the Gael, wherever you be today, in the name of the motherland, greetings'.[62] De Valera's religious and cultural rhetoric and his invocation of the mythological people 'the great Gaels' follows the same pattern of ethno-nationalistic political movements based on cultural historical approaches to prehistory which occurred throughout Europe.[63] The design of these political movements was to encourage large groups of individuals to identify with the cultural group

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[60] ibid. 466.

[61] See McBride 1999 and Kee 2000.

[62] See pages 96-7 of Chapter 2 for further discussion of De Valera's usage of the term 'Gaels' in his political speeches. See Appendix 4 and CD supplement for a recording of this speech.

[63] Notable examples are: Falangist Spain under Francisco Franco (1892-1975), see Díaz-Andreu, M. 1993 'Theory and Ideology in Archaeology: Spanish Archaeology under the Franco Regime', *Antiquity* 67, 74-82.; Díaz-Andreu, M. 1995 'Nationalism and Archaeology. Spanish Archaeology in the Europe of Nationalities' in P.L. Kohl & C. Fawcett (eds.) *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 39-56. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics under Josef Stalin (1878-1953), see Shnirelman, V. A. 1995 'From Internationalism to Nationalism: Forgotten Pages of Soviet Archaeology in the 1930s and 1940s' in P. L. Kohl & C. P. Fawcett (eds.) *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 120-38.; Shnirelman, V. A. 1996 'The Faces of Nationalist Archaeology in Russia' in M. Díaz-Andreu and T. Champion (eds.) *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, Westview Press, Boulder, 218-42. National Socialist Germany under Adolf Hitler (1889-1945), see Arnold, B. 1990, 'The Past as Propaganda: Totalitarian Archaeology in Nazi Germany', *Antiquity*, vol. 64, 464-78. and Arnold, B. & Hassmann, H. 1995, 'Archaeology in Nazi Germany: The Legacy of the Faustian Bargain' in P. L. Kohl & C. P. Fawcett (eds.) *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 70-81. It is also interesting here to consider the series of essay written by V. I. Lenin on 'The Irish Question' raised by Karl Marx which illustrate the broader economic, political and cultural currents across Europe of which Irish politicians at the beginning of the 20th century were a part. See Lenin, V. I. 1983 *The Irish Question*, Repsol, Ltd., Dublin.

which the leader professed to champion. However, this was not a cultural theme that was constructed purely by politicians. Leaders appear in all sectors of society, and often non-political leaders can be more effective in shaping group identity. For example the concept of the Gael as a modern phenomenon of group identity was the result of the cultural developments of the Gaelic Revival which precipitated the foundation of the Free State.[64] Writers and artists such as William Butler Yeats (1865-1939), Maude Gonne (1865-1953), James Joyce, John Millington Synge (1871-1909) and Sean O'Casey (1880-1964) were highly influential in pronouncing and developing the nature of Irish identity within the Irish Free State during the early 20th century.[65]

Chosen Glories and Chosen Traumas – Selecting a Narrative of Group Identity[66]

All of these identifications are given social relevance through two other threads: the establishment of a social narrative by selecting 'chosen glories' and 'chosen traumas'. Both are socially accepted 'historical' events which are agreed to have a narrative importance in the expression of the group's identity. 'Chosen glories' are important to the inspiration of group actions through positive affirmation of the group identity. The Portuguese archaeologist Aragão's simple quotation, 'we were a great people, therefore we are a great people', illustrated the general notion of using a selected glorified past to justify the formation of a unified group identity.[67] Glorified events such as the Easter Rising of 1916 in Ireland or the 4th of July in the United States of America are continually remembered and celebrated through social performances of parades and remembrance services and other materialisations of the fundamental ideologies of the large group, thus becoming 'chosen glories'.[68] De Valera's speeches illustrate again the use of positive

[64] For an excellent discussion of the impact of the Gaelic Revival on the cultural developments of modern Ireland see Castle 2001.

[65] For a discussion of the relationship between modernism and the Gaelic Revival see Castle 2001. For an discussion of the role of literature in the formation of modern Irish society see Kiberd, D. 1995 *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation*, Cape, London.

[66] For a summary of Volkan's theory of large group identity see either Volkan 2003a, 51-61 or 2004, 23-55. Also see the Glossary of this thesis for definitions of the terms developed in this thesis.

[67] Aragão, Rui 1985 *Portugal: O Desafio Nacionalista. Psicologia e Identidade Nacioncus*, Teorema, Lisbon, 291. Translated and quoted in Lillios, K. T. 1995 'Nationalism and Copper Age Research in Portugal during the Salazar Regime' in P. L. Kohl and C. P. Fawcett (eds.) *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 57-69, 57.

[68] De Marrais, E., Castillo, L. J. & Earle, T. 1996, 'Ideology, Materialization and Power', *Current Anthropology*, vol. 37, no. 1, 15-31, 19.; DeMarrais, E., C. Gosden & C. Renfrew (eds.) 2005 *Rethinking*

aspects of Irish history in order to create a single narrative of Irish cultural identity. For example, he made this statement in his 1943 St. Patrick's Day message:

> St Patrick came to our ancestors 1,500 years ago, promising happiness here as well as happiness hereafter. It was the pursuit of such an Ireland that later made our country worthy to be called the Island of Saints and Scholars. It was the idea of such an Ireland, happy, vigorous, spiritual, that fired the imagination of our poets, that made successive generations of patriotic men give their lives to win religious and political liberty, and that will urge men in our own and future generations to die, if need be, so that these liberties may be preserved.[69]

De Valera's chosen glories of St Patrick's missionary work, the Island of Saints and Scholars and his allusions to the patriotic revolutions of the modern era are utilised in constructing a call for Irish people to unite and continue what he believes was a historical inheritance of liberty and cultural achievement.

In Volkan's opinion, chosen traumas are, however, much more potent.[70] They have the weight of a notion of shared experience of pain, oppression and death. They become the fuel for a notion of a 'union of the oppressed' or 'union of victimisation', bringing the members together in a common struggle against the perceived cause of the trauma.[71] For example, the Irish chosen trauma of oppression and victimisation resulting from the 'Great Famine' of the 1840s and the subsequent periods of mass emigration bolstered the development of Irish large group identity.[72] This occurred through the establishment of shared identifications with the stories and symbols of the 'Great Famine' and the call to externalise 'bad qualities' upon British society, the perceived cause of the chosen trauma.[73]

Materiality: The Engagement of Mind with the Material World, MacDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge.

[69] De Valera 1980, 466.

[70] See Volkan 2004. Also note Volkan, V. D. 2003b, 'Large-Group Identity, Societal Regression and Leader-Follower Relationships' delivered at 'Traumatized Societies' conference at the Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction, University of Virginia, September.

[71] Gray, P. & K. Oliver (eds.) 2004 *The Memory of Catastrophe*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.

[72] Gray, P. 2004 'Memory and Commemoration of the Great Irish Famine' in P. Gray & K. Oliver (eds.) *The Memory of Catastrophe*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 46-64.

[73] For a good survey discussion of famine and disease in Ireland see Clarkson, L. A. & E. M. Crawford (eds.) 2005 *Famine and Disease in Ireland*, Pickering & Chatto, London. For a discussion of the 'Irish potato famine' see Donnelly, J. S. 2001 *The Great Irish Potato Famine*, Sutton, Thrupp. For a discussion of the role of the famine in Irish ideology see Kinealy, C. 2002 *The Great Irish Famine: Impact, Ideology and Rebellion*, Palgrave, Basingstoke.

This chosen trauma was particular potent in the formation of Irish emigrant identity, particularly in the United States of America in the 19th century.[74] However, the chosen trauma of the 'Great Famine' did not only facilitate the large group identity of those who directly experienced the events, but it also functioned within contemporary Irish large group identity. This has occurred through another applied psychoanalytic concept, 'transgenerational transmission'. Introduced by Volkan, the concept refers to the passing on of large group identities particularly in the teaching of narratives of chosen glories and chosen traumas to children and the continued use of shared identifications and suitable reservoirs of the group identity.[75] Simply put, an individual may develop hatred of an 'other' group which she or he perceived to be the cause of a chosen trauma. This chosen trauma may manifest itself in a continued 'hatred' of the 'other' group by subsequent generations who remember or actively commemorate the original 'chosen trauma'.

The selection of both chosen glories and chosen traumas develops the meta-narrative of social identity. These universally accepted significant 'historical' events or myths act as impressionistic and emotive expressions of historical and mythical experience.[76] In the words of Michel Foucault (1926-1984), 'since it is the mode of being of all that is given us in experience, History has become the unavoidable element in our thought'.[77] Whether they are histories, myths or legends, stories are the basic method of communicating notions of experience and awareness. However, it is not possible to relate the entire corpus of experience in a single story or history or myth. They fundamentally must be impressionistic, narratives which select certain events or stories which best illustrate the conception of experience, awareness or existence. It does not matter if these stories are in fact real events or not. What is important is the action of choice. As Brian Graham, G. J. Ashworth and J. E. Turnbridge stated: 'If people in the present are the

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[74] See Brighton, S. A. & C. E. Orser 2006 'Irish Images on English Goods in the American Market: The Materialization of a Modern Irish Heritage' in I. Russell (ed.) *Images, Representations and Heritage: Moving beyond Modern Approaches to the Past*, Springer, New York, 61-88.

[75] For an overview of the development of a theory of transgenerational transmission of trauma see Volkan, V. D., G. Ast & W. Greer 2002 *The Third Reich in the Unconscious: Transgenerational Transmission and its Consequences*, Bruner-Routledge, New York, 9-18, 27-38. For discussions of the role of transgenerational transmission in African American large group identity relating to experiences of racism, slavery and hatred see Apprey, M. 1998 'Reinventing the Self in the Fact of Received Transgenerational Hatred in the African American Community' in *Mind and Human Interaction*, vol. 9, no. 1, 30-7. and Scott, K. M. 2000 'A Perennial Mourning: Identity Conflict and the Transgenerational Transmission of Trauma within the African American Community', *Mind and Human Interaction*, vol. 11, no. 1, 11-26.

[76] For a discussion of theories of the role of the myth in the formation of the nation state see Cassirer, E. 1979 'The Technique of Our Modern Political Myths (1945)' in E. Cassirer *Symbol, Myth, and Culture: Essays and Lectures of Ernst Cassirer*, ed. D. Verene, Yale University Press, London, 242-67.

[77] Foucault, M. 1970 *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, Tavistock, London, 238.

creators of heritage, and not merely passive receivers or transmitters of it, then the present creates the heritage it requires and manages it for a range of contemporary purposes'.[78] This is the most important aspect of chosen glories and chosen traumas. They are fluid and dynamic choices of contemporary society. The interpretations of historical events and myths constantly change given socio-political situations; an event which is seen as a chosen glory can simultaneously be seen as a chosen trauma depending on the social context. Playwright Brian Friel put it quite well when his character Archbishop Peter Lombard, employed by Hugh O'Neill in Dungannon, Co. Tyrone in 1591, in *Making History* said:

> I don't believe that a period of history – a given space of time – my life – your life – that it contains within it one 'true' interpretation just waiting to be mined. But I do believe that it may contain within it several possible narratives: the life of Hugh O'Neill can be told in many different ways. And those are determined by the needs and demands of different people and different eras. What do they want to hear? How do they want it told? ... To an extent I simply fulfill the needs, satisfy the expectations – don't I?[79]

The recent 'apology' issued by the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, (1 June 1997) to Ireland for the 'Great Famine' and the subsequent reactions in Irish society illustrated that such chosen narratives have residual potency in both Irish and British society as a result of transgenerational transmission.[80] In his statement, Blair noted:

> [That] one million people should have died in what was then part of the richest, most powerful nation in the world is something that still causes pain as we reflect on it today... Those who governed in London at the time failed their people through standing by while a crop failure turned into a massive human tragedy. We must not forget such a dreadful event. It is also right that we should pay tribute to the ways in which the Irish people have triumphed in the face of this catastrophe.[81]

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[78] Graham, B., G. J. Ashworth & J. E. Turnbridge 2000 *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*, Arnold, London, 2.
[79] Friel, B. 1989 *Making History*, Faber, London, 15-6.
[80] See Holland, M. 1997, 'Why Blair Deserves Bouquets for Famine Apology', *The Irish Times*, 5 June.
[81] Irish Times Reporter 1997 'Blair Admits British Policy Failure Turned Famine into Massive Human Tragedy' in *The Irish Times*, June 2, 1997.

The response in Ireland to this statement was strikingly emotive and illustrated the transgenerational transmission of the chosen trauma of the 'Great Famine'. For example, Niall Skelly one of the organisers of the movement to obtain an 'apology' wrote this response to the 'Famine Apology':

> When we as a group began organising the Great Irish Famine Event more than two years ago, we fully realised that the facts of what happened during our nation's darkest days should not be ignored or glossed over. With that in mind we considered various ways to obtain such a statement from the British government. I don't believe that the Tory government would have given this apology, so Mr Blair should be commended. My good friend and Big Issues vendor, Paddy Finnegan, says: 'You do not thank someone for an apology, you accept it'. I believe that we as a proud nation should now accept the apology and allow it to contribute to the healing process between Ireland and Britain... In staging this event we had three objectives: 1. To commemorate with dignity all those who suffered and died during the Famine. 2. To pay tribute to the indomitable Irish spirit that lived on and spread to every corner of the world. The descendants of those survivors have made the Irish nation worldwide what it is today, strong and proud. 3. To raise funds to help alleviate present-day famine and homelessness and poverty in Ireland. This will be achieved through the work of Gorta and the Big Issues Social Initiative... Because of the importance of trying to obtain such an historic statement from the British government, we could not speak out until now, as we did not want to jeopardise the possibility of receiving an apology from Britain. The reading of Mr Blair's statement at 'The Gathering' in Millstreet lent enormous dignity to the most meaningful Famine commemoration ever witnessed in this country... More than a million Irish men, women and children, Protestant and Catholic, who died during the famine years were fittingly honoured worldwide and at home. They should not be forgotten, and now never will be. [82]

[82] Skelly, N. 1997 'Blair's Famine Statement' in *The Irish Times*, June 18, 1997.

Large Group Identity, Crisis, Societal Trauma and Regression

The ideological development of a large group identity requires continual maintenance particularly during periods of crisis in the experience of the large group. This is most evident during periods following the experience of massive trauma by members of a large group. This results in a psychological 'regression' in order to defend or support the cohesiveness of the group's or individual's identity. Volkan described regression in an article responding to the psycho-social developments in the United States of America following the traumatic events of 11 September 2001:

> In general terms, regression in an individual involves a return to some of the psychological expectations, wishes, fears, and associated mental defense mechanisms from an earlier stage of human development. ... Regression is not intrinsically bad or good; rather, it is an inevitable and necessary response to certain levels of trauma, threat, or stress. ... *regression in large groups* (such as ethnic, national, or religious groups) ... takes place when a majority of group members share certain anxieties, expectations, behaviors, thought patterns, and actions that can be explained by the concept of regression. Large-group regression after a society has faced a massive trauma—involving drastic losses of life, property, or prestige, and/or humiliation by another group—reflects the efforts of a group and its leader to maintain, protect, modify, or repair their shared group identity.[83]

As a response to an intense experiential trauma such as famine, mass emigration or war, a group will psychologically regress and utilise shared identifications, suitable reservoirs, shared narratives and other group psychological aspects of their childhood development in order to affirm an individual's sense of membership to the large group. Thus in these situations of massive trauma, narratives from history or suitable reservoirs from archaeology act as coping mechanisms in order to alleviate feelings of stress, anxiety or despair. For example, archaeology, history and mythology were used in modern Ireland as a coping mechanism to support the construction of a new large group identity and political establishment through the traumatic period of separation from British rule and the turmoil during debates over the ensuing treaty with Britain and the subsequent Civil War (1922-

[83] Volkan, V. D. 2001 'September 11 and Societal Regression', *Mind and Human Interaction*, vol. 12, no. 3, 196-216, 196-7.

1923).[84] The debates over whether or not to accept a treaty with Great Britain which created a partition between 26 counties in the Irish Free State and the 6 counties in the North which would remain part of Great Britain created a division in society in Ireland. Conflict between the two emerging group identities of pro-Treaty and anti-Treaty developed into a state of war.



Figures 1.8 View of the General Post Office from Henry Street after shelling in the Easter Rising of 1916. Nelson's Pillar in the distance. 'Henry Street, Side of GPO Shelled', National Library of Ireland, Photographic Archive, Keogh Collection (KE111).

[84] For a discussion of this period in Irish history see Haire, D. 1999 *A Time of Troubles: Ireland 1900-23*, Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum, Dundee. and Costello, F. J. 2003 *The Irish Revolution and Its Aftermath, 1916-1923: Years of Revolt*, Irish Academic Press, Dublin. For a specific discussion of the Irish Civil War see Purdon, E. 2000 *The Irish Civil War, 1922-23*, Mercier Press, Cork. For a discussion of the development of archaeology in 19th century and early 20th century Ireland see Crooke, E. 2001 *Politics, Archaeology and the Creation of a National Museum in Ireland: An Expression of National Life*, Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 17-99. For a discussion of the development and role of concepts of 'Celtic' and 'Gaelic' culture in modern Ireland see Castle 2001. For a discussion of the role of archaeology in these cultural and nationalistic developments see Crooke 2001.



Figure 1.9 View from the corner of Abbey Street and Sackville Street (contemporary O'Connell Street) of the damage done from shelling during the Easter Rising of 1916. 'Abbey Street and O'Connell Street Shelled', National Library of Ireland, Photographic Archive, Keogh Collection (KE119).



Figure 1.10 The Four Courts, Dublin, being shelled in the Irish Civil War 1922. Photograph by W. D. Hogan. 'Four Courts', National Library of Ireland, Photographic Archive, Hogan Collection (HOG57).



Figure 1.11 The interior of the Four Courts, Dublin, after the shelling in 1922. Photograph from Independent Newspapers PLC, 'Main Hall, Four Courts', National Library of Ireland, Photographic Archive, Independent Newspapers Collection (INDH247).



Figure 1.12 Workmen clearing the rubble from the shelling of the Four Courts in 1922. Photograph from Independent Newspapers PLC, 'Workmen Clearing up after Four Courts Destruction', National Library of Ireland, Photographic Archive, Independent Newspapers Collection (INDH250).



Figure 1.13 The rebuilding of the Four Courts after the shelling of the Four Courts in 1922. Photograph from Independent Newspapers PLC, 'Damaged Four Courts from Dome', National Library of Ireland, Photographic Archive, Independent Newspapers Collection (INDH244).

Social conflict and war during this period resulted not only in great loss of life in the city of Dublin also in the destruction of many suitable reservoirs of group identities such as the streetscape of Sackville Street (contemporary O'Connell Street) and the General Post Office, destroyed in the Easter Rising of 1916 (see Figures 1.8-9), or the Four Courts, destroyed in the Civil War (see Figures 1.10-11). As society physically cleared the rubble of conflict and rebuilt social spaces, it was also necessary to rebuild networks of shared identifications and forge new suitable reservoirs in order to bolster the establishment of a cohesive group identity (see Figures 1.12-13). Archaeology and history were utilised to engender social faith in the newly developing social group of the Irish Free State.[85] Regressive materialisations of the shared ideologies of a broad Irish group identity were affirmed in order to promote healing within a divided Irish society. The ratification and use of Irish as the national language, the exhibition of glorified objects of Irish cultural identity in the National Museum, promotion of Catholic religious identity as an integral

[85] For an illustration of this phenomenon through the case study of the history of the National Museum of Ireland, see Crooke 2001, 129-46.

aspect of both the legal and governmental frameworks of the state were designed to glorify Irish cultural identity and promote the establishment of networks of shared identifications within the new state.

While the five threads and associated psycho-social dynamics already discussed help create the foundation of a group's 'core identity', there are two other threads that interact closely with archaeological inquiry, namely 'suitable reservoirs' and 'protosymbols'. Both involve material culture and its relation with the mind. Through psychoanalysis, this has been explored using the theory of 'internal object relations', which will now be briefly reviewed.

Suitable Reservoirs, Protosymbols and 'Internal Object Relations'[86]

There a number of theoretical approaches to Object Relations Theory within the field of psychoanalysis, but the foundational research has predominantly been undertaken by psychoanalysts in the United States of America and the United Kingdom.[87] The works of Melanie Klein (1882-1960), W. Ronald Fairbairn (1889-1964) and Donald W. Winnicott (1896-1971) represent the schools of thought in the United Kingdom.[88] The works of Edith Jacobson (1897-1978), Margaret S. Mahler (1897-1985) and Otto F. Kernberg represent the schools of thought in the United States of America.[89] In brief, this area of theory refers to the fundamental relationships that children develop with the objects that surround them, objects that can be both animate and inanimate. Children participate in their world by interacting with the objects in their environment which results in their 'development of a cohesive self-representation'.[90] This development of a 'self-representation' is often guided, either consciously or subconsciously, by adults who lead

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[86] For a summary of Volkan's theory of large group identity see either Volkan 2003a, 51-61 or 2004, 23-55. Also see the Glossary of this thesis for definitions of the terms developed in this thesis.

[87] For a good discussion of different approaches to Objects Relations Theory in psychoanalytic literature see Greenberg, J. R. & Mitchell, S. A. 1983, *Object Relations in Psychoanalytic Theory*, Harvard University Press, London.

[88] Fairbairn, W. R. D. 1952 *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London. Winnicott, D. W. 1958 *Collected Papers*, Tavistock Publications, London. Klein, M. 1975 'On the Development of Mental Functioning', in M. Klein (ed.) *Envy and Gratitude*, Hogarth Press, London, 236-46.

[89] Jacobson, E. 1964 *The Self and the Object World*, International Universities Press, New York. Mahler, M. S. 1968 *On Human Symbiosis and the Vicissitudes of Individuation*, International Universities Press, New York. Kernberg, O. F. 1976 *Object Relations Theory and Clinical Psychoanalysis*, Aronson, New York.

[90] Volkan 2003a, 53. Also see Jacobson 1964; Mahler 1968; Kernberg 1970.

the child to experience certain objects as part of the group (good) or as part of others (bad), facilitating a fundamental modern dichotomy of identity. Metaphorically, the individual during childhood development externalises expectations that they have of themselves and of life onto these objects creating 'object-' and 'self-images'. They will then internalise and integrate aspects of these expectations in the formation of their 'core identity';[91] however, sometimes these expectations are not integrated into the core identity of the individual and remain externalised in 'reservoirs' of un-integrated images. Although this dichotomy of self and object illustrates the modern qualities of much psychoanalytic enquiry, these concepts are useful as metaphorical tools for understanding the role of material culture in the modern 'self/other' discourse which facilitates and maintains conceptions of modern group identity. As Christopher Tilley notes, 'material forms may thus act as key sensuous metaphors of identity, instruments with which to think through and create connections around which people actively construct their identities and their worlds'.[92]

When an entire group share an object relation or a 'reservoir' of un-integrated externalisations, then we can see that relation constituting a development of group identity. When these shared 'internal object relations' become constant, they become an example of a sixth thread of Volkan's canvas of large group identity - 'suitable reservoirs'.[93] For example, the symbolic form of the stone 'High Crosses' of Ireland which can be seen as 'suitable reservoirs' for the shared externalisation of Irish Catholic 'large group identity' particularly during the political developments of the 19th century such as Daniel O'Connell's Home Rule Movement.[94] In Volkan's words, 'the abstract concepts of Finnishness, Scottishness, Jewishness or Germanness slowly become associated with the suitable reservoirs of externalised images'.[95] Metaphorically, as individuals in the group internalise the 'object-images' from the suitable reservoirs, they internalise the abstract concepts which the objects represent. The object is conceived of and experienced as an external aspect of the group's psyche, a material buttress to the core identity of the group.[96]

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[91] See Erikson 1956; Volkan 2003a.
[92] Tilley 2004, 217.
[93] For a discussion of object relations theory in group psychotherapy see Ashbach, C. 1994 *Object Relations, the Self and the Group*, Routledge, London.
[94] See pages 133-57 of Chapter 3 for a in depth case study of the role of 'High Crosses' in the formation of large group identity in Ireland. Also see Harbison, P. 1994 *Irish High Crosses with Figure Sculptures Explained*, Boyne Valley Honey Company, Drogheda, 14.
[95] Volkan 2003a, 54.
[96] Tilley 2004, 218.

Similarly, as Gabriel Cooney said, 'artifacts and monuments, particularly those of sacred or religious nature, become icons, visual and ever-present reminders to reinforce or invent links with the past, which is of such importance in sustaining a sense of national identity'.[97] This is particular evident from 2004 advertising campaign by Guinness during the All-Ireland Hurling championship (see Figures 1.14-15). In the images used, a hurling stick or 'hurley' and hurling ball or 'sliothar' were conflated with the physical aspects of an Irish individual's skeleton with the slogan: 'It's part of what we are'.



Figure 1.14 Guinness Hurling Championship advertisement, back of a Gaelic Athletic Association programme, 2004. Notice the conflation of the hurling stick with the skull and spinal column..



Figure 1.15 Guinness Hurling Championship advertisement, Ussher's Island, Dublin, 2004. Notice the conflation of the 'sliothar' (hurling ball) with the heart of the individual.

[97] Cooney 1996, 148.

In extreme cases, these objects can offer examples of a seventh thread of Volkan's canvas: 'protosymbols'. In moments of social crisis, objects and images can be imbued with emotion, causing them to be emotively treated as actually being the abstract notion that they represent. From the perspective of the study of materialisation, it could be said that society manifests its ideology during crisis situations by creating or 'finding' material objects that represent the ideology and identity of the large group.[98] However, these relationships are not limited to periods of crisis. Sometimes when an object becomes a protosymbol, it can remain so for the purpose of maintaining the 'large group identity'. For example, during debates over an amendment to the National Monuments Bill of Ireland of 1993, Michael D. Higgins, then Minister of Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht said:

> For many people it is the artefact or monument itself that symbolises the identity of a people. The images such as those printed on the front cover of every school child's homework copy as a daily reminder of the physical manifestation of our heritage are part of what we are – the Ardagh Chalice, the Tara Brooch, the Monasterboice High Cross and the Borrisnoe Collar.[99]

Materiality, Modernity, Materialisation and the Mind

The last two threads from Volkan's theory of large group identity raise an important issue in the field of identity studies. The concept of materiality and the conception of external material objects as distinct entities from an understood self is a fundamental modern aspect of identity which impedes much development of progressive approaches to the phenomenon of group identity. This is largely due to the philosophical separation made by René Descartes (1596-1650) between mind and body.[100] This Cartesian dichotomy is fundamental to many aspects of what would develop into 'modern' traditions of thought.[101] Defined broadly, modernity is characterised by the creation of faith in systems of thought divorced from religious authority and founded on the process of

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[98] DeMarrais *et al.* 1996, 16-20. DeMarrais *et al.* 2005.
[99] Dáil Debates, vol. 440, c. 1338, 24 March 1994. Compare Higgins' statement that these artefacts are 'part of what we are' to the Guinness ad campaign (see Figures 1.8-9).
[100] Descartes, R. 1992 [1637] *Discourses on Method*, Dent, London.
[101] Thomas, J. 2001b, 'A Return from Madness or a Retreat to Cartesianism?: A Reply to Webster', *Assemblage* 6, <http://www.shef.ac.uk/assem/issue6/thomas_web.html> [Accessed 15 Jan 2005].

progressive rational and scientific thought.[102] As the European Enlightenment in the 17th and 18th centuries resulted in the beginning of the dissolution of the authority of the Church and weakening of the dominance of theological explanations for social and existential order, a number of new philosophical traditions began to facilitate new conceptions of the nature of the world.[103] Thinkers such as Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) followed on from Descartes in developing a new or 'modern' philosophy explaining the rational categories of the human individual's (mind) perception of the external world (objects and bodies).[104] Kant defined 'enlightenment' in a 1784 essay:

> Enlightenment is man's emergence from his self-imposed immaturity. Immaturity is the inability to use one's understanding without guidance from another. This immaturity is self-imposed when its cause lies not in lack of understanding, but in lack of resolve and courage to use it without guidance from another. *Sapere Aude*! [dare to know] 'Have courage to use your own understanding!'-that is the motto of enlightenment.[105]

The empowerment of the individual through 'reason' and the acceptance of the Cartesian dichotomy between mind and body resulted in the conception of external objects as distinct and separate entities from the human individual.[106] These entities could then be 'rationally' observed in order to develop 'modern', 'scientific' explanations for the nature of the world.

Concepts of modern identity have exacerbated this Cartesian dichotomy by either over-asserting the role of 'external' material objects in the construction of an 'internal' psyche or over-emphasising the ability of the mind to utilise the body to manipulate

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[102] For a broad overview of the themes and course of modern philosophy see Emmanuel, S. & P. A. Goold (eds.) 2002 *Modern Philosophy from Descartes to Nietzsche: An Anthology*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford. and Scruton, R. 2004 *Modern Philosophy: An Introduction and Survey*, Pimlico, London. For a discussion of modern Cartesian traditions in philosophy in Ireland see Bracken, H. 1985 'George Berkeley: The Irish Cartesian' in R. Kearney (ed.) *The Irish Mind: Exploring Intellectual Traditions*, Wolfhound Press, Dublin, 107-18.

[103] For a discussion of Enlightenment philosophy and the development of modern thought see Israel, J. I. 2001 *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

[104] Descartes 1992 [1637]. Kant, I. 1998 [1781] *Critique of Pure Reason*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

[105] Kant, I. 1996 [1784] 'Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?' in J. Schmidt (ed.) *What is Enlightenment?: Eighteenth-Century Answers to Twentieth-Century Questions*, University of California Press, Berkley., 58-64, 58. Originally delivered in Konigsberg in Prussia, 30 September 1784, and published as 'Was ist Äufklarung?' in the Berlin monthly *Berlinischer Monatscrift* in the same year.

[106] Thomas, J. 2001b (Electronic Resource).

materiality in its own image. This dichotomy creates the ability to use either the body and the material world or the mind as a means of proving the existence of the other. However, neither the mind nor the material world are *a priori*. They are modern descriptions of what is a mutually co-existent phenomenon.[107] However, modern conceptions of identity do arrive at a united mind/material phenomenon which is usually discussed in the concept of ethnicity. In attempting to articulate the experiential phenomenon of an embodied mind, modern identity has conflated the concepts of person and place and people and land which could be referred to as the embodied society or the embedded society.[108] It is a conception of a group of people inherently attached to a particular location or landscape which although conceived of objectively is conflated with the existential being of the entire group. This utilises the emotive phenomenon of social existential being, but at the same time, it supports the Cartesian separation of mind and materiality.

Adapting Freud's language, the belief in the ability to exhume fragments of social memory from the earth through excavation illustrates the modern conception of the conflated dichotomy of mind and materiality.[109] Experiential phenomena which are perceived as external objects are re-conceptualised as signifiers of internal psychological phenomena of memory and identity. Philosophically, it is inappropriate to make any distinction between materiality and the mind.[110] Indeed, the performative qualities of archaeological discovery and participatory qualities of heritage consumption reveal the relationships between the two modern concepts of mind and matter.[111] Current debates in the study of phenomenology help move this discussion beyond this modern ontological dilemma. Christopher Tilley in his latest book has put forward some very interesting conceptions of the nature of being in relation to the modern concepts of the mind and materiality.[112] We live in a world ripe with meaning and are continually engaged in the interpretation of both self and object in the development of an awareness of being in the

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[107] See Heidegger, M. 1996 [1927] *Being and Time: A Translation of Sein und Zeit*, translated [from the German] by J. Stambaugh, State University of New York Press, Albany. Merleau-Ponty, M. 1962 [1945] *Phenomenology of Perception*, Routledge, London., Thomas 1996; Tilley, C. 1994, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*, Berg, Oxford. and Tilley 2004.

[108] For a study of the conflation of land and identity in the concept of ethnicity see see Jones, S. 1997, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*, Routledge, London.

[109] See Freud 1962, 259-60.

[110] Tilley 2004, 24.

[111] See pages 83-4 of Chapter 2, pages 132-3 and 159-60 of Chapter 3 and pages 204-5 of Chapter 4 of this thesis.

[112] Tilley 2004.

world.[113] The nature of this interpretation lies in the relational qualities of human existence and experience. Body and mind are not a duality, nor should they be a dichotomy. Rather they are co-existent – mutually and continually intertwined in interpretative participation in the world as an embodied mind.[114] Thus, humans constructing world views are not static receivers of information from static objects, but are constantly engaged in daily practices which interpret existence and continue the hermeneutic spiral of thought.[115] These daily practices are what allow humans to cope with the nature of their daily existence.[116]

Modern humanity utilises materiality as a method of affirming existence and agency through formulating historical contexutalised prejudices of the material nature of being.[117] This can be seen as a behavioural necessity as humans lack the ability to continually re-assess their positions and understandings of the world at every instant of every day. Anthropological theory has described this phenomenon recently in debates surrounding the theory of materialisation. 'Materialisation is the transformation of ideas, values, stories, myths, and the like, into a physical reality – a ceremonial event, a symbolic object, a monument, or a writing system'.[118] In modern terms, humans participate in and interact with their environment and each other in continual interpretative acts that result in material expressions of their conception of existence as a mode of empowerment and affirmation of existence. This includes, but is not limited to, performances, creation of objects, construction of monuments, adaptation of a landscape or the creation of texts. In this way, the concept of materialisation is a less modern and more inclusive discussion of the social phenomenon of environmental participation described in Object Relations Theory literature as internalisation and externalisation.[119] Elizabeth DeMarrais, Luis Castillo and Timothy Earle stated that materialisation often occurs as a strategic expression

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[113] See Heidegger 1996, Thomas 1996 and Tilley 1994; 2004.
[114] Tilley 2004, 22. Also see Merleau-Ponty 1962 [1945].
[115] For a discussion of human agency and materialisation see DeMarrais 1996, 16. For a discussion of human engagement in practices which interpret the world see Bordieu, P. 1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. and Gosden, C. 1994, *Social Being and Time*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 58-61. Also see DeMarrais *et al.* 2005.
[116] For a discussion of materiality and coping in relation to archaeology see Thomas 2004, 185.
[117] For a discussion of hermeneutics and the nature of human understanding in relation to the necessity of prejudgements in social and cultural situations see Ricoeur, P. 1981 *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.; Gadamer, H. G. 1989 *Truth and Method*, 2nd Revised Edition, translated and revised by J. Weinsheimer & D. G. Marshall, Sheed and Ward, London. and Jeanrond, W. G. 1991 Theological Hermeneutics: Development and Significance, MacMillan, London.
[118] DeMarrais *et al.* 1996, 16. Also see DeMarrais *et al.* 2005
[119] See pages 27-8 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.

of ideology and declaration of power.[120] More broadly, this phenomenon is a fundamental, behavioural, participatory and interpretative aspect of humans in modern groups, and thus, it can be seen as an impressionistic description of the results of Volkan's theory of 'large group identity'. For this reason, the theory of materialisation is useful in a study of group identity as a descriptive metaphor for human experience of material objects. It appreciates modern concepts of object relations but also transcends modernity in its appreciation of participatory and interpretative experience and the creative transformative power of human behaviour and agency.

An example of the materialisation of large group identity in Ireland was that from 10th to 16th November 2003 a National Potato Week was celebrated in Ireland. The aims of the campaign by Bord Glas, the Irish Farmers' Association and the Irish Potato Federation were to: (1) Increase awareness of the benefits of eating potatoes by highlighting their convenience and versatility. (2) Increase awareness of key home grown varieties – Rooster and Kerr's Pink. The target of the campaign was the 20-35 year old age group who were reported to be lower consumers of potatoes. The reasons for the campaign were that 'consumer research indicates that while 58% of the population are eating potatoes at least once a day, consumption is relatively lower among the younger age groups and lower income groups' and that 'there is also a need to illustrate to the younger age groups that potatoes are very quick and easy to prepare and fat free, if eaten on their own'.[121] It is interesting that the commodity that once was the staple of the Irish diet and whose failure as a result of a blight precipitated the 'Great Famine' (c.1845-c.1849) must now be marketed through a National Potato Week to entice younger generations to consume the commodity.[122] It could be suggested that young members of Irish society have been freed from the yoke of dependence on the potato. In this case then, the potato may no longer be as relevant to society in Ireland and may be an antiquated symbol of Irish identity. Then, the ideology of the 'national' potato week conflated notions of national identity with the

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[120] ibid. 1996, 17.

[121] Bord Bía 2003 'Winter Newsletter' <http://www.bordbia.ie/go/Corporate/Publications/horticulture/hort-2003-Winter.pdf> [Accessed 4 Feb 2006]. Also see Anon. 2003 'Bord Glas Announce "National Potato Week"', *Retail News*, October, 6.

[122] For a discussion of Irish traditional foods see Sexton, R. 1998 *A Little History of Irish Food*, Kyle Cathie, London. Also see Sexton, R. & C. Cowan 1997 *Ireland's Traditional Foods: An Exploration of Irish Local and Typical Foods and Drinks*, Teaggasc, Dublin. Interestingly National Potato Week came under political fire when it was divulged by An Bord Glas that one producer of potatoes would be selling below cost for the duration of the week. See MacConnell, S. 2003 'Row over Sale of Below-Cost Potatoes', *The Irish Times*, 7 November.

agricultural commodity of the potato. Thus, by encouraging individuals to take part in eating potatoes during 'national' potato week, Bord Glas was encouraging participation in a mass-internalisation of a commodity imbued with projections and shared identifications of Irish large group identity. Thus the creation of a 'National Potato Week' rather than a 'Potato Week' was designed as a participatory, performative materialisation of Irish large group identity through collective consumption of the physical commodity which was remembered as the same commodity whose failure precipitated the 'chosen trauma' of the 'Great Famine'.

Archaeology as Materialisation: The Modern 'Depth Metaphor'

This style of analysis can also be applied to the practice of archaeology itself. In a quotation from 'Constructions in Analysis', Freud described the archaeologist's excavation for artefacts as a search for 'remains found in the debris', and he compared it to the psychoanalyst's search for 'fragments of memories' in treatment.[123] Freud believed that 'the two processes are in fact identical'.[124] Whether or not this is a useful metaphor, it is evident that there is a strong relationship between the nature of the archaeological artefact and the mind – between the 'remains found in the debris' and the 'fragments of memories'.[125] The archaeological excavation can be described as having a revelatory quality. Through excavation, fragments of both objects testifying to human agency as well as fragments of human bodies are exhumed. As we dig down to reveal contemporary objects we perceive as being from the past, we partake in the construction of the 'depth metaphor' that not only archaeology but also psychoanalysis and many other modern disciplines have developed (see Figure 1.16).[126]

[123] See page 5-6 of Chapter 1 of this thesis. Freud 1964, 259-60.
[124] ibid.
[125] For a discussion of Freud's archaeological metaphor see Thomas 2004, 161-9.
[126] For a discussion of the modern development of a 'depth metaphor' see Thomas 2004, 149-70.

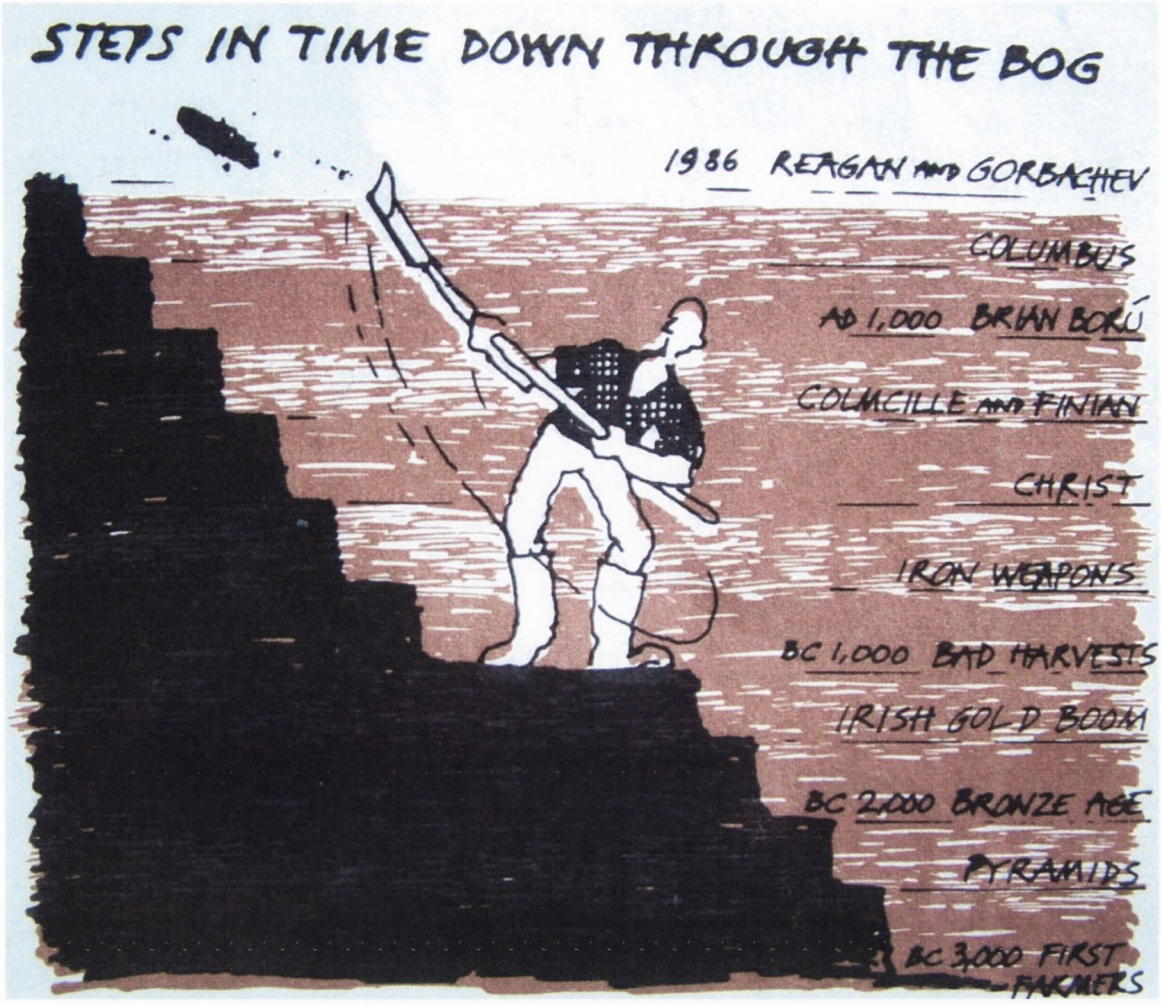


Figure 1.16 Image from Seamas Caulfield's article 'Environment Guide to the Bogs and Our Past beneath Them' in *The Resource Source* (1986).[127] The image was used in illustrating the revelation of previous deposits of human agency through peat excavation. The conflation between horizontal strata of human agency with conception of linear time is evident.

The 'depth metaphor' developed as a utilisation of modern scientific processes of excavation in geology as metaphors for exercises of understanding. Modern scientific methodologies had resulted in the development of the concept of stratigraphy which facilitated the conception of a link between linear time and deposition of layers of material. Through the excavation of these layers, the scientist could then study and observe the periods of geological development.[128] This also facilitated the development of geological ages, representing a conflation between the modern conceptions of time and materiality. Thus, horizontal divisions between strata were utilised as materialised evidence of vertical

[127] Caulfield, S. 1986 'Environment Guide to the Bogs and Our Past beneath Them', *The Resource Source*, no. 5, 1-4, 1.

[128] See Thomas 2004. For a discussion of stratigraphic methodology and theory see Schoch, R. M. 1989 *Stratigraphy: Principles and Methods*, Van Nostrand Reinhold, London. Also see pages 211-3 of Chapter for of this thesis for a development of these ideas.

divisions in linear time (see Figure 1.16). Gavin Lucas' recent contribution *The Archaeology of Time* has begun a discourse over the modern theoretical and methodological assumptions made by archaeologists in their exploration of deeper levels of deposits.[129] These deposits are then utilised to establish chronologies which whether relative or absolute govern and often restrict archaeological interpretation. This conflation between materiality and temporality has facilitated the modern belief that objects from lower deposits in an excavation are evidence of chronologically earlier human agency. It is upon this modern assumption that many expressions of social and individual agency and existence are founded. The concept of stratigraphy led to the appropriation of the method of excavation as a metaphor for explorations of discovery of earlier aspects of self (psychology) and earlier aspects of society or humanity (archaeology). Through the excavation of strata of sediment, society witnessed the revelation of objects which were understood to come from earlier points in linear time. As a result, archaeology was seen to be a discipline which could 'find' the past of societies, rooting social identities in antiquity. In allowing this metaphor to be used, archaeologists encouraged the development of a sedimented concept of social memory which can be excavated, revealed, and documented through archaeology. This encouraged the development of faith in the archaeological endeavour that through the excavation of deeper and deeper levels of contemporary physical objects archaeologists will be able to exhume fragments of social memory which will allow us to arrive at a deeper sense of self-understanding.

These modern assumptions about perception and experience of the materiality of objects act as buttresses for modern identities. Within modern group identity, these objects act as external, physical reference points for how we conduct ourselves as people and form group identities. The abstract notion of 'Irishness' is a fluid and ever developing concept; however, the physical geography of that concept (the land, its monuments, etc.) is less fluid. Given that many material objects survive beyond the experience of a single human lifetime, they are impressionistically conceived as being permanent and universal experiences. Returning to Joyce's 'The Dead', Gabriel Conroy's interaction with the Wellington Monument in the story is an excellent illustration of the power these physical manifestations of our past can have. After his exchange with Miss Ivors quoted earlier, Gabriel gazed upon and later muses on the image of the Wellington Monument in Phoenix

[129] Lucas, G. 2005 *The Archaeology of Time*, Routledge, London.

Park which he could see from the window of the house on the quays of Dublin (see Figure 1.17-18):

> Gabriel's warm, trembling fingers tapped the cold pane of the window. How cool it must be outside! How pleasant it would be to walk out alone, first along by the river and then through the park! The snow would be lying on the branches of the trees and forming a bright cap on the top of the Wellington Monument. How much more pleasant it would be there than at the supper-table![130]

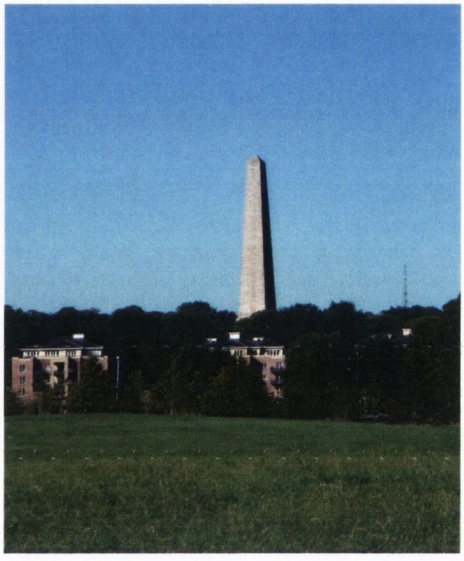


Figure 1.17 View of the Wellington Monument from the Royal Hospital Kilmainham, Dublin, 2006.



Figure 1.18 View of the Wellington Monument from Wood Quay, Dublin, 2006. Notice the scale of the monument in relation to the surrounding buildings. It is visible from many points along the River Liffey.

[130] Joyce 2000 [1904-7], 151. For a philosophical discussion of the mind of Joyce present in his work see Hederman 1985.

Erected in 1861, the Wellington Monument was dedicated to the 'Iron Duke', Arthur Wesley Duke of Wellington (1769-1852), who was born in Dublin (see Figure 1.17); however, the monument commemorated his victories as a British military commander and therefore has been understood as a monument to British imperial presence in Ireland.[131] The ideological tension arises from the fact that the monument is also an integral aspect of the geography of modern Dublin. Joyce's use of the Wellington Monument was partly to give the reader a sense of geography and setting for the story, but what it more significantly did was illustrate the nature of Gabriel's internal mental geography which creates his identity. It illustrated one of the main buttresses for Gabriel's identity to which he constantly addresses himself. Indeed, the Wellington Monument is still utilised today as a geographical and identity marker to which people today can not escape addressing themselves given its towering presence in the city.[132] It is the first major monument which can be seen from the M3 motorway as one enters the area of the city of Dublin or railroad lines entering Heuston Station.

A more dramatic example of the tension between Irish and British identity within the geography of Dublin was the destruction of Nelson's Pillar on 8 March 1966 (see Figure 1.18). Vice Admiral Horatio Nelson (1758-1805) was a British naval officer, notably at the Battle of Trafalgar (1805), whose monument on O'Connell Street (formerly Sackville Street) was popularly referred to as the centre of the city (see Figure 1.19-121).[133] Being the 50th anniversary of the Easter Rising of 1916, individuals who are still unknown used explosives to destroy the statue of Nelson that sat atop the 32.5m Doric column on O'Connell street.[134] Unfortunately, this was the first known use of plastic explosives in Ireland and too much was used, resulting in the destruction of half of the column as well. There had been a great debate over whether or not to remove the column,

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[131] See Whelan, Y. 2003 *Reinventing Modern Dublin: Streetscapes, Iconography and the Politics of Identity*, University College Dublin Press, Dublin, 50-1.

[132] The Wellington Monument was designed by Sir Robert Smirke and stands at 62.5m tall. It was originally planned to be taller, but a shortage of funds made it impossible. The tallest free-standing obelisk in the world is currently the Washington Monument in Washington, D.C. in the United States of America which stands at 169m tall and was completed in 1885. The assertion that it was the tallest free-standing obelisk at the time of its construction was made at the Obelisks exhibition at the Dublin Civic Museum (2004).

[133] Until the destruction of Nelson's Pillar, public buses going to the city centre displayed 'The Pillar' as their destination. Since the Pillar's destruction, buses display 'City Centre' or 'An Lar'. See Bolger, W. & B. Shane 1976 *And Nelson on His Pillar, 1808/1966: A Retrospective Record*, Nonpareil, Dublin.

[134] A documentary has been produced by RTÉ for their Townlands Series entitled *Tall Tales: From Pillar to Spire* (2003) on the destruction of Nelson's Pillar. Many individuals and groups have been associated with the destruction of the monument; however, to this date, no criminal case has been brought against any group or individual for the vandalism.

which stood directly in front of the General Post Office since the establishment of the Free State, but permission was never granted by the government to destroy the column. This was mainly due to the fact that the pillar was seen as the great defining monument of the city. The Arts Council defended it, saying it was 'one of the finest Doric columns in existence.'[135] W. B. Yeats also notably defended the column arguing that 'the life and work of the people who erected it are part of our tradition. I think we should accept the whole part of this nation and not pick and choose. However, it is not a beautiful object'.[136] In his 1976 study on the pillar, William Bolger stated simply that, 'Nelson, in his curious way, acted as a focus for the divergent views of Dubliners through a period of radical political and social change'.[137]



Figure 1.19 O'Connell Street, Dublin in 1963. Notice the towering presence of Nelson's Pillar. Photograph by Richard Tilbrook. 'General Post Office, Dublin', National Library of Ireland, Photographic Archive, Tilbrook Collection (TIL554).

[135] Bolger 1976, 11.
[136] ibid.
[137] ibid. 11-2.



Figure 1.20 View of the pedestrian traffic on O'Connell Street from the top of Nelson's Pillar c.1921. Photograph by W. D. Hogan. 'View from Top of Nelson's Pillar, O'Connell Street', National Library of Ireland, Photographic Archive, Hogan Collection (HOG213).

The reason modern humans use these physical reference points is because humans lack the faculty to constantly re-orientate ourselves and re-evaluate the construction of our identities and value systems every moment of every day.[138] Social navigation relies on socially agreed upon reference points as a means of communicating with one another.[139] This provides fixed points in the physical and meta-physical world which are defined with or against and used to illustrate experience. In this manner, they form an integral aspect of modern linguistic reality. The great strength of these objects in modern imagination is that they, unlike words, are not fleeting. They appear to survive longer than we do. Their life expectancy far exceeds our own; therefore, we attach a certain degree of authority to these objects as 'arks' of identity which survive the tumultuous course of history and transcend our own temporal reality.[140]

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[138] For a discussion of hermeneutics and the nature of human understanding in relation to the necessity of prejudgements in social and cultural situations see Ricoeur 1981, Gadamer 1989 and Jeanrond 1991.

[139] Derrida, J. 1967a *De la Grammatologie*. Collection Critique, Minuit, Paris. Derrida, J. 1967b *L'écriture et la difference*, Collection Tel Quel. Seuil, Paris. Derrida, J. 1967c *La Voix et le phénomène: Introduction au problème du signe dans la phénoménologie de Husserl*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.

[140] The role of objects as 'arks' of identity is inspired by Andrey Sukurov's emotive, metaphorical discussion in his film *Russian Ark* (2002) of the role of the Hermitage in St. Petersburg as a ship safeguarding the material memories of Russia in the tumultuous sea of human experience that has been and is Russian historical experience. Saving objects of art and antiquity from the flood of experience, monuments and



Figure 1.21 View of the pedestrian activity and half-demolished Nelson's Pillar on O'Connell Street, 9 March 1966. 'Newspaper Seller at G.P.O., Hal-Demolished Nelson's Pillar in Background, O'Connell Street, Dublin', National Library of Ireland, Photographic Archive, Wiltshire Collection (WIL18[12]).

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museums are perceived as universal saviours of memory and identity, see Crimp, D. 1993 *On the Museum's Ruins*, MIT Press, London., Maleuvre, D. 1999 *Museum Memories History, Technology, Art,* Stanford University Press, Stanford. and Edge, K. & F. Weiner 2006 'Collective Memory and the Museum: Towards a reconciliation of philosophy, history and memory in Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum' in I. Russell (ed.) *Images, Representations and Heritage: Moving beyond Modern Approaches to Archaeology*, Springer-Kluwer, New York, 221-46.

As Volkan noted in an interview in 2003, we charge artefacts with emotion. If we break a monument, emotion will pour out.[141] If we recall the images that were printed on newspapers around the world on 10 April 2003 depicting the destruction of the statues of Saddam Hussein throughout Iraq, we can imagine the emotion on the faces of all people party to the actions, and perhaps, we can also recall our own personal emotional reactions to those images.[142] Another example of this phenomenon would be the international outcry against the destruction of the colossal Buddhist statues in Bamiyan, Afghanistan by the Taliban in March 2001.[143] A further example would be the multiple reactions to the destruction of the Wood Quay archaeological site in Dublin, Ireland.[144] The site had been identified as part of the core of the medieval urban centre of Dublin and at the time of discovery had been referred to by Dubliners as the origin of the urban character of the city. However, the site had been chosen as the location for the new civic offices. A protest march on 23 September 1978 drew 20,000 people (representing approximately 1 out of every 25 people in the city at time), and the site was occupied for the month of June 1979.[145] However, the archaeological site which had been identified as a national monument was still demolished.[146] Clearly historical monuments are imbued with social emotion and memory, and academic interaction with monuments or archaeological artefacts can not be divorced from our psychological interaction with the meaning of those objects in social consciousness.

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[141] Volkan 2003, personal communication. Also see Volkan, V. D. 2002 'What Some Monuments Tell Us about Mourning and Forgiveness' delivered at the Apologies Conference, Claremont, February.

[142] For example, see Goldenberg 2003. It should be noted that the toppling of the statue of Saddam Hussein in Fardus Square (now called Freedom Square), Baghdad by US troops that was depicted on many front pages on 10 April 2003 has been studied by a number of independent media groups which propose that the toppling could have been a constructed event in that only supporters of the US led invasion were allowed into the square therefore giving a slanted view of an event that would have had a myriad of different emotional and political reactions across Iraq. For more information see: Against Occupation 2003 'Staged 'Liberation' Media Event?', Sf.indymedia.org, <http://sf.indymedia.org/news/2003/04/1598451_comment.php> [Accessed 3 July 2004].; Fozzy 2003 'A Tale of Two Photos', informationclearinghouse.info, <http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article2838.htm> [Accessed 3 July 2004]. and Anon. 2004 'Toppling the Statue of Saddam Hussein', Disinfopedia.org, <http://www.disinfopedia.org/wiki.phtml?title=Toppling_the_statue_of_Saddam_Hussein> [Accessed 3 July 2004].

[143] See Bloch, H., Wedeman, B. & the Associated Press (March 12, 2001), *Photos document destruction of Afghan Buddhas*, [Online], Cnn.com, Available from: <http://edition.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/asiapcf/central/03/12/afghan.buddha.02/> [Accessed 1 July 2004].

[144] See pages 226-35 of Chapter 5 of this thesis for a discussion of significance the site of Wood Quay and the political events surrounding the sites excavation in the Irish large group identity.

[145] The closest available census was taken in 1979 which recorded that 544,586 persons resided in the Dublin County Borough. See Central Statistics Office 1982 *Census of Population of Ireland 1981,* Stationery Office, Dublin, 72. Admittedly those in attendance would not have solely been from the city of Dublin, but the scale and impact of such a demonstration on the streets of the city can be seen in this comparison.

[146] See Heffernan, T. F. 1988 *Wood Quay: The Clash over Dublin's Viking Past*, The University of Texas Press, Austin.

In this sense, archaeology can be described as a daily practice of materialisation to affirm identity and existence. Creating spaces for remembrance through the action of excavation, it is a materialisation of the ideologies of self and group and beliefs about the past and being human. The performance of and participation in excavations, the manipulation of objects or artefacts, the discovery and interpretation of monuments, the adaptation of landscape, the construction and performance of exhibitions of artefacts and the writing of texts to communicate the experience and interpretation of the past are all materialisations which result from archaeological study. The difficulty of performing archaeology is that the objects with which we work are the result of previous human agency and the materialisation of previous human ideology. These objects are then re-materialised through our archaeological enquiry. As archaeologists, we facilitate the production of a social memory rooted in the mental perception of material evidence of past action.[147] We study and discover artefacts and monuments, and these material objects, more often than not, become 'suitable reservoirs' in 'large group identity'. This is not a phenomenon that should be seen as unnatural, but as integral to the behaviour of human beings in large groups. This is part of the difficulty with the way many archaeologists approach the phenomenon of identity.

Archaeological literature has attempted to expound a theory of identity engaging with the pre-existing literature on the phenomena of social being and identity formation. Christopher Gosden argued in his book *Social Being and Time* (1994) that to understand the ways in which we arrive at meaning through archaeological enquiry, we must first understand the fundamental philosophical assumptions we make when we begin any such enquiry.[148] Julian Thomas made it clear that archaeology must deal with theories of not only materiality but also the mind.[149] We should work towards a continual awareness of interpretative being in the world.[150] Just as our experiences of the world are part of a fluid interpretative existence, so too are our engagements with archaeological objects.[151] It is critical that we appreciate this fundamental nature of archaeological enquiry in order to overcome the modern societal tendency to assert facts and singular, authentic ethnicities based on the perceived, constant materiality of artefacts.

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[147] For a discussion of archaeology's role in the formation of ethnic identity see Jones 1997, 15.
[148] Gosden 1994, 101-30.
[149] Thomas 1996, 11-6.
[150] See Gosden 1994, 113-4 and Thomas 2004, 187-9.
[151] Tilley 2004.

The importance of acknowledging subjective and interpretative approaches to the study of the past is that artefacts, monuments and archaeological research itself may be used to legitimate ideologies and identities and support the formation of power structures.[152] Archaeology is a signal of a certain level of social organisation and ideological power in that it is an extremely complex and expensive endeavour. As leaders and states invest in archaeological research (especially excavation), they often expect a material return, and often this return is a materialised ideology or identity in the form of an artefact, monument or textual history. The recent volume contributed by Michael Galaty and Charles Watkinson on the exploitation of archaeology for ideological purposes in dictatorships demonstrates the influence that archaeology can have over social consciousness when controlled by a governmental system.[153] Archaeology can be a method of encouraging the 'absorption of the leader's internal demands' in order to create a 'large group identity' that supports the dictator. As archaeology facilitates the provision of artefacts and monuments to society, so too can it provide 'suitable reservoirs' and 'protosymbols' for 'large group identity'. Eric Hobsbawm illustrated this relationship when he wrote that 'historians are to nationalism what poppy-growers in Pakistan are to heroin addicts: we supply the essential raw material for the market'.[154] This is what archaeology inadvertently does. It supplies the raw materials for the 'shared identifications' and 'internal object relations' that form 'large group identity'. Archaeology is a materialisation of the attempt of humans to cope with their own existential awareness in order to affirm their own experiences. For as Lynn Meskell points out, 'it is the very materiality of our field – the historical depth of monuments and objects, their visibility in museums, their iconic value – that ultimately have residual potency in the contemporary imaginary'.[155] In this way, archaeology itself can be seen as one of the threads in Volkan's tent. Situating archaeology within contemporary psycho-social dynamics exposes the inherent public nature of archaeological interpretations. Thus, archaeology, as a public commodity, is not only a raw material for the ideological markets of nationalism but also is

[152] DeMarrais *et al.* 1996, 17. Also see DeMarrais *et al.* 2005.
[153] Galaty, M. L. & Watkinson, C. 2004 *Archaeology under Dictatorship*, Springer, New York.
[154] Hobsbawm, E. J. 1992 'Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe Today', *Anthropology Today*, vol. 8, no. 1, 3-8, 3.
[155] Meskell, L. 2001 'Archaeologies of Identity', in I. Hodder (ed.) *Archaeological Theory Today*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 187-213, 189.

a raw material for economic markets seeking to capitalise on conceptions of identity through the heritage industry.[156]

Marketing Ireland: The Past as Economic Propaganda

The 'power' of the past in social behaviour noted by Meskell and Hobsbawm has broader ramifications for society than simply within ideological discourses. Hobsbwam's discussion of the market of nationalisms to which history supplies raw materials also highlights the current relationship between archaeology and the heritage and tourism industries in the Republic of Ireland. The commodification and marketing of the past and heritage as an experience to be consumed has been at the forefront of economic trends in the tourism industry in the Republic of Ireland for some years. Ruth McManus in discussing the relationship between the tourism and heritage sectors in Ireland noted that:

> The trend towards processes of commodification, or the culture of consumption ... is strongly related to many tourism and leisure activities. Many pursuits have clearly been transformed into 'experiences' that can be marketed, sold and bought just as any other commodities. In this process the basic economic mechanisms of advertising, packaging and target marketing play a central role. The essence is the conversion of experiences or images into exchange relationships. Bord Fáilte's [the Irish Welcome Board] new marketing initiative reflects this approach, having 'emotional experience as its core positioning'.[157]

This is precisely why there has been so much discussion of 'heritage consumption' and of a need to 'market heritage' within the growing marketplace of ideas and commodities.[158]

In contemporary Western society, consumption is beginning to eclipse other forms of social participation as the primary performance of identity. Robert Foster argues that there has been a disorientation of agency in society, resulting in the eclipsing of the role of

[156] See Russell, I. 2006a 'Freud and Volkan: Psychoanalysis, Group Identities and Archaeoloy' *Antiquity*, vol. 80, no. 307, 185-95.
[157] McManus, R. 1997 'Heritage and Tourism in Ireland – An Unholy Alliance?', *Irish Geography*, vol. 30, iss. 2, 90-8, 92 quoting Bord Fáilte 1997 *The Fáilte Business*, Bord Fáilte, Dublin.
[158] See pages 200-9 of Chapter 4 for a further discussion of the impact of the heritage industry and modes of commodification and consumption of heritage experiences on local lifestyles in Ireland.

citizen in society by the role of consumer.[159] In many societies, most notably the contemporary United States of America, 'consumption choices appear to form the basis for nationality as a collective identity'.[160] Thus the individual's relationship to cultural objects such as artefacts is no longer simply a psychological, behavioural internalisation but an active, capitalistic consumption. This situation is important for archaeology because often artefacts and their corresponding representations in souvenirs and postcards become the commodified materialisation of heritage. In fact, the move to market heritage has gone so far that often an individual's only experience of heritage is through an act of consumption. The interaction of society with archaeology through the media of museum exhibits, interpretative sites and heritage tourism encourages the materialisation of archaeological objects into 'suitable reservoirs' and into 'protosymbols'.

The marketing of these opportunities for 'heritage consumption' elevates relations with an artefact in society to the point that the archaeological object will be marketed as a materialisation of the abstract notion of identity.[161] Artefacts form a visual information system that functions at the core of many modern cultural and social groups, and as will be shown in this thesis, there has been a marked increase in the use of archaeology in the heritage industry through the 'logo-isation' of artefacts and symbols derived from artefacts for their iconic value in modern Ireland.[162] They are an integral component of society's visual literacy, inspiring many groups in the construction of their identity. However, it is a visual literacy which, like corporate brand names, has been ever more encouraged and exploited in the construction of heritage industries and the development of 'heritage consumption'.[163] Cooney noted 'it could be suggested that by default we as archaeologists are allowing the selection of elements from the past to be used for the dictates of the present, for example in the heritage and more broadly tourism industry, which is so central in the projection of a modern Irish identity'.[164]

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[159] Foster, R. J. 1999 'The Commercial Construction of "New Nations"', *Journal of Material Culture*, vol. 4, iss. 3, 63-282, 263-6.
[160] ibid. 265
[161] Tilley 2004, 218.
[162] See Chapter 3 and Chapter 7 for discussions of the use of archaeological artefacts for cultural symbols.
[163] See pages 157-9 of Chapter 3 of this thesis.
[164] Cooney 1996, 160.

Conclusion: Materialisation in Ireland

As has already been discussed, language, music and dance are materialisations of group identity. These are particularly powerful in relation to the performance of group identity in Ireland. That speaking the Irish language requires a shared participatory experience of materialisation through Irish makes it a strong materialisation of social being and group identity in Ireland. In the same way, Irish traditional dancing and music are also shared participatory performative experiences which express conceptions of an embodied experience of identity in modern Ireland. Perhaps this is what gives these social materialisations such great appeal within the heritage and tourism industry in Ireland. This is an issue which is deserving of its own thesis, so this theme will be left here. Instead the issue of tangible, visual and textual materialisations of identity in Ireland will be discussed further.

This thesis will argue that modern conceptions of material objects play a significant role in the development of large group identity, particularly when they are materialisations of social conceptions of the past. The case studies used in this exploration are set out in a historical progression and follow conceptual themes. Chapter 2 examines the earliest materialisations of conceptions of place and people on the island known as Ireland and explores the development of these conceptions until the modern era. This will facilitate a basis for a discussion of large group identity in the place known as Ireland. This 'sets the scene' for understanding the impact of the development of the modern discipline of archaeology on modern conceptions of identity in Ireland. Chapter 3 will follow with an exploration of the development of antiquarian studies in modern Ireland within the broader romantic philosophical and artistic movements in Europe. Artefacts which were found during this period would come to inspire new cultural movements in Ireland such as the Gaelic Revival, provide new suitable reservoirs of group identity and new markets for consumable representations of Irish culture. This situation was capitalised upon by group leaders and businesses during this period, and it has led to a capitalisation upon the mass-marketing of Irish heritage world wide. Chapter 4 explores modern understandings of place and landscape and situates this within modern and contemporary philosophical and artistic traditions. It will also focus on aspects of the modern landscape as it exists today and its role within large group identity in Ireland. Landscapes are approached as a phenomenon of lived and experienced human agency and communication. In this way, it is argued that

landscapes have become suitable reservoirs of modern group identity and that representations of the landscape as an artefact of cultural life in Ireland dominates today's tourism industry. Chapter 5 explores modern and contemporary human agency at places and within landscapes in Ireland. It focuses on the role of archaeological monuments and sites within psycho-social dynamics in Ireland and examines the modern and contemporary use of archaeological sites in political discourse in Ireland. This study will situate Irish social agency within the archaeological landscape of group identity and illustrate modern archaeology's impact on group identity in Ireland. Archaeological sites will be explored as the setting for 'theatres of memory' for the performative materialisation of group identity. In Chapter 6, the Hill of Tara and its landscape will be explored as a case study for the theories and methodologies of the thesis. Tara as a concept has featured prominently in Irish cultural and political discourse since the early Medieval period until today. To unravel the construction of the concept of Tara is to expose many of the psychological relationships that dominate modern large group identity in Ireland. The thesis will conclude with an overview of the issues raised. Current philosophical theories will be utilised to suggest directions in which studies of heritage and archaeology in Ireland can and should move. It is hoped that this will act as an inspiration to further productive discourse on the topics raised.

Chapter 2: The Materialisation of Ireland: Modernity and Archaeology

Materiality and the mind are not separate phenomena, but are co-existent in the phenomenon of being.[1] In this way, we can see that the materiality of Ireland and the minds of those existing in Ireland should not be seen as independent concepts. Despite this theoretical basis, it should be noted that many of the trappings of 'traditional' Irish identity – a united Irish or Celtic race on a united island known as Ireland – were formed while Ireland and Irish society were subject to the philosophical developments of modernity. One of these modern developments was archaeology, arming Irish society with a new, 'modern' tool to engage in self-revelatory exercises which 'discovered' objects which would be taken as materialisations of Ireland and 'Irishness'. The effects of these discoveries on modern Ireland will be explored in the following chapters, but before we move on to such case studies, it is important to explore what we mean when we use the words 'Ireland' or 'Irish'. In this chapter, the roots of the conceptions of an 'Irish' people and a place known as Ireland will be discussed. These conceptions and their corresponding materialisations form a tradition of thought which underlies many contemporary assumptions about the nature of social being and group identity in Ireland. The 'revival' of these materialisations during the later 19th and early 20th centuries provided inspiration for many facets of modern Irish nationalism.[2] As technological and intellectual methodologies during the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries in Ireland developed into what would today be described as modernity, new scientific and rational approaches were developed for understanding discourses of place and people. Most notably is the birth of the modern discipline of archaeology which, as will be shown, radically altered the way individuals and societies perceived and materialised their identities. Before discussing the effects of modern thought and archaeology in Ireland, an exploration will be undertaken of possible origins of the tradition of thought regarding Ireland as a singular place and a singular people.

Roots of Concepts of Ireland: Place and People

An archipelago begins 34km off the north-western coast of the continent known today as Europe (see Figure 2.1). The western-most island in the group measures

[1] See page 49-50 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.
[2] For a discussion of Irish nationalism see McBride 1999 and Kee 2000.

approximately 225km in width and 362km in length (see Figure 2.2). Topographically, the island is dominated by a large central plain stretching towards the east with more marginal and rugged land towards the west, especially in the south-west. Numerous rivers and tributaries divide and provide access throughout the landscape. Although, it is geographically distinct as an island, the proximity of the island to the other parts of the archipelago and a study of the geological trends throughout the islands and the adjacent coast of the continent show it to be part of broader geological and ecological trends.[3]

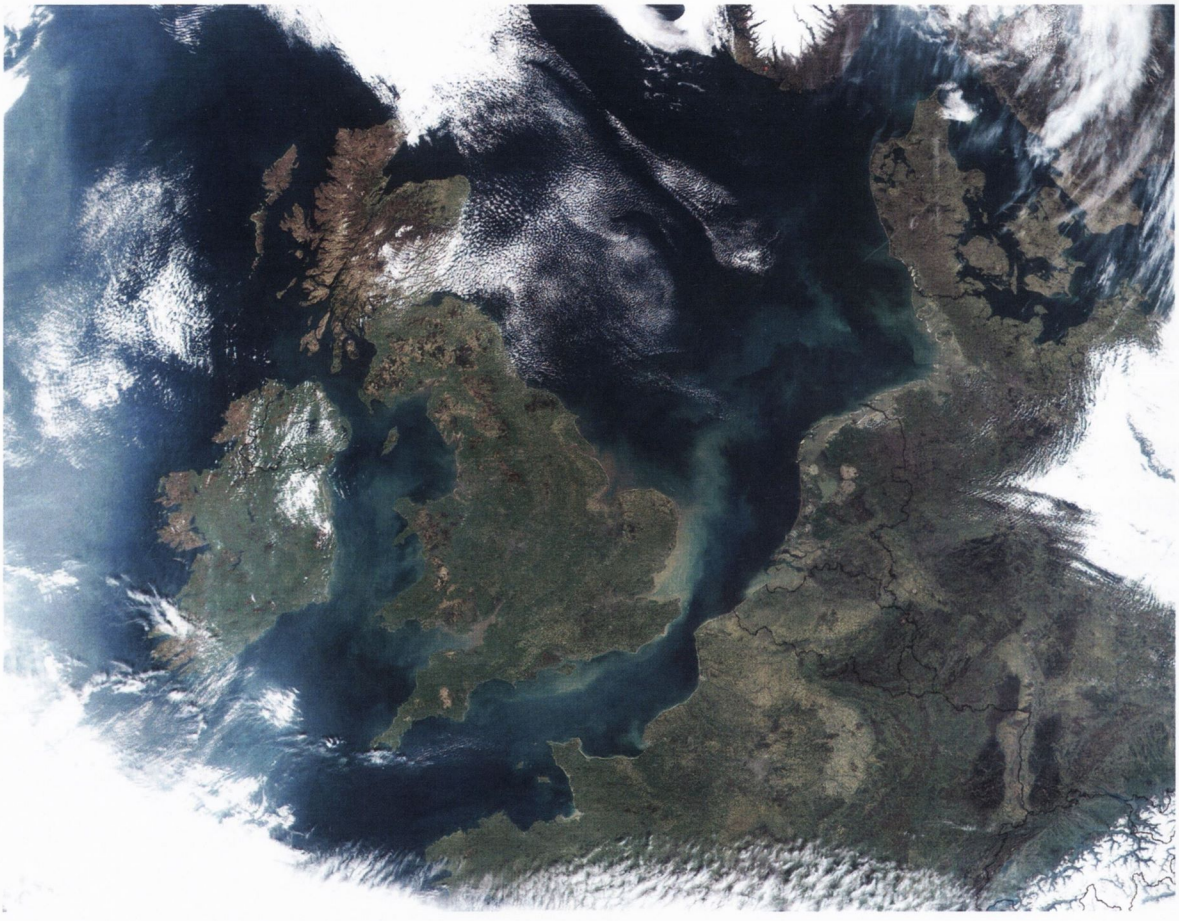


Figure 2.1 The archipelago of the islands off the North-West of continental Europe including the islands of Britain and Ireland. Taken by Jacques Descloitres, MODIS Land Rapid Response Team, NASA/GSFC on 6 April 2002 with the Aqua MODIS instrument. Courtesy of NASA Visible Earth project (Visible Earth v1 ID 8079) (http://visibleearth.nasa.gov/view_rec.php?id=3065).

[3] For a discussion of the geological and geographical qualities of the island known as Ireland see Mitchell, F. & M. Ryan 1998 *Reading the Irish Landscape*, Townhouse, Dublin. This geographical relationship was also the inspiration for political rhetoric used by De Valera in the Dáil on 17 August 1921, arguing for a pragmatic approach to relationships between Ireland and Great Britain: 'From the geographical fact – this is fundamental – of being neighbours we want to be neighbourly…'. See De Valera 1980, 65.



Figure 2.1 Satellite image of the island of Ireland. Taken by Jeff Schmaltz, MODIS Rapid Response Team, NASA/GSFC 7 August 2003 with the Aqua MODIS instrument. Courtesy NASA Visible Earth project. (Visible Earth v1 ID 25816) (http://visibleearth.nasa.gov/view_rec.php?id=5744)
A superimposed line indicates the contemporary political border between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland.

Today this island is called Ireland (or Éire). That the island is referred to by a single name leads one to assume it is a singular and coherent place. At the 1937 Fianna Fáil Ard-Fheis, De Valera described Ireland (or Éire) as 'the ancestral home of our people, unmistakably delimited by the ocean'.[4] This political and cultural construction obscured what was and has been a diverse, disjointed and dynamic place. That 'Ireland' as a geographical phenomenon happens to be an island reinforces this conception of isolation and union in this experience of separateness.[5] However, as has been shown through geological and geographical studies, this island is less a separate phenomenon and more an aspect of broader geographical and geological trends.[6] Still, the tradition of referring to this island as a singular location with a singular name dominates geographical awareness of it. This materialisation of an ideology of a singular place became visual with the advent of cartography. Early cartographic studies resulted in the first visual materialisations of the island which we now know as Ireland. This is understandable as cartography was primarily concerned with producing functional depictions of the landscape for the purposes of navigation. In this respect, it was 'natural' that an island would be seen as being a unique and distinct object.

The Mapping of Ireland

The astronomer and mathematician Claudius Ptolemy produced the first cartographic description of the island Hibernia which we now call 'Ireland' in the 2nd century AD (see Figure 2.3). Working in Alexandria during the first half of the 2nd century AD, Ptolemy produced cartographic descriptions of many parts of the globe which were preserved in *The Geography*.[7] Although a map drawn from Ptolemy's information is rather schematic, it does represent generally the coastline and major geographical aspects of the island. It has been suggested that the East coast features of a map drawn from Ptolemy's data represent more accurately the current coastline. This reflects better awareness with

[4] De Valera 1980, 339.
[5] For a discussion of island geography and theory see Royle, S. A. 2001 *A Geography of Islands: Small Island Insularity*, Routledge, London.
[6] See Mitchell & Ryan 1999.
[7] See Claudius Ptolemy 1991 *The Geography* (translated and edited by Edward Luther Stevenson) Dover, New York. Also see National Library of Ireland 1980 *Ireland from Maps*, National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

these places which were more readily accessible by established sailing routes.[8] It is noteworthy that the earliest cartographic knowledge which survives about this island comes from individuals who did not live on the island.[9] The social groups living on the island would appear not to have developed cartographic systems for describing place, or at least, no evidence of such awareness survives. The earliest evidence of cartographic awareness in Ireland comes from the 11th century and is preserved in the 'synthetic' historical source of the *Dindshenchas*.[10] As a source for geographical awareness the *Dindshenchas* is unique in early medieval literature. These topographical poems were collected and organised by Christian ecclesiastics and used for teaching traditions of place names in Ireland. Many of the poems are attributed to individuals which predate the final collection.[11] However, that we are receiving the poems through a 'Medieval screen' it can not be assumed that they represent precisely how the landscape was conceived of in earlier times.[12]

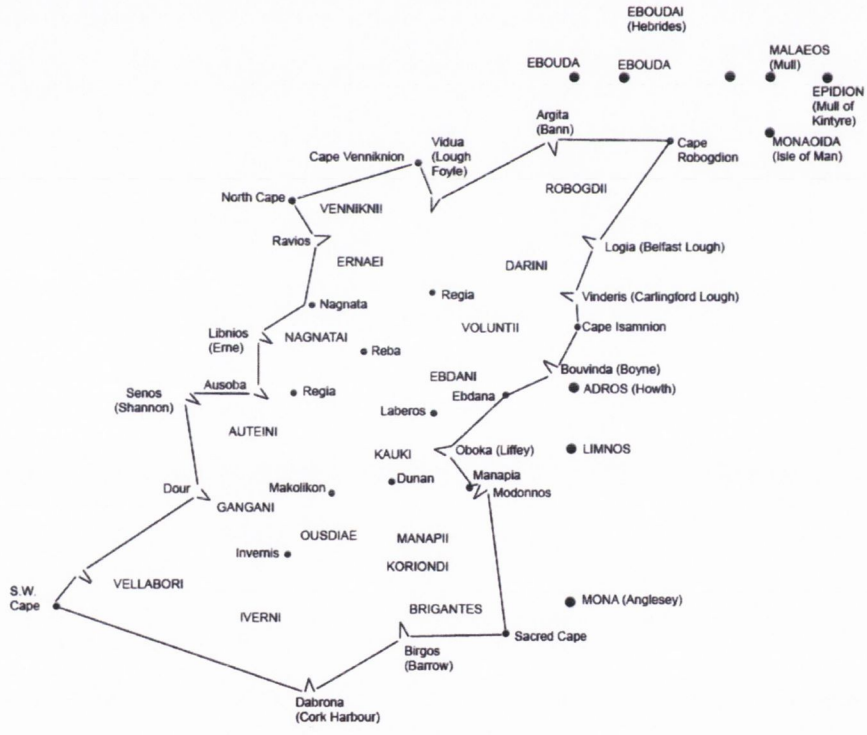


Figure 2.3 A modern reconstruction by F. J. Byrne of a map drawn of Ireland and Britain from the cartographic descriptions of Ptolemy. After National Library of Ireland 1980.

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[8] National Library of Ireland 1980, 2.
[9] ibid. 2.
[10] See pages 168-9 of Chapter 4 of this thesis for a discussion of the *Dindshenchas*.
[11] Gwynn, E. 1903-1935 *The Metrical Dindshenchas* (5 vols) Todd Lecture Series, reprinted in 1991 by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin.
[12] Bhreathnach, E. 1996 'Temoria: Caput Scotorum?', *Éiru* 47, 67-88, 85.

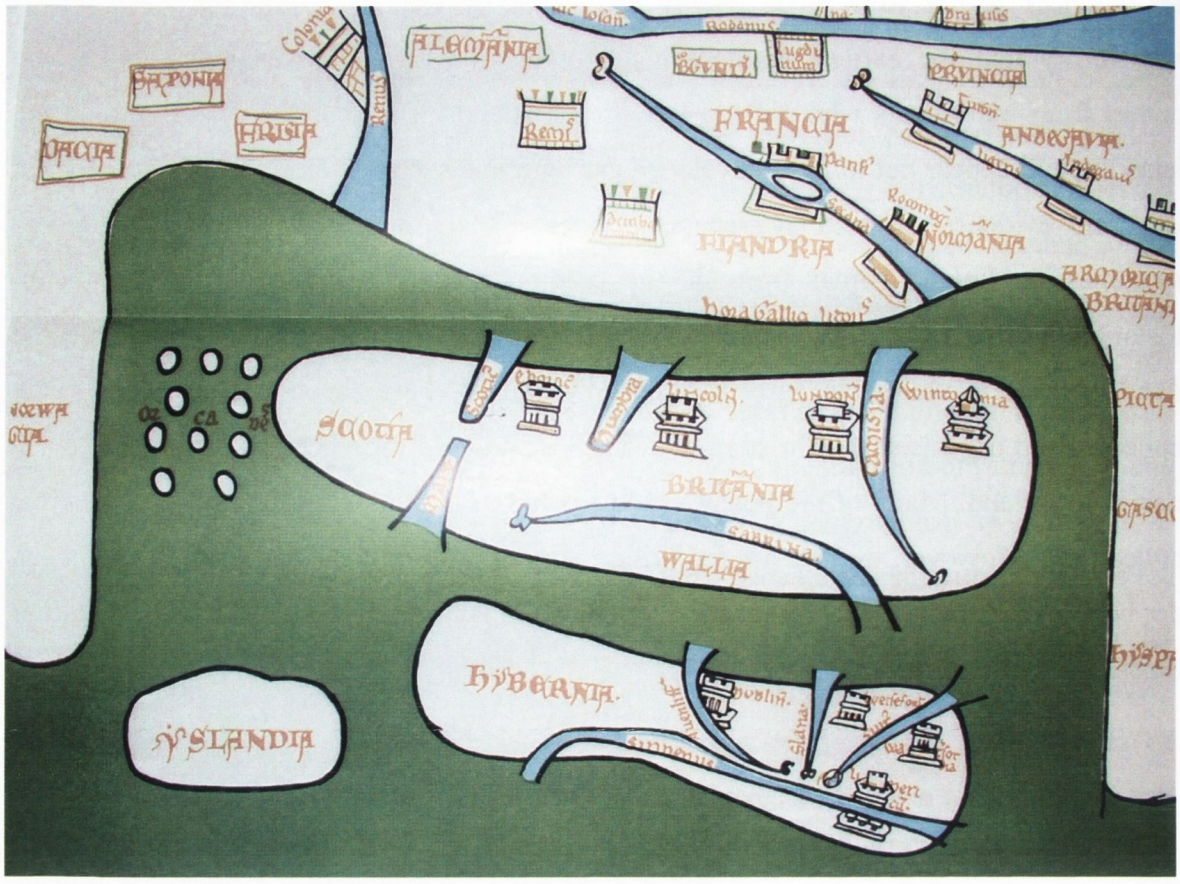


Figure 2.4 Europe c. AD 1200 in Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernica* (National Library of Ireland Manuscript 700). After National Library of Ireland 1980. This map would have been copied from a contemporary *mappamundi*.

The tradition of cartographic representations of the island of Ireland or Hibernia during the period of the compilation of these 'synthetic' histories was recorded in Medieval *mappamundi* or *portolano*, maps which often relied on earlier sources such as Ptolemy's cartographic depictions for the presentation of Ireland rather than current studies (see Figure 2.4).[13] These maps were produced primarily for navigation and trade, thus the coastlines of the island are best represented as with Ptolemy's map. These depictions of Ireland would dominate representations of the island until the 16th century. It is significant that it is only from the Tudor reconquest in the 16th century onwards that maps of Ireland which were produced on the island survive. However, these were largely produced by English cartographers moving with their respective armies.[14] Over successive centuries following, these cartographic traditions from external observers would through a process of

[13] National Library of Ireland 1980, 3-4. Also see Westropp, T. J. 1913 'Early Italian Maps of Ireland from 1300-1600 with Notes on Foreign Settlers and Trade', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 30, 362-428.
[14] ibid. 4-5. Also see Dunlop, R. 1905 'Sixteenth Century Maps of Ireland', *English Historical Review*, 20, 309-37. and Chubb, T. 1927 *The Printed Maps in the Atlases of Great Britain and Ireland, 1579-1870*, The Homeland Association, London.

acculturation result in an indigenous cartographic tradition in Ireland first evident in the 18th century.[15] Thus, the tradition of conceiving of the island cartographically as a singular place is likely an external development for the purposes of navigation, politics and trade. This tradition of a singular territory of Ireland was likely imported and incorporated into indigenous place traditions through a process of acculturation. It is not until the early modern period that cartographic depictions of the island, referred to as Ireland, and the use of the term Ireland as a culturally descriptive place name appear as wholly indigenous traditions alongside one another.[16]

The Naming of Ireland – The Naming of the Irish

An island is more readily materialised ideologically than other places. This is because it is possible to view an island as a coherent geographical unit due to its observable 'isolation' or 'insularity'.[17] In this way, Ireland as a place which is an island has come to be conceived of as a singular place whose borders were defined by its shoreline.[18] However, it is incorrect to make the assumption that this island as a place has always been understood to be a singular, united place. Christopher Tilley tells us that 'place names are of such vital importance because they act so as to transform the sheerly physical and geographical into something that is historically and socially experienced'.[19] Considering this, the concept of a place named Ireland is not a tangible, observable object but is the result of a long tradition of social interaction materialised and simplified in the single name 'Ireland'.

Éire and Ireland are the legal names of the state of the 26 southern counties established in Article IV of the 1937 Constitution of Ireland. The name 'Éire' is derived from the earlier name 'Ériu' which was also associated with a mythological goddess of the

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[15] ibid. 11-2.
[16] See Andrews, J. H. 1961 *Ireland in Maps*, Dolmen Press, Dublin.; Andrews, J. H. 1978 *Irish Maps*, Eason, Dublin.
[17] For a discussion of island geography and theory see Royle 2001.
[18] This brings back to mind the quotation from De Valera's speech at the 1937 Fianna Fáil Ard-Fheis where he described Ireland (or Éire) as 'the ancestral home of our people, unmistakably delimited by the ocean'. See De Valera 1980, 339.
[19] Tilley 1994, 18

same name.[20] There is an extensive etymological discourse surrounding the derivation and meaning of the name *Ériu*.[21] In mythological sources such as the *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, the goddess Ériu became associated with the island and with the notion of kingship.[22] A king would be wed metaphorically both to Ériu the goddess and Ériu the land. This legitimated the individual's claim to a kingship over a united 'land of Ériu'. The earliest historical instance of the use of the name 'Ériu' as a reference to the island now known as Ireland comes from the 9th century theologian John Scottus who was believed to have been born on the island known as Ireland. In the title of his translation of 'Dionysius Areopagite' from Greek into Latin, Scottus gave himself the epithet 'Eriugena' meaning 'born in Eriu'.[23] This concept of a 'land of Ériu' would develop into Ériu-land (Éire-land) and contemporary Ireland. Although this is the earliest use of the name 'Ériu' in relation to the island known as Ireland, it is notable that it occurs in an intellectual and linguistic tradition which were not indigenous to the Ireland – Christian theology and Latin. Indeed, the earliest evidence of a conception of this island as a single place or of a single people who lived on the island also comes from non-indigenous traditions.

Before there is any evidence from within the island of a conception of it as a single coherent place in regards to the human activity and social interaction, it was readily described geographically as a singular location in external historical sources. The earliest surviving textual statements referring to the island which we call Ireland come from Roman historical sources. In c. 55 BC, Julius Caesar (c.100-44 BC) recorded in his *Gallic War* (5.13) when describing the geography of Britain that:

> Another side lies toward Spain and the west, on which part is Hibernia [Ireland], less, as is reckoned, than Britain, by one half: but the passage [from it] into Britain is of equal distance with that from Gaul.

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[20] O'Rahilly, T. F. 1943 'On the Origins of the Names *Érainn* and *Ériu*', *Ériu* 14, 7-28, 11-2, 14. The main source for this association is the *Lebor Gabála Érenn*: 'They had colloquy with Ériu in Uisneach. She said unto them ... Yours shall be this island for ever ... A gift to me ye sons of Míl ... that my name shall be on this island'. Macalister, R. A. S. 1938-1956 *Lebor Gabála Érenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland* (5 vols.), Educational Co. of Ireland for Irish Texts Society, Dublin, vol. 5, 35-6.

[21] For a review of this discourse see O'Rahilly 1943.

[22] ibid. 11-2, 14. Also see Macalister 1938-1956, vol. 5.

[23] See O'Meara, J. J. 1988 *Eriugena*, Clarendon, Oxford, 1. The title of John Scottus' translation read: *incipiunt libri sancti Dionysii Areopagitae, quos Ioannes Eriugena transtalit de graeco in latinum* (Dionysius the Areopagite, translated from Greek into Latin by John Eriugena). Migne, J. P. 1974 [1844] *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, Garnier Frères, Paris. Also see Carabine, D. 2000 *John Scottus Eriugena*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 13-4. A debate does exist over whether or not Scottus was 'born in Eriu' or whether 'Eriu' refers to the island now known as Ireland. For details of this debate see Carabine 2000, 13*f.*

A Roman writer would again come to view the island of Ireland in the late 1st century AD. Tacitus (c.AD 55-c.117) is his *Life of Cnaeus Julius Agricola* (24) discussed the qualities of Ireland as he recorded Cnaeus Julius Agricola (c. AD 40 - c. 93), governor of the province of Britain (AD 78 – 84), famously deciding whether or not to invade the island.

> In that part of Britain which looks towards Ireland, he posted some troops, hoping for fresh conquests rather than fearing attack, inasmuch as Ireland, being between Britain and Spain and conveniently situated for the seas round Gaul, might have been the means of connecting with great mutual benefit the most powerful parts of the empire. Its extent is small when compared with Britain, but exceeds the islands of our seas [the Mediterranean Sea]. In soil and climate, in the disposition, temper, and habits of its population, it differs but little from Britain. We know most of its harbours and approaches, and that through the intercourse of commerce. One of the petty kings of the nation, driven out by internal faction, had been received by Agricola, who detained him under the semblance of friendship till he could make use of him. I have often heard him say that a single legion with a few auxiliaries could conquer and occupy Hibernia [Ireland], and that it would have a salutary effect on Britain for the Roman arms to be seen everywhere, and for freedom, so to speak, to be banished from its sight.

The Romans referred to this island as Hibernia or 'winter-land', describing their perception of the continual, inclimate weather which plagued the islands off the coast of Gaul.[24] Tacitus (*Agricola* 12) described the weather in Britain, which he likened to that of Ireland, in this way:

> Their [the British] sky is obscured by continual rain and cloud. Severity of cold is unknown. The days exceed in length those of our part of the world; the nights are bright, and in the extreme north so short that between sunlight and dawn you can perceive but a slight distinction. It is said that, if there are no clouds in the way, the splendour of the sun can be seen throughout the night, and that he does not rise and set, but only crosses the heavens. The truth is, that the low shadow thrown from the

[24] See O'Rahilly 1943.

> flat extremities of the earth's surface does not raise the darkness to any height, and the night thus fails to reach the sky and stars.

Roman discussion of the island and place of Ireland are also significant because they equally generalise about the unity, homogeneity and similarity of people across not only the island but also throughout the islands of Britain and Ireland, conflating conceptions of place and people. Tacitus (*Agricola* 24) in the above quotation stated: 'In soil and climate, in the disposition, temper, and habits of its population, it [Ireland] differs but little from Britain.' Caesar described the British in this way:

> The interior portion of Britain is inhabited by those of whom they say that it is handed down by tradition that they were born in the island itself: the maritime portion by those who had passed over from the country of the Belgae for the purpose of plunder and making war … The number of the people is countless, and their buildings exceedingly numerous, for the most part very like those of the Gauls … They use either brass or iron rings, determined at a certain weight, as their money. … They do not regard it lawful to eat the hare, and the cock, and the goose; they, however, breed them for amusement and pleasure. The climate is more temperate than in Gaul, the colds being less severe. (*Gallic War* 5.12)

> Most of the inland inhabitants do not sow corn, but live on milk and flesh, and are clad with skins. All the Britains, indeed, dye themselves with woad, which occasions a bluish colour, and thereby have a more terrible appearance in fight. They wear their hair long, and have every part of their body shaved except their head and upper lip. Ten and even twelve have wives common to them, and particularly brothers among brothers, and parents among their children; but if there be any issue by these wives, they are reputed to be the children of those by whom respectively each was first espoused when a virgin. (*Gallic War* 5.14)

A century later, Tacitus (*Agricola* 11-12) described the British in this way:

> Who were the original inhabitants of Britain, whether they were indigenous or foreign, is, as usual among barbarians, little known. … Their religious belief may be traced in the strongly-marked British superstition. The language differs but little;

there is the same boldness in challenging danger, and, when it is near, the same timidity in shrinking from it. The Britons, however, exhibit more spirit, as being a people whom a long peace has not yet enervated. Indeed we have understood that even the Gauls were once renowned in war; but, after a while, sloth following on ease crept over them, and they lost their courage along with their freedom. This too has happened to the long-conquered tribes of Britain; the rest are still what the Gauls once were. Their strength is in infantry. … They were once ruled by kings, but are now divided under chieftains into factions and parties. Our greatest advantage in coping with tribes so powerful is that they do not act in concert. Seldom is it that two or three states meet together to ward off a common danger. Thus, while they fight singly, all are conquered.

What is most important to this discussion is that these sources come from outside of Ireland. They are external observers objectifying and making generalisations about the island and the people who inhabit it. This is not to say that such awareness of a singular, unified place was not present among social groupings living in Ireland at this time or beforehand. Rather it is impossible to know whether such awareness existed as we are without evidence for such a discourse since it was before the advent of preserved historical or cartographic documentation. The Roman accounts represent the earliest, extent, textual materialisations of perceptions of both the place and the people of Ireland. Given that these sources are written by external observers of Irish people and the island of Ireland, as with the previously discussed cartographic traditions, they can not be taken as authoritative accounts of how people living on the island of Ireland would have conceived of themselves. Rather, they are the materialisations of external observers of 'other' places and peoples.

The Peopling of Ireland's Past

The textual materialisation of non-Roman cultures by Roman writers has influenced not only the names of many places and peoples but also modern and

contemporary conceptions of unique, autochthonous European cultural groups.[25] Many of the earliest texts referring to 'prehistoric' cultural groups in Europe were produced by Roman writers. What is most important though is that they were not produced by the 'peoples' being studied whether 'British', 'Irish' or 'Gaulish'. The spirit of these external generalisations of non-Roman cultures are preserved in the contemporary fascination with 'Celtic' culture and 'Celtic' people. The notion of 'Celtic' culture and of the 'Celts' as a race dominates much social discourse on the nature of the prehistory of the island of Ireland.[26] An illustration of the fervency of the beliefs of the 'Celts' as a distinct people comes from the writing of historian, philologist and archaeologist Ulick Bourke (1829-1887) who wrote of the 'Celts' in 1887:

> They were a living reality, not a myth, nor an abstract conception; they had a name, they were a chosen people, a gifted race; they were endowed with intelligence and knowledge, they were warlike, and brave to a fault, capable of heroic deeds of heart and hand, trained to the directive influence of laws, they were children of civilization, holding the rights of others and their own in due regard, they fostered learning, they loved their kith and kin, as their descendants do today. Looking back into the past, our ancestors bear a favourable comparison when put in line with the primitive progenitors of the other nations of Europe - the Roman, the Greek or the Teuton.[27]

The acceptance of the notion of a 'Celtic' Ireland was nearly universal in cultural and social circles in Ireland. The term became a regular aspect of the rhetoric of Eamon De Valera.[28] In this theme of the reality and glory of the 'Gaels' or 'Celts', the writing of Bourke and speeches of De Valera share much the same purpose of asserting the glory of the Irish past based on a belief in the unity of an ancient Irish people.

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[25] For discussion of relations between Roman and 'non-Roman' groups see Cunliffe, B. W. 1988 *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians: Spheres of Interaction*, Methuen Publishing Company, London.; Williams, D. 1999 *Romans and Barbarians: Four Views from the Empire's Edge, 1st Century AD*, Constable, London.

[26] This concept of the 'Celts' also has affected cultural discourses throughout England, Wales and Scotland. See Kidd, C. 1999 *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World,1600-1800*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

[27] Bourke, U. J. 1887 *Pre-Christian Ireland*, Brown & Nolan, Dublin, xi, 36, 90. Also see Waddell, J. 2005 *Foundation Myths: The Beginnings of Irish Archaeology*, Wordwell Books, Dublin, 159.

[28] See the Appendix 1 for a selection of such speeches.

Only of late have scholars such as Barry Raftery, speaking at the 2003 Archaeology Ireland conference, publicly refuted long-cherished claims of a 'Celtic' invasion of the island of Ireland.[29] However, contemporary, popular notions about Irish prehistory still revolve around notions of 'Celtic-ness'. Indeed, some contemporary Christian movements have called themselves 'Celtic Christianity' and profess to attempt to study the liturgy which resulted from the interaction between the 'Celts' and the early Christians.[30] Simon James has put forward a progressive engagement with the notion of the 'Celts', directly asking the question of whether they existed at all: are the 'Celts' an 'ancient people or a modern invention?'[31] James suggests that although it is possibly part of the self-awareness of the people who lived on the island of Ireland and the other islands off the coast of Europe (who unfortunately were prehistoric and therefore provide no textual evidence to substantiate this claim), a notion of 'Celtic' culture is more likely to be a modern projection of a contemporary idealised classification system of material cultural groups in Europe onto the evidence of human agency which has been provided by archaeology. In developing concepts of 'pan-Celticity' across Europe, a scholar is reinforcing methods of culture-history and *kulturkreis*, hallmarks of early 20th century nationalistic archaeology and prehistory.[32] There are similarities between the material objects found across areas of Europe which were ascribed to certain peoples and identified as being contemporaneous; however, it seems overly idealistic to coin a term 'Celt' for those similarities – a term which suggest cohesion where there most likely was none, suggests awareness of such cohesion where there is no evidence for any and suggests common interests where it is unlikely that there were any.[33]

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[29] The significance of this statement is that Raferty has been considered by many to be an authority on Celtic Ireland see Raferty, B. 1994 *Pagan Celtic Ireland: The Enigma of the Irish Iron Age*, Thames and Hudson, London. Also see Carr, G. & S. Stoddart 2002 *Celts from Antiquity*, Antiquity Publications, Cambridge. Also see Piccini, A. 2002 'Remembering to Forget / Forgetting to Remember: Why are we still thinking about the Celts?' delivered at the 2002 meeting of the Theoretical Archaeology Group, Manchester, 21-23 December.

[30] An interesting example of a contemporary religious group who define their group identity using belief system's which members belive to be 'Celtic' is the Celtic Orthodox Christian Church. See Celtic Orthodox Christian Church 2006 'Home' Celtic Orthodox Christian Church <http://celticchristianity.org> [Accessed 20 Mar 2006]. Another website promoting 'Arts, History and Spirituality of Celtic Lands, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Brittany, Isle of Man, Cornwall and Galicia' in order to 'provide Roots for us to-day, and a Vision for the New Millenium' see Hammond, V. & C. Mather 2006 'Celtic Christianity' Canadac.com <http://www.canadac.com/celtic/celticv.html> [Accessed 20 Mar 2006]. Also see Duncan, A. 1992 *The Elements of Celtic Christianity*, Element, Shaftesbury. and Bradley, I. 1999 *Celtic Christianity: Making Myths and Chasing Dreams*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

[31] For an engagement with the debate of conceptions of the 'Celts' see James, S. 1999 *The Atlantic Celts: Ancient People or Modern Invention?*, British Museum Press, London.

[32] For a discussion of the term *kulturkreis* and its use in the archaeology Gustaf Kossinna (1851-1931) and subsequent German nationalist prehistorians, see Arnold 1990; Arnold & Hassmann 1995.

[33] See James 1999, 41-2, 43*f*.

Broad-based generalisations of peoples who are not Roman under titles such as 'Celts' both overlook what would have been very dynamic and fluid cultural groups and also produce a false notion that these groups conceived of themselves as a singular people or race.[34] For example, given the frequency which the writers use Gaul as a cultural reference point, stating that the material cultures of the people of Britain and, thus, Ireland are 'very like those of the Gauls' (*Gallic War* 5.12), these descriptions can be seen as a broader generalisation of non-Roman cultures. These generalisations have facilitated simplistic contemporary conceptions of prehistoric cultures, encouraging individuals to conceive of the cultural groups of non-Roman Europe as a singular, static and unchanging races of people such as the 'Celts'. A similar situation can be seen regarding contemporary conceptions of the 'Goths' and 'Gothic' culture as well as early 'English' culture. Recent studies by Peter Heather on the Goths and Catherine Hills on the English provide examples of self-aware approaches to earlier cultural groups.[35] Hills and Heather put forth dynamic analyses of ethnic identity through their acknowledgement that there is a complex social situation today and that equally there would have been complex and fluid social identifications in the past. Heather's two conclusions in his introduction to *The Goths* that 'there is no such thing as an unchanging identity' and that 'cases corresponding to both ends of the spectrum (more or less solid group identities) are well documented in the present day' provide a strong, self-aware foundation for his dynamic engagement with the stagnant notion of an unchanging 'Gothic' identity.[36] The development of such a fluid and dynamic appreciation of these contemporary psychoanalytic phenomena facilitates a more balanced approach to issues of identity and ethnicity and social patterning in history and prehistory. Both of the above studies reinforce the notion that archaeology is not a stagnant project aiming to produce a single generalised history for all time, but it is a continual interpretive engagement with existence through perceptions of materiality.[37]

In the same manner, the notion of a singular place of Ireland and concepts of an Irish people are equally idealised and projected into prehistory, and these idealisations are materialised through the use of early descriptions of the place of Ireland and the people of

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[34] For discussion of relations between Roman and 'non-Roman' groups see Cunliffe 1988; Williams, D. 1998.

[35] See Heather, P. J. 1996 *The Goths,* Blackwell Publishers, Oxford. and Hills, C. 2003, *Origins of the English*, Duckworth, London.

[36] See Heather 1996, 6.

[37] See Tilley, C. 1990 'Michel Foucault: Towards and Archaeology of Archaeology' in C. Tilley (ed.) *Reading Material Culture*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 281-347, 340.

Ireland by external observers such as the Romans. It will never be known if the people living on the island at the turn of the Christian millennium thought of themselves as Irish or of living in a unified place known as Ireland or part of a broader cultural pattern across northern Europe which has been described as known as 'Celtic'. What is evident is that Romans observed these qualities externally and documented them historically.[38] The difficulty of these accounts is that they are actively engaged in a process of racialisation of the 'other', and these observances colour our appreciation of plurality of place, social and personal identity in a place such as Ireland.[39] So long as we base our understanding of place identity and social identity in regions of Europe on Roman racialisations of other peoples, it will not be possible to appreciate what would have been a dynamic, fluid and vibrant cultural situation. That the earliest surviving texts about prehistoric peoples in Ireland come from sources outside of Ireland does not preclude the possibility that concepts of Ireland or textual materialisations of a people did not exist. However, unfortunately no textual sources surviving in Ireland predate these Roman sources. The ogham script found on so-called 'ogham stones' are the earliest indigenous textual materialisations in Ireland, and as such they will now be considered in this discourse.

Indigenous Materialisations of Place and People: Ogham as a Case Study

That the first surviving texts about Ireland come from people's viewing the island from outside does not mean that textual materialisations of a concept of social groupings or a singular island known as Ireland did not exist. However, unfortunately the earliest known indigenous textual materialisations in Ireland which survive can only be given a *termini ante quos* of the 5th or 6th centuries AD.[40] These come from the corpus of inscriptions which were recorded on stones throughout Ireland in the ogham script. Often referred to as 'ogham stones', these inscriptions are generally quite short, consisting of an individual's name and sometimes some descriptive modifiers. Found throughout Ireland, Scotland,

[38] For discussion of relations between Roman and 'non-Roman' groups see Cunliffe 1988; Williams, D. 1999.

[39] For a discussion of the concept of the 'other' see Kearney, R. 2002 *Strangers, Gods and Monsters: Interpreting Otherness*, Routledge, London. For a discussion of a similar situation in relation to Classical cultural groups in Greece see Hall, E. 1991 *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-definition Through Tragedy*, Clarendon Press, London.; Cartledge, P. 2002 *The Greeks: A Portrait of Self and Others*, Oxford Paperbacks, Oxford.

[40] See McManus, D. 1991 *A Guide to Ogam*, An Sagart, Maynooth, 40.

Wales, Man and south-west England, the inscriptions seem to act as either territorial markers or memorials (see Figure 2.5).[41] Out of the 384 documented examples, the highest density of inscriptions is in the south-west of Ireland, the examples from the counties of Kerry, Cork and Waterford accounting for 65% (249) of the total known.[42] The examples which survive in Co. Kerry account for approximately 31% (121) of surviving inscriptions known today alone. Given these figures, Damian McManus suggested that the use of ogham on standing stones originated on the island of Ireland, and this could also point towards the south-west of Ireland as the point of origin of the ogham script.[43] Although the inscriptions can be said to have appeared by the 5th or 6th centuries AD, it is impossible to pin-point when the script first appeared as only an internal, relative chronology can be established within the corpus of inscriptions. Thus, it is impossible to determine when the script was first developed. It is possible that such inscriptions could have occurred on wood or other material. However no examples of the script from the period of the first stone inscriptions have been documented on material other than stone.



Figure 2.5 Northernmost of three standing stones from Lugnagappul near Annascaul, Co. Kerry. 0.8m high. Photograph by Brian T. McElherron (http://cloghmore.bravepages.com/kerry/lugnagappul.html). This example has an inscription in ogham. The inscription reads GOSSUCTTIAS.[44]

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[41] ibid. 44, 51.
[42] ibid. 45.
[43] ibid.
[44] ibid. 65; 84-5. Also see Macalister, R. A. S. 1996 [1945] *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 183-4.

Despite the number of inscriptions, the corpus of inscriptions provides very little historical information. Some individuals named in the inscriptions have been tentatively identified with historical and 'pseudo-historical' individuals; however, the only reasonable interpretations which can be made using the corpus of the inscriptions regards familial and tribal affiliations between the individuals commemorated.[45] Still, the inscriptions do preserve the earliest group of personal names known on the island of Ireland. The inscriptions have been more useful in the study of linguistics as they preserve an early form of the Irish language in the script of ogham. In particular, the script is an important source of information regarding linguistic development during the period of introduction of Christianity and, thereby, Latin to the people living on the island of Ireland.[46] Therefore, as a phenomenon of materialisation, the inscriptions illustrate the attempt of individuals to transfer their oral language to a written script. In particular, the study of the development of the script shows individuals attempting to revise their scriptural traditions in light of contact with other cultures. It is thought that the first major revision of the ogham script occurred as a result of contact with Latin or, indeed, Greek.[47] As such, the inscriptions are a valuable philological and linguistic source for the study of the development of the Irish language and spelling systems.

There are also traditions based on later 'synthetic histories' and mythological sources which see ogham as an entirely autochthonous and indigenous development.[48] There is a romantic allure to see ogham as a script which seemingly developed without Roman influence. In this way, it is seen to illustrate that textual traditions could have been present in Ireland before Roman contact with the island. However, as McManus clearly argued, this is a romantic notion which was called upon by individuals who founded their ideas upon the 'pseudo-historical' and mythological accounts of the origin of ogham found in such early medieval texts as the *Auraicept* and *In Lebor Ogaim*.[49] For example, R. A. S. Macalister (1870-1950), one of the great authorities on the script, between 1945 and 1949 had developed the theory that the script was originally 'a digital gesture alphabet invented

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[45] ibid. 53.
[46] Macalister 1996 [1945], e. Also see Swift, Catherine 1997 *Ogam Stones and the Earliest Irish Christians*, Maynooth Monographs, Series Minor III, Maynooth.
[47] McManus, D. 1991, 128*f.*
[48] ibid. 147*f.*
[49] ibid. *Auraicept* is claimed to be of the 7th century AD; however, the earliest extent copies come from c.1390 AD in the *Book of Ballymote* (foll. 169r–180r), compiled by Maghnus Ó Duibhgeánáin. *In Lebor Ogaim* is mentioned in the *Auraicept* suggesting that they come from the same period. The earliest extent version comes from c.1390 AD in Royal Irish Academy MS 23 P 12 308-314.

for the purposes of secret communication by druids in Cisalpine Gaul and that it survived as such for a millennium before being transformed into a written medium'.[50] Such an interpretation precluded the possibility that it was the result of processes of acculturation between indigenous people and people coming to the island with experience of the Latin and Greek scripts.

Although the script has been interpreted as the result of interaction with the Latin and possibly Greek languages, it was still an indigenous development on the island of Ireland. Thus, the script represents the first wide-spread, textual materialisations on the island of Ireland. However, the ogham inscriptions are not elaborate enough in subject matter to allow for a discussion of place identities or social identities or resulting materialisations on an island-wide level. More likely, they were materialisations of individuals' localised power or ownership over land regions or of individual identity through the social practice of commemoration. In either case, they were likely to be localised usages of a script for individual purposes, and most likely they did not represent an island-wide textual or conceptual tradition. As part of the same theme, it is plausible that place awareness and place identity was more localised and less concerned with conceptions of an island-wide social unit. Although there are evident patterns in distributions of certain artefact types, artistic styles, language groups or monument types, these are contemporary generalisations based on present-day assumptions about the geographical unity of the place of Ireland. It is only contemporary interpretations of extant material from early history and prehistory in the island of Ireland that suggest that there are island-wide conceptions of place and people; therefore it is significant that the earliest and arguably most dominant historical sources for concepts of an island-wide place come from external observers. The conception of Ireland as a homogenous, unified region inhabited by a homogenous, culturally connected people is an external observation and generalisation of Ireland. This has been taken as an indigenous conception due to the interpretation of material and textual culture by writers who took part in historical traditions which were introduced to the island by people such as the early Christian missionaries. These interpretations of place and people were then reinforced by later 'pseudo-' and 'synthetic' histories which were later taken to be the foundation of historical knowledge about the place and people of Ireland.

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[50] MacAlister 1996 [1945], g, v-vii.

Indigenous Materialisation: Early Christian Missionaries in Ireland

Despite the possibility of textual materialisations which may testify to localised conceptions of place identity rather than island-wide ideologies, traditions of viewing the island and the people living on the island of Ireland as a single and united phenomenon continued. Another historically documented group who made generalisations about the island of Ireland and its people after the Romans was the early Christian missionaries. As part of the broader outline of a missions-based Christian faith, missionaries were recorded to have been dispatched to Ireland in order to bring the gospel to the indigenous people. This was part of the broader theology of 'Pauline' Christianity which was based on the theological writings of Paul (c.10-c.62 AD) in the Biblical books of Paul's Letters and the Acts of the Apostles which focused on missionary work as a way of speeding the arrival of the *eschaton* (the end of days) and the second coming of Christ.[51] As 'Pauline' Christianity is based on missionary work, it is a very place-oriented theology of works. The system of Paul's letters to Christian communities illustrated a fundamental conflation of place and people for the purpose of conversion and religious structuring. The central theme of Paul's theology was the desire to bring about the *eschaton* by bringing the word of God to the ends of the earth (Matthew 24:13; Acts 1:8; 13:47; 19:20). The systematic nature of Paul's missionary work in the New Testament illustrated a central theme of establishing and relating to places and peoples. The letters of Paul in the New Testament propounded a basic conflation of place and people by referring to the people associated with the city of Corinth as 'Corinthians' or with Rome as 'Romans' for example. In particular, communication with urban centres were canonised in order to symbolise the conversion, culture and faith of a region or people.[52] For example in Paul's 'Letter to the Ephesians', the city of Ephesus is related to in order to relate the region of people associated with that city conflating conceptions of people and place within the new ideological structures of Christianity.

In this sense, the accounts of the missionary work in Ireland can be described as developing a concept of place which was Ireland and people who are Irish. Ireland, in a way, was seen as one of the 'ends of the earth' to which missionaries were to carry the

[51] For a discussion of Pauline Christianity from 30-600 AD see Ziesler, J. A. 1990 *Pauline Christianity*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
[52] Meeks, W. A. 2003 *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul*, Yale University Press, New Haven.

Christian word. The most renowned early Christian missionary to Ireland was the 'synthetic' historical figure St. Patrick (5th century AD). Recently, the figure of Patrick has served as patron saint to the island of Ireland, and a mythology about his identity and deeds has grown. There has been a debate about the dating of Patrick's missionary work and life and whether Patrick was one person or whether the historical persona of Patrick represents the conflation of a number of different traditions about the period of the introduction of Christianity to Ireland.[53] The debate will only be briefly alluded to here. This thesis will follow the argument of James Carney that the tradition of St. Patrick as a singular individual was likely a growth out of the desire to promote Armagh as the seat of Irish Christianity.[54] This is particularly evident in the 'pro-Armagh' text the 'Life of Patrick' written by Muirchú (7th-8th centuries AD) near the end of the 7th century AD.[55] Carney argued that the date of AD 432 for the arrival of Patrick in Ireland was given in the Annals of Ulster as a means of placing the arrival of Patrick before Palladius assumed the role of bishop to the Irish.[56] As Patrick was recorded to have founded the church at Armagh, dating his arrival earlier would both assert him as the bringer of Christianity to Ireland and the supremacy of Armagh as the seat of the Christian Church in Ireland. The life and acts which were attributed to the figure of Patrick throughout the tradition were most likely a conflation of the lives of Palladius, possibly the first bishop to the Irish in 432 AD, Secundus, possibly the first bishop of the 'see' of Armagh in AD 444 and Patrick the Briton whose *Confessio* recorded his own theology concerning his missionary work in Ireland.

Despite the debate regarding the figure of Patrick, the theological tradition founded upon the figure preserved in the writings of Muirchú and Tirechán (7th-8th centuries AD) and in a *Confessio* and *Letter to Coroticus* attributed to Patrick the Briton illustrated the role of the place of Ireland in the theological imagination of early Christianity in Europe.[57] In the *Confessio* the author or authors followed theological argumentation of Christian missionary work as a means of eschatological fulfilment:

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[53] Carney, J. 1973 *The Problem of St. Patrick*, The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin.; Ó Cróinín, D. 1995 *Early Medieval Ireland: 400-1200*, Pearson Education Limited, Harlow.
[54] See Carney 1973.
[55] Hood, A. B. E. (ed.) 1978 *St. Patrick: His Writings and Muirchu's Life*, Phillimore, London, 61-98. Also see Carney 1973, 30.
[56] *The Annals of Ulster*, U432.1. Mac Airt, S. & G. Mac Niocaill 1983 *The Annals of Ulster*, School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin, 39 [CELT].
[57] Connelly, D. 1993 *St. Patrick's Letters: A Study of Their Theological Dimension*, An Sagart, Maynooth.

> ...the masses lately come to belief, whom the Lord drew from the ends of the earth, just as he once promised through his prophets: 'To you shall the nations come from the ends of the earth, and shall say, Our fathers have inherited naught but lies, worthless things in which there is no profit' [see Jeremiah 16:19]. And again: 'I have set you to be a light for the Gentiles that you may bring salvation to the uttermost ends of the earth' [see Acts 13:47]. ... So for that reason one should, in fact, fish well and diligently, just as the Lord foretells and teaches, saying, 'Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men' [see Mark 1:17; Matthew 4:19], ... So it behoved us to spread our nets, that a vast multitude and throng might be caught for God, and so there might be clergy everywhere who baptized and exhorted a needy and desirous people. Just as the Lord says in the Gospel, admonishing and instructing: 'Go therefore and make disciples of all nations' [see Matthew 28:19-20], ... And again he says: 'Go forth into the world and preach the Gospel to all creation' [see Mark 16:15-16]. ... And again: 'This Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached throughout the whole world as a witness to all nations; and then the end of the world shall come' [see Matthew 24:13] ... So, how is it that in Ireland, where they never had any knowledge of God but, always, until now, cherished idols and unclean things, they are lately become a people of the Lord, and are called children of God; the sons of. the Irish [Scotti] and the daughters of the chieftains are to be seen as monks and virgins of Christ.[58]

In this excerpt from the writings of Patrick the Briton it can be seen that Ireland was actively conceived of as a singular place to which the 'word' was to be brought in order to fulfil the charge of Christianity.[59] The arrival of St Patrick was taken to be the arrival of an outsider on the island which signified the introduction of Christian missionary work to Ireland. This understanding was founded upon an assumption of the island of Ireland as a singular place, and thereby, Ireland and the people living on the island are objectified as a commodity which is to be converted. Patrick then interacted with the social structures of the land and related to the people of the land, most famously at the Feis Temro where he would symbolically convert Lóegaire, the 'high king' (*ard rí*) of Tara, and thus all Ireland.[60] The central aspect of Patrick's mission was the construction a concept of unified

[58] ibid. 71-2.
[59] ibid. 119-21.
[60] This will be discussed further on pages 270-3 of Chapter 6 of this thesis.

land under a single ruler (the king of Tara) who, when converted, symbolised the conversion of all of Tara and thereby all of Ireland.[61] In this way, early Christian concepts of Ireland and of the Irish people were also part of the tradition of external generalisations, simplifications and idealisations of the social systems present on the island of Ireland.

The situation has been made more complex because the earliest textual material for the early Christian period in Ireland dates mainly from the 8th to 11th centuries AD. Thus the interpretation of early Christian activity and the activity of the first missionaries to Ireland would have been designed to fit in with contemporary theological and political views.[62] For example, the missions of Patrick to Ireland which occurred in the 5th century AD were recorded by the bishop Tirechán and Muirchú in the late 7th or early 8th centuries AD. As has already been discussed, these writings represent early medieval interpretations of the life of Patrick which could have served contemporary political purposes.[63] What was significant about these writings was that they, supported by the theological writings attributed to the saint, preserved the beginning of a tradition of thought about a single individual known as Patrick who converted all of Ireland. This tradition would be continued in later synthetic histories, most notably the *Leabhar Breac* which survives in a manuscript dating from 1408-1411 AD.[64] The later traditions of Patrick's life also continued the conception of Ireland as a singular place populated by a singular race of people which were converted to Christianity.

> Now one of the splendours which the Sun of righteousness shed upon the world was the splendour, and the flame, the precious stone and shining lamp which enligthened the west of the world, Sanctus Patricius Episcopus, to wit, holy Patrick, high bishop of the west of the world, father of the baptism and belief of the men of Ireland.[65] ... the Lord spake to him at that place, as He had spoken to Moses on Mount Sinai, and told him to come to preach to the Gael, and He gave him the staff

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[61] This story is recounted both by Muirchú and Tirechán. See Bhreathnach, E. 1995b *Tara: A Select Bibliography*, Royal Irish Academy for The Discovery Programme, Dublin, 60. Also see pages 267-9 of Chapter 6 of this thesis for a brief discussion of the high kingship of Tara.

[62] MacCana, P. 1985 'Early Irish Ideology and the Concept of Unity' in R. Kearney (ed.) *The Irish Mind: Exploring Intellectual Traditions*, Wolfhound Press, Dublin, 56-78.

[63] See pages 270-3 of Chapter 6 of this thesis.

[64] See Royal Irish Acadmey MS 23 P 16: Cat. No. 1230.

[65] Stokes, W. (ed.) 1877 *Betha Patraic. On the life of Saint Patrick, Three Middle-Irish Homilies*, privately printed, Calcutta, 5 [CELT].

of Jesus: wherefore it was according to the will of the synod of Rome and of the angel and of the Lord that Patrick came to Ireland.[66]

Dixit angelus:
1. Since thy resurrection is here,
thou shalt have what is better-
All Ireland from top to bottom,
Armagh thy church.[67]

The simplification of the early Christian missions work into a single 'Life of Patrick' was an idealised and mythologised conception of a dynamic and fluid period of acculturation. As such, writings about Patrick by Muirchú and Tirechán can be seen as working to explicate the arrival of Christianity to Ireland and the conversion of the Irish people. This was best served through the construction of a singular Saint named Patrick bringing Christianity to a singular place and converting a united and singular people. All of this can be seen as an idealised portrayal of the desire for eschatological fulfilment through the theology of Paul and the importance of the Christian mission. Given that the early Christian Church had many cultural ties to the worldview of the Roman empire, this idealisation of a singular place of Ireland and a singular united Irish people can be seen to be part of the tradition of viewing and objectifying Ireland from the outside begun by Caesar in the 1st century BC.[68] Indeed, in the writings attributed to Patrick, the people living on the island were referred to as 'Hibernicos', living on the island known as Hibernia.[69] Through the dominance of the Christian Church in Ireland during the early medieval period, the writing of texts referring to the life of Patrick as well as the inclusion of references to Christian theology in the collections of earlier Irish poetic and mythological sources supported the conception of an singular and united Ireland which was converted by Christianity and was part of the broader Christian world.[70] As a modern aside, this historical tradition of conceiving of Ireland as a united place populated by a

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[66] ibid. 17.
[67] ibid. 45.
[68] For a discussion of the relationship between early Christianity and the Roman world see MacMullen, R. 1986 *Christianizing the Roman Empire, A.D.100-400*, Yale University Press, New Haven.; Clark, G. 2004 *Christianity and Roman Society*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. and Bryan, C. 2005 *Render to Caesar: Jesus, the Early Church, and the Roman Superpower*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
[69] See the texts of the *Confessio* and *Letter to Coroticus* in Hood 1978.
[70] MacCana 1985.

united people who were converted by Patrick was still politically useful in the early 20th century. For example, in a radio broadcast on 4 March 1932 discussing the prospect of peace with Britain, De Valera proclaimed:

> To the people of our race who are listening to me, I appeal to use their influence so that Ireland – this ancient land of their fathers, this land of Patrick, Columcille and Brigid, this land of Tone and of Emmet, whose anniversary this is – may have their unity restored to her.[71]

A Plurality of Peoples and a Diversity of Places

The conception of a singular place of Ireland and a singular Irish people has come to dominate traditions of insular identity in Ireland. What is interesting about this situation is that it has arisen despite ample evidence in textual sources which propound complex and diverse understandings of place and social identity in Ireland.[72] Tadhg O'Keeffe presented compelling interpretations of social identities in Ireland in the Middle Ages at the 2003 Archaeology Ireland Conference, 'The People of Ireland: The Creation of Irish Identities'. In O'Keeffe's paper he suggested that in Medieval Ireland, there was not a simple situation of 'Irish' and 'other' but a complex interplay of identities. During the seige of Dublin in 1170 Maurice fitz Gerald was reported by Giraldus Cambrensis as stating:

> We are now constrained in our actions by this circumstance, that just as we are English as far as the Irish are concerned, likewise to the English we are Irish, and the inhabitants of this island and the other assail us with an equal degree of hatred.[73]

O'Keeffe suggested that what this passage related to was an awareness in the Medieval period of emerging social groups resulting from a process of acculturation that were neither Irish nor Anglo-Norman. Following the thought of James Lydon, he suggested that

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[71] De Valera 1980, 192.
[72] See pages 14-5 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.
[73] Scott, A. B. & F. X. Martin 1978 *Expugnatio Hibernica by Giraldus Cambrensis*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 81. Also see O'Keeffe, T. 2001 'Concepts of 'Castle' and the Construction of Identity in Medieval and Post-Medieval Ireland', *Irish Geography*, vol. 34(1), 69-88, 80.

this group is part of a 'middle nation' of individuals that are neither totally Irish nor totally English.[74] O'Keeffe suggested that there were in fact three generalised ethnic identities in Medieval Ireland: the Irish, the English/Normans/French/etc. and the Anglo-Irish or 'middle nation'.

O'Keeffe's work traced the evidence of this process of acculturation through architecture. In particular, he has examined the tradition of building Castles in Ireland which he argued represents social adaptation resulting in new cultural and social identities.[75]

> Just as the formative works in the historiography of castle-studies reveal in part the self-identities of their authors, the castles were themselves both communicators and manipulators of complex forms of identity in the medieval and post-medieval periods, and that their successful negotiation of this dual mandate was contingent in part on the capacity of their spectators to understand that these inert structures were active, not passive, participants in the construction and expression of identity.[76]

For example, Roscommon Castle was originally erected circa AD 1260 (see Figure 2.6).[77] However, new windows were inserted into the walls of the castle in the 1500s. O'Keeffe drew attention to the fact that in the case of Roscommon Castle the archaeological literature does not discuss the period between the construction of the castle and the insertion of the new windows.[78] O'Keeffe's study suggested that the adaptation of the architectural form of Roscommon Castle could represent a change in the ideologies or identities of those who inhabited the castle.

> The building will always be silent, but if it communicates ideas to us about itself, about its erstwhile inhabitants, or about the world for which it was built it does so because its physical form is seen as constituting a system of signs into which we,

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[74] Lydon, J. 1984.
[75] O'Keeffe 2001.
[76] ibid. 70.
[77] See Sweetman, D. 1999 *Medieval Castles of Ireland*, The Collins Press in association with Dúchas - The Heritage Service, Cork, 106-8.
[78] ibid. 2001, 71.

through our own experiences and interpretations of the world are capable of reading 'meaning'.[79]

The strength of O'Keeffe's approach was that he appreciated the psycho-dynamics of social representation and materialisation. Thus, his interpretation of the phases of building at sites such as the multi-phase building which he referred to as Ormond Castle, Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary (see Figure 2.7), or the significance of the choice of architectural forms of Tower Houses such as Lackeen Castle, Co. Tipperary (see Figure 2.8), helped create a material contextualisation of a fluid period of multiple identities and multiple physical manifestations of those identities.[80] His studies illustrated an attempt to deviate from accepted historical traditions of indigenous culture in Ireland. Using evidence from architectural developments in the Medieval period, O'Keeffe argued that the tradition of a 'middle nation' could have been as indigenous as an idealised pan-Celtic identity. However, O'Keeffe's assertion of a singular title for the non-Irish, non-other social group also simplified what was a complex social situation.



Figure 2.6 Roscommon Castle. View from the inside. Photograph by Terence Barry. The towers and walls date to the 1260s AD.[81] The windows were inserted in the 1500s. This would have signalled a change in perception of the role of the walls of the castle as the windows would have made the structure less defensible.

[79] ibid. 2001, 73.
[80] O'Keeffe 2001, 83, 85.
[81] Sweetman, D. 1999, 106-8.

Similar studies have been carried out by James Muldoon who suggested that Ireland in the Medieval period represented a diverse and unique cultural situation on the fringe of Medieval Europe.[82] The interaction between indigenous peoples or Irishmen and non-indigenous peoples or Englishmen resulted in new cultural groups or 'middle peoples' which he titled 'degenerate' English and 'wild' Irish. Muldoon's basic assertion was that there were individuals in Medieval Ireland who assimilated enough traditions from other cultural groups to emerge neither 'English from England' nor 'traditionally' Irish. Muldoon drew the conclusion that this situation was largely a result of expansionism of Medieval culture and political groups. Muldoon's interpretation of acculturation in Medieval Ireland, like O'Keeffe's, simplified cultural interaction to finite titles. Still, what both Muldoon and O'Keeffe illustrated was that there are no singular and authentic identities within any place and at any time. They are constantly in flux and reinterpreted in relation to other individuals, cultural groups and environmental conditions. Thus, there is no singular way of being 'Irish' or being 'in Ireland'. Rather there is a plurality of identities, and as such, it is imperative to question traditions which attempt to impose singular identities over a multi-vocal history.



Figure 2.7 Multi-phase building at Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary. Photograph by Terence Barry. Owned by the Butler family. This building saw three phases of development. Initially in the 13th century, it was a rectangular building. In the 14th or 15th century, two towers were added to one of the long sides of the building. In the 16th century, a Tudor house was constructed as a front to the complex.

[82] Muldoon, J. 2003 Id*entity on the Medieval Irish Frontier: Degenerate Englishmen, Wild Irishmen, Middle Nations*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville.



Figure 2.8 Lackeen Castle, Co. Tipperary. This is a tower-house built by the O'Kennedy family in the early 16th century. The adoption of the architectural form of this building-type by indigenous social groups in Ireland is suggested by O'Keeffe to demonstrate a process of acculturation and a change in the ethnic identity of those adopting the new form. O'Keeffe argued that the new building form would also necessitate a change in lifestyle habits.[83]

Photograph by Brian T. McElherron (http://cloghmore.bravepages.com/tipperary/lackeen.html).

In the same way, there were indigenous texts which called into question the conception of the island known as Ireland as a single place. The 'synthetic histories' of the early Medieval period provided numerous myths recounting stories and awareness of places through Ireland. Most significantly, the *Dindshenchas* represent a collection of a number of traditions of place names throughout Ireland. The source preserved poetic knowledge of the origin of place names. Often there were a number of separate poems pertaining to the same place but which recount different traditions of the origin of the place name. For example, there were four separate poetic accounts for the explanation of the name Temair (Tara) and two accounts for the explanation of the name Brug Na Bóinde

[83] Sweetman, D. & C. O'Brien 1999 *Lackeen (Abbeville Td): A Late Medieval and Later Settlement in Tipperary North Riding*, Archaeology Ireland, Bray.; Sweetman, D. 2000 *The Origin and Development of the Tower-House*, Barryscourt Trust, Carrigtwohill, Co. Cork.

(the Boyne Valley).[84] Dating to the 11th century, the collection of poems which were likely penned before the 11th century illustrated a plurality of traditions of place awareness and of place names.[85] However, just as with the texts relating to the figure of St. Patrick, they can only be read through the 'medieval screen' which formed part of the Christian tradition in Ireland. The *Dindshenchas* will be discussed further in Chapters 3 and 5, but it is important to note their existence in order to suggest the presence of an awareness of multiple place traditions on the island. Thus, we can see the tradition of Ireland as a single place being conceived and constructed to be the fundamental tradition which encompassed the multiple place identities which existed. The plurality of places on the island were united into a conception of a singular Ireland – the 'historical' explication for what would become a modern nation.

The Impact of Modernity: Choosing Glories and Peoples

Modern philosophical developments brought about a number of shifts in social conception.[86] Dichotomies of self/other and dualities of mind/body, resulted in the development of a number of new disciplines of thought such as sociology, psychology and anthropology.[87] With the dissolution of religious authority in the wake of the advent of rational thought, new methods of conceiving of social unity and political unity arose, expounding rational and logical argumentation for social cohesion.[88] These discourses based their arguments either in scientific observation of individual and group behaviour or in historical analysis of social traditions of identity. As was discussed in the introduction to this thesis, this separation of pursuit resulted in the creation of separate schools of thought regarding human behaviour and philosophical thought. Durkheim in particular affected the social sciences by separating the study of sociology and anthropology from disciplines

[84] For Temair see Gwynn 1903-1935, vol. 1. For Brug Na Bóinde see Gwynn 1903-1935, vol. 2.
[85] Gwynn 1903-1935, vol. 5, 91*f.*
[86] For a broad overview of the themes and course of modern philosophy see Emmanuel & Goold 2002 and Scruton 2004. Also see pages 36-8 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.
[87] For an exploration of anthropology and sociology's modern aspects see Bordieu 1977. For an exploration of the development of psychoanalytic theory see Marcus, S. 1987 *Freud and the Culture of Psychoanalysis: Studies in the Transition from Victorian Humanism to Modernity*, W. W. Norton & Co. Ltd, London. For a social and cultural study of psychology see Zaretsky, E. 2004 *Secrets of the Soul: A Social and Cultural History of Psychoanalysis*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York. Also see Marcus, S. 1987 *Freud and the Culture of Psychoanalysis: Studies in the Transition from Victorian Humanism to Modernity*, W. W. Norton & Co. Ltd, London.
[88] See Durkheim 1938 [1895].

such as psychology.[89] This distinction resulted in a plurality of conceptions of individual identity and group identity and armed individuals and societies with rational conceptions of self and group dynamics. These modern conceptions of individual and group identity, which found credence in the burgeoning schools of sociological, anthropological, historical and psychological thought, came to dominate traditions of identity, radically altering the relationship schools of thought had with society. Thought systems were charged with explicating and 'rooting' the existential right of both individual will and group cohesion.[90] This 'rooting' resulted in the materialisation of a conflation of the concepts of people and the places from which they come in order to affirm political arguments for territorial control over regions associated with these 'rooted' social identities.[91] This resulted in a number of different applications of modern thought, driving social and political change throughout Europe.

One of the most profound applications of modern philosophical thought was the concept of nationalism. Born largely from the rhetoric of the French Revolution (1789-1799), the philosophy of nationalism espoused the entitlement of a group of people united by birth in a place and by cultural traditions to have ownership of a political system and of a territorial region.[92] The application of these philosophies in Ireland were first witnessed in the campaigns of Theobald Wolfe Tone (1763-1798).[93] Wolfe Tone had spent a number of years in political exile in France, and upon his return to Ireland, his political platform gave rise to the political group known as the United Irishmen. The ideology of the group was focused on the unity of the people living on the island of Ireland whatever their cultural or religious traditions.[94] The goal of the movement was the creation of an Irish nation separate from the island of Britain. The culmination of the movement was the rising which occurred in 1798 and which was to be supported by a coordinated assault of French military.[95] The rising failed; however, Wolfe Tone's ideologies of a united Ireland and an

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[89] ibid.
[90] Hobsbawm, E. J. 1990 *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
[91] Gellner, E. 1983 *Nations and Nationalism*, Blackwell, Oxford.; Jones 1997.
[92] Gellner 1983, Hobsbwam 1990.
[93] See Smyth, J. (ed.) 2000 *Revolution, Counter-Revolution and Union: Ireland in the 1790s*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
[94] See Packenham, T. 2000 *The Year of Liberty: The Story of the Great Irish Rebellion of 1798*, Abacus, London.
[95] For a discussion of the French involvement in the rebellion see Dowds, T. J. 2000 *The French Invasion of Ireland in 1798*, IHR Publications, Dublin.

Irish nation continued to dominate political and cultural thought throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.[96]

The tradition of a singular place of Ireland and a singular Irish people, materialised in the campaigns and deaths of the United Irishmen, inspired the appropriation of previous cultural traditions of the island as a single place for current political purposes.[97] It also facilitated the modern rhetoric of national and ethnic identity – conflations of traditions of place and social identity - most notably in the Home Rule Movement of Daniel O'Connell in the mid 19th century AD, which was designed to bring about a separate political structure for the governance of the island.[98] The movement's ideology was founded on an appreciation of the unity of the Irish people anchored in the conception of Ireland as a united Christian place which was visible in the historical traditions of the Medieval period.[99] This movement was later followed by the Gaelic Revival and by the Gaelic League which looked further back for the causes of Irish unity and the unity of the place of Ireland.[100] As is evident from the titles of the movement and the group, in the late 19th century and early 20th centuries AD political and cultural thought became fascinated with the conception of Ireland as a united Celtic and Gaelic place populated by a Celtic and Gaelic race of people. The ideology of the group was based on the development of political aspirations since the time of Wolfe Tone, but they found new inspiration in other aspects of modernity, most notably antiquarianism, anthropology and archaeology.[101]

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[96] For discussions of the continuing impact of the 1798 rebellion through commemoration see Geary, L. M. (ed.) 2001 *Rebellion and Remembrance in Modern Ireland*, Four Courts Press, Dublin. and Collins, P. 2004 *Who Fears to Speak of '98?: Commemoration and the Continuing Impact of the United Irishmen*, Ulster Historical Society, Belfast.

[97] See Collins 2004.

[98] For a discussion of Home Rule in Ireland see Jackson, A. 2003 *Home Rule: An Irish History 1800-2000*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London. For a discussion of the life of O'Connell see MacDonagh, O. 1991 *O'Connell: The Life of Daniel of O'Connell*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London. and O'Connell, M. 1991 *Daniel O'Connell: A Political Pioneer*, Institute of Public Administration, Dublin.

[99] See MacCana 1985.

[100] See Hutchinson, J. 1987 *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*, Routledge, London. and O'Leary 1994 *The Prose Literature of the Gaelic Revival, 1881-1921: Ideology and Innovation*, Penn State University Press, Philadelphia. Also see Castle 2001.

[101] For a discussion of the role of antiquarianism and romance in Irish nationalism see Murray 2000 and Doherty, G. M. 2004 *The Irish Ordnance Survey: History, Culture and Memory*, Four Courts Press, Dublin. For a discussion of the role of anthropology in Irish cultural nationalism in the Gaelic Revival see Castle 2001. For a discussion of the role of archaeology in the development of Irish nationalism see Crooke 2001.

The Othering of Ireland: Racialisations

Just as modern thought gave rise to rational argumentation for a cohesive political and cultural 'self' group, so too did it give rise to conceptions of stereotyped 'others' as part of self/other and self/object dichotomies. The impact of this development has been discussed theoretically through the work of Volkan. A group will create an 'other' group as a convenient way of affirming group cohesion through the externalisation of 'bad' or 'different' qualities onto the socially conceived 'other'.[102] Thus, the traditions of a lifestyle and type of person who was most representative of Ireland was not solely an indigenous development. The process was largely supported and, indeed, encouraged through the modern phenomenon of 'othering' Irish people by British society and the media. Anthropological studies in the 19th century had been utilised to construct a conception of the racial types of the Irish and Welsh as prognathous – having a more prominent jaw bone. This led some scholars to create a hierarchical system of evolution where Irish racial types were primitive such as in John Beddoe's *Races of Britain* (1862).[103] Beginning in the 19th century political cartoons appeared regularly in newspapers in Britain which depicted a stereotyped Irish people as inferior, uncultured, 'baboon-esque', violent alcoholics who bumbled through their countryside as well as the rest of the world (see Figures 2.9, 12).[104]



TIME'S WAXWORKS.

(1881 *JUST ADDED TO THE COLLECTION.*)

MR. P. "HA! YOU'LL HAVE TO PUT HIM INTO THE CHAMBER OF HORRORS!"

Figure 2.9 Sir John Tenniel 1899 'Time's Waxworks', *Punch,* 31 December. 'Mr. P: "Ha! You'll have to put him into the Chamber of Horrors!"' Notice the exhibition of the 'Irish' racial type alongside other 'primitive' ethnographic and cultural representations. Courtesy the Punch Library.

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[102] See pages 13-8 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.

[103] Beddoe, J. 1971 [1862] *The Races of Britain: A Contribution to the Anthropology of Western Europe*, Hutchinson, London.

[104] Curtis, L. P. 1971 *Apes and Angels; The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.



Figure 2.10 Thomas Nast 1871 'The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things', *Harper's Weekly,* 2 September. Reproduced in Moquin, W. (ed.) 1971 *Makers of America,* Vol. 4, William Benton, New York, 177. Notice the depiction of the 'Irishman' as an ape and his holding of a bottle of alcohol.



Figure 2.11 Thomas Nast 1887 'St Patrick's Day 1867, Rum, Brutal Attack on the Police, The Day We Celebrate, Irish Riot, Blood', *Harper's Weekly*, 6 April. Reproduced in Dale T. Knobel 1986 *Paddy and the Republic*, Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, 157. Notice the depiction of rioting 'Irishmen' as apes.



Figure 2.12 James A. Wales 1880 'An Irish Jig', *Puck*, 3 November. Note the suggestion of drug abuse on the overturned bottle, the depiction of the 'Irishman' as having simian features and as grotesquely fat. Also note the suggestion in the background that the United States and the United Kingdom were going to have to 'roll their sleeves up' to deal with the problem of the 'Irish'.

This tradition was continued in the media in the United States which racialised the incoming Irish immigrants in much the same manner as the British media (see Figures 2.10-11).[105] The vilification of a stereotyped Irish 'other' group in Britain and the United States was perceived by Irish society both in Ireland and abroad negatively. Thus, the 'bad quality' of racisim in the United States and Britain was 'absorbed' into the large group identity of society in Ireland.[106] As racialisations of Irish society and Irish identity abounded, so too did interest in the conception of an indigenous and unique Irish race whether 'good' or 'bad'.

[105] See Brighton & Orser 2006.
[106] See pages 13-8 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.

Romancing the Peasant and the Past: Anthropology and Romance

In the 19th century, anthropological studies began to occur in Ireland. Interest in a native and indigenous Irish ethnographic type began to capture the minds of artists and thinkers alike. Gillian Doherty has argued that this phenomenon in Ireland was part of a broader European trend of primitivism as was introduced in the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778).[107] Rousseau's *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1754) stressed that human nature was most pure in a natural state, unaffected by developed civilisation or society.[108] This led to the belief that human nature was its most pure during childhood or in underdeveloped societies. This was part of Rousseau's broader polemic against the corrupt nature of modern Western intellectual society. Rousseau romantacised the rural society or popular society, which he praised as superior. Thus, as Ireland was affected by modern thought and industry, intellectuals who became estranged with Western society turned towards the rural poor for evidence of a pure and elite Irish racial type. The Irish peasant who had been vilified by British racial cartoons was seen as an archetypal heroic figure – 'poor but noble, affable, generous, hospitable, virtuous (innocent), imaginative, creative, spirited and thoroughly national (although intemperate and violent when aroused to anger)'.[109]

This Romance of the Irish peasant was reflected in the antiquarian studies of the Ordnance Survey's 'memoir scheme'.[110] John O'Donovan (1806-1861) reported that at times he felt 'bewitched or fairy stricken' when conducting antiquarian research in the countryside.[111] William F. Wakeman (1822-1900) noted in 'Aran' that he felt emotion towards the 'red-petticoated, white-kerchiefed, and graceful, but bare-legged Celts'.[112] Even George Petrie (1790-1866) grieved that 'civilisation' would destroy the 'fairyland' of the countryside which was 'a region of romance'.[113] This romantic conception of the Irish peasant would result in a broad romantic approach to the conception of the Irish past. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, antiquarian societies in Ireland in the 19th century began to

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[107] Doherty 2004.
[108] Rousseau, J. 1999 [1754] *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
[109] Doherty 2004, 121.
[110] The Ordnance Survey's 'memoir scheme' will be further discussed on pages 193-5 of Chapter 4.
[111] Letter from John O'Donovan to Thomas Larcom, Moira, Co. Down, 27 March 1834, Ordnance Survey Letters, Down. See Doherty 2004, 121.
[112] Wakeman, W. F. 1862 'Aran', *Duffy's Hibernian Magazine* 1, 460-71, 464.
[113] Letter from George Petrie to Thomas Larcom, Oughterard, Co. Galway, 24 August 1839, Larcom Papers, NLI, MS 7550. See Doherty 2004, 121.

approach their studies of the objects of the past with a romantic quality.[114] These networks of scholars and thinkers brought together in mutual interest in studying and romancing the Irish past came to influence the cultural discourses of late 19th century and early 20th Ireland

The Glorifying of the Self: Gaelic Revival

The Romance of Ireland's past and of Ireland's contemporary peasants resulted in the absorption and inversion of the negative racialisations of Irish people by media in Britain and the United States. The negative racial type of the uncultured Irish peasant became a heroic representation of a chosen glory of a pure and idyllic Irish racial identity.[115] The 'othering' of Irish people by social groups in the United States and Britain supported the development of an indigenous tradition of an honourable Irish people typified by a simple, peasant lifestyle in the western landscape of Ireland. This was through the 'absorption of the other's' (Britain's) conception of the other-Irish group as a negative and pejorative race; however, the negative affirmation of unity was inverted in order to construct a positive representation of identity and unity. As social groups in Britain and the United States conceived of the Irish people as a unified and inferior race, it is understandable that Irish society would then use the same modern discourse of 'self/other' to create a notion of a tradition of an Irish or Gaelic or Celtic race of honourable people united in the singular place of Ireland. The collective trauma of racism and persecution resulted in the regressive development of an indigenous, ethnic, cultural tradition and identity which was developed into a chosen glory – a tradition of a pure Irish race of people unaffected by external cultures.

This was particularly evident in the writings of William B. Yeats. Yeats' poetry relied heavily on mythology and folklore.[116] As discussed by Gregory Castle, many of the themes in Yeats' work related to the idealisation of the virtues of the Irish folk:

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[114] For an survey of this period see Murray, D. 2000 *Romanticism, Nationalism and Irish Antiquarian Societies 1840-80*, Maynooth Monographs, Series Minor III, Maynooth. For a discussion of similar themes in the 18th century see Waddell 2005, 57-92.

[115] For a discussion of the representation of the Irish peasant in painting see Cullen, F. 1997 *Visual Politics: The Representation of Ireland, 1750-1930*, Cork University Press, Cork, 116-59.

[116] Castle 2001, 40-97.

> The nostalgia for tradition, for an authentic peasantry characterized by spiritualism and a strong fairy-faith led Yeats to adopt, in the folklore projects of the late 1880s and the 1890s, a form of redemptive ethnography that strove to salvage 'lost' or 'vanishing' cultures; this mode of redemption consigns such cultures to an 'ethnographic present' that seeks to redeem it from time, from modernity and, ultimately, from itself.[117]

Castle argued that many of the conceptions that Yeats had regarding the Irish past and Irish cultural types was the result of influence and inspiration by romantic anthropological studies.[118] Indeed, this was evident in his desire to redeem folk culture before it vanished in the wake of modernity. His folklore projects of the late 19th century carried on generally from the romantic tendencies demonstrated by O'Donovan, Wakeman and Petrie from their time on the Ordnance Survey 'memoir scheme'.[119] These studies resulted in a conception of an Irish race which was the inheritor of the virtues of the Gaelic race of the past. The product of his folklore projects, *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry* (1888) and *The Celtic Twilight* (1893), demonstrated his attempt to develop a redemptive ethnography of the Irish past and Irish folk culture. Yeats admittedly was evoking a 'literature of a class for whom every incident in the old rut of birth, love, pain and death has cropped up unchanged for centuries'.[120] In fact, much of Yeats' lauding of the folk culture of Ireland's past can be seen as a product of Rousseau's assertion of primitivism. As a reaction against the highly ordered and hierarchical civilisation of Britain, Yeats and many other writers in Ireland developed conceptions and representative narratives lauding the virtues of a primitive, pure Gaelic race unfettered by the culture of outsiders.[121]

In the early 20th century, Irish society internalised this chosen glory of a pure Irish race and manufactured a positive conception of an 'Irish' way of life, countering the racialisations of the 19th century. Painters such as Paul Henry (1876-1958) and Jack B. Yeats (1871-1957) engaged in a discourse over the conception of an indigenous, honourable Irish people, inspired by antiquarian and ethnographic searches for areas of the island which were the most representative of and authentic examples of an 'Irish' way of

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[117] ibid. 41-2.
[118] ibid.
[119] Doherty 2004, 119-22.
[120] Yeats, W. B. (ed.) 1986 [1888] *Fairy and Folk Tales of Ireland*, MacMillan, New York, 5.
[121] For a discussion of the literature of the modern era in Ireland see Kiberd 1995.

life.[122] Regions such as the Aran Islands and the West of Ireland in general were idealised and objectified as places which testified to the lifestyles and cultures which once were dominant throughout the island.[123] For example, Yeats' *Man from Aranmore* (1905) was one of the first major works to portray a romanticised conception of a specific rural location and an idealisation of rural peasant life and culture (see Figure 2.13).[124] These landscapes, regions and places became the locations for the ideological 'rooting' of Irish society, conflating the people with the land upon which they lived.



Figure 2.13 Jack B. Yeats 'Man from Aranmore' (1905). NGI 6317. Watercolour, 38cm by 28cm. Courtesy National Gallery of Ireland.

This tradition of Romance and primitivism was, however, not without its critics. William Orpen (1878-1931) openly criticised the simplistic representation of a pure and noble Irish peasantry in paintings such as 'The Holy Well' (1916) (see Figure 2.14).[125] In this work which was part of a series of three paintings produced between 1913 and 1916 exploring conceptions of heritage in Ireland, Orpen expressed a disillusionment with the

[122] Kennedy, S. B. 2003 *Paul Henry*, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. Also see Cullen 1997, 116-59. Also see pages 195-6 of Chapter 4 of this thesis for further discussion of the work of Paul Henry.
[123] See pages 178 and 195-211 of Chapter 4 of this thesis.
[124] Kennedy 2003, 5-6.
[125] Upstone, R. 2005 'Love and Beauty in an Age of Extremes' in R. Upstone (ed.) *William Orpen: Politics, Sex and Death*, Philip Wilson, London, 7-52, 20.

process of modernity and the romance of Irish ethno-nationalism. The visual disjuncture between the idealised scene of the group of classically nude, heroic physical representations of Irish individuals partaking in a religious ritual, idealistically depicted on the landscape of Aran with North Clare behind, and the pose, view and the depiction of artist Sean Keating (1889-1977), Orpen's student, as a 'ragged peasant' standing on top of the well in the middle ground conveys a sense of irony between traditions of romance and realism in the representation of Irish heritage and lifestyles.[126] This artistic tradition of questioning representations of modern Irish identity was continued in the work of Keating. Keating's works 'Men of the West' (1917) and 'Race of the Gael' (1928) subtly questioned the representation of heroic Irish men as icons of modern Irish identity.[127]



Figure 2.14 William Orpen 'The Holy Well' (1916). NGI 4030. Tempera on canvas, 234cm by 186 cm. Notice the similar yet inverted pose of Sean Keating as 'peasant' in the background to that of the figure in 'Man from Aranmore'. His gaze engages the viewer's eyes, almost oblivious to the religious rituals of the romanticised figures below. Also note the realistic depiction of the 'beehive' huts, characteristic of Skellig Michael, in the middle background. Courtesy the National Gallery of Ireland.

[126] Ibid. Foster, R. F. 2005 'Orpen and the New Ireland' in R. Upstone (ed.) *William Orpen: Politics, Sex and Death*, Philip Wilson, London, 63-155, 72. Other examples from this series of work include 'Sowing New Seed' (c.1913) (produced for the Board of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland and currently held by the Mildura Arts Centre, Senator R.D. Elliott Bequest, presented to the city of Mildura by Mrs Hilda Elliott in 1956) and 'A Western Wedding' (c. 1914) which exists only in reproductions.

[127] See Eimear O'Connor's contribution to the National Gallery's Research Day, March 2006, 'Sean Keating 1889-1977: Allegories, Advertisements and Achievements – Images Announcing Independence'.

Playwright, John Millington Synge was equally inspired by anthropological and ethnographic developments of the 19th century. Having studied philology and cultural anthropology at the Sorbonne, Synge became fascinated with folk culture which led him to spend time on the western islands of Ireland and to produce his work of redemptive ethnography *The Aran Islands* (1907).[128] However, Synge did not come to romanticise the life of the rural Irish rather he questioned the literary construction of an idyllic and romantic Irish culture and lifestyle enshrined in the West of Ireland.[129] His work 'The Playboy of the Western World' (1907) instigated riots when it was first performed in 1907 at the National Theatre.[130] The play told the tale of Christy Mahon, a young man, who when welcomed into a rural Irish village, announced that he has just murdered his father. However, the villagers welcomed him and were interested in hearing about his actions rather than in condemning his morality. The language of the play was felt to be inappropriate and misrepresentative of culture and lifestyles of the West of Ireland. The events which occurred during the run of the play were recorded in many publications such as the *Irish Independent* which reported on the one exchange between W. G. Fay the actor playing the part of Christy Mahon and audience members:

> Fay: There are people here who have paid to see the piece. Anyone who does not like the play can have his money returned.
>
> Audience: … We respect Irish virtue.
>
> Fay: Who are the men who speak of Irish virtue? Let the play go on to the end of the act. I say you can get your money back. … the piece will be played.
>
> Hundreds of voices: We do not want the money. It is a libel on the National Theatre. …
>
> *Amidst the tumultuous applause which followed, cries of 'Sinn Fein forever' were strenuously uttered.*
>
> A voice: Such a thing as represented could not occur in Ireland. …
>
> *To while away the time, the band resumed. ... The sounds they educed from their instruments were drowned by the singing of verses in Irish and also the enthusiastic rendering of 'Hurrah for the Men of the West'.*[131]

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[128] Castle 2001, 98-133. Synge, J. M. 1979 [1907] *The Aran Islands*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
[129] Synge, J. M. 1997 [1907] *The Playboy of the Western World*, A. & C. Black, London.
[130] Kilroy, J. 1971 *The Playboy Riots*, Dolmen Press, Dublin.
[131] Anon. 1907 'Police in a Play Howled Down Extraordinary Scene in the Abbey Theatre Performed in Dumb Show All over a Disapproved Irish Drama', *Irish Independent*, 29 January, 5.

The Irish nationalist publication the *Freeman's Journal* called the play 'an unmitigated, protracted libel against Irish peasant men and, worse still, upon Irish peasant girlhood'.[132] Despite the riots, the play continued to be produced resulting in this reaction from the *Freeman's Journal*:

> It is impossible to understand the reason that prompts this continued outrage not merely on National feeling, but on truth and decency. It is not too much to say that no traducer of the Irish people ever presented a more sordid, squalid and repulsive picture of Irish life...[133]

The main aspect of criticism of and anger over the production of the play was its perceived attack on 'Irish' virtue, 'Irish' culture and the 'Irish people', particularly that of the romanticised West. In one of many pseudonymous letters sent to the Abbey Theatre during the run of the play, a woman who identified herself as 'A Western Girl 2' responded to what she felt was unrealistic and unrepresentative depiction of life in the West of Ireland:

> I am well acquainted with the conditions of life in the West, and not only does this play not truly represent these conditions, but it portrays the people of that part of Ireland as a coarse, besotted race, without one gleam of genuine humour or sparkle of virtue...[134]

The play did have its supporters. W. B. Yeats and Gregory who oversaw the running of the National Theatre defended the right to artistic expression. *The Irish Times* carried a review stating that the play presented a 'remorseless truth' which, although it may have been unfavourable to individuals in Ireland, did not lessen its essential truth or undermine its legitimacy to be performed'.[135] However, the debate over the representation of Irish folk life and conceptions of rural 'virtues', whether true or false, enflamed society during a period of increasing national sentiment. It was reported that at the close of the second night of the production, the supporters of the play in the audience, who had

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[132] Anon. 1907 'The Abbey Theatre, "The Playboy of the Western World"', *Freeman's Journal*, 28 January, 10.
[133] Anon. 1907 'The People and Parricide', *Freeman's Journal*, 29 January, 6.
[134] Kilroy 1971, 9-10.
[135] Anon. 1907 'Public Amusements: Abbey Theatre', *The Irish Times*, 28 January, 7.

succeeded in overpowering opposition to the production, sang 'God Save the King'.[136] The stagehands at the Abbey were so threatened by the audiences that one point it was reported that a stagehand had to defend the actors until police arrive to defend the stage.[137] The reaction to Synge's criticism of primitivistic conceptions of a pure and noble Irish West psychologically resulted in a social regression which manifested itself in a violent defence of the large group's protosymbol of the rural Irish peasant.

Nationalism: Gaelic and Celtic

Modern social and ideological trends fuelled desires within many communities throughout Europe to form individualised and unique social groups with independent representation.[138] Philosophically, groups of people rallied together in order to manufacture 'imagined communities' based on objectified concepts of history and tradition.[139] Thus, a modern Ireland, informed by a tradition of thought orientated towards a singular place identity and singular group identity, wielded tools of differentiation and distinction in order to objectively argue for the establishment of an independent political unit which could represent this unique place and unique people. The arguments of late 19th century and early 20th century romantic and primitivistic cultural developments were generally referred to as the Gaelic Revival.[140] Led by writers such as William B. Yeats and Maud Gonne, the 'movement' was largely geared towards celebrating and conceptualising a tradition of a 'Gaelic' heritage which dated back to antiquity and of which the present society of Ireland was the inheritor.

The impact of the cultural developments of the Gaelic Revival was best illustrated by the early speeches of the first President of the Irish Free State De Valera. Take for example his 'St. Patrick's Day Message' delivered on 17 March 1920:

> Sons and daughters of the Gael, wherever you be today, in the name of the motherland, greetings. Whatever flag be the flag you guard and cherish, it is

[136] Kilroy 1971, 31.
[137] ibid.
[138] See Gellner 1983; Hobsbwam 1990; Anderson, B. 1991, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, London.
[139] ibid.
[140] See Hutchinson 1987. and O'Leary 1994.

> consistent with your highest duty to link yourselves together to use your united strength to break the chains that bind our sweet sad mother -- and never before have the scattered children of Eire had such an opportunity for noble service. Today you can serve not only Ireland but the world. ... And those of our race, citizens of this mighty land of America whose thought will help to mold the policy of the leader among the nations, how much the world looks to you this St. Patrick's Day, hopes in you, trusts in you. You can so easily accomplish that which is needed. You will have only to have the will -- the way is all clear. What would not the people of the old land.[141]

His rhetoric of the 'Gael' relates strongly to the primitivistic idealisation of an ancient pure Irish race lauded by the writers of the Gaelic revival. In another St. Patrick's Day speech in 1932, De Valera announced the re-establishment of the 'Tailteann Games':

> The Tailteann Games are also being held this year and have our whole hearted approval. The Games are of very great national value, unifying our people in sentiment and endeavour and giving them, no matter in what land they live, a just sense of pride in the spiritual ideals, the physical prowess and the intellectual achievements of the Gael.[142]

In this quotation, De Valera's lauding of the physical, intellectual and spiritual qualities carried on the tradition of such glorifications of an idealised ancient people from which the contemporary people living in Ireland were descended. The impact of De Valera's rhetoric was a broad based popular 'absorption of the internal demands' of his cultural leadership. So intent were De Valera and other early 20th century Irish politicians on encouraging this psychological 'absorption' that they promoted the creation and use of new educational systems to raise children with these ideals and ideological conceptions.

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[141] De Valera 1980, 35. See Appendix 4 and CD supplement for a rull recording of this speech.
[142] De Valera 1980, 195-6.

Materialising Gaelic Ireland through Education: The Transgenerational Transmission of Concepts of Place and People

With the establishment of an independent government in 1922 came the responsibility of the running of social systems. However, this also provided many opportunities to continue the ideological propaganda of Irish nationalism.[143] The greatest asset in this situation was the manipulation of the educational system.[144] Through the creation of new school curricula orientated towards the teaching of chosen glories and chosen traumas selected by Irish nationalists, the leadership was able to encourage the transgenerational transmission of narratives of group identity and the development of shared identifications amongst the next generation of Irish citizens who would be the inheritors of the state. It afforded politicians in the early 20th century the opportunity to design an educational system which could produce citizens who would be predisposed to preserving the chosen heritage of the present nationalist state. This ideal was represented in the writings of Pádraic Pearse (1879-1916) who argued in 1914 that a new educational system should be inspired by the education system of the 'old Irish':

> It is not merely that the old Irish had a good education system; they had the best and noblest that has ever been known among men. There has never been any human institution more adequate to its purpose than that which, in pagan times, produced Cuchulainn and the Boy-Corps of Eamhain Macha and, in Christian times, produced Enda and the companions of his solitude in Aran. The old Irish system, pagan and Christian, possessed in pre-eminent degree the things most needful in education: an adequate inspiration. Columcille suggested what that inspiration was when he said, 'if I die it shall be from the excess of the love that I bear the Gael'.[145]

Pearse's call for a mythological 'Gaelic' inspiration within a new education system was founded predominantly on his belief in the necessity of narratives of Irish heroism in order to produce strong citizens.

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[143] For a discussion of Irish nationalism and imagination see See McBride 1999.
[144] Akenson 1975.
[145] From 'An Ideal in Education' printed in the *Irish Review* of 1914. Reproduced in a pamphlet in 1916. Pearse, P. H. 1976 *The Murder Machine and Other Essays*, The Mercier Press, Dublin, 15.

> ... to the noble ends of education there must be, within the school system and within the school, an adequate inspiration ... inspiration will ... come from hero-stories of the world, and especially of our own people. ... A heroic tale is more essentially a factor in education than a proposition in Euclid. ... A new education system in Ireland has to do more than restore a national culture. It has to restore manhood to a race that has been deprived of it. Along with its inspiration it must, therefore, bring a certain hardening. It must lead Ireland back to her sagas.[146]

This call to return 'back to the sagas' resulted in the establishment of historical narratives for schooling based primarily on Medieval synthetic sources such as the *Lebor Gabála Érenn*.

> ...the Book of Invasion (the *Lebor Gabála*) was accepted as the Old Testament of Irish History. It detailed the successive invasions of Partholonians, of Fomorians, Nemedians, Fir Bolg, Tuatha Dé Danann and Milesians.[147]

The use of the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* as the foundational narrative of the new state's historical consciousness, allowed the leadership to instil within the minds of children the perception of England and Great Britain as one of the groups in the line of invaders and colonisers to come to Ireland. Thus a child's large group identity was organised around the task of removing all cultural things which were seen to be English in order to manifest a pure Irish cultural identity.

> The near absence of ideology and social thought gave the revolutionaries a terrible purity, for all efforts could be directed at the clear, simple goal of freeing Ireland from the English.[148]

Thus, one of the major aspects of the Sinn Féin Constitution of 1917 was to alleviate the suppression of Irish culture by the English National Schooling system of the 19th century

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[146] From 'Back to the Sagas' originally part of lecture delivered in the Dublin Mansion House in December 1912. Reproduced in a pamphlet in 1916. Pearse 1976, 21.
[147] Martin, F. X. & F. J. Byrne 1973 *The Scholar Revolutionary: Eoin MacNeill, 1867-1945, and the Making of the New Ireland*, Irish University Press, Shannon, 305.
[148] Akenson 1975, 25.

through the promotion of Irish cultural studies.[149] Educational historian Akenson suggested that the main inspiration behind the inclusion of educational structures within the Sinn Féin Constitution was that 'if education was to be truly national then it would be founded on a broad-based emphasis on Irish language and Irish history'.[150] In order to complete this nationalisation of Irish education, the government also chose to make education compulsory.[151] Thus all citizens would be educated without choice in the foundation myths and basic shared identifications, such as the Irish language, of Irish group identity. Of course this was only logical since education was primarily seen as an investment.[152] Thus, there was an expectation of a return in the form of citizens with the ideologies and skills to maintain both the political and cultural independence of the Irish nation state.

Archaeology and Modernity: Finding the Objects of the Irish People

With the development of a large group identity with political independence, the necessity to maintain that identity through visual, tangible and performative materialisations of the group's ideology resulted. The use of anthropology and ethnography in the development of cultural and political rhetoric has been discussed, but it was the development of an Irish archaeology in the 19th century which produced physical evidence of the legitimacy of the narratives of an Irish nation and a distinct and unique Irish race.[153] Archaeology was one of the many disciplines which was founded upon the philosophical developments of modern thought.[154] The popular perception of the discipline as a purveyor of objectified truths evident in physical objects helped materialise social conceptions of place identity, group identity and thereby ethnic identity.[155] This aspect of modern society's fascination with archaeology made archaeological representations central to development of modern national identity.

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[149] Macardle, D. 1965 *The Irish Republic*, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, New York, 233, 915-6.
[150] Akenson 1975, 41.
[151] ibid. 65*f.*
[152] ibid. 81*f.*
[153] McEwan, J. 1997 *Archaeology and Ideology in Nineteenth Century Ireland: Nationalism orNeutrality?* (PhD Thesis), Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, March.
[154] See Thomas 2004.
[155] See Russell 2006a.

The method of revelation through excavation was an integral part of the development of archaeology out of antiquarian studies and instilled archaeological research with a sense of 'truth'. Archaeology was seen to be a discipline which could 'find' the past of societies, rooting social identities in antiquity.[156] In this capacity, indigenous archaeological practices were largely developed as apologetic social pursuits. For example, the statement made by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy (1816-1903), contemporary and colleague of Douglas Hyde (1860-1949) and founder of *The Nation*, in 1892 at the Irish Literary Society illustrates the influence of the work of Irish antiquarians working since the 1840s on dominant cultural trends in Irish society at the end of the 19th century.

> A group of young men, among the most generous and disinterested in our annals, were busy digging up the buried relics of our history, to enlighten the present by a knowledge of the past, setting up on their pedestals anew the overthrown statues of Irish worthies, assailing wrongs which under long impunity had become unquestioned and even venerable, and warming as with strong wine the heart of the people, by songs of valour and hope; and happily not standing isolated in their pious work, but encouraged and sustained by just such an army of students and sympathizers as I see here to-day.[157]

Societies utilised archaeological research as a method of explicating the existence of their social group through materialising social ideologies in the performance of excavations, the curation of exhibitions of the objects recovered and the textual explication of the significance of those objects. These objects inspired the formation of new social narratives – chosen glories and chosen traumas. Often these objects were perceived to provide physical evidence of the reality of mythological narratives. Many archaeological sites would be attributed to mythical figures such as the prehistoric site of Newgrange which, when first discovered and studied by Edward Lhuyd (1660-1709) in AD 1699, was incorrectly attributed to the Tuatha Dé Danann, the people who are thought to have come to Ireland and fought with the Fir Bolg for dominance on the island.[158] The identification

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[156] See pages 39-41 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.

[157] Duffy, Sir C. G. 1894 'The Revival of Irish Literature' in *The Revival of Irish Literture: Addresses by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G.*, Dr. George Sigerson and Dr. Douglas Hyde, Fisher Unwin, London, 9-10.

[158] See O'Kelly, M. J. 1982 *Newgrange: Art and Legend*, Thames and Hudson, London. The Tuatha Dé Danann are attested to in such annalistic sources as the *Annal of the Four Masters* (M 3303.1). See O'Donovan, J. (ed.) 1848-51 *The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, Hodges and Smith, Dublin, 17 [CELT].

of Newgrange with the Tuatha Dé Danann facilitated the materialisation of evidence of the veracity of the accounts of Irish 'synthetic histories' such as the *Lebor Gabála Érenn.*[159] What is significant here is that the interpretation of Newgrange through modern philosophical and scientific methodologies for socio-political purposes was not an isolated event but was merely a symptom of the broader impact of archaeological study throughout Ireland.[160]

An important parallel example of the application of modern methodologies of social identity reinforcement was the Soviet Union's usage of archaeology in the carrying-out of *korenizatsiia* (indigenisation). *Korenizatsiia* was a method which was utilised to carry out the Bolshevik policy of the universality of the revolution of the proletariat. It was developed to fulfil the theory that administrative units should be based on the ethnic regions of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). As *koren* is defined as 'root,' *korenizatsiia* was by definition the rooting of the administrative system of the Soviet Union in the multi-ethnic make-up of the populace.[161] During the early part of Josef Stalin's (1878-1953) rule of the USSR, there were many regions that did not have an indigenous ethnic identity as a result of Russian imperialism.[162] Thus in line with Soviet pan-ethnic policy, Stalin used archaeology to carry out *korenizatsiia*, to construct ethnic identities for these people. Archaeology played a key role in the Soviet policy of *korenizatsiia* in that it provided material evidence of constructed indigenous ethnic identities. Interestingly, the same concept of rooting featured in the nationalistic rhetoric of De Valera's speeches. In the April 1926 announcement of the five main aims of the political party Fianna Fáil, De Valera declared as aims 'the development of a native Irish culture' and 'the distribution of the land of Ireland so as to get the greatest number possible of Irish families rooted in the soil of Ireland'.[163] As will be discussed in the next chapter, objects from archaeological excavation in Ireland were used as part of the ideological developments of the late 19th century and early 20th century, helping to 'root' Irish society in a united, glorious past and develop an indigenous and native Irish culture.

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[159] See Carey, J. 1993 *A New Introduction to the Lebor Gabála Érenn*, Irish Texts Society, Dublin.
[160] Purcell, B. 1985 'In Search of Newgrange: Long Night's Journey into Day' in R. Kearney (ed.) *The Irish Mind: Exploring Intellectual Traditions*, Wolfhound Press, Dublin, 39-55.
[161] See Martin, T. 2001 *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 10-2; Shnirelman 1996, 226.
[162] See LeDonne, J. 1997 *The Russian Empire and the World, 1700-1917: The Geopolitics of Expansion and Containment*, Oxford University Press, Oxford. and LeDonne, J. 2003 *The Grand Strategy of the Russian Empire, 1650-1831*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
[163] De Valera 1980, 131.

The new discipline of archaeology provided a 'scientific' tool which could excavate and explain the cultural development of the Irish people and the Irish land. The marvel of excavation, as has already been discussed, had a very real 'revelatory' quality which brought new 'truths' and new opportunities for self-understanding to light. These opportunities were in the form of previously unknown cultural objects which when viewed from a modern philosophical perspective as represented authoritative, material examples which testified to cultural groups and human agency. 'Glorious' objects of 'Irish' civilisation were uncovered throughout the 19th century, most notably the 'Tara' Brooch and Ardagh Chalice, and exhibited to Irish and international society at such events as the Great Exhibition of 1851 and in the 'Anitquities Court' at the Great Exhibition of Dublin in 1853 which will be discussed in the next chapter.[164] 'Shimmering' examples of what was seen to be part of an Irish tradition of high culture and fine craftsmanship inspired the development of and were utilised in cultural movements towards the concept of a great Irish antiquity. The impact of these examples of craftsmanship is still witnessed in the National Museum of Ireland which presents on its main floor artefacts grouped by material type – most notably gold.[165] These objects revealed through the process of archaeology were given a stamp of authenticity by modern philosophical traditions in Ireland. This authenticity was then utilised in the conceptualisation of a long lineage of a unified culture inhabiting Ireland as a unified place. Sometimes referred to as Gaels and sometimes referred to as Celts, this idealised 'Irish' people were seen to have been self-aware and highly skilled and united in a singular conception of the world.

Conclusion

The conception of the island known today as Ireland as a singular, united place and of the people living on the island as a singular and united people or race can be seen to be generalisations made by individuals and societies viewing the island and people as a singular place and society from outside. Without indigenous historical records to refute these generalisations, the impact of the long tradition of historical records from external observers encouraged the development of indigenous materialisations of place and people

[164] See pages 113-5 of Chapter 3 of this thesis for a discussion of the Great Exhibition of Dublin of 1853.
[165] See pages 322-6 of Chapter 7 of this thesis for a discussion of the exhibition of gold artefacts in the National Museum of Ireland.

which were based on these previous conceptions. It seems clear that the social situation on the island of Ireland was more complex and dynamic and subtle than many of the stark socio-political polemics from the medieval period through modern times would have one believe. Far from being a removed and isolated island, just as its geology can be seen to be part of trends throughout the continent of Europe, so too are the peoples living on the island part of the broad and diverse cultural situation that was and is Europe. The impact of trends of modern thought on the self-conception and place-conception of Irish people can not be understated and can be seen to be part of the broader socio-political developments across Europe. Modern thought resulted in the conflation of the people living on the island with the conception of the unity of the place Ireland. The development of archaeology in Ireland is certainly linked to the development of archaeological schools of thought in other burgeoning nations. Thus, it is critical to assess the way in which Irish society has and is continuing to relate to the objects which have come to play a role in social interaction through archaeological research. In the next chapter, the role of singular archaeological objects such as the 'Tara' Brooch and the 'Ardagh' Chalice in the formation of shared identifications and the materialisation of chosen glories in Ireland will be discussed. The next chapter will also engage with some of the current philosophical and epistemological questions facing society in relation to its interaction with objects of heritage since the advent of other modern technological developments such as mass production and the more recent phenomenon of mass consumption of a commodified Irish heritage experience.

Chapter 3: 'The History of Ireland in Silver or Gold'[1]: Consuming Identities

In the previous chapter, the conflation of the conceptions of place and people and the development of a rooted, ethnic Irish identity through the modern science of archaeology was discussed. In this chapter, the impact of specific archaeological finds during the 19th century on the development of a new Irish cultural symbology as part of the expression of newly emerging Irish national and ethnic self-understandings will be explored. The archaeological endeavour in Ireland was a revelatory experience which 'exhumed' 'glorious' examples of what would be interpreted as 'Irish' ethnic craftsmanship.[2] These pieces would then form the basis of new shared identifications by acting as suitable reservoirs for aspirations for a uniquely 'Irish' large group identity. Growing out of a general development of antiquarian and romantic interest in the past across Europe, these cultural aspirations in Ireland and the artefacts which inspired them would be capitalised upon both by politicians and by businessmen in the creation of new consumer groups and political groups which could support their economic and political goals. These manipulations of the relationship between a group and a representation of an artefact directly affected society's shared identifications with those artefacts which in turn affected manifestation and expression of the core identity of the group. The impact of artefacts, however, was not limited to altering historical or ideological awareness. Artefacts were often the inspiration for symbols and in turn can became represented and consumed in forms other than their original material form. Most significantly, Irish artefacts, especially those which have featured prominently in the canon of constructed Irish national symbols, have inspired whole lines of cultural symbols, jewellery and souvenirs modelled on them. High Crosses, Newgrange carvings, ogham inscriptions, the 'Tara' Brooch and many other artefacts have been copied and used to produce vast amounts of political symbols, consumer jewellery and tourism souvenirs.

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[1] The slogan for the advertising campaign of the 'History of Ireland' line of jewellery available from College House Jewellers of Nassau Street, Dublin.

[2] See pages 39-41 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.

'Irish' Antiquarianism and the Materialisation of 'Irish' Nationalism

This growth of interest in the ancient past for the expression of contemporary cultural glory was not unique to Ireland and was part of broader ideological developments across Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries.[3] Artefacts from Greece, Egypt, Rome and many other places were being exhibited in London, Paris and many other European capitals as expression of colonial and imperial power and destiny.[4] Within this context societies with antiquarian interests such as the Royal Dublin Society (founded in 1731), Physico-Historical Society (1752), Royal Irish Academy (1785), Irish Archaeological Society (1840), Celtic Society (1845), Kilkenny Archaeological Society (1849), and Ossianic Society (1853) promoted the study of the antiquity of Ireland and Irish claims to an ancient past. These societies were headed by and promoted the work of historians and antiquarians such as Walter Harris (1686-1761), Charles O'Connor (1710-1791), Charles Smith (1715-1762), General Charles Vallancey (1726-1812), Edward Ledwich (1739-1823), George Petrie (1790-1866), Eugene O'Curry (1796-1862), John O'Donovan (1806-1861), Rev Dr Charles Graves (1812-1899) and William Wilde (1815-1876) who actively toured the Irish landscape documenting antiquities and popularising ideas about the past of the island which would be transformed into romantic national sentiment.[5] These individuals saw it as their charge to document and preserve the antiquity, both textual and physical, of Ireland. For example, in 1845, Petrie declared that it was his intention 'to rescue the antiquities of my native country from unmerited oblivion and give them their just place among those of the old Christian nations of Europe'.[6] Petrie also persuaded William Waterhouse who owned the 'Tara' brooch to sell the artefact, which he had purchased from the woman whose children had discovered it, to the Royal Irish Academy

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[3] For a discussion of the impact of European romantic traditions in Ireland see Castle 2001. For a discussion of the impact of European primitivism in Ireland see Doherty 2004.

[4] For a discussion of the role of the Louvre in French colonial and imperial ideology see McClellan, A. 1999 *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-century Paris*, University of California Press, Berkley. For a discussion of the role of the museums in British imperial and colonial culture see Anderson, R. G. W., M. L. Caygill, A. G. MacGregor & L. Syson (eds.) 2003 *Enlightening the British: Knowledge, Discovery and the Museum in the Eighteenth Century*, British Museum Press, London. For a general discussion of colonial archaeology see Gosden, C. 2004 'The Past and the Foreign Countries: Colonial and Post-colonial Archaeology and Anthropology' in L. Meskell & R. W. Pruecel (eds.) *A Companion to Social Archaeology*, Blackwell, Oxford, 161-78.

[5] For a discussion of antiquarian activity in the 18th century see Waddell 2005, 57-92. For a discussion of antiquarian activity in the 19th century see Murray 2000.

[6] Petrie, G. 1845 'The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, Anterior to the Norman Invasion; Comprising an Essay on the Origins and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 20, Dublin, v.

in 1868, stipulating in the transaction that the item never leave Ireland.[7] These antiquarians pursued their studies with great zeal and emotion, creating an ideological romance with their conception of Ireland's past that would be found adopted by other sectors of society. For example, William F. Wakeman when working with John O'Donovan on the Ordnance Survey on Aran in 1839 wrote of O'Donovan:

> Fired with a desire to visit the great Firbolgian Fort of Dun Aengus we made little delay at Mrs. Costello's. Armed with measuring tapes, note-books, and sketching materials, we started over the rocks, in the direction of the western cliffs, upon the highest of which the great Acropolis of Aran stands, at a height of 302 feet [92m] above the Atlantic surges. A smart walk brought us in sight of the object of our day's pilgrimage; and I shall never forget O'Donovan's burst of enthusiasm when the old palace fortress of the days of Queen Maeve first met our view. He literally shouted with delight, and after launching his umbrella a marvellous height into the air, threw himself on the ground, and shouted again and again.[8]

In this account, the romantic qualities of the expedition to the site of Dun Aengus was likened to a religious 'pilgrimage'. The destination of the 'pilgrimage' however was not given religious attributes but militaristic attributes as a 'fort' and royal attributes as a 'palace'. The setting for the romance was given a Classical backdrop in the allusion to the 'Acropolis' of Athens when describing Aran. Finally the significance of the site was interpreted within the 'psuedo-historical' and the mythological contexts the of 'Firbolgian' people and associated with the figure of Queen Maeve.[9] All of these narrative devices expressed both the writer's, Wakeman, and the subject's, O'Donovan, 'enthusiasm', 'delight' and general emotional romance with the antiquity of Ireland situated within the context of broader European conceptions of antiquity. Particularly because of the allusion to 'Acropolis' as a sign of antiquity, this quotation illustrated that the advent of antiquarian and archaeological interest in Ireland occurred as part of broader European trends in antiquarian and romantic thought. However, the mythological and cultural dimensions of

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[7] Exhibition notes at the National Museum of Ireland, Museum of Decorative Arts and History at Collins Barracks 'Neo-Celtic Art' exhibition, April 2004. Saris, A. J. 2000 'Imagining Ireland in the Great Exhibition of 1853' in L. Latvick & G. Hooper (eds.) *Ireland in the Nineteenth Century: Regional Identity*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 66-86, 81.

[8] Wakeman 1862, 461, 469. Waddell 2005, 99. Compare to Petrie's painting of Dun Aengus (Figure 4.16).

[9] The Firbolgian people are attested to in the *Lebor Gabála Érenn*. See Macalister 1938-1956; Carey 1993.

the quotation also illustrated that in Ireland, a uniquely national and culturally specific type of antiquarianism was developing.

The advent of antiquarian activity in Ireland generally coincided with the growth of Irish nationalism.[10] While scholars from France and Great Britain were competing over the antiquarian potential of sites such as Knossos in Crete, many scholars in Ireland were searching Ireland for material from 'antiquity' as part of ideological programmes resulting in an ethnic 'Irish' antiquity distinct from any associations with 'British' identity.[11] This was also in response to anthropological studies which focused on the 'uniqueness' or 'primitive qualities' of a singular Irish ethnographic or racial type.[12] These studies inspired the revival of folk narratives and mythologies and an exploration of Irish 'racial' or 'ethnographic' typologies amongst the literary elite of Anglo-Irish society such as William Butler Yeats and John Millington Synge. Equally, these studies encouraged the appropriation of material from archaeological or antiquarian study as evidence of the uniqueness, distinctness and advanced cultural qualities of this ancient 'race' of 'Gaels'.[13] The emergence of a group of individuals skilled in the exploration of the past and in the 'finding' of objects from previous human agency provided romantic thinkers and Gaelic Revivalists with 'materials' to 'put in the hand' of the ancient peoples they were imagining.[14] The material of archaeological excavations gave a material quality to the mythological, 'psuedohistorical' and antiquarian textual narratives of the 'Irish' past.

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[10] See Murray 2000 for a discussion of romanticism and nationalism in Irish antiquarian societies between 1840 and 1880. Also see McEwan 1997.

[11] For a discussion of the political competition between Sir Arthur Evans (1851-1941) from Great Britain and French archaeologists for permission to excavate the site of Knossos see Brown, A. & K. Bennett (eds.) 2001 *Arthur Evans's Travels in Crete 1894-1899*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 1000, Archaeopress, Oxford, 269*f*. For an interesting discussion of the competition between the antiquarian views of this period such as between Petrie's unique Irish antiquity and Sir William Betham's associations between Irish antiquity and the Phoenicians see Murray 2000.

[12] See pages 89-96 of Chapter 2 for a discussion of the role of anthropological thought in the development of a conception of a singular 'people' or 'race' of Irish.

[13] See Castle 2001 for an excellent discussion of the impact of anthropological thought in the writings of Yeats and Synge. See pages 89-96 of Chapter 2 for a discussion of the role of antiquarianism and archaeology in the development of an Irish racial type, both vilified and glorified.

[14] See McEwan 1997.

The Appropriation of Archaeological Objects: Forming New Suitable Reservoirs

As antiquarian and archaeological activity grew in Ireland, so too did popular awareness and interest in notions of a 'glorious' ancient Irish culture. Thus, symbols derived from Irish antiquity began to play a prominent role in Irish national politics, such as the use of Irish archaeological symbols in 19th century political movements, especially those of Daniel O'Connell and the National Repeal Association (see Figures 3.1-2).[15] Identities and the expression of identities are fluid and dynamic psychological phenomena. Thus, the roles of material objects within these phenomena are equally dynamic and changing. The inclusion of new objects or symbols such as those from Irish antiquarian study within group ideological intra-relationships had the ability to alter both the overall ideological framework of group identity and the relationships to other pre-existing or pre-perceived objects. In this way, Irish antiquarianism and archaeology played a role in the development of shared identifications and suitable reservoirs for Irish national large group identity. As archaeologists 'found' objects from the 'past' and reconstituted them as evidence of previous human agency or indeed manifested them as evidence of ethnic and cultural heritage, these newly introduced objects created both new suitable reservoirs and new shared identifications (see Figure 3.1). This also affected the dynamics of social relationships to other cultural objects and heritage symbols. Thus, the introduction of 'new' objects from the 'past' into social discourse allowed for new methods of materialising identities and altered pre-existing materialisations.

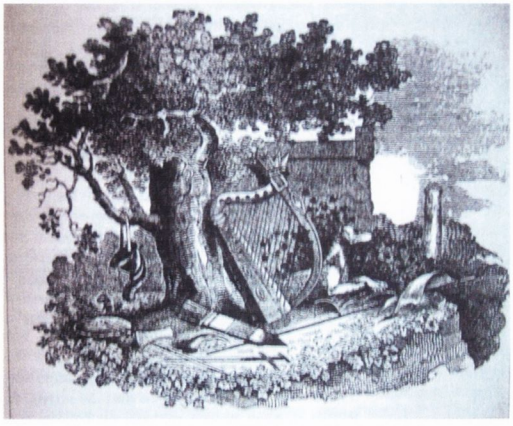


Figure 3.1 'National Emblems' Illustrated in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, 7 July 1832. After Crooke 2001. Notice the depiction of schematic representations of a socketed axe, shield, the harp, a wolfhound and a round tower.

[15] ibid.



Figure 3.2 Depiction of Brian Boru as king in Geoffrey Keating's *History of Ireland* published in 1732.[16] Notice the depiction of Boru in the guise of a English king contemporary to Keating. The 'golden hat' found in 1692 in a bog near Devilsbit Mountain, north-west of Templemore, Co. Tipperary, sits atop a pedestal with the image of a harp on it, presumably illustrating that this 'golden hat' was the crown of the king of Ireland.

The symbols of O'Connell's ideological and political movements and that of the National Repeal Association appropriated the growing vocabulary of representations of 'Ireland's past', many of which were the result of early antiquarian activity.[17] Bronze Age shields, socketed axes, horns and brooches, were all derived from archaeological finds. For example, a 'golden hat' found in a bog near Devilsbit Mountain, north-west of Templemore, Co. Tipperary, in 1692 was represented in the membership card of National Repeal association (see Figure 3.3). This artefact was previously conflated with the figure of Brian Boru (c.941-1014) in the first translation into English of Geoffrey Keating's (c.1580-1644) History of Ireland (c.1634) in 1723 (see Figure 3.2).[18] In these appropriations, O'Connell and others were establishing a new canon of social and cultural symbols and protosymbols which could act as suitable reservoirs for a new Irish large group identity, bolstering the ideological weight of political movements to repeal the union of Ireland with Britain and achieve Irish independence. The methods and effectiveness of the National Repeal Association's appropriation of symbols of Ireland's 'glorious past' were due largely to the growth of a romance between Irish nationalism and Irish

[16] Keating, G. 1732 *The general history of Ireland. Containing, I. A full and impartial account of the first inhabitants of that Kingdom ; ... V. A relation of the long and bloody wars of the Irish against the Danes, ... Collected by the learned Jeoffry Keating, ... Faithfully translated from the original Irish* ... [2nd Ed] With an appendix, collected from .. Anthony Raymond, J. Bettenham for B. Creake, London. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Gale Group. <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO> Number: CW3325673287.
[17] Murray 2000.
[18] Waddell 2005, 36.

antiquarianism in the 19th century.[19] Having been discussed extensively by Crooke, McEwan, Murray and Waddell, the romantic quality of Irish archaeological and antiquarian writing in the late 19th century and early 20th century facilitated the appropriation of objects and symbols based on archaeological and antiquarian study for the development of nationalist symbols.[20] Many of the symbols chosen by the National Repeal Association would recur in future nationalistic movements such as the Gaelic Revival.[21] Discussed later in this chapter, these future movements were not only attaching themselves to the ideologies of these campaigns but also to the constructed 'meaning' of the symbols and objects as icons or suitable reservoirs of a unique Irish identity. The immediate consequence of the National Repeal Association's appropriation of archaeological icons in political and cultural movements was a growth of interest in the objects of 'Irish antiquity' and the development of a notion of a unique 'Celtic' and 'Irish' artistic and cultural form.

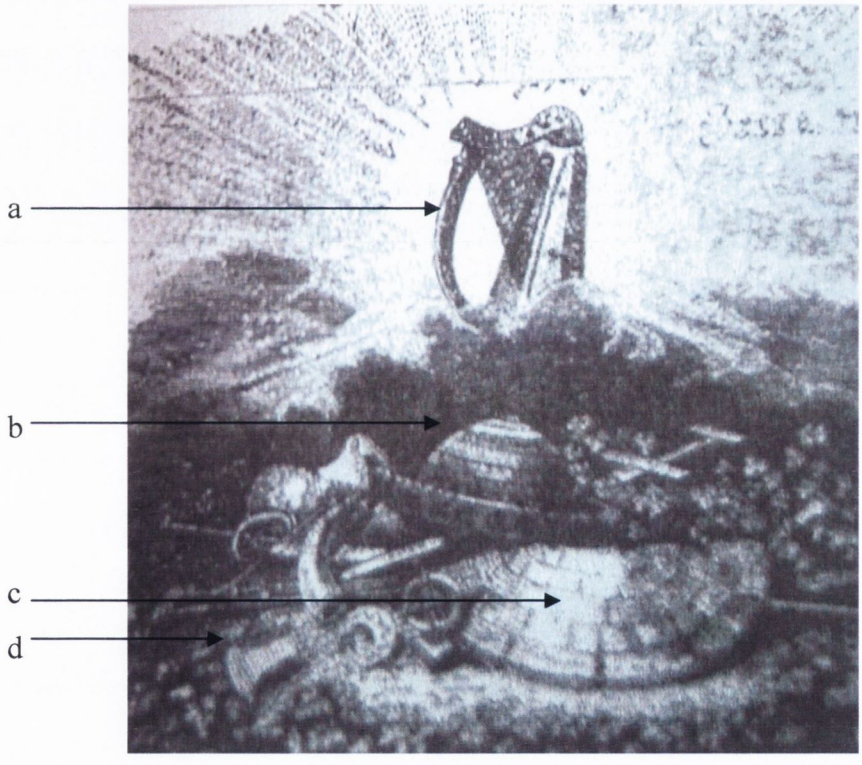


Figure 3.3 Detail of the National Repeal Association membership card. After Crooke 2001. Notice the depiction of schematic representations of a socketed axe (d), shield (c), the harp (a) and of a 'golden hat' (b) found in a bog near Devilsbit Mountain, north-west of Templemore, Co. Tipperary, in 1692 was conflated with the figure of Brian Boru (see Figure 3.2).

[19] For a discussion of antiquarian societies and nationalism between 1840 and 1880 see Murray 2000. For a discussion of the role of archaeology in developing foundation myths for the Irish nation see Crooke 2001 and Waddell 2005.
[20] McEwan 1997; Murray 2000 and Waddell 2005, 125, 127-31.
[21] For examples see Murray 2000 and Crooke 2001.

Archaeology and the Development of 'Neo-Celtic' Art

These romantic and ideological relationships with the glorious objects which testified to a unique Irish past provided new artistic and capitalistic opportunities for the makers of consumable symbols and objects in the 19th century. The trend of 'Neo-Celtic' art that began in the mid 19th century saw the copying of many forms of ancient artefacts and jewellery which were marketed to the upper class.[22] In 1850 a ring brooch was found beside the sea at Bettystown, Co. Meath (see Figure 3.4). Less than a year later, replicas of the artefact appeared in the jewellery market by such famous jewellers as William Waterhouse who had purchased the original artefact from its finders, naming it the 'Tara' Brooch (see Figure 3.5).[23] The Great Exhibition of London in 1851 was where the first examples of replicas of artefacts such as the 'Tara' Brooch manufactured by Waterhouse were exhibited.[24] The Great Exhibition created a forum for the presentation and representation of cultural and national qualities in both tangible and intangible expressions.[25] In this way, the expression of chosen glories of the Irish past was part of a broader theme of the expression of a unique and 'glorious' Irish culture distinct in Europe.[26] In this theme, the 'Tara' brooch replicas were referred to as 'the royal Tara brooch'[27] and the other brooches on display, such as from Mr. West of Dublin, were described as 'those worn by the daughters of Erin some centuries ago' (see Figure 3.6).[28] The outstanding quality or at least the significance of these replicas was illustrated by the fact that two silver replicas of the 'Tara' Brooch were bought by Queen Victoria at the exhibition.[29]

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[22] Exhibition notes at the National Museum of Ireland, Museum of Decorative Arts and History at Collins Barracks 'Neo-Celtic Art' exhibition, April 2004

[23] See Ó Floinn, R. 2002 'Beginnings: Early Medieval Ireland, AD 500-850' in Wallace, P. F. & R. Ó Floinn (eds.) 2002 *Treasures of the National Museum: Irish Antiquities*, Gill & MacMillan in association with The Boyne Valley Honey Company, Dublin, 171-212, 183.

[24] For Mr. West see Anon. 1973 [1851] *The 'Art Journal' Illustrated Catalogue of The Great Exhibition of London 1851*, EP Publishing, Wakefield, 20. and for William Waterhouse see ibid. 282. Replicas of many other brooches were exhibited, such as the 'Kilmainham' or 'Templar' brooch and the Ballyspellan brooch (both by William Waterhouse).

[25] For a series of insightful discussions of the role of the Great Exhibition of 1851 in 19th century society see Purbrick, L. 2001 *The Great Exhibition of 1851: New Interdisciplinary Essays*, Manchester University Press, Machester.

[26] See Murray 2000 and Waddell 2005.

[27] Anon. 1973 *The 'Art Journal' Illustrated Catalogue of The Great Exhibition of London 1851*, 282.

[28] ibid. 20.

[29] Exhibition notes at the National Museum of Ireland, Museum of Decorative Arts and History at Collins Barracks 'Neo-Celtic Art' exhibition, April 2004. Also see Saris 2000.



Figure 3.4 A ring brooch, 8th century. Known popularly as the 'Tara' Brooch. Cast and gilt silver with gold filigree and studs of glass, enamel and amber. Ring: 8.7cm in diameter, Pin: 32cm in length. National Museum of Ireland, Archaeology and History. Courtesy National Museum of Ireland.

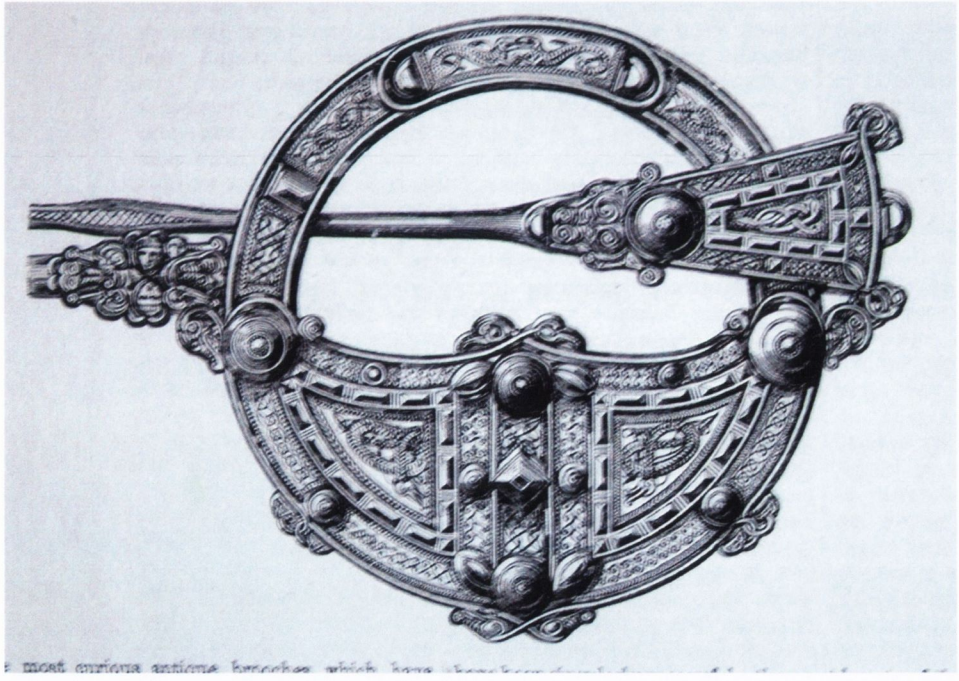


Figure 3.5 Replica of the 'Tara' Brooch by William Waterhouse in the 1850s. Gold with inset pearls. Ring: approximately 8cm in diameter. Pin: Approximately 10cm long. After *The 'Art Journal' Illustrated Catalogue of The Great Exhibition of London 1851*, xix; 282.

The archaeological finds of the earlier 19th century were brought together as one collection by the Royal Dublin Society for the first time at the Great Exhibition of Dublin in 1853 in the Hall of Antiquities. Amongst the exhibitors of antiquities were the Royal Irish Academy, the Belfast Museum and private individuals such as George Petrie and

William F. Wakeman. The exhibits included a vast array of objects from antiquity such as gold torcs and bronze cauldrons as well as models of round towers and high crosses.[30] The exhibits aroused much interest and helped fuel the push for the development of a national museum.[31] This interest in Irish antiquity perfectly supported the development of a unique canon of Irish national symbols based on that antiquity.[32] This occurred in tandem with the development of 'Neo-Celtic art' which was inspired by the archaeological discoveries of the 19th century.[33] The development of objects and replicas of these finds for public consumption was both integral to and a capitalisation upon the development of the rise in Irish cultural and national sentiment. In this way, the Great Exhibition of 1853 was both an opportunity to exhibit the 'glories' of the Irish past and also to create 'venues for the widespread marketing of modern, craft-produced jewellery in the Celtic style' (see Figure 3.7).[34]

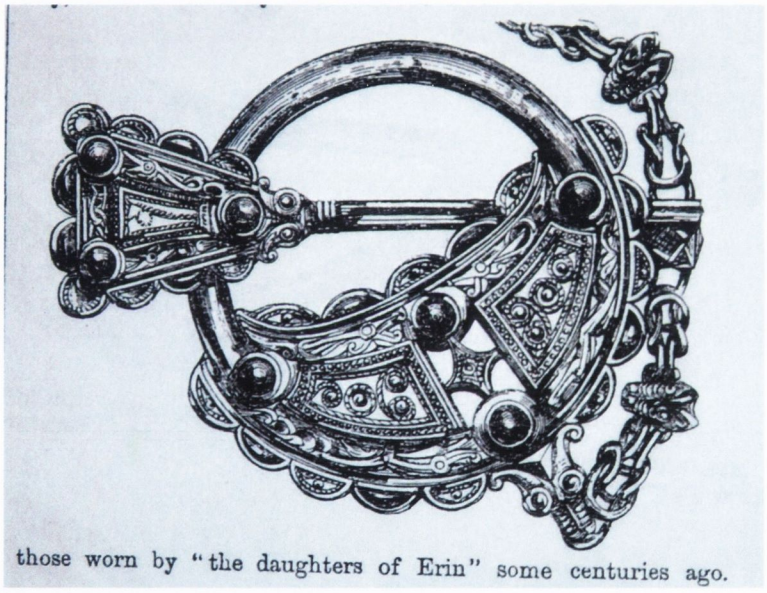


Figure 3.6 Replica of the 'Roscrea' Brooch (9th Century AD) by Mr. West of Dublin in the 1850s, described as 'those worn by the daughters of Erin some centuries ago'. After *The 'Art Journal' Illustrated Catalogue of The Great Exhibition of London 1851*, xix; 282.

[30] Waddell 2005, 124.
[31] Saris 2001, 79-80. Also see page 328 of Chapter 7 of this thesis.
[32] Murray 2000. Waddell 2005.
[33] Exhibition notes at the National Museum of Ireland, Museum of Decorative Arts and History at Collins Barracks 'Neo-Celtic Art' exhibition, April 2004.
[34] Saris 2001, 81. Also see McCrum, E. 1993 'Commerce and the Celtic Revival: Victorian Irish Jewellery', *Eire-Ireland*, xxviii, no. 4 , 36-52. Also see Latvick, L. 2000 'Exhibiting Ireland, 1851-3: Colonial Mimicry in London, Cork and Dublin' in L. Latvick & G. Hooper (eds.) *Ireland in the Nineteenth Century: Regional Identity*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 15-57.



Figure 3.7 Main Hall of the Great Exhibition of Dublin of 1853. After Sproule 1854 and Waddell 2005.

Both the Great Exhibitions of London and Dublin occurred after the Monster Meetings of Daniel O'Connell in 1843 and the archaeological survey of George Petrie on the Hill of Tara in 1849. That the brooch found at Bettystown, Co. Meath was given the title, 'the royal Tara brooch' there seems to be a general development of interest in unique Irish artistic objects which were then appropriated as evidence of an indigenous Irish national and cultural history (or prehistory). The 19th century also saw the discovery of the 'Ardagh' Chalice at Reersta ringfort near Ardagh in 1868 (Figure 3.8). This artefact also inspired a number of replicas throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, most notably being the Gaelic Athletic Association's Sam Maguire or 'All Ireland' cup which was commissioned from Hopkins and Hopkins of O'Connell Bridge Dublin in 1928 (Figure 3.9).[35]

[35] For a discussion of the life of Sam Maguire and the commissioning of the trophy see Walsh, M. M. 2003 *Sam Maguire: The Enigmatic Man behind Ireland's Most Prestigious Trophy*, Kenneigh Tower Publications, Ballineen, Co. Cork. Maguire was captain for Cork's Gaelic football team in the 1901 and 1903 All Ireland final and was also a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. Notably he was a protestant and was the only protestant to captain in a G.A.A. 'All Ireland' final. The current cup awarded is a replica of the original replica which was made in 1998.



Figure 3.7 The 'Ardagh' Chalice (8th century) found at Reersta ringfort near Ardagh, Co. Limerick in 1868. Silver bowl and foot with gold collar and decoration 17.8cm high. National Museum of Ireland, Archaeology and History. Courtesy National Museum of Ireland.



Figure 3.9 The 'Sam Maguire' Cup of the Gaelic Athletic Association. Awarded to the victor in the All Ireland Football finals. The original was commissioned in 1928. It was replaced in 1988. Silver approximately 60cm high. Courtesy Gaelic Athletic Association.

Capitalising on Irish Antiquity

Following the antiquarian, anthropological and archaeological studies of rural areas of Ireland, artists such as Paul Henry, filmmakers such as Robert Flaherty (1884-1951) and writers such as J. M. Synge became fascinated with the notion of the Irish West and the unique cultural and lifestyle forms found there.[36] With this surge of intellectual and artistic interest in the late 19th century and early 20th century, tourism appeared as a large and dominant force in Irish society.[37] With a new group of 'consumers' interested in Irish culture, lifestyles, traditions and the past engaging in the visiting of ancient sites such as Newgrange and the Hill of Tara, a popularisation of sentiments relating to the symbolic forms based on archaeological artefacts occurred. New lines of images and representations of Irish cultural symbols were made available to be purchased and sent or brought to friends or relations as part of the tourist's experience of Ireland.[38] For example, a St. Patrick's Day postcard from Ireland from 1910 clearly presented the archaeological features of a round tower and a derelict early Irish church with the more lively idealisation of a 'Viking' longboat (see Figure 3.10). Another example of a postcard from Ireland represented symbols of the 'Irish high cross', wolfhound, harp and a personified Erin (see Figure 3.11). These two postcards together manifest the same symbologies developed by O'Connell in his cultural movements that were presented on the membership card of the National Repeal Association (Figures 3.1, 3.3).

With this surge in interest in the past and use of symbols derived from objects of the past in postcards and political leaflets, it was not long until the 'high end' replicas of artefacts such as the 'Tara' brooch were being copied in less expensive materials. Thus, lines of jewellery and souvenirs began to be based on the same nationalistic iconography of the mid-19th century pieces which could be consumed as souvenirs of tourism.[39] This period coincided with the Gaelic Revival, Literary Renaissance and with Irish nationalistic movements culminating in the Easter Rising and the foundation of the Irish Free State. So

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[36] See pages 197-200 of Chapter 4 for a discussion of Flaherty's film 'Man of Aran' and the constructed conflation of notions of people and place. See pages 93-6 of Chapter 2 of this thesis for a discussion of Synge's work.

[37] For a collection of travel essays by travellers to Ireland during the 19th and 20th centuries see Hooper, G. (ed.) 2001 *The Tourist's Gaze: Travellers to Ireland 1800-2000*, Cork University Press, Cork.

[38] For a discussion of the history of the production of souvenir goods see Evans, G. 1999 *Souvenirs: From Roman Times to the Present Day*, NMS, Edinburgh. Also see Garrad, L. S. 1976 *A Present From... : Holiday Souvenirs of the British Isles*, David & Charles, London.

[39] See Garrad 1976; Evans 1999.

just as self-determinist desires to form a new state were accompanied by the development of ancient, historical narratives and iconography, so too did they result in new lines of Irish jewellery and souvenirs representing and capitalising upon the identity of the new state.



Figure 3.10 St. Patrick's Day Postcard from c.1908. Collected by William Beecham and Margaret Mahoney Beecham c.1908 on their trip from Palmyra, Nebraska to their birthplaces at Clogheen, Co. Tipperary and Mitchelstown, Co. Cork.[40] Notice the round tower, the derelict Irish church and the 'Viking' longboat.



Figure 3.11 Irish postcard from c.1908 depicting Irish and Irish-American unity. Collected by William Beecham and Margaret Mahoney Beecham c.1908 on their trip from Palmyra, Nebraska to their birthplaces at Clogheen, Co. Tipperary and Mitchelstown, Co. Cork.[41] Notice the depiction of a harp, a wolfhound, a 'high cross' and a personification of Erin. Compare to Figure 3.1.

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[40] Owned by Margaret Beecham Skrean. An index of the postcards collected can be found at <http://incolor.inetnebr.com/jskean/cardex_g.htm>. An account of William Beecham and Margaret Mahoney Beecham's visit was published in a letter dated 15 September 1908 to the *Palmyra Items* newspaper. See Beecham, W. 1908 'Letter from Ireland' in *Palmyra Items* Newspaper, Palmyra, Nebraska, USA, 2 October.
[41] ibid.

These symbols and the jewellery based on them were a capitalisation upon the development of a new iconography of the burgeoning Irish State which facilitated an Irish visual literacy that was unique in the British Isles. By selecting items from antiquity that were seen to be unique to Ireland, Irish society was behaviourally constructing networks of new shared identifications around newly selected suitable reservoirs of political and cultural aspirations. As symbols, these artefacts formed a visual linguistic system that facilitated an Irish identity discourse. This discourse was logically appropriated by businesses in order to make profit. As Irish society was developing a unique 'Irish' past and symbols of that past, businesses began to develop 'unique' products and services which appropriated that 'past' for economic gain. This is particularly evident in the marketing of early 20th century history books such as Seamus MacCall's *And So Began the Irish Nation* (1931), which utilised the symbolic form of a prehistoric dolmen (most likely that at Poulnabrone, Co. Clare) on its cover (see Figure 3.12).

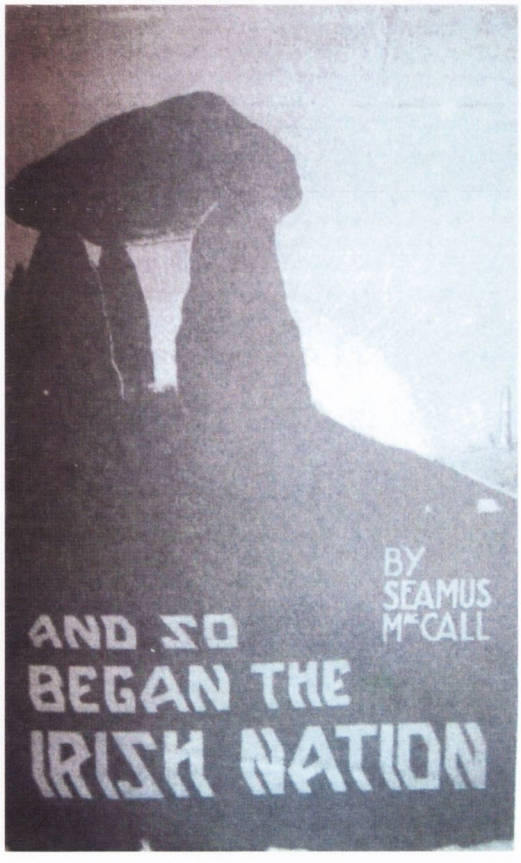


Figure 3.12 Cover of Seamus MacCall's *And so Began the Irish Nation* (1931).[42]
After Crooke 2001.

[42] MacCall, S. 1931 *And So Began the Irish Nation*, Talbot Press, Dublin.

Appropriation of Artefacts as Symbols and the Manipulation of 'Meanings'

As in all linguistic developments, the archaeological 'meanings' and purposes of certain symbols and artefacts have been popularly forgotten through a conflation of multiple different meanings and expectations for meaning as part of the desire to create a unique modern identity. The symbols took on their own life and meaning divorced from any preceding meaning and significance of the artefact upon which they were based, and indeed, in the process of this the original functions of the artefacts were often negated in preference of an aesthetic quality or a sentimental attachment to a national or cultural identity. This meaning was then projected and externalised onto the original artefacts thereby reorienting the group's object relation with the artefact type, eliminating the original meaning and supplanting it with new abstract notion of significance and value.



Figure 3.13 The Solvar 'Tara' Brooch (2003). Gold with crystal inlay approximately 9cm in diameter. Courtesy Solvar.ie. Compare to Figures 3.4-5.

Today, mass produced 'replicas' are much more generalised and often do not even have the same practical function as the original artefact. For example, the pin of the Solvar 'Tara' Brooch is permanently fastened to the body of the brooch (see Figures 3.4-5, 3.13).[43] The pieces are actually attached using a clip on the back. If we compare the Solvar brooch and the original 'Tara' brooch, we can see that the Solvar brooch is very loosely copying the form of the original artefact. However, it unashamedly is marketed as a 'Tara' brooch, capitalising on any consumer's personal desires to relate to the original artefact or the perceptions of Irish history that she or he may have. The perception of this and other souvenirs and consumable items directly affected the perception of archaeology. Examples such as the Tara Brooch jewellery from Solvar and other manufacturers encourages the notion that archaeology is a 'treasure hunt' that finds glorious examples of the uniqueness and richness of the heritage of Ireland. Of course Solvar can hardly be any more guilty of capitalising on archaeological discoveries than William Waterhouse who had bought the original 'Tara' Brooch upon its discovery and immediately made replicas for public consumption. The important difference between the 'Celtic' jewellery market of the 19th century and today is that the 19th century replicas were replicas in the true sense of the word. They were technical achievements in their own right. Multiple trial replica pieces of the Ardagh Chalice by Edmond Johnson in 1868, on display at the National Museum of Decorative Arts and History, show the effort put into the replication of each artefact.[44]

Mass Production: Implications for Meaning and Value in Archaeology

Philosophical concern over the impact of mass production of commodities through mechanical technology is represented well in the writings of Walter Benjamin (1892-1940). In 1936, Benjamin presented a discussion on the impact of mass mechanical reproduction on the authenticity of the work of art.[45] Benjamin displayed concern over the loss of authentic experience of art objects in light of the deluge of replicas and reproductions of such works.

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[43] For a discussion of the form and function of brooches see Deevy, M. B. 1998 *Medieval Ring Brooches in Ireland*, Wordwell, Bray.

[44] Exhibition notes at the National Museum of Ireland, Museum of Decorative Arts and History at Collins Barracks 'Neo-Celtic Art' exhibition, April 2004.

[45] Benjamin, W. 1992 [1955] 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' in W. Benjamin (H. Arendt (ed.)), *Illuminations*, Fontana Press, London, 211-44.

> Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be.[46]

According to Benjamin, this 'presence' and 'unique existence' was part of the 'aura' of the original art work. This 'aura' of authenticity of the original art work was perhaps what Benjamin was discussing when he reacted to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's (1749-1832) concept of the *Urphänomen* – an archetypal phenomenon, a concrete thing to be discovered in the world of appearances.[47] Thus, the 'aura' of authenticity was something, for Benjamin, which was also to be experienced in the 'world of appearances' of the past in artefacts, monuments and landscapes.

One of the concerns that Benjamin expressed was that in producing reproductions, the uniqueness and authenticity of the original was challenged:

> By making many reproductions it substitutes a plurality of copies for a unique existence. And in permitting the reproductions to meet the beholder or listener in his own particular situation, it reactivates the object reproduced. These two processes lead to a tremendous shattering of tradition which is the obverse of the contemporary crisis and renewal of mankind.[48]

Replicated art objects such as Waterhouse's brooch replicas (to be followed by mass produced replications such as by Solvar) called into question the authenticity of the original art object (see Figures 3.5, 3.13). Benjamin delighted in the 'aura of the original' art object and rightly noted the significance of social acceptance of and affirmation of meaning in replicated objects through consumption patterns such as the mass acceptance of mass produced replications of Irish cultural symbols (see Figures 3.13). However, Benjamin noted after Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) that this experiential 'crisis' was a

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[46] ibid. 214.
[47] Arendt, H. 1992 'Introduction: Walter Benjamin 1892-1940' in W. Benjamin (H. Arendt (ed.)), *Illuminations* (1955), Fontana Press, London, 7-60, 17.
[48] Benjamin 1992 [1955], 215. Also see Russell, I. 2006c 'Introductions: Archaeologies, Modernities, Crises and Poetics' in I. Russell (ed.) *Images, Representations and Heritage: Moving beyond Modern Approaches to Archaeology*, Springer-Kluwer, New York, 1-38.

result of modern technological methods of reproduction, he still argued that replication has long been part of educational experience within society.[49]

> In principle a work of art has always been reproducible. Manmade artefacts could always be imitated by men. Replicas were made by pupils in practice of their craft, by masters for diffusing their works, and, finally, by third parties in the pursuit of gain.[50]

In this way replication as artistic imitation, or *mimêsis* in the Aristotelian tradition of poetics, can be seen as a fundamental aspect of the development and role of art, craft or *tekhne* in general.[51] Following this point, Waterhouse's, West's and Johnson's replicas of archaeological artefacts in the 19th century can be seen as part of the process of artistic craft (see Figure 3.14); however, the intention of these jewellers to sell their replicas illustrated the capitalistic and consumptive potentials created by such processes of replication. This situation has, however, become more complex since the advent of mass production, mass simulation and mass emulation in the development of capitalistic market-driven consumer-centred commodities based on archaeological artefacts.

Mass Producing Ireland's Past

The difference between the representations of the 'Tara' brooch by Solvar in the 20th century and that by Waterhouse and other 19th century jewellers is that Solvar's items are mass produced, schematic representations of the artefact's form rather than artistic and technical works demonstrating exceptional craftsmanship. Although both examples were driven, to some extent, by a capitalistic concern, Solvar's examples involve less craftsmanship and are mass produced for the sake of profit. Of course the appearance of

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[49] See Husserl, E. 1935 'Philosophy and the Crisis of European Man' (Lecture delivered by Edmund Husserl, Vienna, 10 May 1935) available from <http://www.users.cloud9.net/~bradmcc/husserl_philcris.html> [Accessed 3rd Nov 2005].; Husserl, E. 1970 [1936] *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology* (1954), Northwestern University Press, Evanston. and Dodd, J. 2004 'Crisis and Reflection: An Essay on Husserl's Crisis of the European Sciences' in *Phaenomenologica*, vol. 174, Springer-Kluwer, New York.

[50] Benjamín 1992, 212.

[51] For a discussion of Aristotle's concepts of *mimêsis* and *tekhne* see Russell 2006c, 1-38. and Koerner, S. 2006 '"Crises of Interpretation" over the "Power of Images" and Issues Posed by Archaeology's Roles in Tourism and Heritage Industries' in I. Russell (ed.) *Images, Representations and Heritage: Moving beyond Modern Approaches to Archaeology*, Springer-Kluwer, New York, 187-220.

archaeological artefacts and monuments in the jewellery industry is not limited to brooches. The megalithic rock art of Newgrange has found its way onto rings, pendants, money clips, cuff-links and many other items. The website Oghamdesign.ie offers a wide variety of items (see Figures 3.16-19) for purchase with the famous 'triple-spiral' motif from orthostat c10 in the back recess of the chamber at Newgrange (Figures 3.14).[52] The 'triple-sprial' motif (Figure 3.15) is, thus far, unique to Newgrange, and Newgrange is an exceptionally well preserved chamber tomb. Since its accidental discovery in 1699, the site has captured the imaginations of antiquarians, historians and spiritualists alike. In 1726, Thomas Molyneux (1661-1733), in his *Discourse Concerning the Danish Mounts, Forts and Towers in Ireland*, mistakenly attributed Newgrange to the Danes.[53] He claimed that the site was dedicated to the Norse deities Thor, Odin and Friga. The site was later reassessed in the 19th century by antiquarian Charles Vallancey. However, the site was not properly excavated until the mid 20th century. It was Michael J. O'Kelly who was in charge of the site from 1967-1970. It is currently dated to c. 3100 B.C. The site is internationally famous for its alignment with the sun on the Winter Solstice when a beam of light pierces the 'roof box' and points directly to the centre of the tomb for approximately 20 minutes.[54] O'Kelly, with the help of surveyor John Patrick, have asserted that the alignment of the monument was deliberate.[55] The popularity of the experience of seeing the sun rise on the Winter Solstice has lead to a growing number of people attempting to access the site on that day and an increase in visitor numbers in general.[56] Places are limited on the day of the solstice, so a flood light has been installed that can simulate at any given time the lighting conditions that result from the annual event.[57] Given the popularity of the site, it is not

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[52] Oghamdesign.ie 2006 'Ogham Design' Oghamdesign.ie <http://www.oghamdesign.ie> [Accessed 20 Mar 2006].

[53] Molyneux, T. 1726 'A Discourse Concerning the Danish Mounts, Forts and Towers in Ireland' in G. Boate (ed.) *A Natural History of Ireland, In Three pars by Several Hands*, published for George Ewing, Dublin, Part III, 189-213 [ECCO]. Also see Waddell 2005, 46-7.

[54] The principal archaeological accounts of Newgrange and Knowth are respectively O'Kelly, M. J. 1982 and Eogan, G. 1986 *Knowth and the Passage Tombs of Ireland*, Thames and Hudson, London.

[55] Patrick, J. 1974 'Midwinter Sunrise at Newgrange', *Nature*, 249, 517-19.

[56] A lottery has been set up for access on the five days around the solstice when the chamber is illuminated. Application forms are available at the Visitor Centre. 50 names are selected each October from the applications submitted.

[57] For a study of simulations for visitors at Newgrange see Cochrane, A. 2006 'The Simulacra and Simulations of Irish Neolithic Passage Tombs' in I. Russell (ed.) *Images, Representations and Heritage: Moving beyond Modern Approaches to Archaeology*, Springer-Kluwer, New York, 247-78. For a similar disucssion regarding Emain Macha (Navan Fort), Co. Armagh, see Brett, D. 1996 *The Construction of Heritage*, Cork University Press, Cork, 119-130.

surprising that its 'iconic' triple-spiral motif has found itself appropriate for the production of consumable souvenirs as an economic capitalisation on the growing visitors to the site.[58]

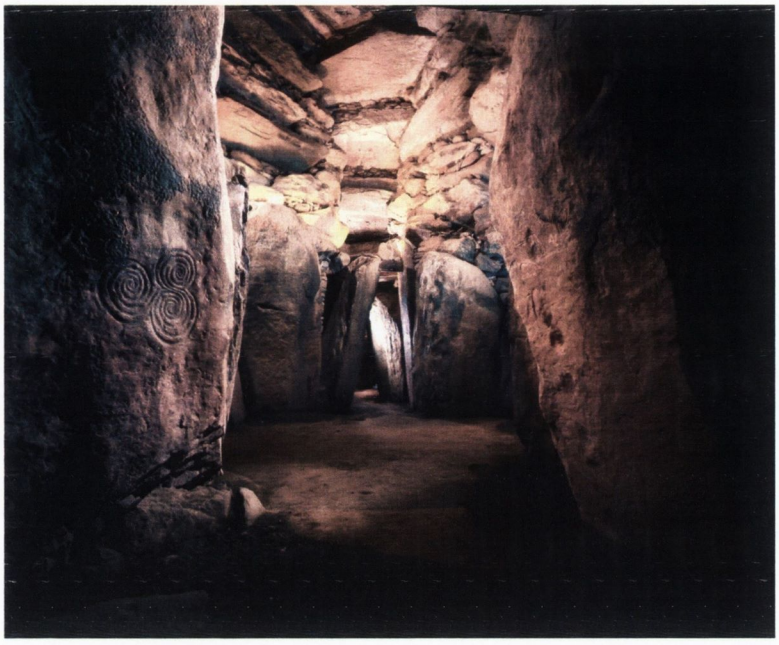


Figure 3.14 'Triple-spiral' carving motif from Newgrange, Co. Meath, orthostat c10 back recess of chamber. Courtesy the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government. The 'triple-spiral' carving covers an area 30 cm by 28 cm.



Figure 3.15 Detail of the 'Triple-spiral' carving motif from Newgrange, Co. Meath, orthostat c10 back recess of chamber. Courtesy the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government. The 'triple-spiral' carving covers an area 30 cm by 28 cm.

[58] For a discussion of the motifs at Newgrange see O'Kelly, C. 1982 'Corpus of Newgrange Art' in M. J. O'Kelly (ed.) *Newgrange: Archaeology, Art and Legend*, Thames and Hudson, London, 146-85.



Figures 3.16-19 Marketed jewellery with the 'triple-spiral' motif from Oghamdesign.ie. These pieces are available in either silver or gold. The design on the pendant is approximately 5cm in width. The design on the bracelet is approximately 3cm in width. The design on the ring is approximately 2cm in width.

What is interesting about the modern appropriation of the Newgrange motif is that given that the site is prehistoric, we are unable to be sure of what the original meaning of the design would have been. Thus, the modern use of the motif is attached to the cult of identity that surrounds the site of Newgrange as an 'Irish' archaeological monument or to aesthetic appreciation of the designs. The most extreme example of this again comes from Oghamdesign.ie which offers 'Fascination of Ogham' pendants which can be inscribed with a name spelt in ogham but which at the top is adorned with the 'triple-spiral' motif from Newgrange (see Figures 3.20-21). Given that ogham inscriptions post-date the Newgrange carvings by at least 3000 years, the conflation of the two symbols clearly is an attempt to evoke a general sense of 'Irish' or 'Celtic' culture and identity.

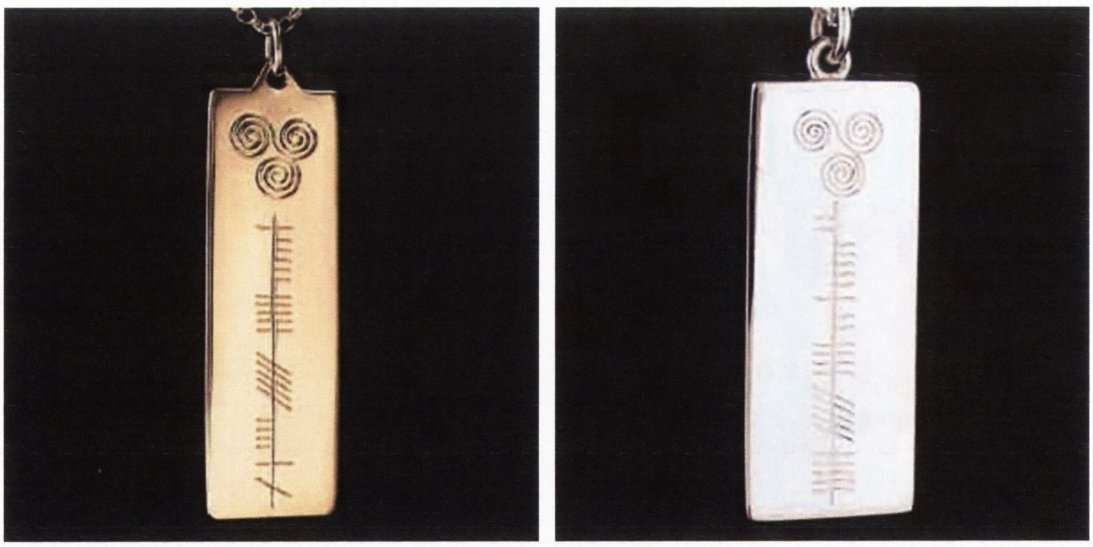


Figure 3.20-21 'Fascination of Ogham' pendants available in silver or gold with inscriptions in ogham an accompanied by the 'triple-spiral' motif. Available form Oghamdesign.ie. The pendants are approximately 7cm in length. The 'triple-spiral' design is approximately 1cm in width.

The use of ogham in modern jewellery is interesting. As a script, ogham was originally used on freestanding stones which were erected throughout the landscape of Ireland.[59] The inscriptions usually consisted of a name and a patronym. What the original inscriptions were intended to mean is not known, but it was suggested by James Carney that the inscriptions would have served some political or military purpose although the script did not develop to serve that purpose originally as was pointed out by Damien McManus.[60] Contemporary jewellery was not the first use of ogham on jewellery in a modern context. Ogham was inscribed on the reverse of one of the Waterhouse replicas of the Ballyspellan Brooch (c.900 AD) from the mid-19th century as the ogham inscription had appeared on the original piece.[61] Using ogham on modern jewellery to write a person's name shares a similar purpose. Although the medium of a necklace or pendant or signet ring does not pay homage to the original context of the script, the function of these pendants as gifts and representations of a unique 'Irish' or 'Celtic' cultural symbol plays the role of an identity marker (see Figures 3.22-23). Therefore, the modern appropriation of the ogham script has transformed the function of the script from an undefined public role to totems or representations of personal identity.



Figure 3.22 (Left) 'Fascination of Ogham' pendent with name in scribed in ogham available from Oghamdesign.ie. Gold approximately 5cm long. Compare to Figure 2.5.

Figure 3.23 (Right) Blank signet ring which can be inscribed with ogham from Oghamdesign.ie. Notice the 'triple-spiral' motif on the band. Gold variable sizes under 3cm in diameter. Compare to Figure 2.5.

[59] See pages 69-72 of Chapter 2 of this thesis.
[60] See Carney Carney, J. 1975 'The Invention of the Ogom Cipher', *Ériu* 26, 53-65. and McManus, D. 1991.
[61] Exhibition notes at the National Museum of Ireland, Museum of Decorative Arts and History at Collins Barracks 'Neo-Celtic Art' exhibition, April 2004.

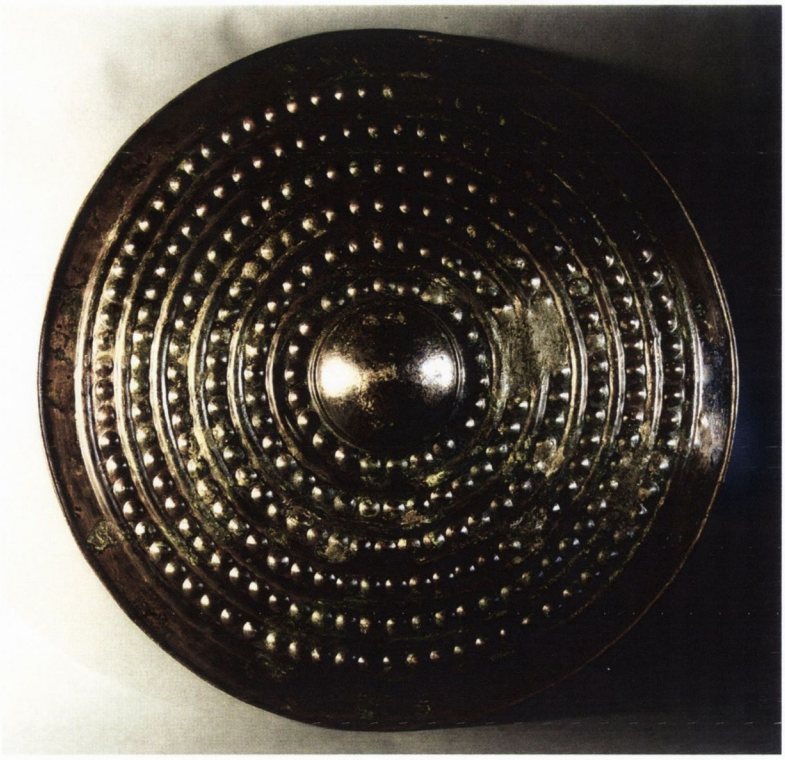


Figure 3.24 Bronze Age shield from Lough Gur, Co. Limerick. Bronze 71.3cm in diameter. National Museum of Ireland, Archaeology and History. Courtesy National Museum of Ireland.

A similar statement could be made about Oghamdesign.ie's line of 'Warrior Shield' jewellery (see Figures 3.25-27). Based on the Bronze Age shield found in 1872 in a bog between Ballinamoona and Herberstown near Lough Gur, Co. Limerick (Figure 3.24), the 'Warrior Shield' line of jewellery adapts the form of the Bronze Age shield for use as cuff-links, earrings, brooches, and necklaces.[62] The use of the symbol could hardly be said to invoke a sense of being a 'warrior'. The symbol of the Bronze Age shield was used during the Gaelic Revival and during Daniel O'Connell's political movement as part of the canon of Irish national symbols, clearly calling on the romantic notion of the warrior Gaels (see Figures 3.1-2). These contemporary examples clearly do relate to the sentiments of the 19th century nationalistic movement, but given that the Lough Gur shield is one of the few Bronze Age shields known in Ireland and that it is a fine example of Bronze Age workmanship, the jewellery again is more likely attaching itself to the constructed notion of a glorious Irish past based on a unique and remarkable archaeological find. What is important overall about these examples are that they fundamentally negate the function of these artefacts' form. The artefacts are chosen as inspiration for their aesthetic qualities or their ability to evoke sentiments of national, cultural or personal identity.

[62] For a description of the Lough Gur Shield see Wallace 2002, 102.



Figures 3.25-27 The 'Warrior Shield' line of jewellery available from Oghamdesign.ie. Items are avialable in either silver or gold. Pieces include earrings (approximately 3cm in diameter), pendants (approximately 7cm in diameter) and cufflinks (approximately 3cm in width).

Choosing Ireland's Past: Supply and Demand of Identities

The implications for this ideological relationship between mass producers of consumable goods and consumers who have desires to manifest their membership of a unique and distinct identity are very significant. In a discussion of the impact of the marketing campaigns of Coca Cola in Papau New Guinea, anthropologist John Foster noted:

> the materialization of nationality in the form of consumable objects and experiences leaves the nation vulnerable to the market...what if mainly non-nationals buy – and so demand nationality in the forms that they prefer?[63]

The active choice by the government agencies in the Republic of Ireland to market its 'national' heritage as an 'experience' to non-nationals has left the determination of the nature of that 'national' heritage vulnerable to the ebbs and flows of demands, expectations, emotions and interests of 'non-national' consumer groups.[64] This 'national' trend in marketing 'Ireland' has encouraged a similar pattern in companies capitalising on the new consumer groups. However, these initiatives are focused on plurality of choice and

[63] Foster 1999, 270. For an illustration of popular concern over the impact of non-Irish nationals on the economics of the Republic of Ireland through their consumption of identity see Burns, J. 2005 'Tourism Loses out as Ireland's Expats Find Roots on the Web' in *The Irish Times*, October 2, 2005.

[64] See McManus, R. 1997, 92 quoting Bord Fáilte 1997 which is also found on pages 51-2 of Chapter 1 of this thesis. For an example of popular concern over changes in tourism patterns and tourism consumption which were based on modern conceptions of cultural and ethnic 'roots' or 'roots tourism' see Burns 2005.

individuality rather than universal or social conceptions of heritage. Thus in the process of generating consumable cultural capital derived from objects and experiences of Irish identity, the self-determination movements of the 19th and early 20th centuries have been forsaken by a capitalistic, market driven determination of what Irish cultural identity is. For example, consumers are now able to select their own consumable versions of Irish history and prehistory in either silver or gold (see Figures 3.28-32).



Figure 3.28-30 The 'History of Ireland' collection from College House Jewellers, Nassau Street, Dublin.



Figure 3.31-32 The 'Impressions of Ireland' range from Oghamdesign.ie. Notice the prominence of the 'triple-spiral' motif on the pendant.

Impressions of Ireland Oghamdesign.ie		**History of Ireland** College House Jewellers	
	Newgrange	St. Patrick	
	Dolmen	Round Towers	
	Ogham	Viking Warriors	
	St. Patrick	Normans	
	King Sitric	Castle	
	Literature	King William	
	Castle	Union Jack	
	High Cross	Potato Famine	
	Salmon of Knowledge	Emigrant Ship	
	Harp	GPO	
	Horses	The Border	
	Ireland	Quo Vadis	
Ga eil ge	Gaeilge		

Figure 3.33 The individual symbols of the 'Impressions of Ireland' and 'History of Ireland' ranges.

The symbols used in these collections from College House Jewellers and Oghamdesign.ie are examples of the selection of 'glories' and 'traumas' of history and prehistory in order to create products for consumption based on identity and heritage (see Figure 3.33). Each company presents differing narratives of Irish history through iconic representations of cultural symbols. Comparing these lists, the 'Impressions of Ireland' list has three symbols which chronologically predate the beginning of the 'History of Ireland' list: the 'triple-spiral' from Newgrange, a dolmen and an ogham inscription. The two lists only agree on two 'symbols' of Ireland: St. Patrick and castles. In general the 'History of Ireland' list seems to be more historical, political and event based; therefore, the megalithic art of Newgrange, dolmens and ogham would not be appropriate as they are prehistoric. The 'Impressions of Ireland' list seems more 'period' or art historically based. However, a clear difference between the two lists is the representation of the island of Ireland. In the 'Impressions of Ireland' list Ireland is shown as a geographically whole unit whereas the 'History of Ireland' list clearly declares the partition and the border between Northern Ireland the Republic of Ireland. The comparison of these two lists illustrates the ability to construct different forms of awareness of history through the selection of a symbology, but this process of selection should be appreciated within the capitalistic context of two jewellers wishing to market their products to consumers.

In these relationships, both producers and consumers of these commodified experiences of 'Irish' culture or history are partaking in the consumption of suitable reservoirs of large group identity. The consumers are internalising the abstract notions of 'Irishness' and 'Celticness' which the pieces of jewellery represent through their economic interaction with the jeweller. This situation becomes more complex when these souvenirs and pieces of jewellery are given as gifts by the purchaser and worn by an individual as a 'gift from Ireland'.[65] Again in the act of giving the souvenir as a gift, it represents a compartmentalised experience of Ireland, and the wearing and exhibiting of the items puts them forth as identity markers which proclaim the owner's connection to notions of 'Ireland' and perhaps his or her own 'Irishness'. This phenomenon is being capitalised upon by the tourism industry in Ireland and internationally by jewellers in a world increasingly dominated by representation, mass production and consumption.[66] As more and more tourists come to Ireland to bring a 'gift from Ireland' back to their friends and

[65] See Evans 1999; Garrad 1976.
[66] Baudrillard, J. 1998 *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures*, Sage Publications, London.

family, more and more individuals are consuming the abstract, generalised and idealised notion of 'Irish' heritage that has been developed since the work of William Waterhouse in the 19th century AD. Indeed, the contemporary jewellery and tourism market works very much in the spirit of the Great Exhibition as a 'show ground' for Irish culture and achievement. Unfortunately though, what are now being marketed are cheap, derivatives of original artefact forms rather than unique, progressive artistic endeavours.[67] To further explore the themes raised thus far, the case study of the symbolic form of the 'Irish high cross' will now be explored.

High Crosses: A Case Study

High crosses are found throughout the island, although focused in the East, South-East and Midlands (see Figure 3.34). They were and are a visible monumental aspect of the geography of Ireland. It is, therefore, not surprising to see society continually returning to the form and symbol of the high cross in order to discover 'truths' and develop a sense of 'self'. The form of the high cross is a monumental stone sculpted cross comprised of three separate blocks: a base, a shaft with a head and a cap stone. The unique stylistic quality of the cross is the ring which encircles the junction of the two beams of the cross. The Irish high crosses were generally decorated with figural carvings depicting either stories from the Bible or images of Christ; however, there are many examples of high crosses in Ireland and further afield which do not have figural carving (see Figure 3.58). Roger Stalley identified three different types of Irish high crosses: plain crosses, ornamental crosses and scripture crosses. The three categories were fairly self-explanatory, but Stalley made the point that they were not mutually exclusive and were only for the purpose of facilitating an art historical study.[68] The crosses were usually found associated with monastic sites or early churches, but many high crosses have not been kept *in situ*, being moved in response to modern development or antiquarian interest such as with crosses from Tuam, Co. Galway and Kells, Co. Meath which were transported to the Great Exhibition of Dublin in 1853.

[67] See Benjamin 1992 [1955] and Russell 2006c. Also see page 120-4 of this Chapter 3 of this thesis.
[68] Stalley 2000, 14-15.



Figure 3.34 Distribution of 'High Crosses' in Ireland. After Harbison 1992.

High Crosses are not unique to the island of Ireland, as they are also to be found in parts of England, Scotland and Wales (see figures 3.37-39).[69] However, most of the examples from the other islands are fragmentary. It is the remarkable survival of the high crosses in Ireland that makes them unique when compared to other examples in Britain. High crosses arguably first appeared in Ireland in the 8th century AD. It was thought by Peter Harbison that the Ahenny Cross is the earliest example in Ireland, dating to the 8th century AD (see Figure 3.35). However, the first literary reference to them comes from circa AD 957 from the *Annals of the Four Masters*.[70] However, Harbison suggested that what made the high crosses unique was the effort put into the figural carvings (see Figure 3.36). He suggested that the crosses were vehicles for the panels which would have helped to educate the illiterate laity of the stories of the Bible in much the same way as churches today have pictorial depictions of the stations of the cross or illustrated children's Bibles. Harbison argues that this would have been in response to the Council of Paris in 825 AD.[71] This Council stated:

> Therefore, the adorers of images are wont to oppose the veneration, adoration or exaltation of the Holy cross in defence of their position why it is not allowed to adore images in the same way as crosses. To whom we must reply that Christ chose to be hung not on an image but on a cross, when he wished to redeem the human race, and therefore Holy Mother Church throughout the whole world, among other innumerable sacraments of the cross which have been enumerated in multiple ways far and wide throughout the whole world by the holy fathers, has decreed that it is permitted to all Catholics because of the love of the Passion of Christ alone that wherever they should see crosses they may venerate them if they wish by bowing, and in addition on the holy day on which the Passion of the Lord is specially venerated throughout the whole world, that the whole priestly order or the whole people should with all devotion prostrate themselves in adoration.[72]

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[69] Pennick, N. 1997 *The Celtic Cross: An Illustrated History and Celebration*, Blandford, London, 97-117.
[70] The earliest reference to an *ó chrois áird* (high cross) relates to Clonmacnoise in 957. The reference reads, 'the termon of Ciaran was burned this year from the High Cross to the Shannon' (*Annal of the Four Masters* M957.10). O'Donovan 1848-51, vol. 2, 677. A later reference in the same text refers to a group taking refuge at the foot of the *cros na screaptra* (Cross of the Scriptures) (ibid. M1060.5). O'Donovan 1848-51, vol. 2, 879. Also see Harbison, P. 1992 *The High Crosses of Ireland: An Iconographical and Photographic Survey*, Vol. 1-3, Rudolf Habelt, Bonn, 1. Also see Harbison 1994, 14.
[71] Harbison 1994, 12.
[72] Werminghoff, A. (ed.) 1908 *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Legum III, Concilia II, Concilia Aevi Karolini I, II*, trans. by J. M. Dillon, Hannover/Eipzig, 506 lines 14-23. After Harbison 1992, 353.

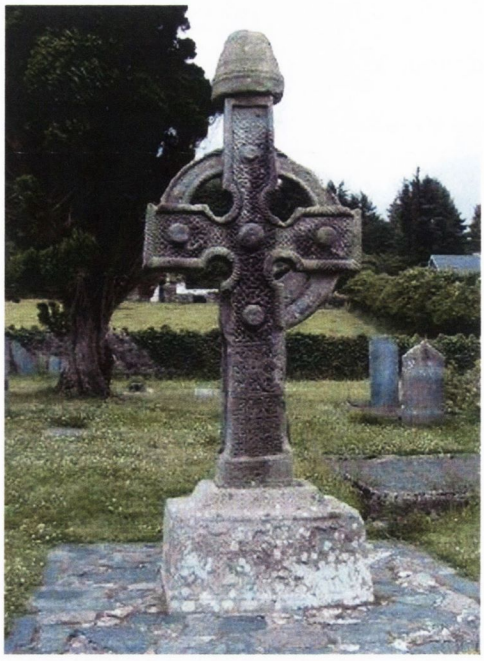


Figure 3.35 The Cross of Ahenny, Co. Tipperary. One of a pair of high crosses in Co. Tipperary, 15km south of Callan. Thought to be earliest in the country c.8th century AD. More likely to be from mid-9th century AD. They sit in a sloping field separating Munster and Leinster. They contain scenes of Christ's mission to the apostles and Adam being given dominion over the animals. Sandstone, 3.13m high. See Harbison 1994, 15. Photograph by Brian T. McElherron (http://cloghmore.bravepages.com/tipperary/ahenny.html).



Figure 3.36 The Cross of Monasterboice, Co. Louth. One of two from Co. Louth, 8km north-west of Drogheda. Both crosses from this monastic site are treated as the finest in the country and best preserved. This is 'Muiredach's' Cross which bears an inscription on its base which tells us that Muiredach erected the it. It is finely carved with scenes from the Bible. c.9th century AD, Sandstone, 5.70m. See Harbison 1994, 85-90. Photograph by Brian T. McElherron (http://cloghmore.bravepages.com/louth/monasterboice.html).



Figure 3.37 A cross slab from Invergowrie, Perthshire (9th century). Approximately 1.3m high. Although this is not a freestanding sculptural cross. The form of the sculpture suggests familiarity with the form of the high cross. Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Figure 3.38 Kildalton Cross, Islay, Hebrides, Scotland. 9th century. Epidiorite, 2.7m high. Courtesy Scotlandtourism.com.

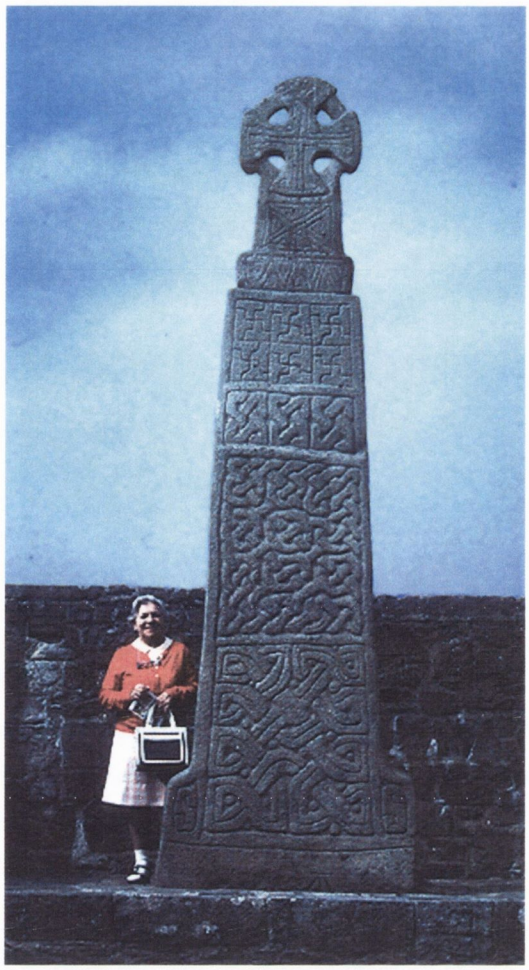


Figure 3.38 Carew Cross, Dyfed, Pembrokeshire, Wales. 11th century. Microtonalite, approximately 3.96m high. Probably commemorating Maredydd ap Edwin (d.1035), ruler of Deheubarth. After Dr Alison Stones, University of Pittsburg, and courtesy Dr Ruth Dean (1973).

It is possible that the 9th century AD crosses were built as a response to this decree to facilitate the education of society. This would explain why such a monumental form was chosen for the depictions of the Biblical stories. Also, the fact that the crosses were displayed outside could have facilitated the creating of an external worship space while also allowing the panels to be viewed by all. They could have been 'visual aids to popular piety'.[73]

What is notable about the form of the high cross in Ireland is that its recurrence in the canon of Irish symbols throughout Irish history is unique. First appearing in the 9th century in the similar form of a monument stone cross for the purpose of liturgy or creation of external worship spaces, the crosses were carved with fine figural depictions of the

[73] Harbison 1992, 353, 386.

stories of the Bible, and later reappeared in the 12th century.[74] Harbison posited the question of whether the 12th century crosses were a 'reviving of past glories'.[75] Unfortunately, this is a question which can only be addressed through hypothesis and can never truly be answered. However, what can be discerned from the 12th century crosses is a change in orientation in society towards high crosses. The 12th century crosses had very few 'scriptural' depictions and focused more on the figure of Christ himself or had no depictions at all.[76] This change in the artistic decoration of the high crosses from the 9th century to the 12th century could illustrate a change in attitude toward the crosses in general, a change in expectation of the church and liturgy or a change in the relationship between the people using the crosses and the stories of the Bible. Again, it is not possible to know the nature of the actual situation. What can be asserted though is that somewhere during the period between the 9th and 12th centuries, the relationship between the people and the form and symbolism of the high cross changed, and this was a change that clearly would have been to suit the new expectations and symbolic needs of the people using the high crosses in the 12th century.

The interesting aspect of the form of the free standing sculptural cross is that it has been continually renegotiated and reused since the 12th century.[77] However, it did not survive in the same function. The form of the high cross appeared in Medieval market and wayside crosses, such as at Balrath, Co. Meath (see Figures 3.39-40). The form was again adapted in the 17th century as commemorative crosses, such as the St. Tola's Cross, Dysert O'Dea, Co. Clare (see Figure 3.41), and it survives until today in the form of gravestones and monuments which came into use in the mid and later 19th century as part of the rise of Irish national identity in conjunction with the symbology of the Home Rule Movement of Daniel O'Connell and the Gaelic Revival (see Figures 3.46-48).[78] The rise of use of the monument form for public monuments and grave stones coincided with the exhibition of the original high crosses and replicas in 19th century. For example, a 5m carved high cross carved by Mrs. Ross of Bladensburg in Rosstrevor, Co. Down was part of the 1851 Great

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[74] Harbison 1994, 12.
[75] ibid. 13.
[76] For a full survey of these crosses see Harbison 1992.
[77] ibid. 14.
[78] ibid. 14. It is interesting to note the revival of the symbol of the Round Tower at this time in the form of the monument to Daniel O'Connell in Glasnevin cemetery in Dublin which was designed by George Petrie. See Williams, M. M. 2004 'The "Temple of Industry": Dublin's Industrial Exhibition' in C. Hourihane (ed.) *Irish Art Historical Studies in Honour of Peter Harbison*, Index of Christian Art, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, in association with Four Courts Press Dublin, 261-75.

Exhibition in London and was a focal point in the centre of the western Main Avenue of the exhibit (see Figures 3.42-44).[79] High crosses also played a prominent representational role at the Great Exhibition of Dublin in 1853. The exhibit included the sculptured high crosses from Tuam, Co. Galway and Kells, Co. Meath. It also carried a number of casts of other examples such as the crosses at Monasterboice, Co. Louth (see Figure 3.36).[80] A series of replicas of crosses also formed part of the opening exhibition of the new Dublin Museum of Science and Art in the 1890s (see Figure 3.45). Occurring during the aftermath of the Home Rule Movement and throughout the Gaelic Revival, these exhibitions illustrated a growing interest in the symbolic form of the high cross and its manifestation in public spaces. This interest would result in the utilisation of the form of the high cross as a suitable reservoir of Irish group identity which would be utilised in gravestones and public monuments.



Figures 3.39-40 Front and back of the late 16th century wayside cross from Balrath, Co. Meath. The east face depicts a pieta. The west face depicts the crucifixion of Christ. The inscription reads 'ORATE-P--AIA JOHANIS BROIN (Pray for the Soul of John Broin)'. It was re-erected in 1727 by Andrew Aylmer of Mountaylemer Bart and Lady Catherine Aylmer as a second inscription states that they 'had this cross beautifed A.D. 1727'. Photograph by Brian T. McElherron (http://cloghmore.bravepages.com/meath/balrath.html).

[79] Anon. 1973 [1851] *The 'Art Journal' Illustrated Catalogue of The Great Exhibition of London 1851*, xix; 318-19.

[80] For a discussion of the 'high crosses' on exhibit see Sproule, J. 1854 *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: A Detailed Catalogue of Its Contents with Critical Dissertations, Statistical Information and Accounts of Manufacturing Processes in the Different Departments*, James McGlashen, Dublin, 476. For a discussion of the replicas of crosses see Williams, M. 2004, 261. Also see Waddell 2005, 125.



Figure 3.41 St. Tola's Cross, Dysert O'Dea, Co. Clare. It was erected in 1683 by Michael O'Dea and re-erected by F. H. Synge in 1871. Limestone, 2.77m high. Note the crucifixion scene carved in high relief. On the shaft is a cleric with mitre and volute-headed crozier. Harbison 1992, 83.
Photograph by Brian T. McElherron (http://cloghmore.bravepages.com/clare/dysertodea.html).

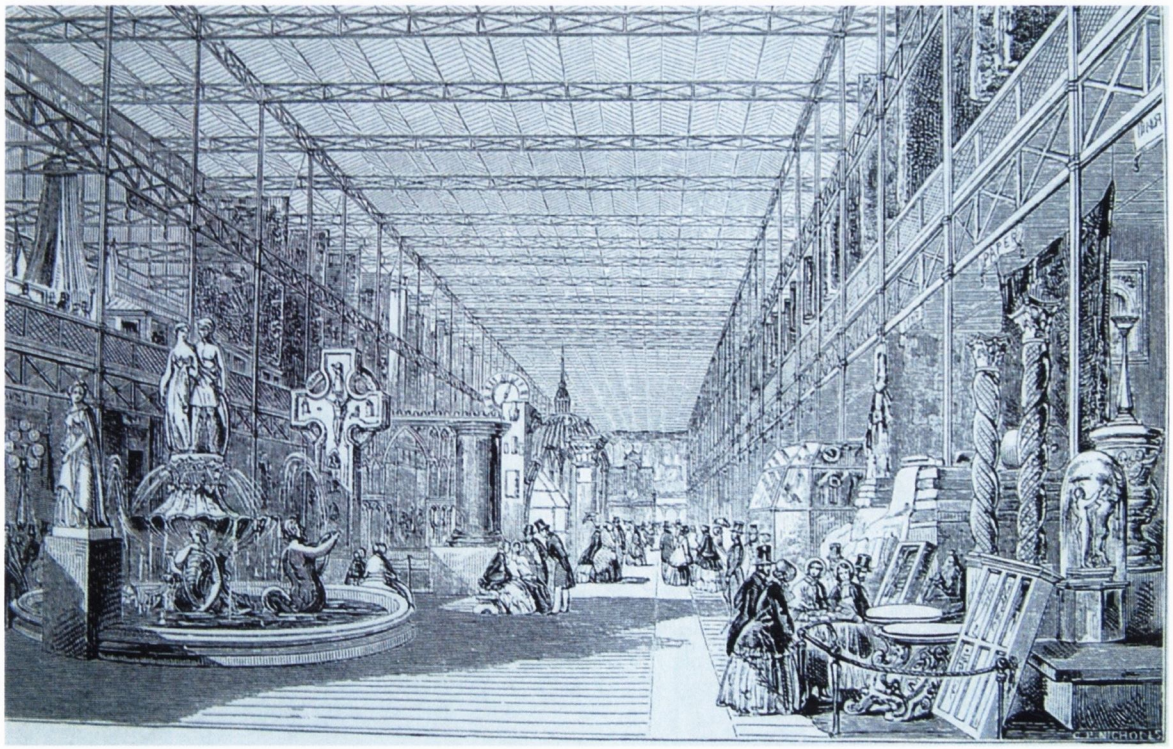
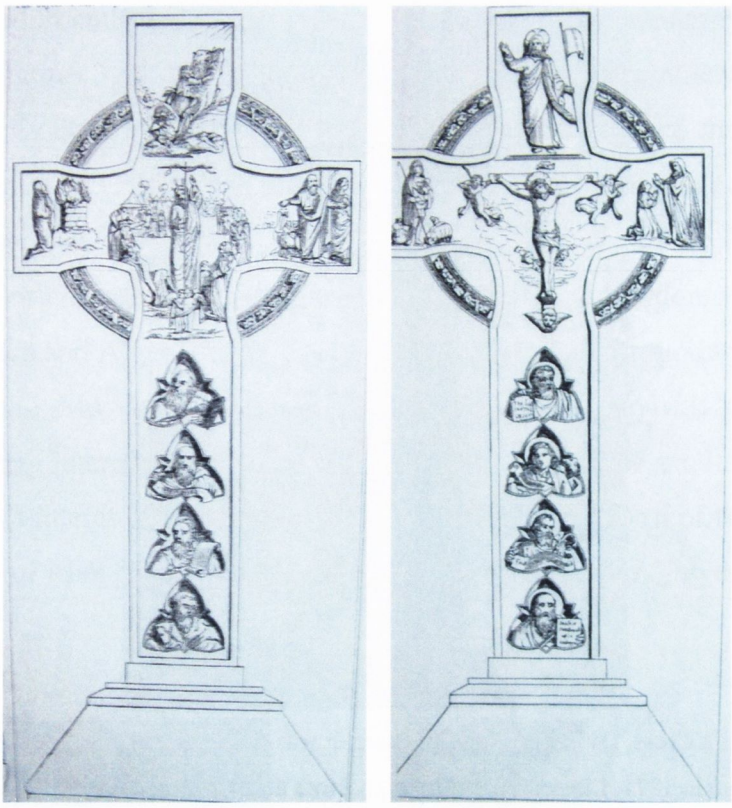


Figure 3.42 The western Main Avenue of the Great Exhibition of London 1851. After Anon. 1973 [1851] *The 'Art Journal' Illustrated Catalogue of The Great Exhibition of London 1851*, xix; 318-19. Note the high cross carved by Mrs. Ross prominently displayed (Figure 3.43-4).



Figures 3.43-44 Front and back of an approximately 5 metre tall 'high cross' carved by Mrs. Ross of Bladensburg in Rosstrevor, Co. Down. This cross can be seen in the western Main Avenue of the Great Exhibtion (Figure 3.41). After Anon. 1973 [1851] *The 'Art Journal' Illustrated Catalogue of The Great Exhibition of London 1851*, xix; 318-19.



Figure 3.45 Exhibition of replicas of high crosses from throughout Ireland in the main space of the Dublin Museum of Science and Art after in opened in the 1890s. Courtesy National Museum of Ireland.



Figure 3.46 'Widger tombstone, Co. Waterford'. Photograph taken between 1880-1900. National Library of Ireland, Photographic Archive, Poole Collection (PI380A).



Figure 3.47 Funeral of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa at Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin, 1915. 'Funeral of O'Donovan Rossa, Glasnevin Cemetery', National Library of Ireland, Photographic Archive, Keogh Collection (KE161). Notice the number of pre-existing high cross grave markers. The round tower memorial to Daniel O'Connell stands in the background.



Figure 3.48 Funeral of Arthur Griffith, founder of Sinn Féin, Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin, 1922. 'Funeral of Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins at graveside Glasnevin Cemetery', National Library of Ireland, Photographic Archive, Keogh Collection (KE171). Notice the commemorative floral wreath in the form of a high cross.

The use of the high cross as a suitable reservoir of Irish large group identity and Irish national identity was most evident in a temporary high cross monument which was erected in front of the Dáil after the establishment of the Irish Free State in honour of those who died in the Easter Rising and the Civil War (see Figure 3.49). The symbolic form also was utilised in the logos and iconography of social organisations. The form of the high cross was used as the crest of the Gaelic Athletic Association which was founded in 1884 by Michael Cusack and Maurice Davin (see Figure 3.52).[81] It is important to note that it was not only Irish symbolism that used the high cross as a symbol of Ireland. For example, many commemorative crosses were erected in Scotland, such as two examples outside the gate of Edinburgh Castle (see Figures 3.50-51). The form of the high cross has also been utilised in the British pound coins which were issued in 1996 and 2001. The coins which represented Northern Ireland carried on the reverse an impression of a high cross which utilised the Broighter 'high collar' as the ring of the high cross form (see Figure 3.53). The

[81] Mandle, W. F. 1987 *The Gaelic Athletic Association & Irish Nationalist Politics*, 1884-1924, Christopher Helm, London.

logo of the Welsh heritage group Cadw also utilises the symbolic form (see Figure 3.54). It is based on the Carew Cross (see Figure 3.38). The similarity between the form of Cadw's logo and that of the Gaelic Athletic Association's crest should be noted.



Figure 3.49 Leinster House, Dublin c.1920-1930. Notice the temporary high cross cenotaph, in the right of the image, erected to commemorate the dead of the Easter Rising of 1916 and the Irish Civil War. Image taken between 1920-1930, titled 'Free State Government Buildings and Cenotaph' National Library of Ireland, Photographic Archive, Valentine Collection (VAL 96427).



Figure 3.50 Commemorative cross outside Edinburgh Castle, Scotland. Erected in memory of Colonel Kenneth Douglas Mackenzie.



Figure 3.51 Commemorative cross outside Edinburgh Castle, Scotland. Erected in memory of those who died in the South African War 1901-2.







Figure 3.52 (Left) British one pound coin minted in 1996 with image of a high cross. Notice the use of the Broighter torc as the ring.

Figure 3.53 (Centre) Gaelic Athletic Association Crest.

Figure 3.54 (Right) The Cadw logo, a public body protecting and promoting Welsh built heritage (similar to An Taisce). Based on the Carew Cross (Figure 3.38). Courtesy Cadw. Crown Copyright.

As noted by Harbison what was significant about the life history of the symbolic form of the high cross were the periods of 'interruption'.[82] Those periods, such as the period between the 9th century and the 12th century examples, were bound at one end by the gradual cessation of use of the symbol for some reason and at the other by the revival of the symbol for some other reason. These periods of cessation and revival were when a renegotiation of shared identifications to the symbol of the high cross could have occurred. All symbolic relationships are continually negotiated, renegotiated and in flux. Still these periods would have provided the opportunity for the 'phasing out' of shared identifications amongst members of society by the gradually ending of the use of the symbol, lessening the intensity of the transgenerational transmission of the identifications with the symbol. Perhaps when the symbolic form was brought into use again the new group would have reconceptualised relationships with the symbol within new social and cultural contexts and new psycho-dynamic needs of group identity. This is not to say that this situation occurred, but simply to suggest that suitable reservoirs, shared identifications and symbols are not permanent and unchanging relationships but are constantly in flux, particularly as members of a group are born and raised or older members pass on.

The aspect of the high crosses that led society in Ireland to believe in their unique 'Irish' qualities was their remarkable survival across the island (see Figure 3.34). Most examples from Scotland, England and Wales are extremely battered. Thus, the life history of Irish high crosses is significantly different to that of high crosses from other countries. This could be seen to be an aspect of the significance of the symbol which was used to create an Irish identity. It brings to mind notions of the 'island of saints and scholars' which through its religious devotion preserved European Christian culture throughout the Dark Ages.[83] Much social energy was put into the manifestation of a unified narrative of Irish Christian and Catholic identity and the role of this identity in the world during the political movements of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

For example, a prominent aspect of the political rhetoric of De Valera was centred on the glorification of the Christian aspect of Irish history. In a 1933 radio broadcast, he recounted aspects of the Christian heritage of Ireland:

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[82] See Harbison 1994, 12-4.
[83] McMahon, S. 2001 *The Island of Saints and Scholars*, The Mercier Press, Dublin.

> Because she was independent of the Empire, Ireland escaped the anarchy that followed its fall. Because she was Christian, she was able to take the lead in christianising and civilising the barbarian hordes that had overrun Britain and the west of Europe. This lead she retained until the task was accomplished and Europe had entered into the glory of the Middle Ages. The memories of Irish saints of that time – Columcille and Adamnan, Columbanus and Gall, Virgilius and Cathaldus – founders of monasteries and sees, heroic preachers of the Gospel, scholars and patrons of learning – are still venerated in the lands where they toiled. The foundations of these Irish monks, notably the monasteries of Iona, Bobbio and St Gall, became, like the famous schools of Ireland itself, great centres of religions and secular learning in the Middle Ages.[84]

De Valera clearly believed as he argued in 1933 that Ireland could instil spiritual virtue in the western world through its devotion to Christianity.

> I have spoken at some length of Ireland's history and her contributions to European culture, because I wish to emphasise that what Ireland has done in the past she can do in the future. The Irish genius has always stressed spiritual and intellectual rather than material values. That is the characteristic that fits the Irish people in a special manner of the task, now a vital one, of helping to save western civilisation.[85]

He would continue to hold this belief through his later speeches. In 1966 at the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of the 1916 Easter Rising, De Valera closed his speech saying:

> Let us then, confidently, place the destiny of our nation anew under God's High Providence and, like the men of 1916, implore His blessing upon our aims and upon our work.[86]

This revival of Christian glory was not intended merely to bolster group unity but to charge Irish society with perpetuating these Christian and specifically Catholic

[84] De Valera 1980, 230.
[85] De Valera 1980, 233.
[86] De Valera 1980, 606.

traditions. As part of this programme, De Valera dedicated a number of monuments throughout his political career which carried specific religious and national overtones, beginning with the temporary monument outside Leinster House in the 1920s (see Figure 3.49). In 1973 he dedicated one of the last of these monuments in Ballsbridge, Dublin in memory of the Irish Volunteers from this part of Dublin who died in the Easter Rising of 1916 (see Figure 3.55). De Valera's appropriation of the high cross in his construction of a large group identity of a Catholic Ireland carrying on the tradition of the 'Island of Saints and Scholars' was an appropriative use of the symbol which projected Irish national and religious identity onto a symbolic form which was developed in a dynamic and pluralistic exchange of ideas amongst many groups of people through such regions as Scotland, England, Wales and Ireland.



Figure 3.55 Monumental cross erected in Ballsbridge, Dublin in 1973 to commemorate those who died from this locality in the Easter Rising of 1916. Note the schematic 'Celtic' knot-work decoration.

All of these interpretations of the meaning the high cross were adaptations of the symbolic form of the 'high cross' to suit different socio-cultural situations which seemingly differ from the original purpose and significance of the crosses. Firstly, since their erection predates the Reformation (c.16th century), they were not monuments to Catholicism or nationality but were general expressions of Christian sybmolism. Secondly, given the fact there are many examples of crosses of the same stylistic form throughout Scotland, England and Wales, the high cross can hardly be seen as a uniquely Irish symbol. Thus, the perception of the high cross as a symbol of a unique Irish religious, national or cultural identity is a perversion of the archaeological and historical context of the original artefacts. However, this should not supercede the plurality of meanings developed in human behavioural relationships within an environment. The core issue is the attempt to manifest these objects from the past which can have a plurality of meanings as singular objects with singular factual meanings which entitled a group to exist and to exclude any other individuals not associated with their group identity from participating in the manifestation of new meanings of the symbol.

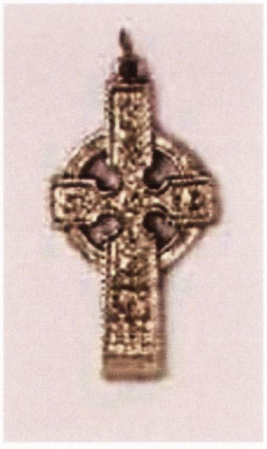
The only apology that can be legitimately made for the selection of the symbol as an Irish national symbol is the remarkable survival of the original high crosses and their visual presence in the Irish landscape. Just as they were originally intended to function as reference points in the geography of the island or to create spaces of worship, their survival across the island preserved an older, 'sacred' geography of Ireland and of old sacred spaces.[87] However, the overshadowing of the original crosses by the massive numbers of modern gravestones which appropriate the symbolic form has affected perceptions of the social relationships to the original crosses (see Figures 3.46-48). Popular interpretations of the original crosses now often result in the belief that the original crosses marked burials. For example, a travel-writing website on Glendalough reported that 'High (or Celtic) Crosses are burial stones, but a little nicer'.[88] Also a website selling crematory urns and a wide array of 'high cross' gravestones stated that:

> Standing stones have long been used by ancient peoples of the British Isles as grave markers, and the symbolically powerful single standing stone, with its stepped

[87] Harbison 1992, 353, 386.
[88] Peute, L. & M. Stark 1998 'Glendalough' Bamjam.net <http://www.bamjam.net/Ireland/Glenda.html> [Accessed 20 Mar 2006].

pyramidal platform, atop a burial mound can be seen as the precursor of the much later 'High Cross' of Ireland and elsewhere.[89]

This capitalisation upon misconceptions of the symbolic form of the high cross from medieval times through the 19th and 20th century has been carried on into the contemporary development of high cross jewellery. Instead of the high cross being erected in stone as a landscape monument at a grave, it is now cast in silver, gold or another material in a portable form which can be worn around the neck on a chain. For example, Oghamdesign.ie offers a wide range of replicas of specific high crosses such as the Cross of Ahenny or Muiredach's Cross from Monasterboice (see Figures 3.56-57).[90] This appropriation of the symbolic form of the high cross distorts the context of the original monuments. Until the replication of these monuments in portable media, individuals would have travelled to the location of the cross to view them. For example, individuals would often travel to Glendalough, Co. Wicklow in order to make a wish by hugging the Cross of St Kevin (see Figure 3.58). The replication of these crosses in such a small portable form distorts the original impression of the monuments which would have been much larger than the individual.



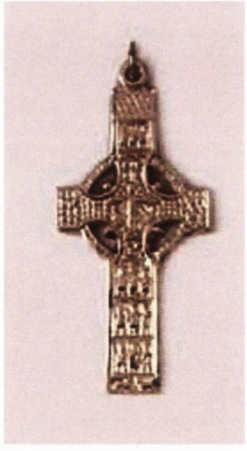


Figure 3.56 (Left) Replica marketed as 'The Cross of Ahenny' from Oghamdesign.ie. Gold, approximately 5cm high. Compare to the original which is 3.13m tall (Figure 3.35). Note the completion of the ring.

Figure 3.57 (Right) Replica marketed as 'Muiredach's Cross' ('Cross of Monasterboice') from Oghamdesign.ie. Gold, approximately 5cm high. Compare to the original which is 5.7m tall (Figure 3.36).

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[89] Crematoryurns.com 2001 'Celtic Crosses: A Brief History' Crematoryurns.com <http://crematoryurns.com/celticcross.html> [Accessed 20 Mar 2006].

[90] Replicas are also available of the Cross of Ardboe, Co. Tyrone, Cross of Duleek, Co. Meath, Cross of St. Martin, Iona, Cross of Moone, Co. Kildare, Cross of the Scriptures, Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly and many others. These are sold in the same 'Celtic Cross Collection' as abstract crosses, Crosses of St. Bridget



Figure 3.58 c.1930-1950. St. Kevin's Cross, Glendalough, Co. Wicklow. This is a 12th century example of a 'plain cross'. Granite, 3.35m high. This cross originally stood near the road near the contemporary hotel but was moved to its present position in the graveyard. 'St. Kevin's Cross and Kitchen, Glendalough - guide explaining to visitor how to receive good luck' - National Library of Ireland, Photographic Archive, Valentine Collection (VAL 84198).

These examples are direct copies of specific examples of Irish high crosses, and they therefore additionally act as a connection to specific locations and specific monuments. However, the size of these pendants does not allow for the detailed representation of the designs or relief sculptures of the original crosses. A general schematic representation of the form of the original cross is marketed. Thus, in the 'replication' of the original cross, the jeweller has chosen to abandon the details of the original crosses in order to produce portable totems or consumable, suitable reservoirs of Irish group identity.







Figure 3.59 (Top Left) A souvenir gold 'Celtic' cross from Oghamdesign.ie.

Figure 3.60 (Top Right) A souvenir silver 'Celtic' cross encrusted with diamonds from College House Jewellers, Nassau Street, Dublin.

Figure 3.61 (Bottom) A souvenir silver 'Celtic' cross from 123celtic-irish-jewelry.com.

The marketing of representations of high crosses becomes more complex when one considers the case of what have been called 'Celtic Crosses' (Figures 3.59-61). The 'Celtic Cross', of which there are many examples in souvenir shops and jewellers, is a generalised, non-specific copy of the stylistic qualities of the original high crosses. As with the 'replicas' of the crosses of Ahenny and Monasterboice, these examples also favour the abstract representation of 'Celtic' artistic motifs (e.g. 'knotwork') (Figures 3.56-57). In the same way, they can be seen as an abstraction of the notions of identity with which the original ones were imbued.[91] The 'Celtic Cross' jewellery and Celtic jewellery in general capitalises on general, abstract desires to connect to a contemporary conception of what a 'Celtic' or Irish identity is. These necklaces do still serve a similar function though. They are personal identity markers and expressions of culture. Their use by living individuals, heightens the significance of the symbol in the construction of group identities. If one sees a person wearing a high cross necklace, one could legitimately make a few interpretations

[91] See page 28 of Chapter 1 of this thesis. Also see Volkan 2003a, 54.

about the individual's identity. Most likely the person has some interest in 'Celtic' culture or aesthetics. Secondly, the person most likely has an interest in Christian religion and culture and specifically 'Celtic Christianity', and could very likely be Catholic. Finally, the individual could have ancestors or relations who were or are from England, Ireland, Scotland or Wales or may themselves have been born or raised in one of these places. The interpretations of the personal use of the symbol illustrate the use of such a symbol in society as a personal identity marker and a representation of culture to others in a group. It can be seen as a totem or representations of Christian, Catholic, Celtic and/or Irish identity.

Approached psychoanalytically, these items can be described as transitional objects. Volkan, based on the thought of Winnicott, identified the phenomenon of transitional objects as objects which are carried with a group in movement, exile or cultural transition.[92] Defined psychoanalytically, a transitional object is 'a temporary construction to aid [the patient] in the early stages of developing a sense of reality and establishing his own individual identity'.[93] Thus, the suitable reservoirs of Irish large group identity when carried into new geographical and cultural contexts helped the group bridge the transitional period from one place to another.[94] The best illustration of this phenomenon would be the widespread appearance of the Irish high cross in Irish American or more generally Irish 'diaspora' communities. The Celtic High Cross as it is popularly known was a useful symbol for Irish churches and community groups to create and maintain cultural identity in the abstract cultural geographies of North America and Australia. This has led to the appropriation of the form of the high cross for liturgies in many New England church groups (see Figure 3.62).[95] This combined with the wearing of high cross necklaces helped to maintain a visual symbolic framework to aid the maintenance of group identity. The general maintenance of the 'Celtic cross' as a sign of Irish or 'Celtic' identity can be seen as a result of the transgenerational transmission of the attachment to the symbol as a means of alleviating anxiety of emigrant groups of Irish women and men, bolstering group ideological unity.

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[92] Volkan 2003a. Also see Winnicott, D. W. 1953 'Transitional Objects and Transitional Phenomena', *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 34, 89-97.

[93] Greenacre, P. 1970 'The Transitional Object and the Fetish: With Special Reference to the Role of Illusion', *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 51, 447-56, 334

[94] For a discussion of Irish emigrant identity in the United States of America in the 19th century see Brighton & Orser 2006. For a general discussion of identity in situations of diaspora, exile and movement in relation to archaeological and anthropological issues see Bender, B. & M. Winter (eds.) 2001 *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, Berg, Oxford.

[95] For a discussion of Irish diasporic identity in New York in the 19th century see Brighton & Orser 2006.



Figure 3.62 Head of a processional cross used in liturgies in the Adirondack Mission in Brant Lake, New York. Courtesy Rev. Robert Limpert and the Adirondack Mission.

The situation becomes more extreme when individuals tattoo representations of high crosses on their bodies (see Figures 3.63-70). The availability of high cross representations almost becomes farcical when one searches on the internet for 'Celtic Cross' gravestone services. Mypethaven.com offers two 'Celtic Cross' urns for pet burials. The Crosses are available in either white or rose.[96]

[96] Dawn 2006 'Pet Headstones and Gravemarkers' Mypethaven.com <http://www.mypethaven.com/pet_grave_markers.htm> [Accessed 20 Mar 2006].





Figures 3.63-69 A selection of images of 'celtic' cross tattoos from Captain Bret's Tattoo Shop, Inc. in Newport, Rhode Island.[97] Courtesy Captain Bret's Tattoo Shop.

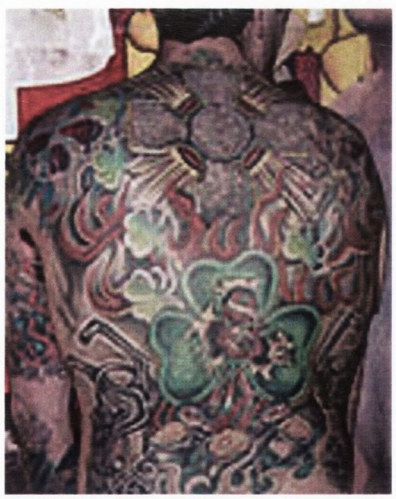
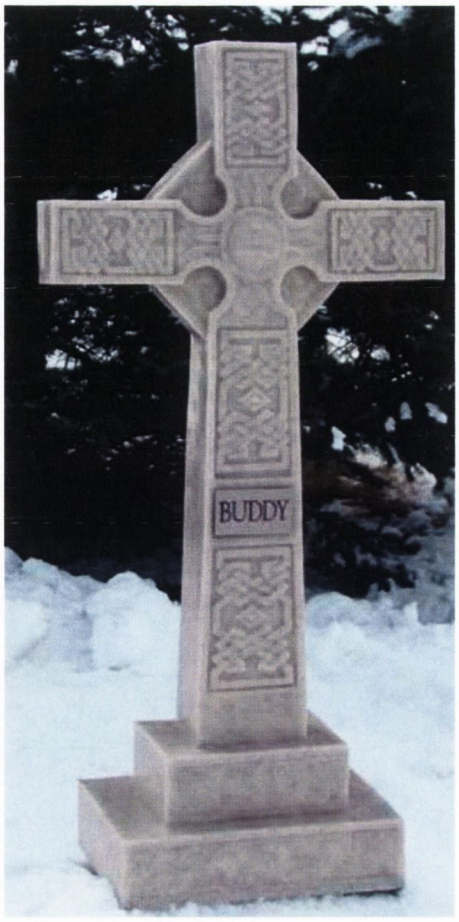


Figure 3.70 Tim Hart of Boston exhibiting his tattoos at the Reno, Nevada Tattoo Festival, 19-22 April 2001. Photograph by Alayne Moody, graduate student at the Reynolds School of Journalism, University of Nevada, Reno, 2001.

[97] A selection of images from Captain Bret's Tattoo Shop, Inc. in Newport, Rhode Island. Captain Bret 2006 'Captain Bret's Tattoo Shop' Tribal-celtic-tattoo.com <http://www.tribal-celtic-tattoo.com/celtic1.htm> [Accessed 20 Mar 2006].





Figures 3.71-72 'High cross' urns for pet burials available in white or rose from mypethaven.com.

Consuming Identities

Today, the 'Celtic' marketshare is sizeable in the jewellery industry and integral to the souvenir industry both in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. In 1994, An Bord Tráchtála, the Industrial Development Board for Northern Ireland and the International Fund for Ireland published a study on Market opportunities in Ireland in which the group identified new significant opportunities in the jewellery market. Specifically, they named 'Upper end Celtic neckware' and 'Stone set claddagh rings at upper end of market' as new opportunities to develop.[98] Also in the report, retailers identified 'Contemporary Celtic Designs' as a significant new market in their business.[99] In

[98] An Bord Tráchtála, The Industrial Development Board for Northern Ireland and the International Fund for Ireland 1995 *Market Opportunities in Ireland: Vol. 6: Jewellery*, An Bord Tráchtála, Dublin, vi. For a discussion of the history of the claddagh ring see Dillon, W. 1905-6 'The Claddagh Ring', *The Galway Archaeological Society Journal*, Vol. IV, 11-6. Joyce, C. 1990 *Claddagh Ring Story*, Cecily Joyce, Galway.
[99] ibid. 34.

1994, Celtic designs were found to make up 7% of the overall jewellery market, and Claddagh designs made up 15% of the overall market.[100] Thus, almost one quarter of the domestic jewellery market in Ireland was made up of 'historically' derived designs.

Companies such as Solvar have been producing 'Celtic' and Irish jewellery and souvenirs for over sixty years. In 2003, Solvar proudly proclaimed its title as the 'Best Supplier to the North America Market' for the fourth consecutive year.[101] The important thing to remember is that these items were not commissioned by a government authority or social organisation. They were independently developed by private businesses. The symbolic nature of the images of the artefacts was created through the interaction of governmental groups and social organisations such as the Home Rule Movement, but these private businesses capitalised on the internal desire of individuals created by these groups in society which attached importance to these images' aspects of identity and group uniqueness. Again, for example, Solvar as the 'Best Supplier to the North America Market' illustrates the capitalistic nature of the industry. They are capitalising on the desire for identity and antiquity among the Irish American population in North America.[102] Indeed, this happens world wide, and this phenomenon is not unique to Irish identity.

What these jewellers are marketing today are compartmentalised experiences of 'Celtic' art and culture. Methods of mass production have produced, cheap, schematic representations of 'Celtic' design or 'Irish' cultural objects (see Figures 3.56-57, 3.59-61). These schematic abstractions of complex symbolic forms have become suitable reservoirs which are consumed by domestic and foreign markets as a materialisation of ideologies of group identity. Volkan conceived of large group identity being facilitated through the internalisation of the abstract concepts represented by suitable reservoirs through interaction or consumption.[103] Thus the mass produced, schematised representations of 'Irish' or 'Celtic' design are behavioural abstractions of the complex desire for the fulfilment of large group ideological cohesion. The jewellers are capitalising on the chosen glory of 'Celtic' and 'Gaelic' culture of Irish antiquity constructed since the advent of

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[100] ibid.
[101] Solvar 2004 'About Us: History of Solvar' Solvar.ie <http://www.solvar.ie> [Accessed 20 Mar 2006].
[102] For a discussion of similar exploitation of the Irish American consumer group in the 19th century in the United States of American see Brighton & Orser 2006.
[103] Volkan 2003a, 54. Also see pages 28 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.

antiquarian activity in Ireland which is manifested in the suitable reservoirs of glorified examples of Irish archaeological artefacts.

These economic interactions provide new shared identifications with artefact forms but not with the original artefacts or monuments. The marketing of representations of 'experiences' of 'Irishness' or 'Celticness' and the consumption of these representations are designed to fulfill expectations for establishing ideological, experiential and emotional connections between people and places. However, ultimately this pattern of an economy leads to new shared identifications amongst those consuming, creating a large group identity based on consumption patterns rather than other creative or participatory patterns. The capitalistic nature of this economic relationship between mass-producers of objects and consumers supercedes the emotional and social aspects of the relationship. Although this phenomenon may seem benign, the effect that theses jewellers and companies have in reinforcing idealised perceptions of 'Irish' identity, especially given their impact as an export industry, is significant as is illustrated by the figures from An Bord Tráchtála. The danger of this situation is that it subjects any pre-existing identifications with artefacts or monuments to alteration for the sake of the market, thereby affecting social understanding of an artefact's or monument's context and significance.

Consumption as Participation: Moving beyond Modern Archaeologies

The contemporary philosophy of Jean Baudrillard provides a wonderful point of inspiration concerning the effects of consumptive society and mass production on the authenticity of singular objects. Baudrillard in his discussions of contemporary social trends gave expression to the illusion of participatory action that consumption gives to the consumer.[104] In a relationship with industrialised tourism and heritage, unique archaeological objects and monuments have become the models for lines of replications and simulations which are mass produced as consumable images, representations and experiences.[105] This social behaviour has implications for notions of 'meaning' and 'value'

[104] Baudrillard 1998.
[105] Baudrillard, J. 1996 *The System of Objects*, Verso, London.; Baudrillard, J. 2003 'The Rise of the Object: The End of Culture' in F. Proto (ed.) *Mass. Identity. Architecture.: Architectural Writings of Jean*

in archaeological research and practice. Following Baudrillard's arguements, through the modern and indeed contemporary processes of simulation, replication and consumption in society in Ireland, the meaning and value of the original artefact has been over-shadowed by the overwhelming availability of mass-produced, consumable signifiers of archaeological artefacts. Although Baudrillard neither put forward a convincing theory of the nature and manifestation of consumptive behaviour, nor an applicable way of moving on from the issues he raised, he did give one lasting impression. Although replication, simulation, mass production and consumption can be theorised and deconstructed, it is most important to appreciate the aspect of normalisation that these actions have on the perception of the socialised individual. The phenomenon of a consumption-based society, although philosophically problematic, is not 'unnatural'. The behaviour of purchasing economically and possessing and controlling a commodity is becoming a dominant aspect of contemporary behavioural patterns in Irish society.[106] The normalising qualities of the action of consumption must be acknowledged and engaged with by the heritage industry and also by archaeologists as it is a fundamental aspect of contemporary identity construction. The act of consumption often has an affirmative quality in that it provides the experience of participation within economic relationships in modern society. In this context, the colloquial phrase 'retail therapy' expresses the theraputic qualities of the act of purchasing a commodity, particularly one laden with ideological expectation such as the items discussed in this chapter.[107]

This is the fundamental problem that is presented to modern archaeologies. Archaeology's popular appeal relies on its ability to produce images, narratives and experiences of the past which can be perceived as authentic, unique and true experiences and which facilitate the experience of the past as a space and time separate and distinct from the contemporary modern world.[108] These images and experiences, however, are manifested through modern industrial and technological developments which allow the

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Baudrillard, Wiley-Academy, Sussex, 93-124. For a discussion of the thought of Baudriallard in relation to the archaeological site of Newgrange see Cochrane 2006. Also see Brett 1996.

[106] Baudrillard 1998.

[107] For a survey of theories on the modern consumer society see Lee, M. J. (ed.) 1999 *The Consumer Society Reader*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.

[108] See pages 50-1 of Chapter 1 for a discussion of Bord Fáilte's policy of capitalisation upon and marketing of 'experiences' of Ireland and Irish heritage. For a discussion of the critical nature of these issues for contemporary archaeological practice see Holtorf, C. 2006 'Experiencing Archaeology in the Dream Society' in I. Russell (ed.) *Images, Representations and Heritage: Moving beyond Modern Approaches to Archaeology*, Springer-Kluwer, New York, 161-76.

mass production of replicated heritage objects and the proliferation of images of the past through print and digital media so that they can be consumed through personalised choices by individuals *en masse*. Of course, these technological developments have allowed those employed in the heritage sector to ensure long term conservation of sites by controlling visitor access and providing replicas as interpretive contextualisations of the past where the original site or artefact is in danger.[109] Although this is responsible archaeological practice, it does not move archaeology through epistemological problems related to its role as a symptom of modernity. As Lowenthal pointed out rightly twenty years ago, 'we may fancy an exotic past that contrasts with a humdrum or unhappy present, but we forge it with modern tools'.[110] For modern Irish cultural nationalism, archaeology, antiquarianism and anthropology were those modern tools. Thus, archaeology's popular appeal in Ireland currently relies on its ability to mask its own modernity in its provision of emotive, affirmative, didactic and escapist experiences of the past through representations of the 'Irish' past in the heritage and tourism industries. This is a phenomenon which is not limited to traditional artefacts or portable commodities. In the next chapter, the impact of archaeology on conceptions of landscape and agency will be illustrated in order to explore the role of the past in modern conceptions of place identity in Ireland. This will situate these emotive, affirmative, didactic and escapist experiences within the landscape of Ireland.

[109] See Caple, C. 2000 *Conservation Skills: Judgement, Method and Decision Making*, Routledge, London. and Layton, R., P. Stone, J. Thomas & N. Rao (eds.) 2001 *Destruction and Restoration of Cultural Property*, Routledge, London.

[110] Lowenthal, D. 1985 *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, xvii.

Chapter 4: Landscapes and the Mind

Graham Fairclough in his report on Historic Landscape Characterisation for English Heritage argued that the landscape as it exists today can be viewed as an artefact of human agency.[1] Following from this, then the same theory used to understand the role of artefacts as objects in society in the previous chapter can be applied to landscapes. Given their broad and abstract nature, landscapes can be interpreted in a number of different ways which gives them a resonating potency in the imagination of society.[2] As stated earlier, De Valera declared in the April 1926 announcement of the five main aims of the political party Fianna Fáil 'the development of a native Irish culture' and 'the distribution of the land of Ireland so as to get the greatest number possible of Irish families rooted in the soil of Ireland'.[3] This was a political example of the theme of the relationship between conceptions of the 'land' and ways of life in Ireland. There is a psycho-social relationship between objects from the 'past' and individuals in large groups. In the same way, there are relationships between entire landscapes and the groups inhabiting them. Thus, it is enlightening to use the same theoretical and psychoanalytic approach that has been utilised thus far towards smaller portable objects to understand landscapes and study how they affect individual and social psychology in the construction of identity. One such aspect is the archaeological imagination which prompts the question 'how did the landscape come to be in the state it is in today?'[4] The social conception of landscape encourages individuals to engage with it theoretically and practically in an attempt to understand how the relationships between life, agency and the environment have arrived at their current state and how these relationships provide resources for development for the future. Due to the abstract nature of landscape, any study should begin with a contribution to the attempts to explore what landscapes are.

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[1] See Fairclough, G. 1999 *Yesterday's World, Tomorrow's Landscape : The English Heritage Historic Landscape Project 1992-94*, English Heritage, London, 11.
[2] See Tilley 1994; 2004. Also see Meskell 2001; 2002.
[3] De Valera 1980, 131.
[4] For a discussion of 'archaeological imagination' see Thomas 1996, 63.

What is a landscape?

Christopher Tilley's work on landscape and phenomenology has shown that society's conception of landscape is quite complex and fluid and has changed over the course of human existence.[5] Tilley illustrated that space, action and meaning are not separable and are inextricably linked to one another. He observed that new geography and new archaeology have separated space from activity and meaning, thus facilitating a 'pseudo-scientific' approach assuming sweeping similarities between geographical regions and over large time scales in order to develop comparative studies and construct models for interpretation.[6] However, space can not exist without agency. Agency requires space to occur, and meaning is immediately and continually present in this interaction.[7] This conception of space can cause the issue of landscape and geography to become complex - bordering on the abstract; however, it also deepens the understanding of landscape as a behavioural construction of the human psyche materialised through our linguistic communications of myth, history, art and geography.

A discussion of landscape is relevant to a study of identity because landscape or space is co-existent with being and action.[8] In Tilley's words, 'a landscape has ontological import because it is lived in and through, mediated, worked on and altered, replete with cultural meaning and symbolism – and not just something looked at or thought about, an object merely for contemplation, depiction, representation and aestheticisation'.[9] Humans are continually engaged with the landscape in that the landscape exists continually within the scope of human praxis and existence as a mode of perception and expression. In other words, humans and landscapes are co-existent and co-dependant. The important thing about this relationship is that it is not hierarchical and that the landscape or space and the mind can not be valorised against each other.[10] Neither can be seen as *a priori*.[11] We live in a world ripe with meaning and are continually engaged in interpretation of both self and

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[5] See Tilley 1994; 2004.
[6] Tilley 1994, 9.
[7] For a survey of critical concepts relating to antrhopology and concepts of place and space see Low, S. M. & D. Lawrence-Zuniga (eds.) 2003 *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, Blackwell, Oxford. For a survey of critical themes in theories of space, agency and place see Hubbard, P., R. Kitchin and G. Valentine (eds.) 2004 *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*, Sage Publications Ltd., London.
[8] See Merleau-Ponty 1962 [1945]. For a case study of landscape and identity in England see Darby, W. J. 2000 *Landscape and Identity: Geographies of Nation and Class in England*, Berg, Oxford.
[9] ibid. 26.
[10] Thomas 1996, 12-3.
[11] Heidegger 1996 [1927].

object in the development of an awareness of being in the world.[12] Thus, humans are not stagnant bodies receiving or taking information from stagnant objects and spaces in the construction of a worldview but are interpretive beings constantly engaged in daily practices which affirm existence and continue the hermeneutic spiral of thought.[13] These daily practices are what allow humans to cope with the nature of their daily existence.[14]

Landscape and Memory

The aspect of the landscape which facilitates this coping is that it acts as a spatial narrative.[15] It helps humans communicate, remember meaning and structure their daily practices within the objects that surround them. In Tilley's words 'a landscape is a series of named locales, a set of relational places linked by paths, movements and narratives. It is a 'natural' topography perspectivally linked to the existential Being of the body in societal space'.[16] Tilley's concept of landscape relies on an appreciation of linguistic memory as well as physical action. It exists in the present as a facet of human cognition and awareness but also is an aspect of contemporary human praxis and activity. The landscape is simultaneously a resource for current human industry and an artefact of human agency. As stated earlier, Fairclough argued that the landscape as it exists today is the greatest artefact of human agency which survives today.[17] Its present state is the result of the sum total of human endeavours which have occurred on the earth.

'The landscape is a pathway into our memories'.[18] This was the opening sentence of the introduction of the recent report of the European Pathways to the Cultural Landscape Project 2000-2003 (EPCL), 'Pathways to Europe's Landscape'. This report was a dynamic application of many of the theoretical approaches to the concept of landscape. The project took place in twelve separate regions in ten European countries (Czech Republic, Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Sweden, Wales). The

[12] Tilley 1994; Heidegger 1996 [1927]; Thomas 1996.
[13] Bordieu 1977; Gosden 1994, 58-61; DeMarrais 1996, 16. Also see DeMarrais *et al.* 2005.
[14] Thomas 2004, 185.
[15] For a discussion of the role of landscape in personal spatial and narrative experience see Aleksiuk, M. & T. Nelson (eds.) 2002 *Landscapes of the Heart: Narratives of Nature and Self*, NeWest Press, Edmonton.
[16] Tilley 1994, 34.
[17] See Fairclough 1999, 11.
[18] Clark, J., J. Darlington & G. Fairclough 2003 *Pathways to Europe's Landscape*, European Pathways to the Cultural Landscape 2000-2003, Heide, Germany, 1.

objectives of the project were 'to increase understanding of the cultural landscape, find ways to achieve the presentation of this knowledge to wider public audiences and promote sustainable methods of managing the landscape'.[19] Each participating group applied the theories of the overarching project differently. For example, the Irish Dowris project used funds to produce Historic Landscape Characterisation maps of three counties in the Midlands of Ireland (Co. Laois, Co. Offaly and Co. Westmeath) (Figure 4.7).[20] The information resulting from these maps was incorporated into the landscape management systems of the individual county councils in the hopes that it would enhance the planning procedure and introduce applications of the project's theories on a practical level.

Adopting the policies of the European Landscape Convention, the research programmes of the EPCL project approached the landscape as 'a visual guide to the past' which is a common heritage without borders or boundaries.

> If you look at the landscape with care – if you 'read' it, and its messages from the past, metaphorically speaking – you can develop a stronger understanding and appreciation of European identities, of local character, and of history. In turn, that increased understanding can lead to better care for the landscape itself, so that it becomes easier to pass on our landscape in good condition to the future for others to enjoy and interpret.[21]

The project was designed to illustrate a way of engaging with landscape on a pan-European level in a continually interpretive and re-interpretive process of remembering and telling stories in order to understand the development and developing nature of landscape. Thus, rather than focusing on the 'hard-data' which resulted from the project (this was instead directed towards government agencies engaged in landscape management), the project report used the research to present 36 stories about the European landscape in order to create an appreciation of (1) the physical component of landscape which inspires interpretation, (2) the way in which humans effect and create landscapes, (3) the role of and effect on landscape as a location of human interaction, (4) the role of landscape as a

[19] ibid.
[20] As of yet no publication has been planned for the results of the research. For information regarding the project, contact Anthony Corns of The Discovery Programme who co-ordinated the research. For a brief discussion of the results of the HLC study of the midlands in Ireland see pages 179-81 of Chapter 4 of this thesis. See Figures 4.6-7.
[21] Clark *et al.* 2003, 2.

means of explanation of the present and (5) the nature of landscape as a source of information and linguistic tool for current public discourses.

The strength of the project report was its appreciation of the theoretical developments of thinkers such as Tilley who call for a phenomenological perspective of landscape and human agency. The landscape was conceived of as a visual experience which is shared with other humans through contemporary activity. This visual experience is pregnant with material which leads humans to interpret the way in which the landscape came to be in its present state. In this way, the 'past' of the landscape is always 'present'; however, the project made clear that this perception of the past and landscape is 'an idea, not a thing'.[22] Thus a large portion of the project engaged with the concept of narratives and stories acting as the linguistic communication which passed on traditions of landscape interpretation.

> There are stories in the landscape that tell us about our predecessors and their actions, how they changed the world around them and turned it into the world that we have inherited. They explain how our predecessors lived, how they farmed the land, eating its produce, exploiting its raw materials, and using it to validate and reinforce social and political structures. ... This book's stories from the landscape also tell us about our world of the 21st century.[23]

The project report took three stories from each region studied in the ten countries and weaved them together with earlier stories, myths and narratives attempting to understand places and landscape creating a dynamic, self-reflexive report on the present nature and phenomenon of landscape in Europe. In this way, the EPCL developed an appreciation of the landscape as a complex and diverse heritage. A heritage that should not be simply documented, observed and managed but also celebrated, interpreted and 'read'. Thus, the research of the EPCL was seen and presented in its report as a part of the tradition of stories told about the landscape as part of our desire to understand and engage with existence and to 'read' the landscape.

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[22] ibid. 3.
[23] ibid. 2.

This human predilection to 'read' the landscape is not a recent development of intellectual thought. In Ireland, desire to understand the landscape and the memories associated with it can be seen in historical documents as far back as the Early Medieval period. In the 11th century topographical poems relating to a number of different locales throughout Ireland were collected into a single volume known as the *Dindshenchas*. It is thought that the poems were originally composed as part of the education process. They were written to explain the origin or derivation of place names. Often the sources for the names came from legends or folklore, but it was possible that some could also have been made up by the compilers themselves.[24] Although the *Dindshenchas* has been primarily considered a literary document, the writing of the poems and their later collection testified to the significance that place and the desire to understand the development of landscape had in the Irish imaginary. For example, the first volume of the Metrical *Dindshenchas* edited by Edward Gwynn published in 1903 largely dealt with the poems associated with Tara. The first poem began:

Temair Breg, whence was it named?	*Temair Breg, cid ní diatá*
declare O sages!	*indisid a ollamna!*
when did the name part from the stead?	*cuin do dedail frisin mbruig?*
when did Temair become Temair? (Temair I, 1-4)[25]	*cuin robo Temair Temair?*

This opening of the collection of poems illustrated the poignant desire to understand the contemporary relationships between society and pre-existing landscape features. The poem asked the question 'when did Temair become Temair' which led into a discourse of 'psuedo-historical' inquiry into the 'naming' or derivation of the place name. Another poem, 'Temair III' not only asked the question from where did Tara get its name, but it also explored the names of all of the individual monuments and structures associated with the site (i.e. Ráith na Senad, Clóenfherta, Ráith Nessa, etc.) (Teamair III, 33-144).[26] In addition to telling the stories of the derivation of each of the monuments names, the poem gave topographical directions to help the reader find them. For example:

[24] Gwynn 1903-1935, vol. 5, 91*f.*
[25] Gwynn 1903-1935, vol 1, 3.
[26] ibid. 17-25.

The Crooked Trenches where they slew the maidens,	*Cláen-Ferta a ngaeltís aindre,*
The Crooked Trenches of the crooked dealings	*Cláen-Ferta na cláen-chaingne,*
west from Rath Grainde below,	*fri Ráith Grainde aniar anís,*
they remain free from decay both of them.	*atáit cen erchra a n-óendís.*
Eastward from Rath Grainde in the glen	*O Ráith Grainde sair 'sin glinn*
is the Marsh of strong Temair;	*atá Sescend Temrach tind;*
east of the Marsh there are	*atá fri Sescend anair*
Rath Nessa and Rath Conchobair.	*Ráth Nessa, Ráth Chonchobair*
(Teamair III, 41-48)[27]	

Given the multiple purposes of the poem to explicate the current monuments of Tara, to relate the narrative knowledge of the place and to explain the places' and sites' existence, the poem could be described as an early textual example of archaeological interpretation in Ireland.[28] This poem, as well as the rest of the *Dindshenchas*, illustrate a desire to bring together poetic, oral, narrative knowledge of places with current lived experience and visual perception of landscapes. Of course, the poems concerning Tara have undergone a series of similar historical attempts – most notably during the work of George Petrie, which will be discussed in Chapter 6, who attempted to identify the monuments of Tara using the poems.[29]

What is the effect of landscape on identity?

The landscape does not simply exist as a result of human linguistic awareness of heritage. The interaction between humans and the landscape today is equally important. The landscape, just like human awareness, is continually developing and changing.[30] Thus, the way in which we 'live' in the land today affects our identity just as much as our

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[27] ibid. 17.
[28] This supposition has also been recently suggested and explored by Waddell 2005, 15-9. A case study of this concept will be explored on pages 275-6 of Chapter 6 of this thesis.
[29] Petrie, G. 1839 *On the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill*, R. Graisberry, Dublin. Also see Waddell 2005, 15-6 for a discussion of Petrie's use of the poems for his archaeological survey of the Hill of Tara. This will be further explored on pages 275-6 of Chapter 6 of this thesis.
[30] For a survey of contemporary landscape theory see Corner, J. 1999 *Recovering Landscape: Essays in Contemporary Landscape Theory*, Princeton Arch, Princeton.

memory of how the land came to be in the state it is in today.[31] Tilley's work also emphasised the way that prehistoric peoples interacted with their landscape in a continually meaningful manner through the construction of locales to which society could continually return and at which perform rituals of remembrance.[32] DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle described this phenomenon as the materialisation of social ideology and identity through the construction of monuments.[33] The significance of this for contemporary archaeological enquiry was that contemporary society continues this materialisation of ideology and identity by attempting to assert the authentic nature of their connection to the place or monument using ethnic and cultural argumentation.[34] The difficulty of performing archaeology is that the landscapes in which we work are the result of previous human agency and the materialisation of previous human ideology. The problem is compounded by the fact that they are re-materialised through our archaeological enquiry. As archaeologists, we facilitate the production of a social memory rooted in the mental perception of material evidence of past action.[35] We study and discover artefacts and monuments, and these material objects, more often than not, become suitable reservoirs in large group identity. This is not a phenomenon that should be seen as unnatural, but as integral to the behaviour of human beings in large groups.[36]

The EPCL project observed that 'we make landscapes in our own image'.[37] The physical qualities of the landscape can be the object of social externalisations of notions of group identity and social consciousness. Thus, the living in or experience of a landscape fuels the development of abstract notions of identity. This social phenomenon occurs on all levels of the landscape from the notion of the land down to single stones from that land. A recent auction was held on eBay.com, where a 'seller' identified as 'big_jim_williams' from Co. Wicklow advertised that he would ship a 'small chunk of Ireland' to any buyer.[38] The description of the item read: 'Buy a small chunk of Ireland. Impress your relatives with a small stone from any of the counties in the Emerald Isle. All stones will be sterilised

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[31] For a discussion of the cultural force of landscapes see Mitchell, W. J. T. (ed.) 2002 *Landscape and Power*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
[32] Tilley 1994.
[33] See DeMarrais *et al.* 1996, 19-21. Also see DeMarrais *et al.* 2005.
[34] See Jones 1997.
[35] ibid. 15.
[36] See pages 48-9 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.
[37] Clark *et al.* 2003, 1.
[38] Quotations taken from the auction of eBay item 5513451264 'Small chunk of Ireland' begun 11 August 2004 at 02:41:40 PDT. The auction finished on August 18, 2004.

before shipping.' This situation illustrated the nature of the capitalisation on diasporic desires of home by remaining Irish society. What was especially interesting about this example was that 'all stones will be sterilised before shipping'. Clearly, this was to ensure that the shipments would conform to customs and ecological policies in other nations. However, could it not be said that such sterilisation removes the stone of any of its organic connection to the land of Ireland? Of course the stone would still 'originate' from Ireland. It would carry a sense of Irish ethnicity but only in so far as the geomorphology of the stone was defined by geological trends in Ireland. When does a stone become Ireland? And can a stone be Irish? Or is the situation that a stone is Irish in so far as it is part of an internal object relation of an individual who professes a sense of Irish group identity?

Like a single stone, landscapes can be the object of internalisation in object relations. The objects which surround an individual during childhood development, especially the notions of room or house or yard or parents, become internalised and help create an internal notion of geography.[39] This internal notion of geography gives a sense of place, of origin, of home. It is the notion of a landscape of childhood which gives a person a sense of 'rootedness'.[40] Many individuals never grow psychologically out of this concept of origin or home thus never ending the object relation with that landscape.[41] This is why people will express notions of comfort or of youth when they return to their 'hometown'.[42] They affirm 'an ontological security of place' – that they belong to a place and that a place belongs to them.[43] Thus, the shared identifications of people within a landscape become a part of the notion of place, home and the internal mental conception of geography of the individual. In this way, the 'external' geography of the landscape can become conflated with the 'internal' sense of self and identity destroying the barrier between 'outside' and 'inside'. Phenomenologically, this could be described as a primordial or 'counter-modern' conception of an immediately and continually interpretive 'being-in-the-world'.[44]

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[39] For a discussion of internal objects relations and childhood development see pages 27-8 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.

[40] Tilley 1994, 26. Also see page 102 of Chapter 2 for a discussion of the notion of 'roots' within the broader trends of European ethno-nationalist discourse.

[41] For a discussion of concepts of ethnicity, regression and home see Volkan 1997.

[42] Tilley 1994, 27.

[43] For an example of such a discourse in the Republic of Ireland see Kneafsey, M. 1998 'Tourism and Place Identity: A Case-study in Rural Ireland', *Irish Geography*, vol. 31, iss. 2, 111-23, 112.

[44] For the phenomenological background of this concept see Heidegger 1996 [1927]. For an exploration of Heidegger's thought in relation to archaeology see Thomas 1996; 2004.

The affect of this conception for the purposes of an applied psychoanalytic study of identity is that if a large group has strong shared identifications with a landscape, then interaction with that landscape (with a monument, etc.) that is perceived as negative will cause the group to regress.[45] Individuals will defend the landscape or 'homeland' as a method of defending their core identity founded in their childhood or contemporary lived experiences of a place. This then would cause the landscape to become a protosymbol of group identity. This protosymbolic geography or landscape can often be the shared identification that underlies group identity, and it is this concept of shared origin which can be capitalised upon by political and social leaders to encourage individuals to fight for their 'homeland'.[46] When a group is in a moment of identity crisis, just as other objects can become protosymbols, so too can landscapes become protosymbols of group identity. A landscape 'physically' becomes the people who identify with that landscape. It is this concept of land and landscape which is exploited by nationalistic systems to promote a notion of dying for their land.[47] The rhetoric of Pádraic Pearse in December 1915 celebrating the devotion to nation by young men in the Great War illustrated such trends of thought in early 20th century European nationalism:

> It is good for the world that such things should be done. The old heart of the earth needed to be warmed with the red wine of the battlefields. Such august homage was never offered to God as this, the homage of millions of lives given gladly for love of country.[48]

This theme of rhetoric was continued in the speeches of De Valera who lauded the sacrifice of Terence MacSwiney who died in Brixton prison in October 1920, illustrating the call to sacrifice one's life for the land:

> In every generation for seven centuries Ireland's cry has necessarily been:
>
> > 'It is a hard service they take that help me … many a child will be born and there will be no father at its christening to give it a name. They that have red cheeks will have pale cheeks for my sake…'

[45] Volkan 2001, 196-7. See page 30 of Chapter 1 of this thesis for a discussion of regression.
[46] For a discussion of the relationships between human beings and landscape see Tilley 1994, 26. For a discussion of the role of materialised geographies in social groups see DeMarrais *et al.* 1996, 19-21. Also see DeMarrais *et al.* 2005.
[47] See Volkan 1997. Also see DeMarrais *et al.* 1996, 19-21. Also see DeMarrais *et al.* 2005.
[48] See Edwards, R. D. 1977 *Patrick Pearse: The Triumph of Failure*, Gollancz, London, 245.

> -and her children have never once failed to respond; they offered themselves gladly for the sacrifice. … Ireland dries her tears over the graves of her martyred ones. … Fitzgerald's and MacSwiney's and Murphy's bodies are indeed in the clay, for it is the sacred bosom of the motherland they loved so well… If God wills that the freedom of our country should thus come in our own rather than in the blood of our enemies, we too shall not hesitate at the price or shrink from the sacrifice, nor will those who come after us value less the heritage we shall thus have purchased for them. … our motto must be … 'victory, liberty or death'![49]

De Valera continued this theme of sacrifice for land and for lifestyles associated with that land throughout his speeches of the first half of the 20th century. In his 1943 St Patrick's Day message he recounted the glorious rural life of devotion to the land and argued:

> That Ireland which we dreamed of would be … a land whose countryside would be bright with cosy homesteads, whose fields and villages would be joyous with the sounds of industry, with the romping of sturdy children, the contests of athletic youths and the laughter of comely maidens, whose firesides would be forums for the wisdom of serene old age. … It was the idea of such an Ireland, happy, vigorous, spiritual, … [that] made successive generations of patriotic men give their lives to win religious and political liberty, and that will urge men in our own and future generations to die, if need be, so that these liberties may be preserved.[50]

The reason landscapes are powerful protosymbols is because landscape and human agency coexist and are mutually interdependent concepts. The way of life which occurs in a landscape becomes conflated with the landscape itself and is not separable.[51] Thus, the preservation of that landscape is equated with the preservation of that cultural life form or social system.[52] For the duration of this thesis, when a landscape becomes so charged with

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[49] De Valera 1980, 47-8. See Appendix 4 and CD Supplement for a recording of this speech. The quotation used in this speech comes from W. B. Yeats and Augusta Gregory's play 'Cathleen ní Houlihan' written in 1902. The words are spoken by the character of the Old Woman who personified Ireland during the events of 1798. The play had revolutionary and propagandistic overtones which were seized by nationalistic politicians throughout the early 20th century.
[50] De Valera 1980, 466.
[51] See Tilley 1994.
[52] For a discussion of the defense of ethnic territory based on psychoanalytic principles see Volkan 1997.

group emotion and concepts of identity that the landscape and action within that landscape 'become' identity, the landscape will be called a 'protogeography'.

Protogeography: Perfomance and Agency: Drumcree, Portadown, Co. Armagh

A popular example of a protogeography in Ireland is the Drumcree marching route in Portadown, Co. Armagh, Northern Ireland, which occurs in tandem with marches throughout Northern Ireland annually on 12 July. The day of 12 July is a commemoration of the victory of William (III) of Orange (1650-1702), King of England (1689-1702), over the deposed King James II (1633-1701), a Roman Catholic, at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. The political and cultural importance of the event is that William of Orange defeated James II who was a Catholic, thus securing Protestant dominance over Catholics in Ireland and within Britain. Thus the day commemorates a chosen glory for the Northern Irish protestant community.[53] What is significant about the marches is that they occur along the same route every year, thus both the geography and plan of the route of the march has become part of the commemoration. At Drumcree, a political situation has arisen since the traditional marching route of the Orange Order goes through a predominantly Nationalist or Catholic neighbourhood, the Garvaghy Road (see Figure 4.1). The Nationalist and Catholic communities have appealed to the Parades Commission of Ireland to refuse the marchers rights to march on their street. To maintain public order, since 1998, the government has done so.[54] Thus, every year the 'Orangemen' march in Drumcree and meet a police barricade outside Drumcree Church, and a great performance of protest occurs. The situation receives international news coverage every year. What is significant about this situation is that it is neither the notion of marching nor the issue of what is commemorated that is of public importance but the route that the march takes. For the 'Orangemen', the route represents a historically charged geography in which they demand to act in order to demonstrate their cultural identity:

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[53] Jarman, N. 1997 *Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland*, Berg, Oxford.; Jarman, N. & D. Bryan 1998 *From Riots to Rights: Nationalist Parades in the North of Ireland*, Centre for the Study of Conflict, University of Ulster, Coleraine.

[54] Anon. 2001 'Drumcree: The Route of the March', BBC News, 4 July, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/1422903.stm> [Accessed 15 Mar 2005].

Orange parades are a legitimate expression of religious and cultural identity held by the Protestant community of Northern Ireland, indeed Orange parades take place in every corner of the world from England to America and Ghana to Australia.[55]

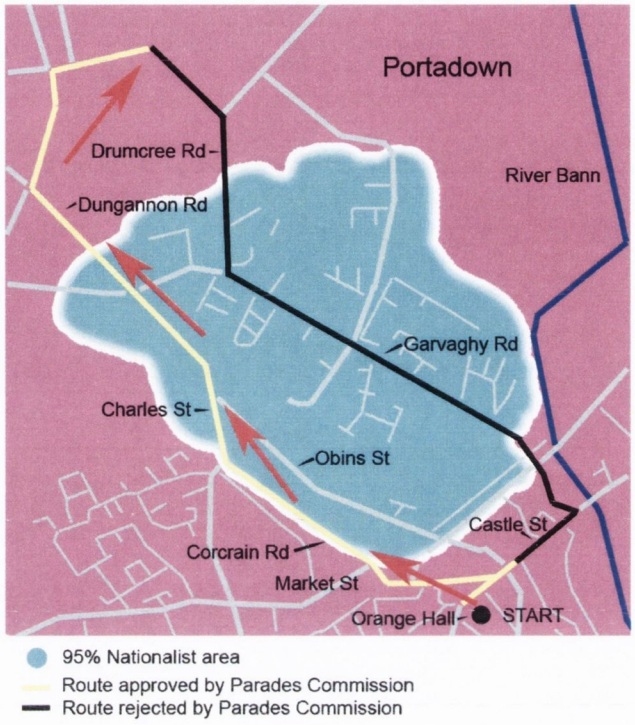


Figure 4.1 Route of Orange Parade in Portadown, Co. Armagh, Northern Ireland, on 12 July 2001, popularly referred to as Drumcree. Note the rejected route applied for by the Orange Order drawn in black which goes through an area identified as 95% Nationalist.[56] After Anon. 2001 'Drumcree: The Route of the March'.

The significance of the Drumcree march is that it is believed to be one of the oldest and most important marching routes for the Orange Order, first conducted in 1807. Indeed, some arguments for the right to demonstrate on the road assert that the march was occurring before the establishment of the contemporary Garvaghy Road estates.[57] Thus, the participants assert an archaeological claim to the right to commemorate a past landscape and urban geography. At the same time, the Northern Irish Catholic residents of the Garvaghy Road, with the support of many Irish Catholics, demand that the marchers not use their neighbourhood out of respect for their community.

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[55] Statement by the Portadown District Orange Lodge No. 1. See Portadown District Orange Lodge No. 1 2006 'Civil Rights and Drumcree' Orangenet.org <http://www.orangenet.org/civilrights/civil.htm> [Accessed 20 Mar 2006].
[56] Anon. 2001 'Drumcree: The Route of the March', BBC News, 4 July, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/1422903.stm> [Accessed 15 Mar 2005].
[57] For example see King William III Loyal Orange Lodge No. 11 1999 'Some facts on the Drumcree Parade' Orangelodge.mcmail.com <http://www.orangelodge.mcmail.com/factsheet.> [Accessed 20 Mar 2006].

> For many years, the community has been under constant siege by the Orange Order and its supporters. The residents continue to stand strong and struggle for their right to equality, freedom from sectarian discrimination and harassment.[58]
>
> In no other democratic or western society would it be conceivable that the forces of the state would force a march or parade by one ethnic, political or religious group through that of another, especially one organized by an association whose members are required to oppose the religious and political beliefs of the resident community.[59]

Thus, the entire clash of identity both cultural and political is charged into and re-enacted in the landscape of Drumcree, and the choice of roads and streets and neighbourhoods becomes conflated with notions of identity. The archaeological landscape and geography of the route of the march important to the Orange Order and Protestants clashes with contemporary social concerns of the Catholic community. Thus there is also an added temporal clash regarding perceptions of landscapes, agencies and identities. The landscape of Drumcree on 12 July itself could be said to be a materialisation of the conflict of identity in Northern Ireland.[60] The march of the 'Orangemen', the police barricades, the media attention and the protests opposing the march all are performative materialisations of identities (see Figure 4.4). The physical action is conflated with the physical space resulting in a conflation of material, agency and identity. Drumcree as an event of action and a place of action 'becomes' a protosymbol and protogeography of identities and 'others' such as Ulster Protestantism, Loyalism, British militarism and Irish Republicanism and Nationalism. Each group moves through the space of Drumcree and creates their own spatial stories in order to materialise their own ideologies and negate the other groups' ideologies.[61] Thus, the landscape of Drumcree can be seen as a landscape ripe with social expectation for meaning which when interacted with triggers social regression causing the landscape to act as a protosymbol for group identities.

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[58] Garvaghy Road Residents Coalition 2006 'Homepage' Garvaghyroad.org <http://www.garvaghyroad.org> [Accessed 20 Mar 2006].

[59] Garvaghy Roads Residents' Coalition Submission to the Independent Review of Parades and Marches. See Garvaghy Road Residents Coalition 2006 'Background' Garvaghyroad.org <http://www.garvaghyroad.org/background.htm.> [Accessed 20 Mar 2006].
Also published in Pat Finucane Centre 1996 'In the Line of Fire' Pat Finucane Centre <http://www.serve.com/pfc/july96/introduction.html> [Accessed 20 Mar 2006].

[60] See Jarman 1997.

[61] See Tilley 1994, 28; DeMarrais 1996, 19-21. Also see DeMarrais *et al.* 2005.

Protogeography: Agency and Maintenance: Stone Walls

The psycho-social impact of the geography of Drumcree marches and the Garvaghy Road is evident due to the mediated lived experience of the conflict in newspapers, in television programmes and in political discourse. The poignancy of landscape is, however, not restricted to contemporary events. An equally psychologically potent example of a protogeography is the network of stonewalls around Ireland. The image of a hand-built stone wall has become iconic of the Irish farm and its landscape. Irish stonemason and historian of stone building, Patrick McAfee noted that:

> ... many of the thousands of miles – about 250,000 miles [402,336 km] altogether – of greystone walls which, set against a backdrop of heather-covered mountain, green fields and grey skies, haunt the memory of both visitors and Irish emigrants alike ...[62]

The Irish geographer, E. Estyn Evans (1905-1989), suggested that 'the history of rural Ireland could be read out of doors, had we the skill, from the scrawling made by men in the field boundaries of successive periods'.[63]

The dominance of stone walls in the Irish landscape has caused the constructions in many ways to no longer exist independent of the landscape. Their existence has become conflated with the landscape itself and, to an extent, has become the landscape. McAfee argued in the introduction to his history of stone walls that the walls 'act as a link to the past, holding a key to Irish history and culture'.[64] The network of walls can be experienced as a landscape and as a constant and continual reminder of human agency in the landscape of Ireland. However, individuals walls also act as singular landmarks. For example, Sean Moran's wall in Dingle, Co. Kerry, on the Conor Pass Road was so revered by other local residents that many would take walks to admire its construction and size.[65]

Alan MacWeeney and Richard Conniff, in their study of stone walls in Ireland, suggested that one could 'see a country not just through its literature, or its great

[62] McAfee, P. 1997 Irish Stone Walls: History, Building, Conservation, O'Brien Press, Dublin, 10.
[63] MacWenney, A. & R. Conniff 1986 *The Stone Walls of Ireland*, Thames & Hudson, London, 17.
[64] McAfee 1997, 10.
[65] MacWeeney & Conniff 1986, 22-6.

monuments, or its people, but through its walls'.[66] They estimated that there may be as much as 385,000km of walls in Ireland.[67] They are not limited to a specific region although there are higher concentrations of walls in particular parts of Ireland such as the Mourne Country, parts of Kerry, regions around Galway and Roscommon and the western islands (Inisheer, Inismore, Inisboffin, etc.) (see Figures 4.5).They are also not limited to a specific period. The building of stone walls continues today, and equally evidence of stone walling has been found beneath contemporary bogs such as the 'céide fields' of North Co. Mayo studied by Prof. Seamas Caulfield which date to c.4000 B.C.[68] However, most of the walls that dominate the landscape of Ireland today were constructed from the 18th century onwards.[69] For example, in 1623, a document titled *Advertisements for Ireland* said of Ireland that 'their fields lie open and unclosed'.[70] This statement most likely referred to the fields of Leinster which would have been larger and more open than regions such as in the West Connacht and Muster and especially the western islands. The walls of these rural regions still dominate many representations of Ireland's landscape, such as the walls of Inisheer, Aran Islands, Co. Galway (see Figures 4.2).



Figures 4.5 Stone walls from Inisheer, Co. Galway. © Gerard Kingma (www.kingma.nu).

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[66] ibid. 12.

[67] ibid. 13. McAfee reported an estimate of 250,000 miles (402,336 km) (McAfee 1997, 10). No official survey has been undertaken of stone walls which would provide a figure; therefore, these figures are largely conjectural and only serve to illustrate the impression of dominance of the walls on the visual landscape. For a survey illustration of the dominance of field systems on the landscape of Ireland see the Historic Landscape Characterisation Maps of the midlands Figures 4.7-8.

[68] See Caufield 1986. There is also a museum in Co. Mayo devoted to these field systems. See Mayo Ireland Ltd 2006 'Céide Fields Visitor Centre' Museumsofmayo.com <http://www.museumsofmayo.com/ceide.htm> [Accessed 22 Mar 2006].

[69] MacWeeney & Conniff 1986, 26. McAfee 1997, 10.

[70] See O'Brien, G. 1923 *Advertisements for Ireland, Being a Description of the State of Ireland in the Reign of James I Contained in a Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College Dublin: An extra Volume of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Dublin, 33.

What is significant about these walls is that they are a dynamic testament to human agency in a landscape. There are a number of different types of walls (coping walls, granite slab fences, etc.), and they served a variety of purposes. Most commonly they helped wall in livestock, preventing them from roaming, but they also marked a farmer's land. McAfee suggested that the development of stonewalling in Ireland signified a change from the Rundale Village at the end of the 18th century and through the 19th century.[71] Where extended families based in *clachans* (farmhouses) worked large open areas of land, the land began to be divided as systems of inheritance broke the plots apart. In the mid 19th century, plots of land which had been abandoned as a result of emigration were purchased and 'walled in'.[72] This created the present network of walls which dominates much of the countryside of the island of Ireland today. The walls were constructed using the local stone which was often either granite or limestone which would be cut from areas known as 'rocks'. 'Rocks' are very rocky areas where boulders dominate a field or an outcropping of stone comes to the surface.[73] Thus, the process of building a wall also served the purpose of clearing the stone from a field which could then be used for agriculture.[74] The most popularly represented walls are usually those from the west of Ireland from regions such as the Aran islands (see Figures 4.2). Before human settlement arrived in these barren parts of the country, the landscape was largely covered by stone. Thus, when people came to live there, in order to create fields for farming, the trees and the stones had to be removed.[75] There was no way of transporting the stones as they were so many of them and so heavy, thus the logical conclusion was to construct dry stone walls using the stones. Two things resulted, open fields for farming and walls dividing land that was owned. These walls are known as consumption walls and as drystane dykes in Scotland.[76] We can view the phenomenon of consumption walls as an amazing demonstration of human agency in a landscape which totally altered the ecology of the land. From an archaeological standpoint, what is significant about stone walls is that if we view them as a monument of human agency in Ireland, they are the largest geographical monument in Ireland. For example, in

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[71] See Whelan, K. 1999 'Settlement and Society in Eighteenth-Century Ireland' in T. Barry (ed.) *A History of Settlement in Ireland*, Routledge, London, 187-205. Also see Duffy, P. 1999 'Trends in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Settlement' in T. Barry (ed.) *A History of Settlement in Ireland*, Routledge, London, 206-27.
[72] McAfee 1997 31, 33.
[73] Conry, M. J. 2000 *The Carlow Fence: Traditional Granite Fencing & Dry Stone Walls in County Carlow*, Chapelestown Press, Carlow, 14.
[74] ibid. 16.
[75] Caulfield 1986, 2.
[76] Conry 2000, 91f.

performing the Historic Landscape Characterisation of Co. Westmeath, it was found that 73% (1,316,165 km²) of the county is covered by field systems, the dominant characteristic of Westmeath's landscape (see Figure 4.3-4).[77] This was also the case with the other two counties surveyed, Co. Offaly and Co. Laois. From this it can be suggested that the dominant aspect of Ireland's landscape today, particularly in the western counties of Ireland, is a field system, requiring field boundaries. The boundaries could be hedgerows or wooden fencing, but often they are stone walls.

The growing academic and popular interest in and concern for stone walls can be illustrated by the discussions at the recent stone wall workshop 'Stone Walls: Future in Our Past' organised as part of the Galway County Heritage Plan 2004-2008 at Teagasc Research Centre, Athenry, Co. Galway in October 2005.[78] The workshop was dominated by lectures given by professional wallers and masons such as Andrew Brown-Jackson and

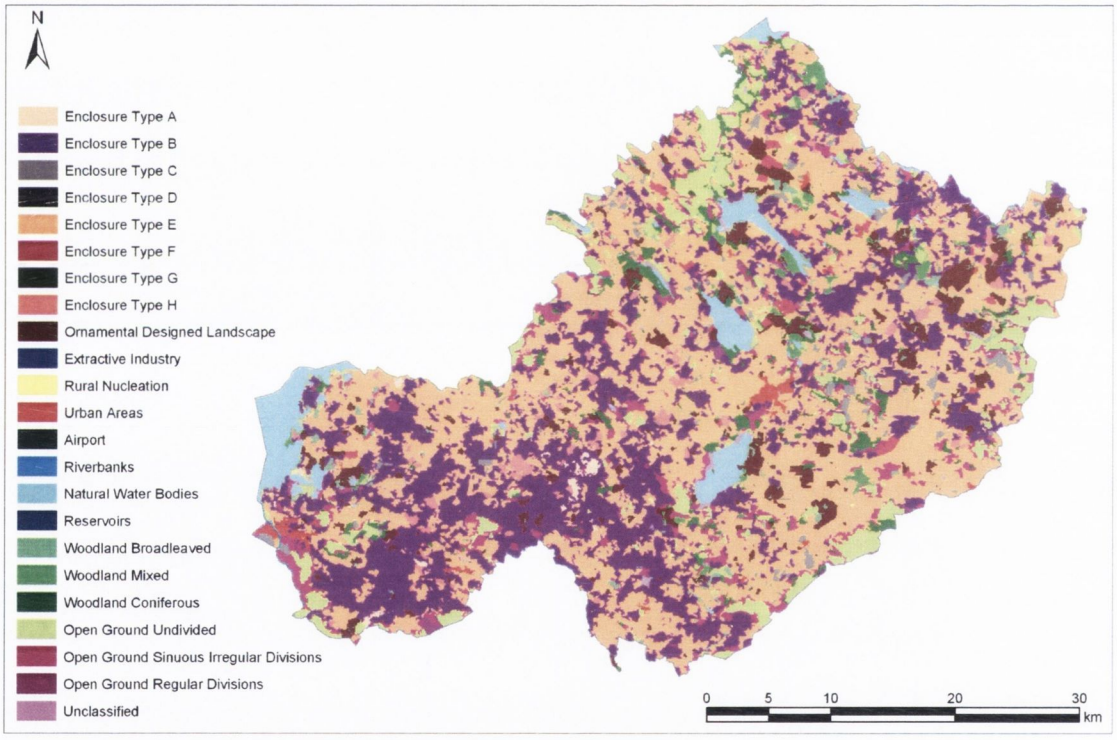


Figure 4.3 Historic Landscape Characterisation map of Co. Westmeath. Produced by Ian Russell in association with the Discovery Programme, Westmeath County Council and the Heritage Council (2003). Notice the dominance of Enclosure Types B (sinuous regular divisions) and E (straight irregular divisions), which would include stone wall field boundaries, on the landscape of the county.

[77] As of yet no publication has been planned for the results of the research. For information regarding the project, contact Anthony Corns of The Discovery Programme who co-ordinated the research.
[78] Galway County Heritage Plan 2005 'Stone Walls: Future in Our Past' Galway.ie <www.galway.ie/planning/heritage/stone_wall_workshop.pdf> [Accessed 23 Mar 2006].

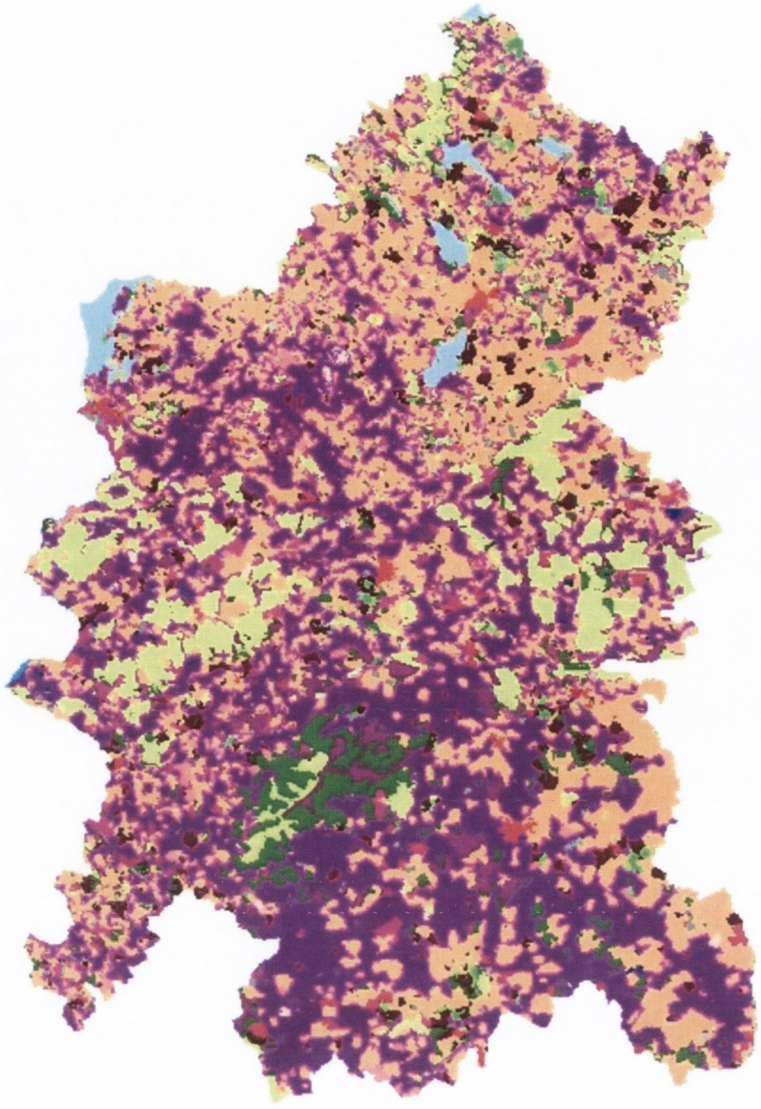


Figure 4.4 Historic Landscape Characterisation map of the Midlands of Ireland (Co. Laois, Co. Offaly and Co. Westmeath) produced by Seoirse Conroy, Denise Cronin and Ian Russell in association with the Discovery Programme, Laois County Council, Offaly County Council, Westmeath County Council and the Heritage Council Notice the dominant orange and purple polygons which represent Enclosure Types B (sinuous regular divisions) and E (straight irregular divisions) which would include stone wall field boundaries. These represent two main types of field systems in this region of Ireland.

Patrick McAfee, archaeologists such as Prof. Seamas Caulfield, Dr Eoin Sullivan and Michael Gibbons and environmentalists such as Gordon D'Arcy and Marcus Collier. The topics ranged from discussions of Céide fields from the 4th millennia BC to geology, ecology and stone walls to contemporary lived experience of stone walls. The workshop also incorporated live, participatory demonstration of walling techniques. No publication of the proceedings has been planned as of yet, but the event itself illustrated the interdisciplinary concern over conceptions of and interactions with stone walls.



Figures 4.5-6 Construction of a dry stone wall and stone pier as part of stonemasonry schools at Ballytarsna Castle in Cashel, Co. Tipperary. Courtesy Tipperary School of Stonemasonry.

From an applied psychoanalytic prespective, the regular work required to maintain a stone wall encourages the development of it into a suitable reservoir for group identity. Individuals regularly return to the family home in the country from cities such as Dublin to help the family rebuild the walls. Thus, the family and the individual are partaking in a performative materialisation of a tradition of the family and of Irish large group identity reinforcing the protogeography of the greater landscape of stone walls. In fact, the process of producing and maintaining stone walls has become so iconic of Irish rural lifestyles that 'schools' have been organised to allow enthusiasts or tourists to take part in and learn the craft of constructing stone walls. At Ballytarsna Castle in Cashel, Co. Tipperary, stonemasonry courses and dry stone walling classes are offered in order to promote 'the preservation of historic Irish stonework and the creation of new stone structures that are in harmony with historic practices and sound traditional workmanship' at a cost of €100 per day (see Figures 4.5-6).[79]

[79] Bannon, M. 2004 'Ballytarsna Castle - Educational Programs: Tipperary School of Stonemasonry, Cashel, County Tipperary, Ireland' <http://www.castlepreservation.com/StoneSchool.html> [Accessed 22 Mar 2006].

The dominant reaction to the phenomena and maintenance of these walls is that they represent and necessitate traditional practices of the Irish people. McAfee's endeavour to put forward a study which promoted the 'building of new walls in traditional ways and repairing old walls sympathetically' led him to situate the history of stonewalls and stoneworking in Ireland within a broader archaeological narrative of human agency with the landscape manifested in stonework.[80] He surveys the corpus of monumental stonework in Ireland from Newgrange through to the 20th century, exploring the phenomenon of stonework geologically and as a product of human behaviour. Situating stonewalls within a survey of structures such as the 'fort' at Dun Aengus, the monastic buildings at Glendalough, the round tower at Clonmacnoise, Trim Castle and the Four Courts exposed a significant aspect of the interpretation of stone walls. That these walls have been produced and maintained by such a large section of the population of Ireland makes them significant in a way different to many of the known archaeological monuments today. Monuments such as those at Newgrange, at the Hill of Tara, the monastery of Glendalough or Trim castle were produced for elite sections of society for elite purposes. However, the stone walls of Ireland, especially those on the marginal land of the western counties of Ireland such as the céide fields of North County Mayo, were produced by the general population and thus can be seen as artefacts testifying to a larger sector of society and a more dominant lifestyle in the landscape. That the Four Courts in Dublin are seen as a hallmark of 19th century stone work and architecture in Ireland whereas stone walls which were constructed by a larger portion of the population at the same time are generally not and are left to fulfill romantic idealisations about the Irish past is an archaeological and historical disservice that McAfee actively confronts. Rather than appreciating the walls architecturally, contemporary society has tended to romanticise the image of a landscape of walls around Ireland.

Countless artists and photographers such as Gerard Kingma (see Figures 4.2) have visited these landscapes to depict them. The representation of stone walls almost functions as a shorthand for the entire landscape of Ireland.[81] The potency of the images of these landscapes in arousing sentiments of harsh life and the ability of humans to prevail on

[80] McAfee 1997, 11.

[81] This is a similar phenomenon as is described about the Neolithic dolmen at Poulnabrone, the Burren, Co. Clare (see Figures 4.23-26). See pages 201-5 of Chapter 4 of this thesis. The romantic quality of these images of these landscapes of stone walls is very similar to the that of Paul Henry's landscape paintings (see Figures 4.17-18). See pages 195-8 of Chapter 4 of this thesis.

marginal land and in adverse conditions is central to the affect that these landscapes have on Irish identity and the perception of Irish identity by outsiders and tourists. This romance with stone walls is also attached to the romance of the 'Famine' and the protogeography of derelict houses from emigration since the mid 19th century.[82]

Protogeography: Memory and Place: Slievemore, Achill Island, Co. Mayo

A similar situation can be seen regarding the relationship between 'Irish' identity and the geography of the 'Great Famine'. The presence of derelict houses and farmhouses across the Irish countryside creates a space for remembering the impact of the 'Great Famine' and subsequent period of eviction.[83] Often these houses are experienced by tourists and descendents of the Irish diaspora as a physical embodiment of the chosen trauma of the Great Famine.[84] For example, one contemporary visitor to the 'Deserted Village' of Slievemore, Achill Island, Co. Mayo (Figures 4.7-9) recalled his experience in the Achill Island Journal *Muintir Acla* in 1997:

> As I stood among the ruins, my gaze lingered and then moved from detail to specific detail of the ruined houses as I imagined the scene much as it might have looked during the time of the terrible evictions. The quietness of that hillside contrasted with images of the cries of hungry, confused, or sick scantily clad children being irritably bundled for the last time out of their houses by parents whose physical poverty and gnawing malnutrition was probably exceeded only by their sense of horror and despair. ... The simple cold stones of the Deserted Village stand today as grim, almost obscene, reminders of the horrors of natural disasters complicated by harsh human behaviour. ... Sometimes it is indeed good for us to be haunted.[85]

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[82] For a discussion of the role of the famine in Irish ideology see Kinealy, C. 2002 *The Great Irish Famine: Impact, Ideology and Rebellion*, Palgrave, Basingstoke. For a discussion of the 'Irish potato famine' see Donnelly 2001.

[83] For a discussion of eviction in Ireland during the Victorian period see Vaughan, W. E. 1994 *Landlords and Tenants in Mid-Victorian Ireland*, Clarendon, Oxford.

[84] See Gray 2004.

[85] Contemporary visitor reaction. Moore, S. B. 1997 'Reflections on the Deserted Village of Slievemore', *Muintir Acla: The Achill Island Journal*, 8 (Winter), 27.

These romantic experiences of the landscape of the 'Famine' or Slievemore are not limited to those individuals asserting a connection to the land of Ireland or to Irish identity. For example, the German writer Heinrich Böll (1917-1985) stayed on Achill Island in the 1950s and produced a journal know as his *Das Irische Tagebuch* (Irish Journal) (1957). Böll's reaction to the landscape illustrated the evocative and romantic qualities of the land and the deserted cottages that had become one with that land. In the chapter titled 'Skeleton of a Human Habitation', it is presumed that he responded to a visit to Slievemore on Achill Island:

> On reaching the top of the hill, we saw the skeleton of the abandoned village on the slope ahead of us. ... Grey, uniform, sloping stone gables, which we saw first with no depth of perspective, like an amateurish set for a ghost film; incredulous, we tried to count them, we gave up at forty, there must have been a hundred. The next curve of the road gave us a different perspective, and now we saw them from the side: half-finished buildings that seemed to be waiting for the carpenter: grey stone walls, dark window sockets, not a stick of wood, not a shred of material, no colour anywhere, like a body without hair, without eyes, without flesh and blood - the skeleton of a village, cruelly distinct in its structure. There was the main street, at the bend, by the little square, there must have been a pub. A side street, another one. Everything not made of stone gnawed away by rain, sun, and wind ... this skeleton of a human habitation where a hundred years ago five hundred people may have lived ... but here there is no trace of violence; in limitless patience time and the elements have eaten away everything not made of stone, and from the earth have sprouted cushions on which these bones lie like relics, cushions of moss and grass. ... No one could tell us exactly when and why the village had been abandoned; there are so many deserted houses in Ireland, you can count them on any two-hour walk ...[86]

[86] Böll, H. 1983 [1957] *Irish Journal*, Secker & Warburg, London, 31-5.



Figure 4.7 The 'deserted village' at Slievemore on Achill Island, Co. Mayo. Photograph by Tom Fourwinds - www.megalithomania.com.



Figure 4.8 Cottage in the 'deserted village' at Slievemore on Achill Island, Co. Mayo. Photograph by Tom Fourwinds - www.megalithomania.com.



Figure 4.9 Excavations at Slievemore on Achill Island, Co. Mayo in July 2003. Photograph by Tom Fourwinds - www.megalithomania.com.

Audrey Horning has studied and excavated at the 'Deserted Village' at Slievemore, Achill Island, Co. Mayo. Horning described the experience described in these quotations as 'Famine memory'.[87] This memory was triggered in her opinion by the 'evocative' remains of the deserted houses of the village (see Figures 4.7-9). The entire village had been abandoned since the time of the 'Great Famine', and the visitor who happens upon the village is able to experience a 'dead' landscape. What is interesting is that though the landscape could be described as 'dead', it is 'alive' in its role in object relations with the visitor who is able to stand inside derelict houses and experience the impact of the mass emigration from Ireland. 'Sites such as the evocative landscape of the 'Deserted Village' lure many visitors who read their expectations and understandings of the past into and onto the physical traces of that past'.[88] The landscape becomes more potent when groups visit the village as this then results in shared identifications among the group of visitors to the notions of the chosen trauma of the 'Great Famine' and the communal experience of contemporary Irish emigrant populations as being in diaspora.[89] In Horning's opinion, 'received national memory is a powerful force, and ruins carry influence'.[90] In this way, the geography of derelict farmland and cottages across Ireland creates a protogeography of suitable reservoirs of Irish emigrant identity which reinforces shared identifications with the notion of the chosen trauma of the 'Great Famine'. Horning's work on the 'Deserted Village' is significant as she has attempted to confront 'outmoded beliefs propagated by 'folklife' scholars of the 1940s and 50s which, based on the work of 19th century antiquarians and artists, romantically painted the rural inhabitants of the West of Ireland as medieval peasants, untouched by the modern world'.[91] She has encouraged her student archaeologists to develop a 'self-reflexive' interpretation of the site. 'Acts of (informed!) imagination are called for to strike a balance between the images of a cold harsh reality promulgated by visitors and readily called upon by politicians in the present, with the

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[87] Horning, A. 2004 '"Shuddering in Its Structure": Household Archaeology in the Deserted Village of Slievemore, Achill Island', unpublished paper presented at the January 2005 meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology in York, England. Also see Gray 2004.

[88] ibid.

[89] For a discussion of the Irish diaspora see Houston, C.J. & W.J. Smyth 1993 'The Irish Diaspora: Emigration to the New World, 1720-1920', in B.J. Graham & L.J. Proudfoot (eds.) *An Historical Geography of Ireland*, Academic Press, New York, 338-65. and McCaffrey, L. J. 1997 *The Irish-Catholic Diaspora in America*, Catholic University Press, Washington.

[90] Horning 2004.

[91] See pages 89-94 of Chapter 2 for a discussion of the impact of romantic perceptions of Irish 'primitivism' in 19th century antiquarian thought and the memoir schemes of the Ordnance Survey in particular. Also see Murray 2000 and Doherty 2004.

romanticised imagery of poteen swilling peasants tapping their toes to a fiddle tune which are promoted by the Tourist Boards'.[92]

Another example of the power of these houses and their connection with the geography of Ireland comes not from Ireland but from New York City. In Battery Park City of New York, work was begun in Vesey Green on a monument titled 'The Irish Hunger Memorial' on 15 March 2001 (see Figures 4.10-11). The monument was designed by artist Brian Tolle with landscape architect Gail Wittwer-Laird and commemorated the 'Famine'.[93] The memorial was intended to function as a teaching aid for the newly conceived 'Great Irish Famine Curriculum' sponsored by the New York State Education Department.[94] Dedicated on 16 July 2002 by President Mary McAleese, it consisted of some modern architectural aspects but was dominated by an 'authentic Famine-era cottage' which was imported from Carradoogan near Attymass, Co. Mayo (see Figures 4.10). The cottage was donated by Tolle's extended family, the Slacks of Attymass, Co. Mayo. It was disassembled in Ireland by members of FÁS, shipped over to New York and reassembled using guidelines from the 'Irish Historic Trust'.[95] The importing of this house represents the extension of the geography of the Great Famine from the landscape of Ireland to include New York and the Irish American population within the protogeography of the chosen trauma. In the words of the artist Tolle, the experience of the memorial would be:

> ... a fragment torn from Slievemore, and transplanted to Manhattan. Too many memorials are representational. This memorial will make the viewer the actual subject.[96]

The memorial was intended to be a palpable experience. Governor of New York George Pataki through a spokesman reportedly stated that:

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[92] Horning 2004.

[93] For a summary of the features, specifications and schematics of the memorial see the official 'Fact Sheet'. See Battery Park City Authority 2002 'At a Glance...: Irish Hunger Memorial' Battery Park City Authority <http://www.emsc.nysed.gov/nysssa/gif/IrishHungerMemorialFactSheet.pdf> [Accessed 22 Mar 2006].

[94] For the 'Great Irish Famine Curriculum' see Daley, M. 2006 'Great Irish Famine Curriculum' New York State Education Department <http://www.emsc.nysed.gov/nysssa/gif/index.html> [Accessed 22 Mar 2006].

[95] After extensive research, no such organisation named 'Irish Historic Trust' exists. The Battery Park City Parks Conservancy who are charged with managing the site and the Battery Park City Authority who was responsible for the planning of the memorial have been contacted but have, as of yet, not provided any information.

[96] Quoted on the webiste of the Cahtolic diocese of Achonry which oversees the parishes of Mayo. See Sherlock, V. 2006 'Irish Hunger Memorial: Where Did It All Begin' Achonrydiocese.org <http://www.achonrydiocese.org/hungermemorial.htm> [Accessed 17 Feb 2006].

visitors 'will be able to become a part of the Irish countryside while learning about "an Gorta Mor"', the Great Hunger, in which millions perished or were forced to emigrate.[97]



Figure 4.10 The Irish Hunger Memorial, Battery Park City, New York. Note the derelict cottage which was imported from Attymass, Co. Mayo. Notice how in these images, the landscape appears very similar to the depictions of the 'deserted village' at Slievemore on Achill Island, Co. Mayo. 4.12 © Lee W. Nelson, www.inetours.com.



Figure 4.11 The Irish Hunger Memorial in its urban context. Photograph by Luke Murphy.

The leaflet available at the memorial described the donation of the derelict farm house as an 'expression of solidarity to those who left from those who stayed behind'.[98] The house, by it being chosen for the monument, became an icon and suitable reservoir of Irish emigrant identity. That the monument also incorporated a stone from each of the 32 counties of Ireland reinforced the notion that the monument symbolised the whole

[97] Dunlap, D. W. 2001 'Memorial to the Hunger, Complete with Old Sod', *New York Times*, 15 March.
[98] Battery Park City Parks Conservancy 2004 'Irish Hunger Memorial', public leaflet available at the Irish Hunger Memorial, Battery Park City, New York City.

landscape of Ireland and the total affect of the Great Famine on the Irish imaginary. In the words of the Governor Pataki, reported in the *New York Times*, Mr. Tolle had 'captured the essence of Ireland'[99]. The broad reaching notion of 'essence' that was to be conveyed by the monument was illustrated by the 'Teacher's Guide' distributed to teachers taking students to the memorial by the New York State Education Department which suggested that:

> The western entrance to the Irish Hunger Memorial provides a formal, ceremonial passage that leads to the center of the memorial, the Slack Cottage. This entrance recalls the neolithic passage graves of the Boyne Valley: Newgrange, Knowth and Dowth.[100]

Just as with the 'Deserted Village' at Slievemore on Achill Island, the visitor to the Famine Memorial in New York is able to enter the Famine House and experience the 'dead' landscape of the cottage; however, the visitor is then able to look up and see the 'live' landscape of lower Manhattan including the previous site of the World Trade Centre which both symbolised and actually was the result of the mass emigration which produced the 'Famine House' (see Figure 4.12). Thus, the landscapes of the urban United States and rural Ireland after the Famine are conflated creating a materialised experience of diaspora and emigration both for the physical memorial and the visitor.



Figure 4.12 View from the inside of cottage of the Irish Hunger Memorial at dusk. Photograph by David F. Gallagher.

[99] Dunlap 2001. (Newspaper Resource)
[100] For the 'Teacher's Guide' see New York State Education Department 2002 'The Irish Hunger Memorial at Battery Park City: A Teacher's Guide' Nysed.gov <http://www.emsc.nysed.gov/nysssa/HungerMemorial/HungerMemorialCurriculumGuide.htm> [Accessed 22 Mar 2006].

Archaeology and Landscape

As has been discussed, the landscape and activity associated with it has a strong affect on the human mind. It has also been discussed that archaeology has both a great affect on the mind as well as on the landscape. Archaeology has the ability to alter social conceptions of landscapes. Each archaeological site that was unknown before excavation can alter shared identifications with that landscape by producing new objects for suitable reservoirs and shared identifications within that landscape.[101] As Graham, Ashworth and Turnbridge argued, when an archaeologist excavates a site, he or she is interacting with highly politicised geographies of identity, heritage, land ownership and development.[102] Since archaeology's charge is interpretation of the landscape with the aim of understanding evidence of past human agency, the discipline's ability to force re-conceptualisation and re-imagination of a landscape directly affects a society's identification with a landscape.

As discussed in Chapter 1 and Chapter 5, Irish society's conception of the landscape of the city of Dublin and its origins were altered when the site of Wood Quay was located during the construction of the new Civic Offices.[103] The significance of this was that before the discovery of Wood Quay, there was no conclusive archaeological evidence for the origins of the city of Dublin. Thus, when the city's origin was found to be medieval and, in some people's opinion, Viking, the Irish society's identifications with the landscape of Dublin were altered.[104] 'Viking Dublin' had been 'exposed'.[105]

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[101] See Ashmore, W. & A. B. Knapp (eds.) 1999 *Archaeologies of Landscape*, Blackwell, London.
[102] Graham *et al.* 2000.
[103] See page 48 of Chapter 1 and pages 226-35 of Chapter 5 of this thesis.
[104] Heffernan 1988.
[105] Bradley, J. (ed.) 1984a *Viking Dublin Exposed: The Wood Quay Saga*, O'Brien Press, Dublin. A recent example of a similar phenomenon was the discovery of a Medieval Viking site at Woodstown, Co. Waterford. In April 2003, a Viking settlement site on the River Suir near Waterford City was discovered during excavations in advance of the N25 Waterford bypass. The discovery of this settlement has created a debate over the origins of settlement in the environs of Waterford City. Backed by the results of the excavations, Ned Kelly of the Antiquities Section of the National Museum has asserted that the settlement is Viking. However, Daire O'Rourke, chief archaeologist for the National Roads Authority, has asserted that the site has a previous early Christian habitation layer attested to in radio-carbon dating of materials from the site. Excavations are ongoing, and Minister for the Environment Dick Roche in the summer of 2005 declared the site a National Monument, ordering that it be preserved and that the Waterford bypass be rerouted. The excavations have prompted a series of community lectures and learning initiatives organised by the 'Save Viking Waterford Action Group' chaired by Dr Catherine Swift. For details of the lecture series see Save Viking Waterford Action Group 2006 'Lecture series' Vikingwaterford.com <http://www.vikingwaterford.com/svwag_event_lecture.htm> [Accessed 22 Mar 2006]. See Anon. 2004 'Major Viking Settlement Found in Waterford', *The Irish Times*, 4 May. Also see Reid, L. 2004 'Waterford Bypass May Be Rerouted to Avoid Woodstown Viking Site', *The Irish Times*, 23 October. Also see O'Brien, T. 2005 'Experts Disagree on Waterford Site', *The Irish Times*, 16 September.

This ability to 'expose' the past causes archaeology to have an added impact on conceptions of landscape in the development of cartographic knowledge. Archaeology is seen by society as being able to 'expose' the past by moving downward through layers of earth (see Figure 1.16).[106] Since maps are generally two dimensional, archaeology affects the development of cartographic representations of landscapes in that it adds a vertical dimension to the conception of space by 'digging down' into the landscape. It is part of what Thomas described as modernity's 'depth metaphor'.[107] Social perceptions of archaeological agency yield a third dimension to the political and cultural conceptualisation of landscapes. The most recent study of such a phenomenon in contemporary society comes from Israel. The architect Eyal Weizman's article 'The Politics of Verticality' discussed how in Israel and Palestine, cartographic knowledge is not limited to two dimensional awareness but includes a potent third dimension - the vertical.[108] This 'verticality' is created through the bureaucracy of land ownership based on layers of occupation in certain regions. Although topsoil may be owned by Palestinian inhabitants, the earth beneath would be owned by the State of Israel on the basis of archaeological evidence of previous occupation. To quote: 'If the land to be 'inherited' was indeed located under the surface, then the whole subterranean volume was a national monument. From this source, the ancient civilisation could be politically resurrected to testify for the right of the present-day Israel'.[109] Thus, archaeological knowledge and the archaeological imagination create a three dimensional, cartographic landscape of ownership and identity.

Archaeology also has the ability to obscure and control conceptualisations of the landscape through the omission of archaeological sites in a study or by overplaying the significance of any site within a landscape. The ability of archaeology to materialise a single social identification through 'finding' a single material object can create a suitable reservoir that restricts social interaction with a landscape rather than developing the dynamic engagement with the multiple identifications with the landscape. This is most evident in the creation of cartographic knowledge of a landscape by archaeologists and geographers. Writing on the dangers of cartographic developments of the 19th century,

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[106] See pages 39-40 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.
[107] Thomas 2004, 149-70.
[108] Weizman, E. 2002 'The Politics of Verticality' Opendemocracy.net <http://www.opendemocracy.net/conflict-politicsverticality/debate.jsp> [Accessed 4 Feb 2006].
[109] ibid.

Seamus Heaney pointed out that Ireland was in danger of 'falling out of time immemorial into historical time, out of custom and into calculation, out of the once-upon-a-time into the time of timetables.'[110]

As was discussed in Chapter 2, the Ordnance and Place Names Survey of the 19th century put Ireland in just such a situation.[111] Landscapes and places which were once known of by multiple names referring to many different historical, legendary and mythical stories (i.e. *Dindshenchas*) became codified and classified in a calculated cartographic study of the Irish landscape. However, the Ordnance survey also involved the study of antiquities and indigenous folklore and lifestyles of the landscape. The codification and recording of indigenous histories and mythical stories along with the study of the physical evidence of antiquity was the responsibility of what was known as the 'memoir scheme' of the Ordnance Survey. This initiative involved such scholars as George Petrie. These scholars, although taking part in the survey which was 'anglicising' and 'modernising' the landscape of Ireland, saw their work to record the histories, folk traditions, mythologies and antiquities of places in English as a work of conservation and preservation of stories, memories, lifestyles and cultural forms which were threatened by what they believed to be the inevitable decline of the Irish language and the inevitable development of the Irish landscape.[112] The only completed survey of the 'memoir scheme' which was published was Templemore, Co. Derry. The success of this publication to preserve and communicate the threatened antiquity of the lived landscape of Ireland can be seen in a reaction published in the Dublin *Evening Mail* of 1838:

> It embraces a record of the civil as well as the natural history of the district to which it is devoted; and contains dissertations of the utmost interest on each antiquity. The present volume embracing the city and vicinity of Londonderry, possesses interest in this respect. The citizen of the maiden capital of the north ... little imagines that the old stone ramparts, among the ruins of which he treads, were once the residence of the Hiberno-Belgic monarchs of Pagan Ireland: that a thousand years before Patrick preached before Loegaire at Tara, the priests of the Tuatha-da-Donnan [sic] had here played off their incantations before the Dagda and

[110] Heaney 1990, 24.
[111] See pages 89-94 of Chapter 2 for a discussion of the impact of the Ordnance Survey on conceptions of the land of Ireland and Romantic conceptions of Ireland's past and people. Also see Doherty 2004.
[112] See Doherty 2004, 150.

his peers in their Cyclopean citadel; and that poems of nearly a thousand years old at the present day, referring to others of a still earlier date, descriptive of this very fortress and of the events which led to its erection, have been found and transplanted here in Dublin, and are now circulating in the vernacular, to speak for themselves, and tell the present inhabitants of Ireland, that the land they tread is not, as too many of them are prone to imagine, a mere stage of fabulous events and ridiculous pretensions, but a field abounding in the authentic monuments of times so remote that to possess the faintest record of them in our day, is enough to entitle us to the envy of the most famous nations of the world.[113]



Figure 4.13 Dun Aengus Fort, Inis Mor, the Aran Islands by George Petrie (1850s). NGI 7481. Note the romantic depiction of the waves and human figures on the cliff edge. Courtesy National Gallery of Ireland.

In addition to this, the work of the 'memoir scheme' resulted in a romantic conception of the Irish landscape rich with stories, lifestyles and objects from antiquity.[114] This was also evident in the artistic work of George Petrie (see Figure 4.13).[115] In a painting of Dun Aengus, Petrie's romantic tendencies as a painter are evident. His depiction of the cliff faces below Dun Aengus Fort which stand firm against the agency of the sea create a passionate sense of the strength and resilience of the landscape of Ireland.[116] The artistic work and antiquarian work of figures such as Petrie encouraged a general reconceptualisation of the country, the West in particular, of Ireland both textually

[113] Doherty 2004, 24-5. Quoting *Dublin Evening Mail*, 17 January, 1838.
[114] See pages 89-94 of Chapter 2 of this thesis.
[115] See Stokes, W. 1868 *The Life and Labours in Art and Archaeology of George Petrie*, Longmans Green, London.
[116] See Doherty 2004 for a brief discussion of the artistic work of George Petrie.

and visually. This would develop into a great tradition of romantic depictions of the Irish landscape.

Idealisation, Images and Imagination: Landscape and Representation

In a discussion of landscape and its effect on the mindscape of Ireland, it is also important to consider the impact of Irish landscape painting. Artists in Ireland throughout the modern era from the time of George Petrie until today worked in the medium of landscape painting, producing images of an idyllic western Ireland free from the touch of British culture and proudly celebrating the old traditions of Ireland dating back to times immemorial.[117] The power that these images of the Irish landscape had was that until the advent of photographic images, they were the main source of images of Ireland available. Probably the most influential painter in the medium of Irish landscapes was Paul Henry (1876-1958). His paintings which recently saw a major retrospective at the National Gallery of Ireland were a collection of broadly conceived romantic idealisations of the landscape of western Ireland (see Figures 4.14-15).[118] Given the acclaim that Henry's work received, his depictions of the Irish landscape significantly affected both Irish society's perception of the land of Ireland and the life within it at home and abroad. 'Paul Henry introduces a number of issues – national identity, the West as somehow the quintessential Irish landscape, the nature of our relationship to the land – which continue to influence attitudes towards the landscape even now'.[119]

From the 17th century onwards landscape painting became increasingly important and reacted to the social and political developments within Ireland, Britain and Europe.[120] These paintings largely focused on idealised, generalised notions of landscape. In the early 20th century, painters such as Jack B. Yeats and Paul Henry began to introduce the significance of place and people into landscape. As discussed previously, Yeats' *Man from Aranmore* (1905) is one of the first major works to declare the significance of a specific

[117] Bhreathnach-Lynch, S. 2003 'The Formation of an Irish School of Painting: Issues of National Identity' in S. B. Kennedy (ed.) *Paul Henry*, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, 23-34.
[118] Kennedy 2003.
[119] ibid. 5.
[120] Bhreathnach-Lynch 2003.

place and a specific lifestyle or people associated with it (see Figure 2.13).[121] This development would have struck a chord with the Irish emigrant population who would have heard idealised stories of such land and lifestyles from their parents, grandparents and ancestors.[122] The paintings would have reinforced the trans-generational transmission of the chosen trauma of emigration and the desire to return to an idealised and aestheticised 'home'. Thus, through the attempt to develop a distinctly Irish school of art, artists such as Paul Henry were not only assisting in the development of shared identifications, chosen glories and chosen traumas for a burgeoning Irish national identity but also supporting Irish emigrant identity through the production of pictorial representations of the idealised Ireland left behind.



Figure 4.14 Paul Henry's 'Launching the Curragh' (1910-1911). NGI 1869. Oil on canvas, 41cm by 60cm. This painting was produced during Henry's time on Achill Island, Co. Mayo (1910-1919). Courtesy National Gallery of Ireland.

[121] Kennedy 2003 5-6. See pages 91-2 of Chapter 2 of this Thesis.
[122] McCaffrey, L. J. 1992 *Textures of Irish America*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse.; McCaffrey 1999.; Meagher, T. J. 2001 *Inventing Irish America: Generation, Class, and Ethnic Identity in a New England City, 1880-1928*, University of Notre Dame Press, South Bend.; Ní Bhroméil, Ú. 2003 *Building Irish Identity in America, 1870-1915: The Gaelic Revival*, Four Courts Press, Dublin.



Figure 4.15 Paul Henry's 'Cottages in Connemara' (1936/37). NGI 4077. Oil on canvas, 69cm by 84cm. Courtesy National Gallery of Ireland.

It was not long until these images of Ireland's landscape were used as inspiration for projects of burgeoning filmmakers. In 1932, filmmaker Robert J. Flaherty set sail from Galway to the Aran Islands with the purpose of returning with a documentary on the pure, unspoiled, rural lifestyle of the west of Ireland.[123] The romantic images of the landscape of Aran Islands, in particular the cliff faces standing against the rushing waves of the sea which dominant most of the images of the film, convey much the same impression of an essential and romantic Ireland as Petrie's painting of Dun Aengus Fort, Inis Mor, the Aran Islands (see Figures 4.13, 4.17). The striking difference between the two works though is that Petrie was resident and lived in Ireland whereas Flaherty was born and raised in the United States. Flaherty was born in Illinois in 1884 but was of Irish descent. Much of what Flaherty would come to represent about life on Aran was constructed. The cottage for the

[123] For a biography of the life and work of Robert Flaherty see Rotha, P. & J. Ruby (eds.) 1984 *Robert J. Flaherty: A Biography*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

internal scenes was purpose built for the film.[124] He then cast the members of the family from amongst the locals.[125] Flaherty had scripted the documentary and asked the individuals he cast often to do actions they may not have done in order for the romantic setting of the shot. For example, Maggie Dillane who played Woman of Aran was asked to carry seaweed along a cliff edge (see Figure 4.16). Locals would not have used this route because of the danger of the cliff edge. During filming, Dillane was knocked over violently by one wave which broke over the edge of the cliff. More surprising was the famous series of fishing scenes, where men in a curragh fish for basking sharks with harpoons (see Figure 4.18). No man living on Aran at the time had ever done such fishing; however, Flaherty sent researchers to Dublin to the National Museum and asked many of the old men on the island for advice in order to reconstruct the romantic scene he wished.[126]

> I should have been shot for what I asked these superb people to do for the film, for the enormous risks I exposed them to ... but they were so intensely proud of the fact that they had been chosen to act in a film which might be shown all over the world that there was nothing they wouldn't do to make it a success.[127]

Thus, Flaherty's desire to document to the rural life of the West of Ireland and the harsh, yet romantic, qualities of life on Aran Island was an engagement with an external idealised conception of an Ireland of unspoiled landscapes, steeped in tradition and embodying a simple life of values.[128] The impact of this romantic construction is illustrated by the fact that Ionad Arann the Aran Islands heritage centre on Inis Mor has daily showings of *Man of Aran* during the tourist season.[129]

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[124] ibid. 111.
[125] Colman 'Tiger' King played Man of Aran. Maggie Dirrane played Woman of Aran. Mikeleen Dillane played Boy of Aran. For a description of the process of casting see Rotha & Ruby 1984, 112-4.
[126] Flaherty had not originally intended to include any fishing scenes in the film. It was upon seeing the large basking sharks in the sea that he decided to redirect the narrative of the film. Rotha & Ruby 1984, 117-8.
[127] ibid. 116.
[128] ibid. 1984, 3-4. Cooney 1996, 151.
[129] For a list of show times see Ireland West Tourism 2006 'The Man of Aran' Visitaranislands.com <http://www.visitaranislands.com/man.html> [Accessed 22 Mar 2006].



Figure 4.16 Maggie Dillane as Woman of Aran carries seaweed along the cliff edge of Inis Mor, Aran Islands, Co. Galway, in Robert Flaherty's *Man of Aran* (1932). Locals would not have used this route because of the danger of the cliff edge. During filming, Dillane was knocked over violently by one wave which broke over the edge of the cliff.



Figures 4.17 Mikeleen Dillane as Boy of Aran and Maggie Dillane as Woman of Aran in Robert Flaherty's *Man of Aran* (1932). Note the romantic depiction of the human figures against the rush of the waves against the cliff faces. Compare with Petrie's painting of Dun Aengus (Figure 4.16).



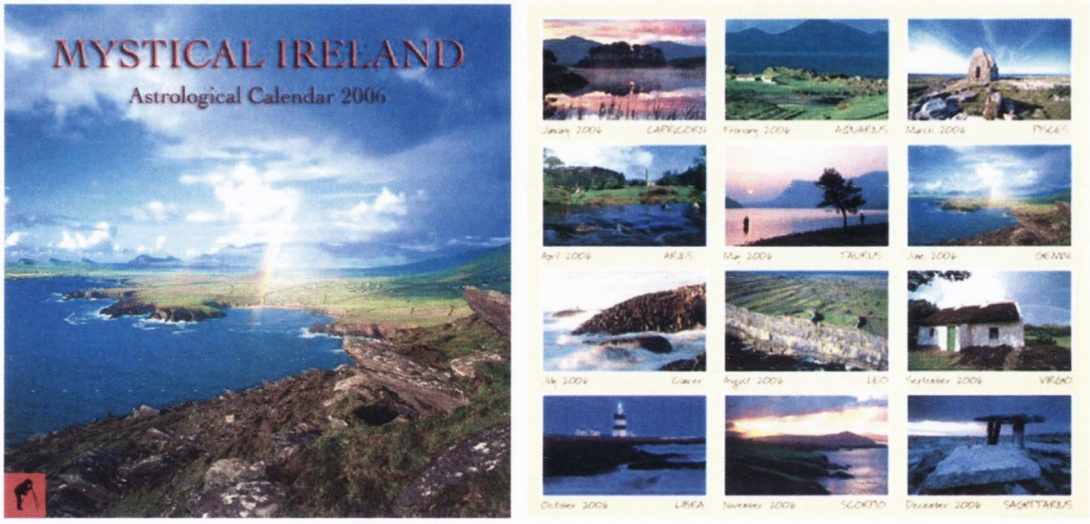
Figure 4.18 Men in a curragh with a harpooned basking shark in Robert Flaherty's *Man of Aran* (1932). These men had to be taught how to fish for basking sharks in order to achieve the scenes Flaherty sought.

Representing and Marketing the Irish Landscape

The contemporary impact of these paintings and cinematic representations is best observed in the contemporary tourism industry which still advertises access to and tours of landscapes such as these. For example, Bell observed that contemporary Irish tourism agencies 'draw on the 'melancholy vision' of the northern romantic tradition of landscape painting to capture the imagination of the potential German tourist'.[130] For example, a wall calendar from the company Real Ireland Design offers highly stylised and iconic depictions of the Irish landscape is currently available for pruchase (see Figures 4.19).[131] The romantic quality of these photographs can hardly go unnoticed. The evocative and emotive qualities of these stark yet vibrant landscapes clearly is intended to either interact

[130] Bell, D. 1995 'Picturing the Landscape: Die Grune Insel', *European Journal of Communication*, 10(1), 41-62, 42.
[131] Blake, L. 2006 'Mystical Ireland: Astrological Calendar', Real Ireland Design, Dublin. Also see: <http://picturepress.ie/mystical_ireland_calendar_2006> [Accessed 22 Mar 2006].

with the viewers conceptions of Ireland or to create expectation of an experience of Ireland through the fulfillment of aesthetic satisfaction. In this way, the Irish tourism industry can be seen as reinforcing or capitalising upon the idealisations of the Irish landscape developed as a coping mechanism for the chosen trauma of emigration. This result in the idealisation of an antiquated abstraction of Irish life and landscape.[132] Most notably, it is the landscape of the West of Ireland that is used as a symbol of Ireland and Irishness. Nash in his discussion of the role of the West of Ireland in Irish identity stated that 'images of the western landscape function in promotional publications as a shorthand notation for the landscape of Ireland in general'.[133]



Figures 4.19 Front and back of the 'Mystical Ireland' Astrological Calendar 2006. Note the romantic and stylised depictions of the landscape of Ireland. Courtesy Real Ireland Design / PicturePress.ie, Ltd.

The Neolithic dolmen at Poulnabrone in the Burren, Co. Clare is an example of a landscape feature which has become an iconic visual representation of Ireland in general (see Figure 4.20). The site is located on a grass-covered mound on a limestone pavement east of the Ballyvaughan/Corofin Road. The structure that is visible is composed of two tall portal stones (1.8m tall) between which was placed a low transverse slab with a capstone (2.1m by 3.65 m) placed on top. All the stones were produced using the local limestone. The site was excavated in 1986 and 1988 as a response to an order form the Commissioners of Public Works to repair or replace one of the portal stones which had

[132] See pages 89-94 of Chapter 2 for a discussion of the conflation between the land of Ireland and the people of Ireland and its Romantic tendencies.
[133] Nash, C. 1993 'The West of Ireland and Irish Identity' in B. O'Connor & M. Cronin (eds.) *Tourism in Ireland: A Critical Analysis*, Cork University Press, Cork, 86-112, 86.

developed a crack. The excavation resulted in the finding of the skeletal remains of 22 individuals (16 adult and 6 juvenile, with an equal representation of both sexes however the remains of 8 individuals could not be sexed). In addition, 60 sherds of undecorated coarse ware were found.[134] The site was well known before excavation however due to the aesthetic visual qualities of the dolmen. The director of the site Dr Ann Lynch noted in 1988:

> This striking monument, standing in stark isolation on the karstic limestone, has in fact become the symbol of the Burren, and its accessibility from the main Corofin/Ballyvaughan road means an ever-increasing number of visitors.[135]

As can be seen in a few examples of tourist and artistic images of the dolmen, romantic views dominate public interpretations of the site. That the director of the site notes the 'striking' qualities of the monument illustrates an awareness of the iconic qualities of the dolmen at Poulnabrone. Indeed, the dolmen has in many ways come to act as a 'shorthand' visual reference for the Burren, the West of Ireland and the 'Irish' or 'Celtic' past (see Figure 4.21-23).



Figure 4.20 Neolithic dolmen, Poulnabrone, the Burren, Co. Clare. Consists of a capstone (2.1m by 3.65 m) resting on two portal stones (1.8m tall) all of local limestone. The eastern portal stone was replaced using local stone during excavations between 1986 and 1988.
Photograph by Tom Fourwinds - www.megalithomania.com.

[134] For a description of the excavation and finds see Lynch, A. 1988 'Poulnabrone – A Stone in Time', *Archaeology Ireland*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Autumn), 105-7. and Lynch, A. & B. Ó Donnabháin 1994 'Poulnabrone Portal Tomb', *The Other Clare: Journal of the Shannon Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 18 (April), 5-7.
[135] Lynch 1988, 105.



Figure 4.21 Dolmen, Poulnabrone, the Burren, Co. Clare. Photograph by Sean Tomkins. Notice the creation of a silhouette of the structure with a halo from the setting sun - a dramatic, romantic and fantastic representation of the structure.

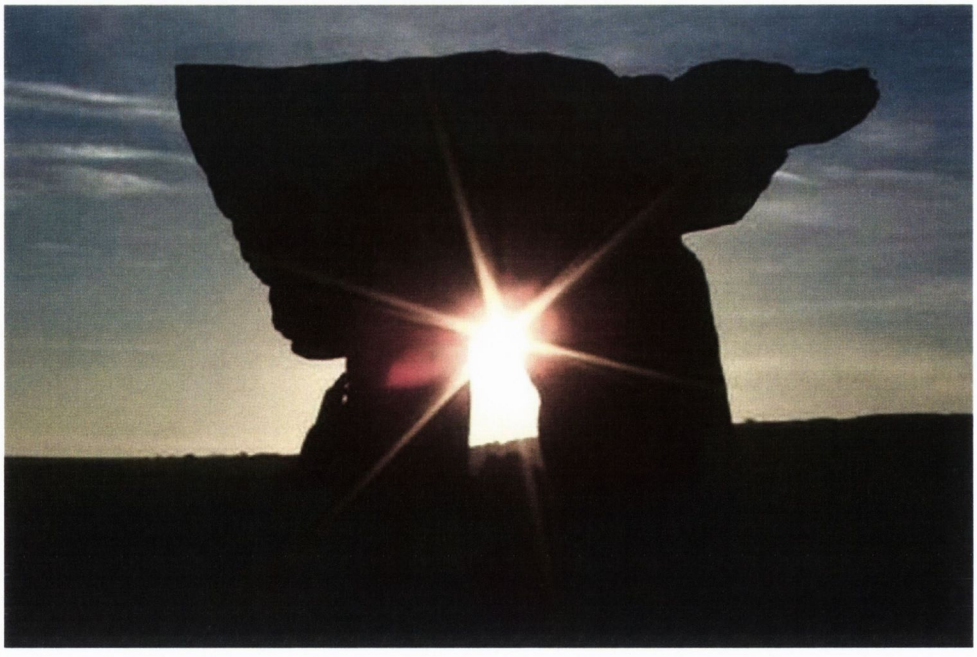


Figure 4.22 Dolmen, Poulnabrone, the Burren, Co. Clare. Courtesy of Galway.net. Notice the creation of a silhouette of the structure with a halo from the setting sun. The visual allusion to popular interest in the light piercing the 'roof-box' of Newgrange on the Winter Solstice should be noted.

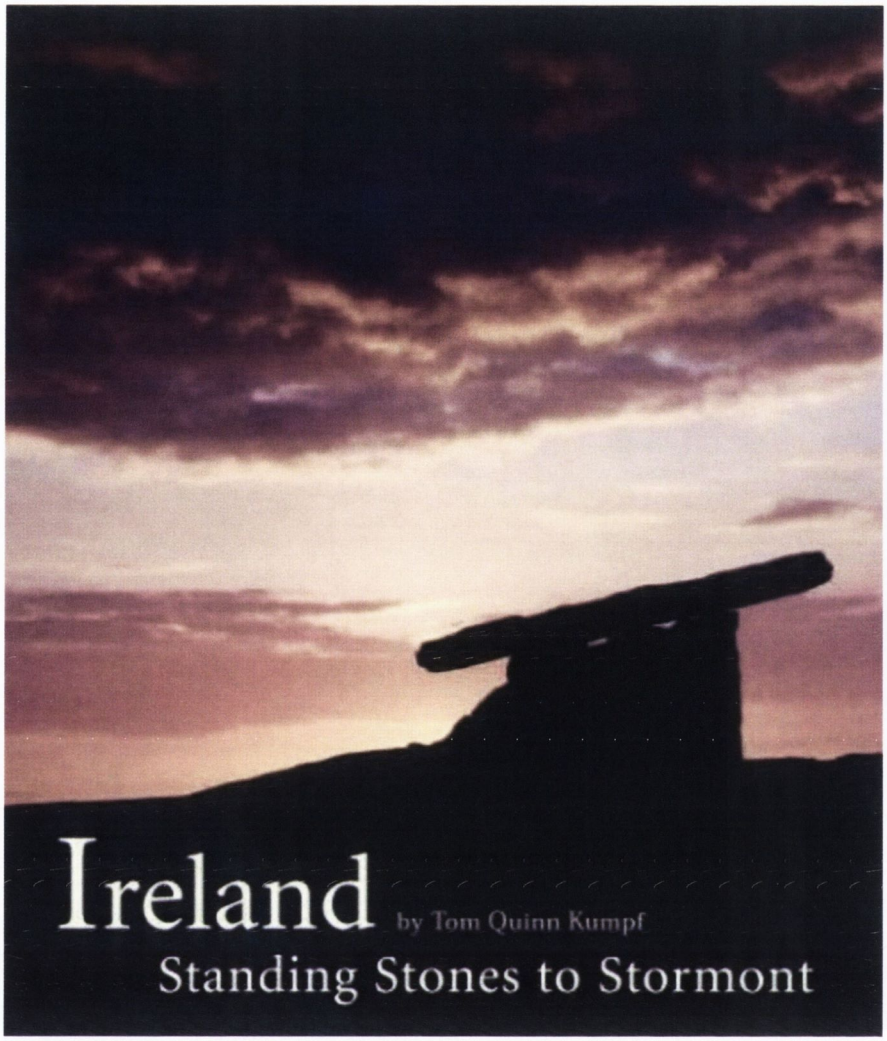


Figure 4.23 Cover of Tom Quinn Kumpf's *Ireland: Standing Stones to Stormont* (2004). Note the romantic depiction of the dolmen at twilight and the impression of the monument as a shorthand for an 'ancient' landscape of Ireland. The use of a dolmen as a short-hand illustration of the prehistory and history of Ireland in this image is very similar to that of Seamus MacCall's *And so Began the Irish Nation* (1931) (see Figure 3.12). Courtesy Tom Quinn Kumpf.

Such iconic representations function as part of the visual vocabulary of the representation of Irish large group identity. Artefacts, monuments and entire landscapes function as visual currency in a world increasingly dominated by images and encouraging visual literacy as a means of communication (see Figure 4.23). Images from Tourism Ireland's e-cards also encourage this consumption of an idyllic Irish landscape (see Figure 4.24). Indeed, their motto supports a general human connection to the landscape of Ireland, suggesting that 'there's something of Ireland in all of us'.

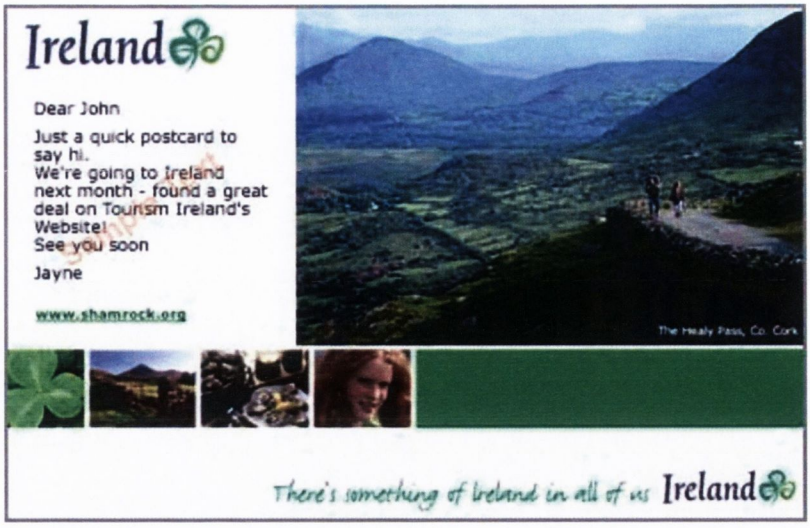


Figure 4.24 A sample of Tourism Ireland's 'landscape e-cards'.[136] It depicts the Healy Pass, Co. Cork. Notice the representations of Ireland: the shamrock, the landscape, Guinness and oysters and a red-haired girl. Also note the slogan 'There's something of Ireland in all of us'.

This relationship between the representation of place and the actual landscape encourages a conflation between tourists' emotive expectation of place and the physical landscape of Ireland. As a result, many places are encouraged to maintain certain physical characteristics or even construct them in order to attract tourist. Thus, due to the increase in tourists visiting Ireland over the last few decades, certain landscapes have become stagnant or even constructed in order to represent the idealised landscape that tourists aspire to consume.[137] The danger for rural landscapes is that, as Moya Kneafsey argues, 'tourism destroys unique place identities'.[138] Rural communities depend on tourists and the economics of tourism to affirm their identity. This relationship can result in the 'trinketisation' of Irish culture. The tourist experience in Ireland is designed to fulfil aspirations of an idyllic countryside lifestyle. In this way, not only is the landscape forced to play a role in the performance of heritage for the tourist, but also the people who reside in these rural settings are encouraged economically to enforce these perceptions.[139]

The expectation of the tourist is often not to engage with contemporary Irish society but to consume a materialised experience of their idealised historical and

[136] Tourism Ireland 2005 'eCards and Downloads' Shamrock.org <http://www.shamrock.org/Interactive/> [Accessed 22 Mar 2006].
[137] For a study of the impact of tourism on place identity in Foxford, Co. Mayo see Kneafsey 1998, 114-20.
[138] Kneafsey 1998, 113.
[139] ibid. 112.

mythological conception of Irish identity.[140] As O'Connor noted, 'Irish people become inscribed within tourist expectations. Tourists expect a certain type of behaviour and are disappointed if these expectations are not met'.[141] In this way, not only can it be seen that Irish society conflates itself and its identity with the landscape of Ireland, but tourists coming to experience and consume the landscape of Ireland also conflate the Irish people and their behaviour with the idealised perception of the western Irish landscape. Thus, rural populations and, indeed, the entire population of Ireland is encouraged to partake in the performative materialisation of an anachronistic and fabricated identity in order that it be consumed by tourists.

The paradox of this situation is that while modern society in Ireland has represented Ireland as an idyllic landscape in evermore romantic and photogenic ways for the sake of developing a tourist industry, the human behavioural patterns which result from desiring to visit and experience these landscapes result in the construction of roads, car parks and modern buildings which threaten that very landscape. To return to the case of the dolmen at Poulnabrone, Lynch noted that due to the proximity of the main road to the site the popularity of the site as a tourist attraction has steadily been growing. For example, over five consecutive days in July 2002 when a count was recorded for a 'Conservation Plan', 5741 people visited the site – an increase over previous years suggested to be because of the proximity of the main road and increasing tourist traffic in the region.[142] Coach tours advertise it as a feature of their tours because of its visual qualities but also its convenience for the coaches. This situation has resulted in the necessity to develop plans for a car park and management plan for the site.[143] Lynch is currently developing plans for the inclusion of a car park and the provision of barriers and information boards which will control visitor access to the site. Given the overall barren and 'natural' splendour of the landscape of Poulnabrone, Lynch has considered it a great difficulty to develop modern structures which will not negatively impact the landscape and lives of those who live in the region. With the number of visitors to the site steadily increasing each season, the need to provide such structures and systems has become more urgent, and as long as the images of the dolmen continue to be disseminated as romantic depictions of the landscape of Ireland and the

[140] McManus, R. 1997, 92; DeMarrais 1996, 19-21; Tilley 1994, 32-3. Also see DeMarrais *et al.* 2005.
[141] O'Connor, B. 1993 'Myths and Mirrors: Tourist Images and National Identity' in B. O'Connor & M. Cronin (eds.) *Tourism in Ireland: A Critical Analysis*, Cork University Press, Cork, 65-85.
[142] Colin Buchanan and Partners 2002 *Poulnabrone Conservation Plan*, Colin Buchanan and Partners, Ltd, Dublin. Also Lynch 2005 personal comments.
[143] Lynch 2005 personal comments.

'Irish' past, then the archaeologists and heritage professionals working at such sites must consider the impact of modern group behaviour and reactions to that behaviour upon a romantic 'green' yet developing landscape.

The significance of this phenomenon is illustrated by Kneafsey who reports that in 1990 over 2.5 million visitors came to Ireland and that by 2000 that number rose to 6.3 million.[144] The transient population of tourists coming to Ireland is so sizeable and such an economic force that the influence of tourism and heritage industries on conceptions of the Irish landscape is both intense and continual. Ruth McManus noted that in 1997 115,000 full-time jobs in Ireland were supported by the revenue from the spending of tourists, increasing to 126,700 full-time jobs in 2000 and causing tourism to account for one in twelve jobs in the Republic of Ireland.[145] For archaeology, this is significant because many of the sites patronised by tourists and heritage enthusiasts are also subjects of archaeological enquiry. 'While it is difficult to quantify the exact contribution of the heritage component to tourism in Ireland, surveys consistently suggest that more than half of all visitors include a visit to at least one place of natural, cultural or historical interest during their stay. ... of the 8.6 million visits made to fee-paying visitor attractions in the Republic of Ireland in 1995, roughly two-thirds were either to historic houses or interpretative centres.'[146]

Increasing numbers of visitors to places of heritage significance is beneficial in that it creates a larger audience that is aware of and open to developing conceptions of heritage and helps development in rural areas through place promotion.[147] However, McManus rightly asked the question of 'whether the history of a site is distorted or even recreated in the process of attracting visitors'.[148] It is useful to recall Cooney's quotation on archaeology's relationship to this process, 'it could be suggested that by default we as archaeologists are allowing the selection of elements from the past to be used for the dictates of the present, for example in the heritage and more broadly tourism industry,

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[144] For the 1990 statistic see Kneafsey 1998, 11. For the 2000 statistic see McManus, R. 2001 'Dublin's Changing Tourism Geography', *Irish Geography*, vol. 34, iss. 2, 103-23, 103.
[145] For the 1997 figure see McManus, R. 1997, 91. For the 2000 figure see McManus, R. 2001, 103.
[146] McManus, R. 1997, 91.
[147] See Storey, D. 2004 'A Sense of Place: Rural Development, Tourism and Place Promotion in the Republic of Ireland' in , L. Holloway & M. Kneafsey (eds.) *Geographies of Rural Cultures and Societies*, Ashgate, Hunts, 197-213.
[148] McManus, R. 1997, 92.

which is so central in the projection of a modern Irish identity'.[149] Thus, by 'discovering' sites which are interpreted as archaeological monuments, archaeologists are creating new social spaces for remembering which alter the perceptions of the landscape as well as physically affect the development of that landscape through the establishment of interpretive centres, souvenir stalls and road systems which facilitate that remembering.[150] Cooney has been right to draw attention to the seemingly paradoxical relationship between what society believes about or desires from heritage and the landscape and the behavioural result of the participation in heritage and the landscape being modern buildings, carparks and roads.[151]

> While the quality of sightseeing and scenery are sold as icons of Ireland, much of the emphasis in the heritage industry is on creating modern buildings and car-parks in which to house high-technology displays about the heritage.[152]

McManus may be correct in arguing that 'the voracious demands of consumer society are at odds with the role of the present societies as guardians of heritage for future generations'.[153] However, it is not possible to simply change modern human behavioural patterns such as tourism for the sake of preservation. Rather tourism should not be seen as an entirely negative force on the landscape.[154] In many ways, it is part of the continual process of change and development of human beings engaging with their landscape.[155] It is only necessary to acknowledge the behaviour and its psychological routes and engage it in productive ways such as those sought by Lynch at Poulnabrone.

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[149] Cooney 1996, 160. Also see pages 51-2 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.
[150] See pages 226-35 of Chapter 5 for a discussion of such a situation regarding Wood Quay, Dublin City.
[151] Cooney, G. 1991 'Parking Lots for Paradise', *Archaeology Ireland*, 5(3), 23-4.
[152] McManus, R. 1997, 92. Also see Brett 1996.
[153] McManus, R. 1997, 93.
[154] For a discussion of the role of tourism in economic development see Kockel, U. 1994 'Culture, Tourism and Development: A View from the Periphery' in U. Kockel (ed.) *Culture, Tourism and Development: The Case of Ireland*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 1-14. Also see Stocks, J. 2000 'Sustaining Tourism and Culture in the Donegal Gaeltacht' in M. Robinson, P. Long, N. Evans, R. Sharpley & J. Swarbrooke (eds.) *Expressions of Culture, Identity and Meaning in Tourism: Reflections on International Tourism*, Centre for Travel and Tourism in association with Business Education Publishers, Sunderland, 375-84.
[155] See Kneafsey, M. 1994 'The Cultural Tourist: Patron Saint of Ireland?' in U. Kockel (ed.) *Culture, Tourism and Development: The Case of Ireland*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 103-16. and Kneafsey 1998, 114.

Conclusion: The Poetic Landscape and the Archaeological Imagination

The desire to understand the way in which the landscape came to be in the state it is in is a core component of human sentience, and it is a larger application of Thomas' concept of the 'archaeological imagination'.[156] The landscape is an organic and ever developing entity in which human beings act. Human agency impacts and shapes the landscape as much as any other natural force, and the impact of such action is visible in every landscape. The attempt of early medieval poets, whose work was collected in the *Dindshenchas*, to identify certain landscapes and places with certain stories can be said to be one of the first textual materialisations of an 'archaeological imagination' or a 'past awareness' in Ireland. The writers and compilers were aware that the poems with which they were working derived from a place and that the place was significant to the understanding of the poem. Equally, the poem was significant to the understanding of the place. In this sense, these poems greatly parallel contemporary notions of the poetic landscape of writers such as Seamus Heaney. Much of Heaney's work has focused on notions of the continual exchange between land and agency in the land.[157] One of the most famous of Heaney's works was inspired by his observances of individuals working in the bogs near his home and was titled 'Bogland'.

In the words of Dianne Meredith: 'As Heaney contemplated the investigations of the bog as historical repositories, he concluded that they were bottomless. As one digs back into history - or down in the case of bogs - the past merges with the present so that as each layer is stripped, it seems already camped on. Therefore, digging back into origins both uncovers and creates a sense of place'[158]:

> Each layer they strip
> Seems camped on before
> The bogholes might be Atlantic seepage
> The wet centre is bottomless.[159]

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[156] Thomas 1996, 63.
[157] Meredith, D. 1999 'Landscape or Mindscape? Seamus Heaney's Bogs', *Irish Geography*, vol. 32, no. 2, 126-34.
[158] ibid. 130.
[159] Heaney, S. 1969 *North*, Faber, London, 56.

Heaney's description of excavations in the bog relates to a deeper awareness of the past in the land. In a 1974 lecture given to the Royal Society of Literature Heaney expressed his conception of the relationship between the agency of the poet and that of the archaeologist in the exploration of landscape.

> ... poetry as divination, poetry as revelation of the self to the self, as restoration of the culture to itself; poems as elements of continuity, with the aura of authenticity of archaeological finds, where the buried shard has an importance that is not diminished by the importance of the buried city; poetry as a dig, a dig for finds that end up being plants.[160]

Heaney's work has been described as having an 'archaeologizing imagination' in his quest for revelation and revivalism.[161] However, his fascination with the revelation of archaeological processes exposed his own romantic connection with modern 'depth metaphors'.

In Chapter 1 of this thesis, Freud's construction of 'depth metaphor' for the process of psychoanalytic method through an 'archaeological imagination' was discussed.[162] Briefly, a quotation from his essay 'Constructions in Analysis' should be reviewd:

> His work of construction, or, if it is preferred, of reconstruction, resembles to a great extent an archaeologist's excavation of some dwelling-place that has been destroyed and buried or of some ancient edifice. The two processes are in fact identical ... just as the archaeologist builds up the walls of the building from the foundations that have remained standing, determines the number and position of the columns from depressions in the floor and reconstructs the mural decorations and paintings from the remains found in the debris, so does the analyst proceed when he

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[160] Heaney, S. 1980 *Preoccupations: Selected Prose 1968-78*, Noonday-Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, 41.
[161] Castle 2001, 256-9. Also see Finn, C. 2006 'Bog Bodies and Bog Lands: Trophies of Science, Art and the Imagination' in I. Russell (ed.) *Images, Representations and Heritage: Moving beyond Modern Approaches to Archaeology*, Springer-Kluwer, New York, 315-32.
[162] See pages 2-6 and 39-41 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.

> draws his inferences from the fragments of memories, from the associations and from the behaviour of the subject of the analysis.[163]

What both Heaney and Freud were examining was the fundamental link between the 'archaeological imagination' within the psyche of the individual and the physical landscape which testifies to human agency. Thomas described this development in thought as the modern 'depth metaphor'.[164] In Thomas' opinion, archaeology has become a metaphor for many other attempts at self-understanding in human agency and that this is one of the core aspects of the development of archaeology within a tradition of Western modernity. This was evident in Freud's metaphorical use of archaeology in the above quotation. As one moves deeper from one landscape to a lower landscape – digging downwards, one is revealing objects which are assumed to be earlier and therefore a testament to earlier human agency and deeper meanings of humanity (see Figure 1.16). The significance of this idea to the study of landscapes is that it highlights the fundamental drive that individuals have to interpret the world which surrounds them and the nature of their own agency. Just as with Weizman's discussion of verticality in geography, Heaney's poetic engagement with this concept illustrated the effect of landscape and archaeological interaction with that landscape on the creation of a sense of 'rootedness', of place and of continuity in time.[165] Freud's metaphorical use of an archaeological excavation demonstrated that the interpretation of space and the understanding of being is a continually developing pursuit. Landscapes are not static objects to be observed or excavated but are part of the greater phenomenon of human sentience.[166] Still the modern regressive tendency to conflate landscapes with conceptions of identity, forming a static shared identification, has been observed in the case studies of Drumcree, stone walls and 'famine houses'. These landscapes of human agency are perceived to be static geographies in which large groups can materialise their chosen glories and traumas. Thus interaction with these landscapes necessitates an interaction with the modern psychological relationships between society and its externalisations upon and internalisations from landscapes. In the next chapter, the utilisation of places, sites, monuments and landscapes within modern psycho-social discourses will be explored; for capitalisation upon static

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[163] Freud 1964, 259-60. Also see page 2-7 of Chapter 1 for a discussion of the relationship between Freud's psychoanalytic thought and modern archaeology.
[164] Thomas 2004, 149-70.
[165] Weizman 2002 (Electronic Resource).
[166] See Tilley 2004.

ideological conceptions of landscapes not only occurs in tourism but also in politics and nationalism.

Chapter 5: Politics and Protests: Archaeology and the Theatre of Memory

Aspects of landscapes can be internalised in the creation of a personal geography of identity.[1] As was seen in the previous chapter, the perception of a landscape and the locations within it are integral in the creation of psycho-social relationships. Equally, the experience of a landscape and action within a landscape are fundamental aspects of the expression of identity.[2] The context of action whether temporal, historical or geographical is an essential part of group psychological relations that give action significance within a society. It is often the landscape and the perception of the landscape that give the importance to an action which takes place within it. An action on its own is without ideological weight in a historically oriented society.[3] It is the context of an event that provides an interpretive framework for understanding the significance of an event, for it is the context of an event – its spatial, temporal and social location – that allows society to internalise the significance of an event and establish shared identifications to the event with other members of the group.

The shared identification of a group to a specific place or to a specific spatial context can both affect the interpretation of action within it and also inspire action to take place.[4] A site of action could have special significance to a group for a number of reasons. For example, it could be the location for a popular myth central to the group's identity. It could also be the site of a historical traumatic experience for the group, or it could be the site of a glorified experience. In all examples though, what gives the site significance is that it is attached to a socially accepted narrative of identity, and thus any action which is associated with the location will be associated with that narrative.[5] In Chapter 4, the role of locations and landscapes relating to social conceptions of the chosen trauma of the 'Great Famine' in the performance of tourism and commemoration was discussed.[6] This explanation underlies the social motivations and affects of pilgrimage – the desire to personally act at a socially accepted significant location that is central to group identity. If we follow archaeological theorist Gavin Lucas' argument that 'memory [is] a representation of the original event', then the actions are an attempt to reinforce that

[1] See Darby 2000.
[2] See Low & Lawrence-Zuniga 2003.
[3] Foucault 1970, 238.
[4] See Low & Lawrence-Zuniga 2003.
[5] See Aleksiuk & Nelson 2002.
[6] See pages 184-90 of Chapter 4 of this thesis.

memory by performing and experiencing some social sense of that original event, and one of the most effective means to achieve this connection is by acting within or at the original geographical location of the event.[7]

Graham, Ashworth and Turnbridge in *A Geography of Heritage* noted that sites and their distribution play a large part in the creation of social spaces. For them, heritage was an over-arching phenomenon occurring at different locations, distributions and scales.[8] Thus, they theorised that it was essential to understand the phenomenon of heritage geographically. Heritage was a phenomenon which occurred temporally and spatially either between two individual people or groups or between an individual or group and a specific object, site or geography. It was a linguistic discourse located firmly in the present.[9] Therefore just as the construction of large group identity was a product of contemporary behavioural phenomenon so too the development and acknowledgement of a notion of heritage was a product of contemporary human communication. Although there are many different forms of heritage (language, song, dance, myth, art, architecture, etc.), this thesis is concerned with the physical aspects of heritage since by their very nature they have a visual, tangible, 'continual' presence. Since archaeological artefacts, sites and monuments have a physical presence in our landscapes and, thus, psycho-social behaviour manifested in human agency, the 'remembering' and recording of their physical presence should be considered.[10] Geography in Graham, Ashworth and Turnbridge's opinion was a method of remembering the past in an official and popular linguistic capacity. Chapter 2 illustrated the construction of concepts of the island and nation of Ireland using maps and geographies.[11] Therefore, the creation of new geographies through the acknowledgement of archaeological sites in physical and mental maps of Irish society and Ireland itself leads to the development of socially accepted locations for communal action.

Following on from Graham, Ashworth and Turnbridge, sites and their distribution were thus central to the development of backdrops for contemporary social action.[12]

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[7] Lucas, G. 1997 'Forgetting the Past', *Anthropology Today*, vol. 13, iss. 1, 8-14, 8.
[8] Graham *et al.* 2000, 4.
[9] ibid. 2.
[10] For a discussion of this theme see pages 170-3 and 193-4 of Chapter 4 of this thesis. Also see pages 89-94 of Chapter 2 for a discussion of the impact of the Ordnance Survey on conceptions of the land of Ireland and romantic conceptions of Ireland's past and people. Also see Doherty 2004.
[11] See pages 58-61 of Chapter 2 of this thesis.
[12] Graham *et al.* 2000, 4.

Metaphorically, the phenomenon of heritage can be seen as a performance of a play.[13] It requires a location or setting, a backdrop or set, actors and an audience. The location and setting are the historical, archaeological and mythological contexts for the performance of heritage, the backdrop or set is the inanimate, physical objects (monuments, artifacts, art, etc.) which act as reference points for the action of the performance. The actors and the audience are the people involved in the interpretation and appreciation of the significance of the performance of heritage. The actors would be historians, archaeologists, politicians, and other social occupations. The audience would be the large group as a whole who witness the performance and, in many cases, demand it. The important thing to remember is that the audience is not a passive recipient in this act.[14] They are fully involved in the conception of heritage. Thus, one could say that heritage is a 'theatre of memory'.[15]

If heritage is a theatre of memory, then one of the members of the stage crew in charge of props and set construction is archaeology. Just as it has been argued that archaeology helps provide the material for the construction of shared identifications in society, so too does it provide material for the construction of props and a backdrop for social celebrations and discourses of identity and history.[16] As was argued in the previous chapter, archaeology can change a geography and thus change a society's identification with a geography.[17] Archaeological sites create new social spaces and social relations to those spaces altering and 'deepening' a society's understanding of the geography in which it acts, and archaeological artefacts have the potential to develop into symbols and icons of a group and inspire them to act. Therefore, archaeological sites as locations of heritage and the artefacts found there are especially powerful locations and symbols for actions which are intended to alter, reinforce or re-orientate a society's self-understanding.[18] At a basic level, this is what archaeologists attempt to do - identify locations in a landscape and act at them to re-orientate a society's understanding of a landscape, location or object and encourage a 'deeper' understanding of its existence.

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[13] Pearson, M. & M. Shanks 2001 *Theatre/Archaeology: Disciplinary Dialogues*, Routledge, London.
[14] For criticism of the role of the audience within theatrical performance see Blau, H. 1990 *The Audience*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
[15] Samuel, R. 1994 *Theatres of Memory, Vol. 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, Verso, London.
[16] See page 50 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.
[17] See pages 191-3 of Chapter 4 of this thesis.
[18] See pages 109-11 of Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Placing action in an archaeologically or historically significant context adds a mode of commemoration to the action. The act of commemoration is not necessarily of a specific event but will always be on some level, whether conscious or subconscious, a commemoration of the notion of the importance of social historical identity of the abstract notion of group identity. These commemorative actions will generally call upon the social notions of chosen glories and chosen traumas from the historical, archaeological or mythological narrative of the group's identity, attaching the contemporary action to the contemporary social narrative of group identity.[19] By staging action in a socially accepted, historically or archaeologically significant context, a new network of shared identifications is created between the contemporary action, the location and the people acting. Thus, during the performance of action, archaeological and geographical objects can become protosymbols and the entire landscape surrounding the action is elevated to the level of what was described in the Chapter 4 as a protogeography.[20] Once a site or object has been elevated to this level in social intra-relationships, they then can become quite powerful in revolutionary, nationalistic or confrontational social discourses.

Four main ways that archaeological sites in Ireland have been involved in social discourses will be discussed. The most common is when a site or artefact inspires political or social ideas and actions. Less common is when a site itself becomes the staging point for political actions. A parallel to this is when interaction with a site is perceived negatively by a group, and this situation inspires political or social ideas and actions. The fourth and more recent phenomenon is when the socially accepted significance of a site is used to move other agendas into social awareness through association with the site. Each of these situations will be examined separately and illustrated by specific examples.

Archaeology Inspiring Political Actions

As has been discussed, archaeological artefacts and sites often become suitable reservoirs in society for the development of shared identifications and protosymbols and, in due course, large group identity.[21] In this capacity archaeological material has the ability

[19] See pages 22-6 of Chapter 1 for discussion of chosen glories and chosen traumas.
[20] See pages 171-3 of Chapter 4 of this thesis for a discussion of protogeography. Also see the Glossary.
[21] See pages 28-9 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.

to inspire new ideological movements in society. The phenomenon was particularly powerful in Ireland. As discussed in Chapter 3, the impact of the antiquarian discoveries of the 19th century resulted in the development of a Neo-Celtic art style which then inspired thinkers, artists, writers and politicians in the creation of multiple organisations and movements centred around a new concept of Irish identity, one unique and separate from Britain.[22] The Home Rule movement, the Gaelic Revival, the Irish Republican Brotherhood and Sinn Féin, to name a few, were movements which drew inspiration from archaeological discoveries and the historical and cultural 'revival' that surrounded the dissemination of the awareness of the 'finds'. As discussed in Chapter 3, it was the great archaeological finds of the late 19th century such as the 'Tara' Brooch, the 'Ardagh' Chalice and many others that began the interest in Irish archaeology which resulted in the discovery of a great wealth of material which necessitated the development of the National Museum.[23] Most of these developments were an aspect of the course of Irish nationalism and the growth of national identity. However, the power of the images of great archaeological finds, the national or social pride in their representation and their use by the great politicians of the day was critical to the political developments of the late 19th century and early 20th century.

An anecdotal example of the cachet that archaeology had in the intelligentsia and political circles of Irish society during the time comes from the life of Eóin MacNeill (1867-1945).[24] MacNeill was known popularly as a member of the Gaelic League and one of the leaders of the Irish Volunteers. However, MacNeill was also an acclaimed historian.[25] During the run up to the Easter Rising of 1916, MacNeill was involved crucially in the political decisions of the Irish nationalists, and he continually worked to avoid armed conflict and believed the Irish Volunteers to be a defensive force. Still, after Easter Rising in 1916, he was arrested by the British government as a conspirator and member of the Irish Volunteers. What was significant about this story was that MacNeill had very little to do with the pragmatics of the Rising. He had actually issued an order in

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[22] See pages 112-6 of Chapter 3 of this thesis.
[23] ibid. Also see pages 326-7 of Chapter 7 of this thesis. Also see Latvick 2000; Saris 2000 and Crooke 2001.
[24] Tierney, M. 1980 *Eoin MacNeill: Scholar and Man of Action 1867-1945*, Clarendon, Oxford.
[25] Some examples of titles written by MacNeill include *Phases of Irish History* (1920), *Celtic Ireland* (1921), *Ancient Irish Law: The Law of Status or Franchise* (1923), *The Native Place of St. Patrick* (1926), *Ireland and Wales in the History of Jurisprudence* (1927), *The Earliest Lives of St. Patrick* (1928), *Archaisms in the Ogham Inscriptions* (1931), *Early Irish Laws and Institutions* (1935), *The Hymn of St. Secundinus in Honour of St. Patrick* (1940).

the *Sunday Irish Independent* cancelling all Irish Volunteer parades for the day thereby ensuring the action did not go forth on Easter Sunday (23 April 1916).[26] Although he was aware that the conflict was likely inevitable, it seems that he did not know where or when it would take place and that it was to be the following day, Easter Monday (24 April 1916). The evidence for this comes from a document which has survived in MacNeill's notes and is recorded in Michael Tierney's biography of the figure.[27] The document is a typed statement from R. A. S. Macalister with whom MacNeill had been collaborating on a translation of the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* and whom he received at his house for some time on the Saturday evening before the Rising (22 April 1916). The statement revealed that MacNeill was likely unaware of the practical details of the Rising, or he would have advised his friend Macalister not to bring the translation of the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* to the publishers on Grafton Street the next day since it would have been in the midst of the conflict. More interestingly though was the fact that, in Macalister's opinion, MacNeill was so free of spirit that he was able to recount a long and intricate legend of Tara. To quote:

> At tea the conversation was on trivial subjects till a remark happened to be made about Tara, which some of the party had recently visited. This led to a discussion on Tara, in the course of which Professor MacNeill related an ancient legend on the subject of the history of the place. It is a long and complicated story, full of small incidents nicely fitted together, the kind of story, difficult if not impossible to tell if one's mind is preoccupied with other matters. MacNeill told the whole story with absolute fluency and accuracy and a considerable amount of dramatic and literary skill. This feat would have been absolutely impossible for him, I am certain, or for anyone who had private knowledge of what was coming.[28]

It was notable that days before the Easter Rising of 1916, two of Ireland's pre-eminent scholars, one of whom was involved in the nationalist organisations of the day, were occupied by an intense discussion about archaeology and history.[29] Furthermore, MacNeill was a leading figure in the arenas of history and politics, and days before one of

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[26] Cronin, M. 2001 *A History of Ireland*, Palgrave, Basingstoke, 193.
[27] Tierney 1980, 204-5.
[28] ibid. 204-5. This is an excerpt from R. A. S. MacAlister's typed statement about his time with MacNeil on 22 April 1916.
[29] After tea, MacNeill and Macalister discussed the interpretation of an unidentified 'inscription' that Macalister had contacted him about. See Tierney 1980, 205.

the most critical events of his political career was to occur he indulged in lengthy discussion about archaeology and history. Clearly it can be said that MacNeill was a person who drew inspiration from both facets of his professional life, politics and history, to develop his course of action in the critical stages of Irish national development. This is not to say that MacNeill's historical studies were what led him to play the political role that he did in Irish history, but it was notable that a pivotal figure in the story of the 'Irish nation' was deeply involved in the writing of Irish history and translation of early Irish texts (ironically the 'Book of the Taking of Ireland') and had a serious interest in the site of Tara. Given this, it is acceptable to suggest that these textual and physical objects played a role in the shared identifications and acted as suitable reservoirs of the group identity of which MacNeill felt himself to be a part and, indeed, to be defending through his associations with the Gaelic League and the Irish Volunteers.

Archaeological Sites Used as Staging Points for Political Actions

Archaeological and historical sites have a great power to inspire action, but in a few cases, these sites have become the actual location of action. Archaeological artefacts and sites can create contextual backdrops for present day cultural, social and political action. One of the most popularly known examples of this would be the swearing in of new recruits in the Israeli army on the mount of Masada. Masada had been the location of the famed siege of the Romans from AD 73-74 ending the Jewish Revolt of AD 66 told by Flavius Josephus (AD c.37-c.100).[30] The site was occupied by Jewish forces and civilians from AD 66, and the people under siege killed themselves rather than be taken prisoner by the Roman army.[31] In modern times, the site became the focus of Zionist pilgrimages and today is one of the most popular tourist attractions in Israel.[32] Each year, new recruits to the Israeli army pledge an oath to never again let Masada fall. Since service in the Israeli army is compulsory for all citizens, the taking of the service oath at Masada can be seen as a mass performative materialisation of group identity through the commemoration of

[30] Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War* 7.8-9.
[31] It is recorded that the men killed the women and children first and then ten men were chosen to be the executioners of the others. Finally one man was selected to kill the other nine, and he himself then committed suicide. (*The Jewish War*, 7.9.1)
[32] For a sociological study of the role of Masada in modern Israeli mythmaking and identity construction see Ben-Yehuda, N. 1996 *The Masada Myth: Collective Memory and Mythmaking in Israel*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.

chosen traumas and chosen glories at an archaeological site. Indeed, in 1969 after archaeological excavation of the site and the exhumation of 25 skeletons from the period of the siege, the human remains were reburied with full military honours of the Israeli state.[33]

The most popularly known example of a similar situation in Ireland was the battle of the United Irishmen in Meath against the loyal British forces which occurred in the environs of the Hill of Tara on 23 May 1798.[34] The setting of a battle for Irish independence on the popularly understood seat of the Irish 'high kings' would have had a very dramatic sentiment. This was not the first time that the site of Tara was the setting for political action.[35] In 1641, a rebellion occurred, and the meeting of lords and gentry who planned the rebellion including the Earl of Fingal and the Lord of Gormanstown was held at Tara.[36] It should not be overlooked that the Hill of Tara has a commanding view of the Boyne River Valley which was the site of the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 which saw the defeat of James by William of Orange, a victory which has become a definitive symbol for Ulster Protestants and Loyalists.

Of course the full effect of the symbolic history of Tara is appreciated when one considers that 45 years after the 1798 rebellion, Daniel O'Connell held one of his largest 'Monster Meetings' on the same site (see Figure 5.1). The 'Monster Meetings' were held across the country in 1843 and were rallies to allow O'Connell to declare his aims for the repeal of the Union with Britain.[37] The meetings of what was known as the Home Rule movement were reported to have occurred all over Ireland at historically significant locations such as at the Rath of Mullaghmast (Mullach Maistean), an Iron Age ring fort between Ballitore and Burtown, Co. Kildare.[38] The meeting at Tara was said to be the largest, reportedly drawing 250,000 to 750,000 and in some sources one million to the

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[33] ibid.

[34] Cronin 2001, 111. For a discsussion of the 1798 rebellion see Smyth 2000 and Packenham 2000.

[35] Breathnach reported that the *Annals of the Four Masters* records that in 1539 a meeting between Conn O'Neill and Manus O'Donnell occurred on the Hill of Tara before their campaign against the lord deputy Grey. Bhreathnach 1995a, 28. However, after consulting the text of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, the only reference made to Tara relating to the campaigns of O'Connell and O'Neill in 1539 is in M1539.5: 'An army was led by O'Neill (Con) and O'Donnell (Manus), with one will and accord, into Meath; and such part of these territories as were disobedient to them they spoiled and burned before them, as far as Tara, and the possessions of all those who refused to submit to them'. See O'Donovan 1848-51, 1453 [CELT].

[36] Recorded in the 'Meath Depositions'. See Bhreathnach 1995a, 29. For a discussion of the 1641 rebellion see Wheeler, J. S. 2002 *The Irish and British Wars, 1637-1654: Triumph, Tragedy and Failure*, Routledge, London.

[37] For a history of Home Rule in Ireland see Jackson 2003. For a biography of the life of Daniel O'Connell see MacDonagh 1991 or O'Connell 1991.

[38] Crooke 2001, 36.

famous site of the Ráith na Ríg on the Hill of Tara on 15 August 1843 (see Figures 5.1 and 6.6).[39] The hill was not only the 'historical' seat of the Irish 'high-kings' and the setting for one of best known myths of St. Patrick, it was, as was noted earlier, the location of one of the battles of the 1798 rebellion. Therefore, not only did the site of Tara have a historical, mythical and archaeological importance, but it also had a contemporary political importance in that there would have been people alive during the time of O'Connell's 'Monster Meetings' who had lived through the 1798 rebellion.



Figure 5.1 O'Connell's 'Monster Meeting' at Tara - *Illustrated London News* 26 August 1843.

What is not as well remembered is that O'Connell had planned an additional 'Monster Meeting' to take place at Clontarf but which was banned by the British government. It was designed to take place at another historical battle point recalling the Battle of Clontarf in 1014 and the 'heroic' victory of Brian Boru one of the legendary figures of Irish history (see Figure 3.3). Popular conceptions of the battle were that Boru's victory at Clontarf precipitated the end of Viking power and influence in Ireland.[40] The meeting was banned by the British government because they feared a meeting as large as

[39] Ibid. 34. For a full survey of the monuments on the Hill of Tara see Newman, C. 1997 *Tara: An Archaeological Survey*, The Discovery Programme, Dublin.

[40] See Todd, J. H. 1867 *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh: The war of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or, The invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen*, Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, London. For a fictionalised historical account of the life of Brian Boru see Llywelyn, M. 1995 *Brian Boru: Emperor of the Irish*, Tor Books, New York.

the one at Tara so close to the government offices in Dublin could result in rebellion. O'Connell acquiesced, and the meeting never happened.

If we consider the regalia and symbols of O'Connell's movement with his meetings, we can see O'Connell asserting a totally new and reconceptualised Irish identity (see Figures 3.1, 3.3). By holding meetings at historical locations of his choosing, he helped establish broad, powerful shared identifications with a historical geography of his choosing. For example, during the meeting at the Rath of Mullaghmast, O'Connell recounted the murder of Irish chiefs and the suppression of the population by British rule which occurred in 1577.[41] *The Nation* advertised the meeting place as the 'scene of a massacre atrocious event [by] the Saxon' where 'the Earl of Sussex shortly after the reformation having invited FOUR HUNDRED CHIEFTAINS of Leinster to a conference on this hill, murdered them in cold blood'.[42] A similar style of historical connection to place is seen in part of O'Connell's speech at the Tara meeting:

> It is impossible to deny that Tara has historical recollections that give to it an importance, relatively, to the other portions of the land, and deserves to be so considered by every person that comes to it for political purpose (hear) [sic] and gives it an elevation and point of impression in the public mind that no other part of Ireland can possibly have. History may be tarnished by exaggeration, but the fact is undoubted that we are at Tara of the kings (cheers). We are on the spot where the monarchs of Ireland were elected and where the chieftains of Ireland bound themselves by the sacred pledge of honour and the tie of religious to stand by their native land against the Dane, or any other stranger (cheers).[43]

What O'Connell was doing was reviving historical events at there specific locations to give contemporary experiential relevance of the events and the place to those in attendance. While the use of the Rath of Mullaghmast commemorated a chosen trauma of massacre, the use of the Ráith na Ríg at Tara commemorated a chosen glory. It is interesting to note that the subtext of O'Connell's invocation of the pledge of 'the chieftains of Ireland' to defend their native land 'against the Dane, or any other stranger' has a very similar

[41] For an account of the 'murders' see the *Annal of the Four Masters* (M1577.14) O'Donovan 1848-51, 1695-7 [CELT].
[42] Crooke 2001, 37. Quoting *The Nation*, 9 September 1843, 776. Capital letters are original.
[43] Crooke 2001, 35. Quoting *The Nation*, 19 August 1843,706.

psychological sense as the pledge of the contemporary Israeli army to defend Israel taken on the mount of Masada. Ironically, O'Connell was never prepared to take up arms to defend Ireland against the British government, but history would show that in time Irish large group identity would become more fervent, and in time, rebellion would occur.

Negative Interaction with Archaeology Inspiring Political Actions

Of course it is not always a designed action at an archaeological site that results in inspiration for political discourse. There are some cases from Irish history when archaeological or development work was being conducted at a site and an ideological reaction took place against the interaction with the site. In these situations it was not the action occurring at the site that inspired, but it was the social importance of the site and the perception that the present activity at the site was negative. There are many examples that could be discussed, but the two which will be examined here are the British Israelite excavations at Tara from 1899 to 1902 and the Wood Quay 'saga' from the 1970s.

The British Israelites at Tara and Irish Identity

An organisation known as the British Israelites obtained a licence to excavate at the Hill of Tara for the Ark of the Covenant in June of 1899. The group had extensive research 'proving' that the Ark of the Covenant, the sacred receptacle for the fragments of the Ten Commandments, had made its way across Europe and was deposited in the Ráith na Senad on the Hill of Tara. Excavations were conducted at the site intermittently from June 1899 until July 1902.[44] These were the first extensive archaeological excavations conducted at Tara. George Petrie had done a survey of the site, but no extensive excavation of any monument on the hill had taken place. The fact that the first licence for excavation of the site was given to a British organisation who had such a limited interest in the archaeological material and history of the site infuriated people throughout Irish society. Notable public figures such as W. B. Yeats, Arthur Griffith (1865-1946), Maud Gonne (1866-1953), Douglas Hyde (1860-1949), George Moore (1852-1933) and George Coffey

[44] See Carew, M. 2003 *Tara and the Ark of the Covenant: A Search for the Ark of the Covenant by British-Israelites on the Hill of Tara (1899-1902)*, The Discovery Programme/Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

(1857-1916) participated in the campaign to stop the excavation of the site by the British Israelites. In the words of Mairéad Carew, who extensively studied the topic, 'the campaign to 'save' Tara was not simply an attempt to preserve an archaeological monument from destruction; it was the defence of the imaginary capital of an independent Ireland'.[45]

Two demonstrations were performed in the defence of the site. On 24 June 1902 Griffith, Yeats, Hyde and Moore visited the site of Tara to confront the excavators. They were met with opposition by G. V. Briscoe who owned the land and who ordered the group of four off of the site using an armed guard to block their way. Reported in the *United Irishman* Griffith stated that he and all Irish people have the right to 'stand on the site of the city of their kings', and he walked past the guard and toured the site with his companions. The group of four thereby asserted their own and their 'people's' cultural right to experience their heritage although they legally were trespassers.[46] On 13 July 1902, Maud Gonne led a procession of children from Kilmessan on behalf of Inghinidhe na hÉireann and Cumman na nGaedheal to the Hill of Tara. The children carried banners and sang national songs on their way. When arriving at the site, Gonne reportedly took control of a bonfire that Briscoe the land owner had been preparing to commemorate the coronation of King Edward VII (1841-1910) and lit it in honour of Ireland. Upon the lighting of the bonfire, the children sang 'A Nation Once Again'.[47] Again asserting the right of the Irish people to public access to the archaeological site.[48] As a result of the two campaigns the Royal Society of Antiquaries in Ireland set up a body known as the Tara committee in December 1902, and the group made the recommendation that it would be:

> ...very desirable that the most historically important portion of the Hill of Tara should be purchased by the Government under Section 3 of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882, to be vested in the Board of Works and maintained as a National Monument and protected from further injury and a public right of way to the same secured.[49]

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[45] ibid. 47.
[46] ibid. 87.
[47] ibid. 97.
[48] The conflation of conceptions of nationhood with prehistoric monuments is also evident in relations with the site of Poulnabrone, the Burren, Co. Clare, particularly in its representation on the cover of Seamus MacCall's *And So Began the Irish Nation* (1931) (see Figure 3.12).
[49] Carew 2003, 101. Referencing the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 'Tara File'.

The nature of the campaign focused around the media and utilised the Irish press as a means of distributing ideas and information regarding the campaign. Articles and letters appeared in the *Dublin Evening Mail*, the *Irish Times*, the *Freeman's Journal* and the *United Irishman* amongst other publications.[50] The result had a very similar effect to Daniel O'Connell's media tactics of galvanising political support in Irish society through evocative notions of national heritage and group identity.[51] The negative interaction at the site by a group whose name correlated directly with the name of Irish society's perceived oppressors provided an excellent opportunity to the group of young Irish nationalists. They were given the chance to attach contemporary ideological and political issues to the social understanding of the significance of the site of Tara. Especially since this was not the first time that the site was used in such a way, it was an ideal chance to galvanise Irish society's sentimental and ideological attachment to the modern life history of the site of Tara in support of the present contemporary concerns of the Gaelic League and the wider Gaelic Revival. The situation was exploited in the name of the site of Tara; however, it remains unclear whether Tara or the Irish political movements of the time benefited more from the campaigns. Yeats, Hyde, Griffith, Gonne and others utilised the long history of cultural identification with the site and concept of Tara as a metaphor for their campaign to defend the entire island and concept of Ireland. Thus, in defending a suitable reservoir of Irish identity and the right to have shared identifications with it, they defended their right to an independent identity and the means to express it politically. The debate over the British Israelite excavations at the Hill of Tara succeeded in putting issues of heritage, cultural identity and national purpose at the forefront of social discourse. These are issues that would only grow in importance in the years to come, and it should not be considered that it was a coincidence that among the key figures in the campaigns to stop the excavations at the Hill of Tara were the founder of Sinn Féin, Arthur Griffith, and the first President of Ireland, Douglas Hyde.

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[50] See Griffith, A. 1902 'Tara of the Kings: A Sketch of the History of the Capital of Independent Ireland' (series of 11 articles) in *United Irishman*, 26 July-4 October. Similar articles were published in the *Irish Times*, 27 June 1902, *Freeman's Journal*, 19 May 1895, *Dublin Evening Mail*, 30 June 1902. After Carew 2003 47-56.

[51] See pages 221-3 of Chapter 5 of this thesis.

The Wood Quay 'Saga' and New Conceptions of Irish Historical Identity

Probably the most famous example of interaction with an archaeological site inciting mass protest in Irish history comes from the 20th century. During the 1970s a battle raged in Dublin and wider Irish society over the fate of the archaeological site between Fishamble Street and Winetavern Street at Wood Quay, Dublin city, which received international attention (see Figures 5.2-3). The site had been identified as part of the core of the medieval urban centre of Dublin and at the time of discovery had been referred to by Dubliners as the origin of the urban character of the city.[52] In the words of Senator Maurice O'Connell:

> Wood Quay was something that was uniquely ours. It was in the centre of our city, not just physically but psychologically and symbolically; not just the city of 'the Dubs', of the natives and adoptive natives, but the capital city.[53]

However, the four and a half acre site had been chosen as the location for the new civic offices by Dublin Corporation as early as 1956. It took until 1968 for the entire area between Fishamble Street, Wine Tavern Street, Wood Quay and Christchurch to be purchased by the Corporation, and in 1969 excavations began on the site. However, at that time the full potential of the site was not realised. It was not until 1974 that the significance of the site was realised under the direction of Patrick Wallace. Once it became clear that what was being excavated was a part of the original core medieval settlement of Dublin, campaigns were formed to demand the full excavation and preservation of the site. On 8 April 1976, the Friends of Medieval Dublin were formed which began to campaign for recognition of the site as a European monument of international significance. The site was given national monument status by the courts on 30 June 1978, and it thus became the first site to be declared a National Monument through the courts since Irish Independence.[54] However, a loophole in Section 14, Sub-section 3 of the National Monuments Act of 1922

[52] Simms, A. 1984 'A Key Place for Dublin Past and Present' in J. Bradley (ed.) *Viking Dublin Exposed: The Wood Quay Saga*, O'Brien Press, Dublin, 154-166.
[53] Seanad Debates, vol. 98, , c. 545, 30 June 1982.
[54] Martin, F. X. 1984 'Politics, Public Protest and the Law' in J. Bradley (ed.) *Viking Dublin Exposed: The Wood Quay Saga*, O'Brien Press, Dublin, 38-67, 41.

allowed the local authority, Dublin Council, to demolish the national monument by gaining joint support of the Commissioners of Public Works.[55]



Figure 5.2 General view of Wood Quay during excavation in 1978. Photograph by Terence Barry.

[55] ibid. 41.



Figure 5.3 Aerial photograph of the archaeological site at Wood Quay and associated excavations. Courtesy Dublinia.

1: Christ Church Cathedral, 2: High Street, 3: Fishamble Street, 4: Winetavern Street, 5: Wood Quay, 6: earthen banks, first fortifications of Dublin (10th and 11th centuries), 7: town wall (early 12 century), 8: wooden revetments for land reclamation (early 13th century), 9: stone wall (14th century), 10: wooden houses (10th and 11th centuries). After Simms, A. 1984.

Two demonstrations were held in September 1978 protesting the demolition of the site at Wood Quay. On 14 September 1978, the Mansion House, home of the Lord Mayor of Dublin, was occupied by about 2,000 people, and on 23 September 1978, a demonstration called the 'Viking March' drew around 20,000 people (approximately 1 out of every 25 people in the city at time) who marched from the Dáil on Kildare Street to the site of Wood Quay (see Figures 5.5-7).[56] Despite these demonstrations, on 3 January 1979 bulldozers began to remove prime archaeological material, and in response, 13 individuals physically stood in front of the machines in a stand off.[57] A High Court injunction halted work at the site on the next day. The site was physically occupied and barricaded for the month of June 1979. The occupiers and their supporters did not represent a 'lunatic fringe' of heritage enthusiasts, many public figures and officials participated in the occupation (see Figures 5.4-5):[58]

George Eogan, *Professor of Archaeology*
Alexis Fitzgerald, *Alderman of the City of Dublin*
Gemma Hussey, *member of the Oireachtas*
Thomas Kinsella, *poet and Professor or English*
Denis Larkin, *trade unionist and former Lord Mayor of Dublin*
Rev. F. X. Martin, *Professor of Medieval History*
G. F. Mitchell, *Former President of the Royal Irish Academy*
Donal Nevin, *Irish Congress of Trade Unions*
Michael O'Leary, *member of the Oireachtas*
James Plunkett, *author*
Michael Scott, *architect and founder of ROSC*
Imogen Stuart, *sculptor*

[56] The closest available census was taken in 1979 which recorded that 544,586 persons resided in the Dublin County Borough. See Central Statistics Office 1982 *Census of Population of Ireland 1981,* Stationery Office, Dublin, 72. Admittedly those in attendance would not have solely been from the city of Dublin, but the scale and impact of such a demonstration on the streets of the city can be seen in this comparison.
[57] Martin 1984, 54.
[58] For a full list of the people who participated in the occupation see Rosney, B. 1984 'Occupation Diary' in J. Bradley (ed.) *Viking Dublin Exposed: The Wood Quay Saga*, O'Brien Press, Dublin, 68-93, 71.



THE IRISH TIMES, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1977 13

Professor F. X. Martin, of the medieval department in UCD, and Dr Anngret Simms, of the geography department, on the Wood Quay site yesterday. In the background can be seen the Viking stone wall which has been damaged. Some pieces of the damaged wall are visible in the foreground.
—(Photograph: Tom Lawlor.)

Figure 5.4 Anngret Simms and F.X. Martin at Wood Quay with Christ Church Cathedral in the background. Photograph by Lom Lawlor. From *The Irish Times* article 'Concern over Wood Quay Wall' printed 24 November 1977. Courtesy The Irish Times and Dublinia.



On the bell tower of Christ Church Cathedral, overlooking the Wood Quay site yesterday were (from left), Mr Barry Farrell, bellringer and steeple-keeper, Father F. X. Martin, chairman of the Friends of Medieval Dublin, and Ms Brid Rosney and Mr Leo Swan of the Friends of Medieval Dublin committee. They were among those at the cathedral to announce an organ recital and bell-ringing there tomorrow.
—(Photograph: Pat Langan.)

Figure 5.5 Barry Farrell, F.X. Martin, Brid Rosney and Leo Swan overlooking Wood Quay from the bell tower of Christ Church Cathedral Dublin. Photograph by Pat Langan. From *The Irish Times* aticle 'Cathedral Lights to Ring Out' printed 15 February 1979. Courtesy The Irish Times and Dublinia.



Figures 5.6 The Viking March on Kildare Street, Dublin, 23 September 1978. Photograph by Terence Barry.



Figure 5.7 The Viking March arrives at Wood Quay, 23 September 1978. Christ Church Cathedral is in the background. After Martin 1984. Printed in *The Irish Times* 25 September 1978 - Courtesy *The Irish Times* and Dublinia.

Despite all of these actions taken on behalf of the site, it was demolished in due course, and the Dublin Civic Offices were constructed at Wood Quay (see Figure 5.8).[59] A museum had been promised in the basement of the corporation building in response to public and political sentiment. In the conciliatory words of Eileen Lemass, T.D. (Fianna Fáil) for Ballyfermot, Dublin, in 1980:

> When I recently visited the site in Wood Quay I felt very sad that what I had the privilege of seeing could not be shown to the people in general, Everything there was very interesting. We saw the whole layout and structure of houses built in the year 900, with the hearth in the middle of the room, the walls and the stone steps at the doors. It would have been wonderful to have been able to preserve that site for future generations. We are not in a position to do that now. We have not the technology or the money and we are not really ready to undertake such an excavation. I am quite confident that in the basement of the new civic offices we will have a wonderful museum and we will have every type of artefact which we have found on display there. I believe that will be an extremely interesting museum for the people not only of Dublin and of Ireland but of the world.[60]

Despite the political rhetoric regarding the provision of a museum at the site, no such space has been made available to this day.

As a result of the Wood Quay 'saga', Irish society became aware of the significant impact of Viking presence in Ireland and that much of the character of the port and town of Dublin was the result of Viking occupations of the medieval period.[61] The full impact of the 'saga' was largely due not to the archaeology but to the perception that the way in which Dublin Corporation was interacting with the site was negative and reprehensible. This social perception inspired members of society in Ireland to organise in moral opposition to the construction of the civic offices on the site under the notion of protecting its 'Viking' heritage and opposing corrupt planning policy. The result was that archaeology and heritage were regular fixtures in the media and that the stance of members of the City

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[59] For an in depth discussion of the politics surrounding Wood Quay please see Heffernan 1988 and of the situation in general please see Bradley, J. 1984b 'Introduction' in J. Bradley (ed.) *Viking Dublin Exposed: The Wood Quay Saga*, O'Brien Press, Dublin, 8-14.
[60] Dáil Debates, vol. 332, c. 1113-4, 18 June, 1980.
[61] Martin 1984, 38

Council on the Wood Quay issue greatly affected their re-election potential in 1979.[62] A political action group called the Wood Quay Action Group personally distributed over 250,000 leaflets instructing the electorate who to 'Vote for' and who to 'Canvass against'. These political campaigns acted as a prelude to a significant reshuffle in the City Council, the defeat of Lord Mayor, Alderman Paddy Belton and the election of Michael O'Leary (one of the occupiers of the site) to the European Parliament.[63]

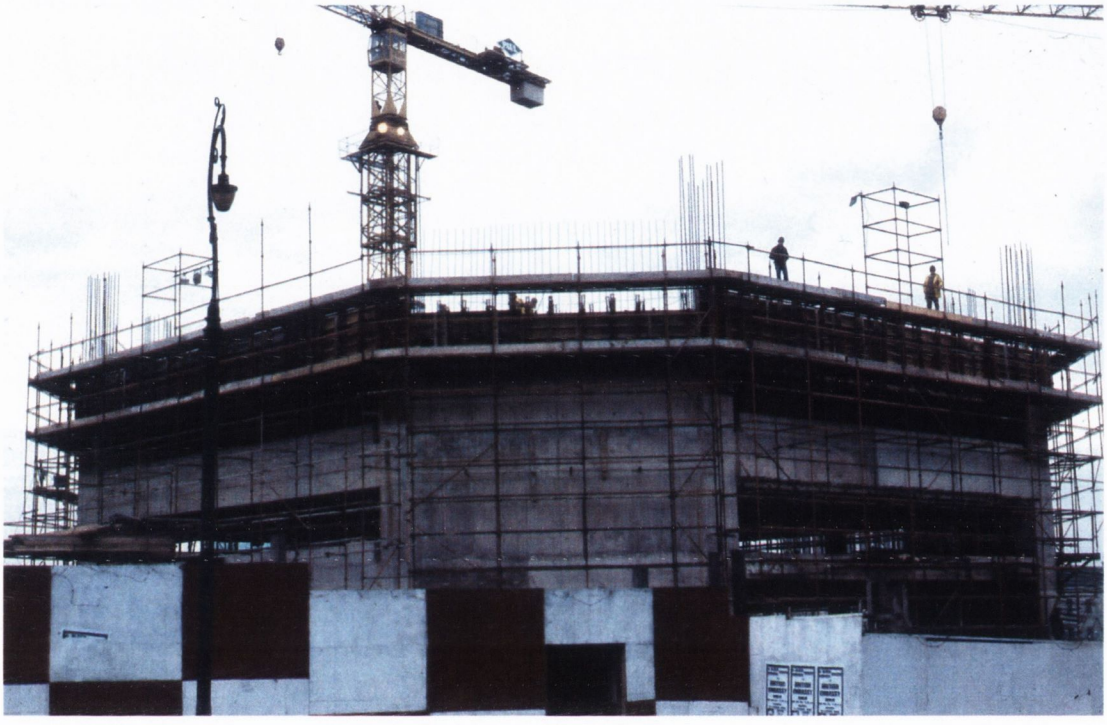


Figure 5.8 The construction of the first tower of the Dublin Civic Offices, Wood Quay, Dublin. Photograph by Terence Barry.

Until the time of Wood Quay, Viking archaeology in Ireland was not of prime interest in Irish society let alone Irish archaeology, but due to the intense political debate of the legality of demolishing the site at Wood Quay, the entire country became aware of a debate not merely over archaeology and construction but over identity.[64] In debates over the ratification of the National Heritage Bill to establish a National Heritage Council in 1982, Senator Maurice O'Connell poignantly declared the new shared identifications that Irish society had developed as a result of the excavations and the development of a chosen trauma of the destruction of the site and the erection of the Civic Offices:

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[62] A protest newsletter was published and distributed throughout the city. It saw three issues. See Anon. 1979 *Wood Quay Occupation News*, iss. 1-3, Dublin.
[63] Martin 1984, 58.
[64] ibid. 42-7.

> What was in Wood Quay was not the property of kings, aristocrats or nobles but of very ordinary people, who were our predecessors, our forefathers and foremothers. Should we be really concerned then about bits of leather, of stone, pottery, wood and metal? They were our people who put them there. They are our memories, our roots. There were people who wanted to sweep these away, to dump them in the Irish Sea, and to place on that site symbols which were not distinctively ours. They are not things that we could identify specifically as our property and as part of our identity, but buildings identical in many cases with a thousand other buildings in a hundred other cities all over the world.[65]

It is significant that a society in the early 1970s would not have regarded itself as the caretakers of the Viking legacy of Europe, turned out in the tens of thousands to protest the destruction of a Viking site under the banner of a 'Viking March'. The political and media attention given to the Wood Quay 'saga' fundamentally altered Dublin's and Ireland's self understanding of its archaeological record. The arguments of Senator O'Connell again illustrated this development:

> What are our traditions? We must identify them and we must recognise what is our common heritage. We must mark it out and cherish it. We must hold on to it as a symbol ... Wood Quay for many people in this city and throughout the country was an event of some significance because it crystallised a number of these issues. It was not just an issue of archaeology but much wider issues as well. Wood Quay was uniquely ours.[66]

Through the direct actions of September 1978, new shared identifications were created among the members of Irish society through the objects of archaeological study of the 'Viking' period at the Wood Quay site and to heritage in general. The legacies of the Wood Quay 'saga' are evident all across society in the collections of the National Museum of Ireland, the continuing activity of the Friends of Medieval Dublin, the increasing interest in Irish medieval archaeology, *Dublinia* and the Viking Splash Tours (see Figures

[65] Seanad Debates, vol. 98, c. 545, 30 June 1982.
[66] ibid. c. 544-5.

5.9-11).[67] Today, there is a popular understanding that the history of Dublin as a Viking city is integral to the identity of the city and sets it apart from other parts of the country. One could say that the pride in Viking Dublin evident in the demonstrations during the Wood Quay campaigns is still a vibrant part of our society today.







Figures 5.9-10 (Top Left and Right) Simulated excavations at Dublinia as an exhibition of the narrative of Wood Quay, past and present. Courtesy Dublinia.

Figure 5.11 (Bottom) Viking Splash Tours. Photograph by Terence Barry.

Archaeological Sites' Significance Used to Benefit Other Causes

In recent events, there has been an interesting shift in the use of archaeology politically in Ireland. Recalling the political effectiveness of the Wood Quay campaigns of the 1970s, a new generation of political activists have raised the banner of archaeology and heritage and confronted the politicians of Ireland. The best and most infamous example of

[67] Dublinia was developed by the Medieval Trust. See Dublinia 2006 'Dublinia and the Viking World' Dublinia.ie < http://www.dublinia.ie> [Accessed 22 Mar 2006].
Viking Splash Tours is a bus tour of the city of Dublin that specialises in recounting the development of the city from the Viking period onwards. See Viking Splash Tours 'Join Viking Splash Tours On A Fun-Filled Adventure!' Vikingsplashtours.com <http://www.vikingsplashtours.com> [Accessed 22 Mar 2006].

this is the political conflict over the site of Carrickmines in Dublin. The castle at Carrickmines dates to the 12th Century AD. The site contains impressive fortifications walls enclosing approximately 8 acres. The Castle was pivotal in the defence of the Pale and was the site of a massacre of Walshes, O'Byrnes and O'Tooles by forces led by Sir Simon Harcourt who laid siege to the castle in 1642.[68] The site thus far has yielded over 100,000 artefacts, including bones, pottery and leather shoes.[69] The site also has yielded very well preserved castle defences including an extensive curtain wall.[70]

In 1997, the plans for a new 'ring road' designated as the M50 were given approval (see Figure 5.12).[71] As part of the plan, a large round-about from a link road was planned which infringed on the area of the site of Carrickmines Castle. When the site was located by planners while construction was already underway, they stated that they had 'overlooked' the potential for the M50 to interfere with a site in this region.[72] This alarmed a number of people in Ireland since the site of Carrickmines Castle was noted in the 1983 report by Paddy Healy for the National Planning Institute.[73] Healy's report recommended diverting the course of the road to allow for preservation of the earthworks of the site:

> If the line of the road was moved southward by about 10m it would avoid interference with the earthwork but come very close to the surviving fragment of the castle. If, on the other hand, the line of the road was placed on the south side of the farm it would avoid any interference with the ancient sites, and have the advantage of connecting at right angles to a straight stretch of the Glenamuck road.[74]

The site was well noted on Ordnance Survey maps, and although very little substantial material was visible on the surface, it should have been well known that the site would

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[68] Edwards, D. 2002 'Religious Conflict and the 1642 Massacre', unpublished paper delivered at the Carrickmines Forum at Trinity College Dublin, 26 October. Also see O'Byrne, E. 2002 'A Much Disputed Land: Carrickmines and the Dublin Marches' in S. Duffy (ed.) *Medieval Dublin IV: Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 229-52.

[69] See Morohan, J. 2004 'Cullen to Rush through Laws for Stalled Carrickmines Project', *Irish Examiner*, 31 January. Also see Pocock, I. 2004 'The Concrete Isle', *The Guardian*, 4 December.

[70] O'Brien, T. 2004 'New Archaeological Discovery at Carrickmines', *Irish Times*, 13 December.

[71] Anon. 1997 'South Eastern Motorway Order to be Made Today', *Irish Times*, 24 September.

[72] Healy, A. 2003 'Museum Says It Was Not Fully Informed about Site', *Irish Times*, 6 February.

[73] See An Taisce 2003a 'M50 & Carrickmines Castle: An Taisce Statement, 17 July', antaisce.org, <http://www.antaisce.org/press/?id=273> [Accessed 22 Feb 2006].

[74] Healy, P. 1983 'Report on Carrickmines Castle, County Dublin' published by An Foras Forbartha – The National Institute for Physical Planning and Construction Research, Dublin, July.

have a high potential for yielding archaeological material. The site was excavated for two years from around summer 2000 until August 2002 and again briefly in February 2003.

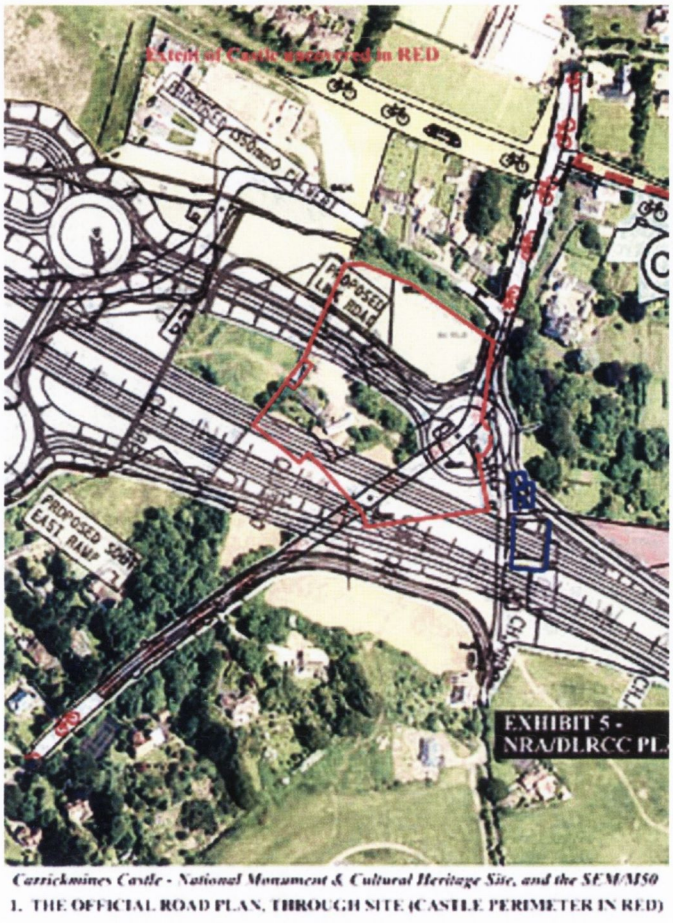


Figure 5.12 The proposed plan for the M50. The site of Carrickmines castle is marked in red. Courtesy Indymedia.ie.

As construction work on the M50 approached the site, a group known popularly as the Carrickminders occupied it in response to the threat to the site on 30 August 2002 (see Figures 5.13-14).[75] They occupied the site for 155 days and succeeded since in winning a number of High Court injunctions stopping the work at the site.[76] The group campaigned for full preservation of the site on the basis that it was a national monument and that no consent had been given to demolish or alter any part of the site. Whether or not the site was a national monument has focused in much of the debate over the site. On 25 February 2003, the High Court took the position that the site was a national monument as no

[75] Healy, A. 2002 'Protesters Take over Historic Castle Site in Motorway Row', *Irish Times*, 2 September.
[76] Carolan, M. 2003 'Supreme Court Order Halts Road Works at Castle Site', *Irish Times*, 25 February.

evidence had been presented to contradict that of the defendants, thus, the Carrickminders 'succeeded' in gaining an interlocutory injunction against Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown Council stopping work there and, in their opinion, having the site 're-recognised' as a national monument.[77] The status of the site being a national monument forced the issue into the Dáil where a debate over an amendment to the National Monuments Bill which would give extensive powers to the Minister for the Environment to 'handle' these situations in the interest of the state was heard on 29 June 2004.[78] Throughout the campaign, the group has featured prominently in the media on radio programmes, television and in local, national and international newspapers (see Figure 5.15). However, the M50 was completed necessitating the removal of walls of the castle as well as the fosse of the site.





Figures 5.13-14 Protesters and occupiers of the site of Carrickmines Castle, 2002. Courtesy Indymedia.ie. Superimposed text is original.

The problem with the situation of Carrickmines was that it was not simply a confrontation of road development and heritage. The politics surrounding the site had shown potential for major planning corruption in the selection of the route of the M50 in southern Dublin. Carrickmines had featured in the evidence of both the Flood Tribunal and the Mahon Tribunal, both of which are presently investigating planning corruption in and around Dublin.[79] Also, the M50 had been entirely completed except for the section surrounding Carrickmines. The completion of what was seen to be a crucial road development to alleviate traffic congestion in Dublin which had been scheduled to open in

[77] ibid.
[78] For the records of the debates see: Dáil Debates, vol 587, c. 933-1007, 17 June 2004. Dáil Debates, vol. 587, c. 1211-1240, 22 June 2004. Dáil Debates, vol. 587, c. 1268-1297, 22 June 2004. Dáil Debates, vol. 588, c. 313-336, 29 June 2004.
[79] Cullen, P. & C. Lally 2003 'Kennedy Faces Seizure of Land-deal Millions', *Irish Times*, 18 April.

2004 was held up as long as a legal and political debates continued. The ring road opened officially on 30 June 2005.

As well, each day the road was not completed, the costs increased for Irish taxpayers, and a full re-alignment of the M50 would have required an expensive compulsory purchase order of property which had dramatically increased in value over recent years and extensive construction works which would cost taxpayers heavily.[80] Therefore, although society would prefer not to place a monetary value on its heritage, the issue had arisen that there comes a point when effective financial planning must take precedence. Thus preservation of the site at Carrickmines may not have been the best financial option for the state at that time. Proinsias De Rossa, MEP, speaking before the European Parliament put it simply that 'the Carrickmines Castle is a prime example of the potential for conflicting interests between our ever-increasing need for improved transportation infrastructure and our equally important obligation to protect our cultural and archaeological heritage, for the greater good of our own and future generations'.[81]

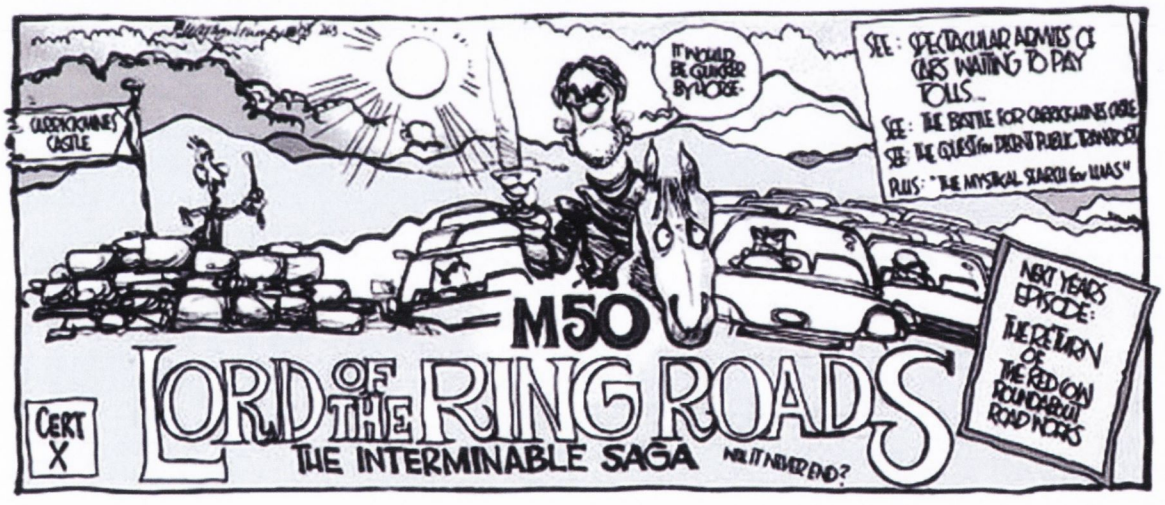


Figure 5.15 Political cartoon by Martyn Turner from *The Irish Times* 13 December 2003. Text from left to right and top to bottom reads: 'Carrickmines Castle. – It would be quicker by car. – See: Spectacular armies of cars waiting to pay tolls. See: The battle for Carrickmines Castle. See: The quest for decent public transport. Plus: 'The mystical search for LUAS'. – Cert X – M50 – Lord of the Ring Roads: The Interminable Saga: Will it never end? – Next years episode: The return of the Red Cow Roundabout Road Works'. Courtesy Martyn Turner.

[80] See Beesley, A. 2003 'State to Spend €300m to Buy Last 10km of M50 Ring Road', *Irish Times*, 25 February. Also see O'Brien, T. 2005 'Land, Legal Fees Raised Road Price Ninefold, *Irish Times*, 27 June.
[81] Statement issued by the offices of Proinsias De Rossa on 23 September 2002. See Appendix 2, Document 7.

To fully understand the nature of the campaigns surrounding Carrickmines, it is necessary to discuss the nature of the organisation of the Carrickminders. The group has also gone through a few reconceptualisations. Originally known as the Carrickminders, the group changed its name to the Friends of Carrickmines and finally called themselves the Carrickmines Preservation Group. The leadership of the group had also seen some change. The group was mainly founded by Vincent Salafia who was head of the Brehon Law Project. At the beginning he held direction of the group equally with Ruadhan McEoin, member of An Taisce, but McEoin left the group over a difference of opinion for the agenda of the group.[82] The Friends of Medieval Dublin have supported the group, and Dr Sean Duffy, Chairman of the Friends of Medieval Dublin, has appeared publicly with the group on many occasions and issued many statements in support of their campaign in the interest of the site and medieval archaeology. Very few of the other members of the organisation are known. When asked about the membership of the group on 30 May 2003, Salafia responded:

> I haven't posted the list because not all of the working members want their names made public, so I am being discreet. They are not looking for credit. As you know, this is a small country, and professional careers are easy targets when there is a controversy like this. Besides, the main purpose of this rather informal group is to create, present and lobby the Alternative Plan as effectively as possible. We are still working on that and anyone is welcome to join in that work.[83]

What was significant about the group's actions was that the main orientation of their campaign was not for excavation of the site of Carrickmines castle but full preservation which was illustrated by their final name choice – Carrickmines Preservation Group. Preservation is never the ultimate aim of archaeology. Archaeology's aim is to utilise all intellectual, academic and scientific tools in the attempt to better understand human agency in the world. Preservation is only considered if deemed appropriate for the material in question. To put it more generally, archaeology is organised demolition. To campaign for full preservation of an archaeological site is inherently against the actual intentions and goals of archaeology itself.

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[82] Ruadhan McEoin 2004 personal comment. Details of the nature behind the split between Salafia and McEoin can not be included as they were made off the record.

[83] Email from Vincent Salafia to Maggie Ronayne on 30 May 2003. Available in the author's archive of the Carrickmines Castle mail group. See Appendix 2, Document 2.

The group clearly was inspired by the political battle over Wood Quay decades earlier, and the above photo taken on 22 February 2003 illustrated the group's attempt to attach the concept of their cause to the famous struggle over the site of Wood Quay (see Figures 5.16). The picture showed the Carrickminders demonstrating on the site of Wood Quay, an action which had the same intention as Daniel O'Connell's 'Monster Meeting' on Tara – to instigate support of their political platform through contemporary action at a historical location. What made this example particularly interesting was that for protestors and heritage enthusiasts, Wood Quay had a historical importance as the site of one of the great failings of the Irish state to safeguard its heritage, but it also had the added significance of being the archaeological site of the largest excavation of the medieval core of Dublin. The Carrickminders' actions at Wood Quay were clearly designed to connect their struggle to the larger history of political campaigns for the preservation of heritage but also to awaken shared identifications to the site of Wood Quay and alter them to include the actions at Carrickmines. It should be noted, however, the great difference in the popular support of these actions evident in the two images. The Carrickinders' actions functioned as part of a broader media campaign to publicise their efforts, whereas the 'Viking March' to save Wood Quay functioned as a massive public performative materialisation of opposition to government policy and shared identifications to the Medieval past of Dublin.

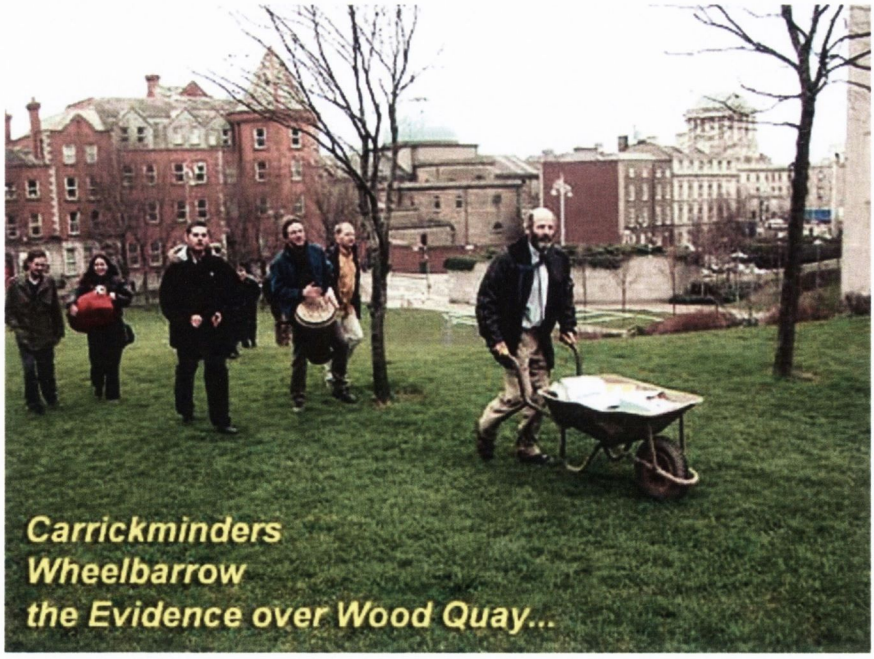


Figure 5.16 Press photo of the Carrickminders 'wheelbarrowing' the evidence for their case at the Four Courts across Wood Quay on 22 February 2003 (superimposed text original). Compare to the numbers present at the Viking March to save Wood Quay 23 September 1973 (Figure 5.6-7).

Given the history of such actions in Ireland, the Carrickminders' propaganda campaign seemed sound enough. However, despite the fact that the group was far more successful in gaining media attention, they were far less effective in gaining popular support and reaching the population on a sentimental level and raising the issue of preservation of the site to the level of a moral debate. It actually seemed as if the campaign never attempted to engage with issues of identity and the importance of the site socially. The group only made the broadest claims that the site was critical to larger Irish society as part of general heritage. Therefore, what was the guiding motivation for the campaign if it was not for the preservation of an essential aspect of Irish social identity. Given that many of the people associated with the Carrickmines occupation were involved in the Glen of the Downs protest a few years earlier, it could be suggested that the group was largely made up of professional protestors who were campaigning on a larger platform of anti-government, anti-corruption and anti-development.[84] The best example of this is the original spokesman Cian O'Callaghan. He had previously been Deputy President of the Union of Students in Ireland where he was Campaigns Co-ordinator and where he organised the occupation of a number of government offices on 10 December 2000. He also organised many 'Buy Nothing Days' for Ireland over the years between his affiliation with USI and the Carrickminders. He was also a member of Gluaiseacht, a progressive political group. Ironically though, he is now the National Youth Recruitment Officer for Labour in Ireland.

The issue of whether or not the Carrickminders were interested in the archaeological excavation of the site is of critical importance to the issue of their agenda. During their occupation, the group issued many statements of their demands, and nowhere on them was archaeology ever referred to. A press release from Cian O'Callaghan on 31 August 2002 at the beginning of the occupation stated:

> We are not opposed to the construction of this motorway but we are opposed to the unnecessary destruction of our heritage and culture. A simple realignment of the road and a scaling down of a proposed access roundabout will preserve much of the

[84] Dominic Dunne, plaintiff in the High Court cases over the Carrickmines issue, described himself as a veteran of the Glen of the Downs protest. See Cullen, P. 2002 'Pompeii on the M50?', *Irish Times*, 26 October.

archaeological site. If the Motorway goes ahead as planned a precedent will be set for the destruction of heritage sites across the country.[85]

In a response to a request from Valerie J. Keely Archaeological Consultants to end the blockade of the site, the group issued the following demands on 6 January 2003 (see Figure 5.17):

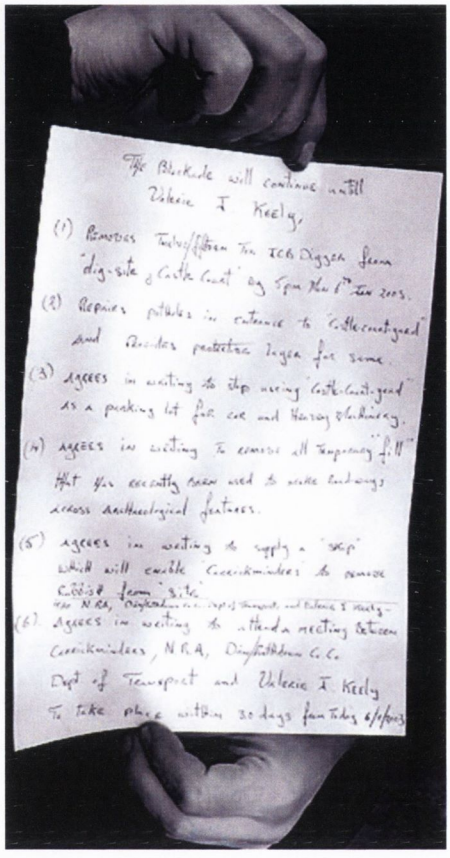


Figure 5.17 Handwritten statement from the Carrickminders to Valerie J. Keely, 6 January 2003. Text reads:

The Blockade will continue until

Valerie J. Keely

(1) Removes twelve/fifteen (ten?) JCB Digger from dig-site of castle covert [sic] by 5pm Thurs 6th Jan 2003

(2) Repairs potholes in entrance to castle courtyard and provides protective layer for same.

(3) Agrees in writing to stop using castle courtyard as a parking lot for car and heavy machinery

(4) Agrees in writing to remove all temporary fill that has recently been used to make roadways across archaeological features

(5) Agrees in writing to supply a skip which will enable carrickminders to remove rubbish from site the NRA, Dun/Rathdown C. C., Dept ofTransport and Valerie J. Keely

(6) Agrees in writing to attend a meeting between Carrickminders, NRA, Dun/Rathdown C.C., Department of Transport and Valerie J. Keely to take place within thirty days from today 6/1/2003.

[85] Walshe, J. 2002 'Motorway Protest: Carrickmines Castle Occupied', indymedia.org, <http://www.indymedia.ie/article/11046> [Accessed 22 Feb 2006]. Appendix 2, Document 1.

On the same day, the group posted on their website a recorded protest song known as 'The Blockade Song' by Dominic Dunne, one of the occupiers of the site and later plaintiff in the High Court proceedings (see Figure 5.18). The lyrics were as follows:[86]

You can forget about your motorways,
your cars and your trucks
Your plastic your poison
I said the air you can not breath
The water you can not drink it
Your children they are dying
Your children they are dying

Well You could be young
Or could be very old
And maybe very young
A woman or a man
Or anything in between
Your life is being destroyed
Your heritage is being destroyed
Your children they can not breath

So forget about your motorways,
your cars and your trucks
Your plastic your poison
I said your children are starting to die
And the children they are dying
And the children they can not breath

Open up your eyes
Open up your ears

So forget about your motorways,
your cars and your trucks
Your plastic your poison
Your children they can not breath
For the Children are starting to die
The children they are getting sick

Just check out the ingredients
on the next thing that you buy
You'll find out what I'm telling you
That it surely is no lie
That it surely is no lie
(Our Council won't get you high)?
(Our Council won't get you high)?

Open up your eyes
And open up your hearts

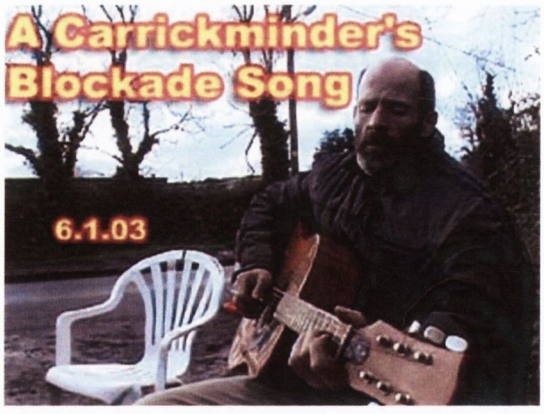


Figure 5.18 Dominic Dunne (later plaintiff in the High Court Case to against the M50) recording 'A Carrickminder's Blockade Song' on 6 January 2003 at the occupied site of Carrickmines castle. Courtesy indymedia.ie. Superimposed text is original.

[86] Please see Appendix 4 and the CD supplement for a recording of 'The Blockade Song' by Dominic Dunne.

It is interesting that nowhere in these three examples did the individuals make a statement regarding archaeology. O'Callaghan did assert the importance of heritage but only in the most general way. The demands issued on 6 January 2003 by the group only refer to development equipment and are more concerned with the repair of potholes than of archaeological excavation (Figure 5.17). More enlightening, the released 'Blockade Song' mentioned heritage once and declared that 'children are dying' because people will not forget about motorways and automobiles three times.

It could be argued that the significance of the site of Carrickmines was largely overplayed by members of the Carrickminders in order to put themselves in a political discourse where they could increase their exposure and their political clout.[87] Given that most of the administration of the group had other political interests, this could have been the case. Salafia's political aspirations became evident on 26 September 2004 when he attempted to secure the 20 necessary nominations from members of the Oireachtas to run as an independent candidate for the Presidency of the Republic of Ireland (see Figure 5.19).[88] In an open letter to the members of the Oireachtas titled 'A Letter to Ireland', Salafia invoked political rhetoric similar to the spiritual arguments of De Valera:

> ... Your spirit is a very real force; though ancient in origin, it is alive in the people that make you their home. We are but its conduit, and long after we pass beneath, your spirit will carry on through our children and theirs. I call it the spirit of the law, and I have spent years trying to learn its beginnings and follow its path, so that it can live in health today. Now I invoke that spirit, as I seek your highest office, the Presidency. ...You were never fully subjugated, and your spirit took refuge in higher heights and deeper recesses, and spread across the world once more, as it had done in the early monastic period of the sixth century. ... Ireland you are a nation of poetry and prose, one whose songs have thrilled the world and driven so many others and me forward in your name. I sing to you now a favourite, sung by Amergin, the mythical Milesian jurist, when he first set foot upon your shore:

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[87] For a discussion of the misrepresentation of the nature of the archaeological remains at Carrickmines see Rourke, D. 2004 'Archaeology Offers Complicated and Tantalising Route', *The Irish Times*, 3 September.
[88] See redjade 2004 'Vincent Salafia on the Presidential Campaign Trail: Day 3', indymedia.ie, <http://www.indymedia.ie/newswire.php?story_id=66738&region=dublin&results_offset=30> [Accessed on 22 Feb 2006]. Also see Took, C. 2004 'President Mary McAleese Returned Unopposed', electionsireland.org, <http://electionsireland.org/news/2004/0913president.cfm> [Accessed 22 Feb 2006].

I invoke the land of Eriu!
The shining, shining sea!
The fertile, fertile hill!
The wooded vale!
The river abundant in water!
The fishful, fishful lake![89]

In the development of his political campaign, he stated that his platform would focus on issues concerning heritage and the planning process.[90] In an interview with Indymedia.ie on 27 September 2004, he stated that his bid for the presidency was not a 'snap decision'. Salafia said: 'I see this race as a logical continuation of the path already chosen'.[91] Indeed, Salafia's political ambitions became more evident in this interview when he responded to the suggestion that the presidency is a largely symbolic and non-legislative position:

> I would disagree in your interpretation of this being a purely symbolic role. For one, the President sits at the head of the Armed Forces. If elected, I would ensure that Irish blood would never be spilled contrary to our country's Constitutional neutrality. While not interfering with the politics of Dail Eireann per se, the President's role is to be a check and balance within the overall legislative process. Finally, I would address the Dail on matters of national importance should the need arise.[92]

The only professed member of the group who seemed to have no political interest but only had the interest of the site on his agenda was Dr Sean Duffy and the Friends of Medieval Dublin. This highlighted the issue that was of most importance and illustrated the difference between the Carrickmines campaigns and the Wood Quay campaigns. The Wood Quay campaigns were undertaken by academics, artists, elected and appointed politicians, thinkers and others whereas the Carrickmines campaigns were undertaken by a

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[89] For the full text of Salafia's 'Letter to Ireland' see Salafia, V. 2004 'Letter to Ireland' Indymedia.org <http://www.indymedia.ie/newswire.php?story_id=66768.> [Accessed 22 Mar 2006]. See Appendix 2, Document 4.
[90] See Anon. 2004 'Politicians from All Parties Dismiss Possibility of Salafia Contesting Poll', *Irish Times*, 21 September.
[91] For the full text of Salafia's interview see Indymedia.ie 2004 'Indymedia Interview with Vincent Salafia' Indymedia.ie <http://www.indymedia.ie/article/66771> [Accessed 22 Mar 2006]. See Appendix 2, Document 5.
[92] ibid.

newly formed group of unknown people with professed political aspirations. Therefore, at Carrickmines, their was an imbalance between the interests of the site itself and the larger political agendas of the members of the Carrickminders or Friends of Carrickmines or Carrickmines Preservation Group.

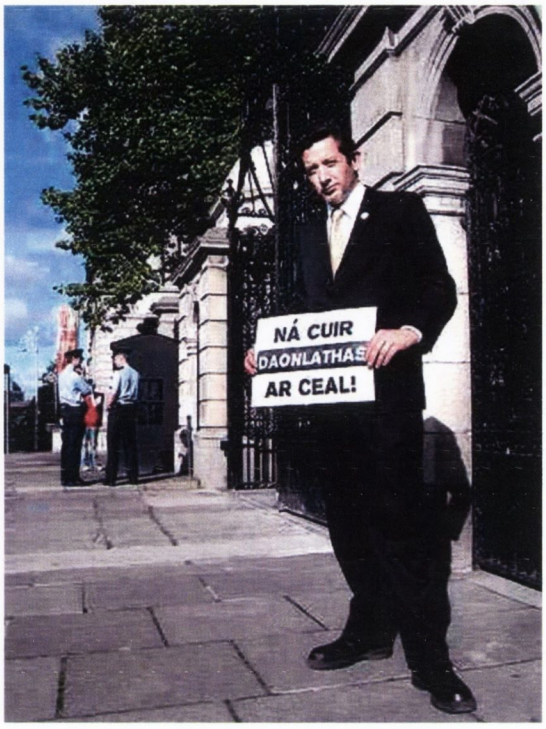


Figure 5.19 Vincent Salafia demonstrating outside the Dáil for his nomination for the Presidency, 24 September 2004. Text translates as: 'Don't postpone democracy!'. Courtesy indymedia.ie.

This was a political situation which was extremely dangerous for archaeology. These individuals deliberately over-emphasised the 'heritage value' of a substantially visually unimpressive archaeological site and impeded archaeological work on the site.[93] At the same time, the political group used the archaeological 'potential' of the site as a reason to be heeded by a government and voice their 'opposition' platform. This directly abused the reputation of archaeology and archaeologists in society. The Carrickminders have overplayed the significance of the site of Carrickmines in an effort to put their political agendas on the table and to further their own political careers. This analysis is by no means a value judgement of the political agenda of the group but merely a study of the use of archaeology by contemporary political groups in their campaigns. The fact that the

[93] Dominic Dunne, plaintiff in the High Court case, claimed that Carrickmines was a 'Pompeii on the M50'. See Cullen 2002 (News Resource). For a discussion of the misrepresentation of the nature of the archaeological remains at Carrickmines see Rourke 2004 (News Resource).

Carrickminders branched out from their site specific campaign to encompass the more recent Tara Motorway campaign and have begun a new campaign to preserve the Viking site found at Woodstown, Co. Waterford while maintaining their original name of the Carrickminders illustrated the group's political cohesion which would suggest a unified and universal political agenda which goes well beyond the archaeological investigation of the site of Carrickmines.[94] Throughout the campaign an increasing number of e-mails and notices circulated using the Carrickmines Castle web forum which were not related to the Carrickmines sites and dealt with entirely separate archaeological sites or even negative press articles regarding the National Roads Authority.[95] The forum itself has become more of a place to attack the National Roads Authority, the present government and roads planning using heritage and archaeology as a means to include these, although related, separate political concerns.

The whole Carrickmines debacle was a tragedy of circumstance which placed issues of heritage, development, environment and archaeology at odds with one another. It was not an opportunity to develop new planning methodologies or to correct the mistakes of older ones. It was a chance to develop 'damage control' tactics for when the system breaks down and mistakes occur. The uncompromising stance of the Carrickminders in regards to preservation did 'succeed' in creating a discourse within the present government regarding the relationships between archaeology, heritage and development. However, the discussion in the government only mirrored the political discourse that the Carrickminders created. Rather than coming together to find an amicable solution to a unique and extreme failure of the planning system, government ministers fought for universal stances on archaeology, heritage, development and national monuments. The result of this was that rather than developing a solution solely for the Carrickmines-M50 situation, the present Fianna Fáil government under the guidance of Minister Martin Cullen campaigned and succeeded in drafting and passing new amendments to the National Monuments Act.[96] These amendments gave sweeping and universal powers to the Minister for the Environment to deal with such breakdowns in the planning process in the nation's

[94] Rice, E. & M. Clifford 2003 'Carrickminders Launch Bid to Halt Tara Motorway', *Sunday Tribune*, 31 August.
[95] Judgement based on a search of the author's archive of the Carrickmines Castle mail group on 14 September 2004. Since this date, posts to the mail group have been much less frequent and only relating to the campaign at Tara.
[96] Holland, K. 2004 'Proposed Monuments Bill is 'Reprehensible' and 'Primitive'', *Irish Times*, 22 June.

interest.[97] The political tension over the conflict between heritage and development instigated by the Carrickminders also precipitated and encouraged the decision to break up Dúchas the Heritage Service begun April 2003 and the transference of the stewardship of national monuments to the Department of the Environment (for archaeological monuments) and the Office of Public Works (for built heritage).[98] This new situation has fragmented the political representation of heritage concerns while strengthening the authoritative control of the Minister for the Environment in situations where interests conflict. Thus, while the Carrickminders began with a campaign for public awareness of the need to preserve the site of Carrickmines Castle and have ended up campaigning for heritage preservation across the Republic of Ireland, confronting the National Roads Authority and the present government head on, the government have turned from pursuing a single solution to the Carrickmines situation through the courts to drafting new, universal legislation to deal any and all conflicts between heritage and development.

This is all the more reason to engage fully in the political discourse that is arising from the situation. A reconceptualisation of the roles of archaeology, heritage, environment and development as separate yet inter-dependent issues should be encouraged. This will only occur if archaeologists and other professionals in the relevant fields come to the forefront to make their positions known in a positive, constructive and open manner. If political activists are allowed to continue to use our professions' names to further their own groups ideals then our disciplines will continue to be at the mercy of *en vogue* politics.

Implications of These Actions for Archaeology

Archaeologists are not always politicians, but through the actions of these groups they are being forced into a political discourse. It is a sort of 'Faustian Bargain' since by allowing archaeological sites to become involved in political discourses, archaeology ends up on the front page of the newspaper and becomes a household name and a topic at the

[97] Salafia, V. 2004 'An Act Designed to Facilitate Roads and Real Estate', *Irish Times*, 17 August.
[98] See An Taisce 2003b 'Break up of Duchas Condemned: An Taisce Urges Reform rather than Dismantling', statement made by An Taisce, 16 April <http://www.antaisce.org/press/index.html?id=136> [Accessed by 15 Mar 2003]. Also see Anon. 2003 'End of Dúchas', *The Irish Times*, 28 April.

dinner table.[99] It creates awareness of the discipline and the material with which it works. However, the potential of this awareness can be harnessed in different ways, and more often than not it is not harnessed in the interest of archaeology but in the interest of politics.[100] Perhaps it is effective to use archaeology to create awareness of issues of corruption in development and planning. It was through the efforts of the Save the Tara-Skryne Valley campaign that UNESCO came to Ireland to examine the situation and that the EU is examining planning law in Ireland.[101] Appealing to notions of globalised heritage in order to coax international monitoring groups to make statements on behalf of the political situation is quite a dynamic method of forcing the present Irish government to come to terms with the implications of its development decisions. However, the same methodology to create international or even national awareness of archaeology in the interest of highlighting issues of corruption was used to create national identities and motivate societies to rebellion years earlier. Daniel O'Connell used archaeological sites and symbols in his political campaigns in the mid-19th century just as Salafia utilised them in his own campaigns in the early 21st century. Although O'Connell's campaign platform was the repeal of the union with Britain and Salafia's was the preservation of heritage and exposure of government planning corruption, both individuals had the same goal of generating popular support of their political personas and platforms through appealing to shared identifications, suitable reservoirs, chosen glories and chosen traumas of large group identity in Ireland. In both campaigns, archaeology was neither the end goal nor the main focus of activity. It merely served as a means to an end in the creation of spaces for political leadership.

Archaeology deals with material that inspires people in contemporary times to act, and the discipline can neither monitor nor police the use of its research. Archaeologists can, however, responsibly interact with the dissemination of knowledge and its application in other social circles.[102] This is most likely something with which academic and practical archaeologists will always struggle, but for now the most important lesson to discern from

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[99] Appropriated from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's (1749-1832) *Faust*, the 'Faustian Bargain' refers to the pact made between the character Faust and the character Mephistopheles (the Devil). Summarised briefly, Mephistopheles offers Faust unlimited knowledge and power. If Faust is able to find satisfaction in his labours with this knowledge and power, then he must surrender his soul to Mephistopheles. For a discussion of this literary concept in relation to archaeological practice in the modern world see Russell 2006c, 21-3.

[100] Cooney 1996, 160.

[101] See pages 283-4 of Chapter 6 of this thesis.

[102] For a discussion of current issues in archaeology's relationship with the public see Merriman, N. (ed.) 2004 *Public Archaeology*, Routledge, London.

all of these situations is that the politics of the past will ebb and flow. Through these times archaeologists must continue to do what they do best. As Howard Clarke advised in his paper 'The Lessons of Wood Quay' delivered at the Carrickmines Forum, 'whatever the political temperature, keep on digging'.[103] Archaeological material is a perishable resource, and its collection, recording and study is the archaeologist's first and foremost obligation. However, this is a charge which the archaeologist can not take on blindly. Cooney was very correct to encourage archaeologists in Ireland to be aware of the situation that:

> ...perhaps the biggest challenge facing archaeology in Ireland today is not the admittedly critical issue of managing the archaeological resource but in using it to present a more critical appreciation of our past for an Ireland that is rapidly changing in the present.[104]

[103] Clarke, H. 2004 'The Lessons of Wood Quay', *Sunday Tribune*, 17 October. Originally delivered at The Carrickmines Forum at Trinity College Dublin, 26 October 2002. Also available at: <http://homepage.eircom.net/~fmd/carrickmines/041017-lessons-of-wood-quay.html> [Accessed 22 Feb 2006].
[104] Cooney 1996, 160.

Chapter 6: Tara - Centre of the Irish Cosmos: A Narrative of Archaeology and Large Group Identity in Ireland

As has been discussed, the impact that archaeology has on social imagination and group identity can be exploited by individuals or groups with agendas that do not necessarily include the engagement with or the understanding of archaeological sites. This situation has been the norm since the development of modern archaeology into a separate and independent discipline and profession. As has been illustrated thus far, There is a long history of the conflation of concepts of heritage, the past and material remains of previous agency for the benefit of group cohesion and the furthering of contemporary political and social discourse. In this chapter, the themes and theoretical approaches developed throughout this thesis will be applied to a site, a place, a landscape, which is arguably the longest and most continually used example of just such a phenomenon in Irish society – Tara, the hill and its environs.

What is Tara?

Tara is the place name most commonly used today to refer to a complex of monuments and the surrounding landscape situated about 32 km north of Dublin in central Meath, approximately halfway between Dunshaughlin and Navan. The area is dominated by the Hill of Tara which rises to about 155m above sea level, giving the visitor a view of the central plains of Ireland from its summit (see Figure 6.1). The complex of visible monuments associated with the place Tara number well over 30. Some of the monuments are renowned such as the Forrad, Tech Cormaic, Tech Midchúarta, Rath Maeve, Ráith na Ríg, Lia Fáil, Ráith Gráinne, Clóenfherta, Ráith Lóegaire, Duma na nGiall and Ráith na Senad. Of course it should not be overlooked that the hill was once the location of a small village recorded as early as circa 1191-1192 in the Charter of Ralph de Repenteni.[1] The village is visible in the Ordnance Survey 6" map of 1837 and a photograph in the Lawrence Collection of the National Library of Ireland from circa 1900 as a series of thatched cottages. The cottages gradually went out of use and as reported by Newman are now mostly outhouses apart from one two-storey cottage which was refurbished in the

[1] Hickey, E. 1994 *Skryne and the Early Normans: Papers Concerning the Medieval Manors of the Feypo Family in Ireland in the 12th and Early 13th Centuries*, Meath Archaeological and Historical Society, Tara, 162 .

1960s and now is a craft and coffee shop.[2] The hill is also the location of a church dedicated to St Patrick which was 'rebuilt in 1822' as is noted on a plaque on the southern side of the bell-tower, but the existence of a church at that location was first testified to in the same charter recording the 12th century village.[3]



Figure 6.1 Aerial photograph of Tara. The hill is located in the centre of the image dominated by a series of earthwork rings. Ráith na Ríg is in the centre of the image. Courtesy the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government.

The construction of the monuments on the Hill of Tara dates mainly to the prehistoric period.[4] Human activity on the hill is evident as early as the Neolithic period. At this time the hill was associated with ritual activity and burial in particular. However, evidence for other activities such as smelting testifies to the fact that the site was not purely for ritual use. The hill would most likely have seen a number of different uses, but at some point, it became the location of physical and textual materialisations of a hierarchical ruling system. Tara is best known as the seat of the 'high kings' of Ireland, and there are many poetic and 'historical' sources which testify to the physical structures which are imagined to have been a part of the 'royal dwelling'.[5] Today, the monuments appear as earthworks which have been overgrown by grass yielding an undulating landscape punctuated by mounds, ditches and banks. There are four visible stone monuments associated with Tara. There are three standing stones: one believed to be the Lia Fáil (Figures 6.2) and two others in the nearby churchyard one of which is known as as Adamnáin's Cross (Figure 6.3). There is also a modern statue of St Patrick which was the

[2] Newman 1997, 32.
[3] ibid. 1997, 38.
[4] For a full survey of the monuments on the Hill of Tara see Newman 1997. The dating of the monumetns is a subject of debate. This serves as a general identification of a few examples: Duma na nGiall (second half of the third millennium BC), Tech Midchúarta (second half of the third millennium BC), Ráith Maeve (second half of the third millenium BC), Ráith na Ríg (Iron Age) and Ráith na Senad (early Iron Age).
[5] Ó Ríordáin, S. P. 1977 *Tara: The Monuments on the Hill*, Dundalgan, Dundalk, 6.

replacement of an earlier statue erected around the end of the 19th century (see Figures 6.10-11).[6]



Figure 6.2 Two images of the pillar stone presumed to be the Lia Fáil (stone of destiny) on the Forrad. Presumed by Newman to be dated to the Neolithic. Coarse white granite (approximately 1.57m high; girth 1.23m-1.58m). The *Dindgnai Temrach* record that the Lia Fáil was originally erected near the passage tomb Duma na Giall.[7] Believed to have been brought to Ireland by the Tuatha De Dannan, the stone would cry out when an individual's chariot axle ground against it, thus proclaiming his legitimacy to rule as high king of Tara.[8] The stone was moved in 1824 to its present location to mark the 'Croppies Grave' of individuals slain in Battle of Tara in the Rebellion of 1798 (see Figure 6.10), and it carries an inscription 'R. I. P.'.[9] The left image was taken in January 2002, and other was taken in May 2004 before which time a brick pavement was inserted around the base of the monument. Photographs by Tom Fourwinds - www.megalithomania.com.



Figure 6.3 Two standing stones in the churchyard east of Ráith na Senad. Limestone. Foreground example is 1.8m high and rectangular (0.5m by 0.27m). It has been associated with Adamnáin's Cross attested to in the prose *Dindshenchas*.[10] However, Newman suggested that the stone may have been a jamb or lintel from an earlier church on the site.[11] The smaller round stone is 0.73m high and 1.62m in circumference and is most likely a pillar stone. Photograph by Tom Fourwinds - www.megalithomania.com.

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[6] For a discussion of the Lia Fáil see Newman 1997, 86-8; 148-50. For a discussion of Adamnáin's Cross see Newman 1997, 98-101. For a discussion of the statues of St Patrick see pages 270-2 of Chapter 6.
[7] See Bhreathnach, E. 1995a 'The Topography of Tara: The Documentary Evidence', *Discovery Programme Reports* 2, 68-76, 72.
[8] See *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (VII.8-9), Macalister 1938-1956, vol.4, 251.
[9] Newman 1997, 86.
[10] See Petrie 1839, 175; Macalister, R. A. S. 1919 'Teamhair Breg: A Study of the Remains and Traditions of Tara', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 34C, 231-404, 231, 254; Macalister, R. A. S. 1931 'Tara: A Pagan Sanctuary of Ancient Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 51. Macalister however remained unconvinced of Petrie's identification.
[11] Newman 1997, 98.

The nature of landscape of Tara is not one that is overtly striking or awe-inspiring. Rather it is a subtle landscape that to the untrained eye does not attest to human agency but merges into the wider environment. It is hard to define where Tara begins or ends or, indeed, to find it at all. On 22 November 1967, Oliver J. Flanagan, T.D., stated in the Dáil Éireann that:

> I went to Tara and I could not find it. I spent a whole day in the district of Tara and could not find it ... I was there looking to see what monuments and relics of the past were there. I was told I was there. I could see nothing, certainly nothing to show it was Tara.[12]

Now it is unfair to make assumptions as to what Deputy Flanagan was looking for as evidence that he was 'at' Tara. However, Professor Seán Ó Ríordáin (1905-1957) excavator of the Ráith na Senad, made the statement at the beginning of his *Tara: The Monuments on the Hill*:

> It is tales of royal rulers that draw the visitor to Tara and having seen and appreciated the view he looks for the remains of palaces and other structures appropriate to a royal dwelling. If he is an archaeologist he is interested and even excited when he finds there are a remarkable collection of monuments. If he is not an archaeologist he is hardly impressed by seeing a number of earthen mounds marked by plaques bearing the names of the individual sites.[13]

Ó Ríordáin is making the point that one could very well be viewing the hill and not know it or if one knows it they may not be impressed by it. The landscape itself is not very distinguishable to a layperson. The monuments in the area of the hill appear very similar to other examples throughout Ireland in regions which are dominated by hills and overgrown earthworks (see Figures 6.4-7).

[12] Dáil Debates, vol. 231, c. 490-1, 22 November 1967.
[13] Ó Ríordáin 1977, 6.





Figure 6.4 (Left) Emain Macha (Navan Fort). 1.5 km west of Armargh city, Co. Armagh. View of an Iron Age earthwork mound 40m in diameter.[14] Photograph by Tom Fourwinds - www.megalithomania.com.

Figure 6.5 (Right) View of Ráith na Ríg, Hill of Tara, from ground level.[15]

Photograph by Brian T. McElherron (http://cloghmore.bravepages.com/photo/meath/tara.html).





Figure 6.6 (Left) Ráith na Ríg, Hill of Tara, Co. Meath. Early Iron age oval hengiform enclosure utilising a fosse and external bank, 318m (north-south) by 264m (east-west). The Forrad (centre of image) and Tech Cormaic (below the Forrad) can be seen near the centre of the enclosure. After Newman 1997. Courtesy the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government.

Figure 6.7 (Right) Iron age enclosure consisting of a fosse and external bank (c.400m in diameter) at Knockaulin, Co. Kildare (about 1.5 km south-west of Kilkullen).[16] Presumed to be the 'royal site' Dún Ailinne.[17] Aerial photograph of the complex of monuments and earthworks. After O'Donnell 2001.

George Petrie in his 1839 study 'On the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill' said:

> The Hill of Tara, though undistinguished either for altitude or picturesqueness of form, is not less remarkable for the pleasing and extensive prospects which it commands, than for the associations connected with it, as the site of the residence

[14] For a discussion of the date range of the site see Newman 1997, 174-5.
[15] For an extensive survey of the Forrad see Newman 1997, 77-83.
[16] See Wailes, B. 1990 'Dún Ailinne: A Summary Excavation Report', *Emania* 7, 10-21.
[17] See Ó hUiginn, R. 1990 'The Literature of the Laigin', *Emainia* 7, 5-9. The site had been identified by John O'Donovan in 1837. See O'Donnell, M. G. (ed.) 2001 'Significant Unpublished Irish Archaeological Reports, 1930-1997: Section 10: Royal Sites', heritagecouncil.ie <http://www.heritagecouncil.ie/archaeology/unpublished_excavations/section10.html#D%FAnAilinne> [Accessed 18 Mar 2006].

> of the Irish monarchs from the earliest times. ... In both these circumstances it bears a striking similitude to the hill of Aileach, near Derry – the residence of the kings of Ulster – and to the hill of Emania, near Armagh, another residence of the Ulster kings ... All these localities have shared a similar fate in the destruction of their monuments at distant periods, and all equally present striking vestiges of their ancient importance.[18]

This is arguably one of Tara's most aesthetically pleasing aspects, that it merges into the wider environment, and although it is an admittedly romantic image, it can be seen to illustrate a harmony between human agency and the ecology of a landscape.[19]

As Ó Ríordáin noted, rather than stone temples and colossal statues, what sets Tara apart from other similar landscapes in Ireland is the narrative associated with the place.[20] It is a narrative that is less materialised in stone or other structures but mainly materialised through both the writing of myths, poems and histories about the place and the performative materialisations of cultural and political identities both peaceful and violent. Materialisations began at the site around 3800 BC and have continued intermittently though all periods until the present today. Given that most of the monuments of Tara are prehistoric, the narrative of the place of Tara has generally developed to understand and interpret the existence of the place.

The difficulty of studying a place such as Tara is that it is so popularly known. It was said in *The Times* on 5 December 1955 during the excavations at Tara of Sean Ó Ríordáin that 'Tara of the Kings ... is one of the most famous sites in Ireland, and its name is familiar not merely to the antiquary and the patriot but to any ignoramus who remembers only the first line of a song by Tom Moore'.[21] The place has become so entwined with the

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[18] Petrie 1839, 3.
[19] Newman, C. 2005 'Re-composing the Archaeological Landscape of Tara' in E. Bhreathnach (ed.) *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara*, Four Courts Press for The Discovery Programme, Dublin, 361-409.
[20] Ó Ríordáin 1977, 6.
[21] Anon. 1955 'Bronze Age Burial Relics Found On Hill of Tara New Light On Age Of Irish Site', *The Times*, 5 December. The writer is referring to the song 'The Harp that once through Tara's Hall' written by Thomas Moore (1779-1852). The lyrics are:
The harp that once through Tara's Hall the soul of music shed
Now hangs as mute on Tara's wall as if that soul were fled.
So sleeps the pride of former days so glory's thrill is o'er
And hearts that once beat high for praise now feel that pulse no more.
No more to chiefs and ladies bright, the harp of Tara swells.
The chord alone, that breaks at night, its tale of ruin tells.

canvas of Irish large group identity that it is arguably impossible to study the site without considering the broader social, cultural and political histories of the place, many which still dominate historical imagination in Ireland. Petrie noted at the outset of his study of the hill that 'collecting all the matter relating to the history of Tara … would in fact be nothing less than a history of Ireland'.[22] Indeed, to excavate or study Tara is to excavate or study the social relationships of Irish large group identity and examine the development of Irish historical place identity.

One Place – Many Names / Many Places – One Name

As was discussed in Chapter 4, landscapes become known to us through our own continual interpretive existence within them.[23] We materialise our phenomenological perception of place through our interpretations and expressions of our experiences of place in words, both oral and written. These expressions result in a narrative of place which begins and ends with its name. As Tilley argued 'place names are of such vital importance because they act so as to transform the sheerly physical and geographical into something that is historically and socially experienced'.[24] For example, there are many names which have been used to refer to the landscape of the Hill of Tara:

> Tara, Tarah, Taragh, Taueragh,
> Temair, Teamair, Teamhair, Teamhuir,
> Temraig, Teamraig, Theamraigh,
> Temra, Temrach, Teamrach, Temhrach, Themrach,
> Temro,
> Temoria

All of the above words are names for the landscape that has become associated with the 'high kings' of Ireland and Irish cultural authority.[25] The landscape was also given a number of literary names, Druim Léith, Liathdruim, Druim Caín, Cathair Chrófhind,

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This freedom now so seldom wakes, the only throb she gives
Is when some heart indignant breaks, to show that still she lives.

[22] Petrie 1839, 5.

[23] See Tilley 1994; 2004. Also see pages 163-7 of Chapter 4 of this thesis.

[24] Tilley 1994, 18.

[25] This is a selection of placenames associated with the place now known as Tara. For an extensive study of these placenames with etymological considerations see Mac Giolla Easpaig, D. 2005 'The Significance and Etymology of the Placename *Temair*' in E. Bhreathnach (ed.) *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara*, Four Courts Press for The Discovery Programme, Dublin, 423-48. and Ó Muraíle, N. 2005 'Temair/Tara and Other Places of the Name' in E. Bhreathnach (ed.) *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara*, Four Courts Press for The Discovery Programme, Dublin, 449-78.

Fordruim, Tulach in Trír, Carn in Áenfhir.[26] It is one place with many names. Additionally, there are other places in Ireland that have been given the name Tara, or Temair, such as Tara Hill, Co. Wexford (see Figure 6.8) and Sutherland and Drium Teamhra, north of Loch Gorm in Islay.[27] It is interesting to note that despite the fame which Tara has in popular knowledge of places in Ireland and the richness of its name's etymology, only very recently have there been extensive studies into the derivation of the name Tara or Temair which appreciate both the uniqueness of the name and the popular usage of the name for many different places.[28] In fact, ten places in Ireland are listed in Edmund Hogan's *Onomasticon Goedelicum* which bear the name Temair.[29] In addition, the name Tara has been found in use in Scotland for the Dale of Taras (Dail Teamhair) in Glencasley.

There are many definitions for the word *Temair*. Some intriguing examples come from the text *Sanas Chormaic* which likely dates to the end of the 9th century or early 10th century AD.[30] The first concerned the specific place known today as Tara, Co. Meath. It explored the etymology of the phrase *tea-múr* or 'the wall of Tea' which related to the mythological story of the wife of Éremón son of Míl named Tea who was reported to have died on the hill which caused a wall or *múr* to be erected in her honour. There were also a few different tracts from the *Dindshenchas* which have suggested this etymology. The first comes from the third volume of the *Book of Leinster*.

> *Temuir. Unde nominatur. Ni andsa. Temair .i. Teamur .i. múr Tea ingine Lugdach meic Itha. Ben Herimoin meic Miled .i. is and ro hadnacht hí. Unde poeta cecinit.*
> *In cetben luid I n-uaig úair*
> *Don chúain a Tur Bregain báin*
> *Tea Brega ben in ríg*
> *Dianid ainm Temair fir Fáil.*[31]

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[26] Gwynn 1903-1935, vol. I, 2-5. Also see McCaughey, T. P. 1960 'Tract on the Chief Places of Meath', *Celtica* 5, 172-6, 173.
[27] Watson, W. J. 1926 *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, Birlinn, Edinburgh, 505. Also see Bhreathnach 1995b, 34.
[28] For example see Ó Muraíle 2005 and Mac Giolla Easpaig 2005.
[29] Hogan, E. 1910 *Onomasticon Goedelicum locorum et tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae: An Index, with Identifications, to the Gaelic Names of Places and Tribes*, Hodges, Figgis & Co., Dublin, 630.
[30] Meyer, K. 1912 'Sanas Cormaic: An Old-Irish Glossary Compiled by Cormac úa Cuilennáin', *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* 4, Dublin, 5, 105. Also see Bhreathnach 1995b, 34.
[31] Best, R. I. & M. A. O'Brien 1957 *The Book of Leinster formerly Lebar na Núachongbhúala*, Vol. III, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin, 698 (margin).

Temair. When is it named? Not difficult. Temair, that is, Teamur, that is, the rampart of Tea daughter of Lugaid son of Íth, wife of Éremón son of Míl. It is there that she was buried. AS the poet has sung: The first woman who went into a cold grave of the host from the Tower of white Bregan, Tea of Brega, the king's wife from whom Temair is named.[32]

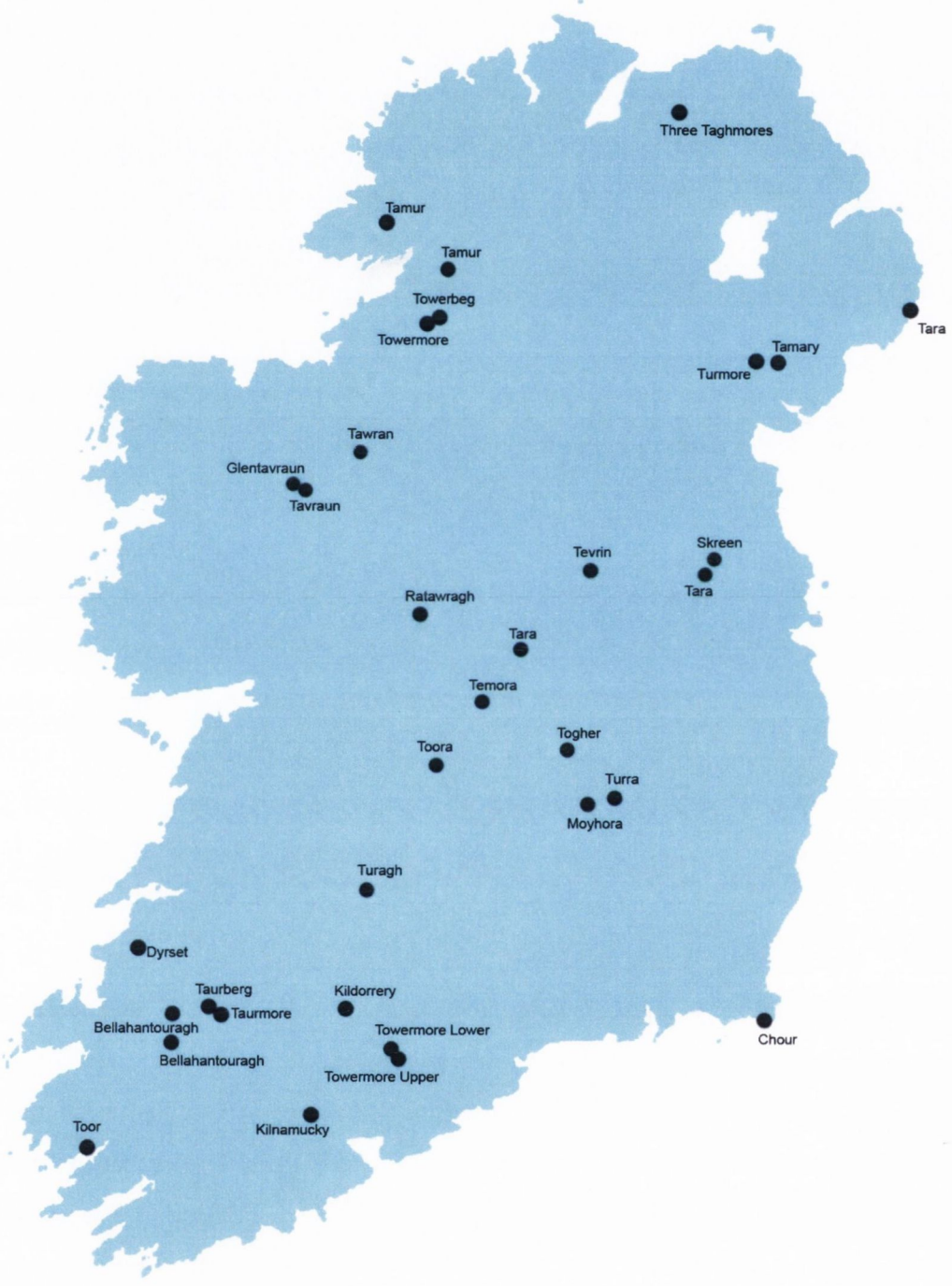


Figure 6.8 Distribution of sites and places with names etymologically associated with the name *Tara* or *Temair*. After Ó Muraíle 2005.

[32] Translation from Mac Giolla Easpaig 2005, 423-4.

The second and third are found in the *Metrical Dindshenchas* as edited by Gwynn.

> *Temair diatá Temair Breg*
> *Múr Tea mná meic Míled.*[33]
>
> Temair, whence Temair Breg is named, Rampart of Tea, wife of the son of Míled.[34]
>
> *Roclaitea clad imma tech*
> *ac Tea móir ingin Lugdech;*
> *roadnacht iar múr amuig,*
> *conad uaithi atá Temair.* [35]
>
> Round her house was built a rampart by Tea daughter of Lugaid; she was buried beyond the wall without, so that from her is Temair named.[36]

Until recently this etymology was in question since no survey of the hill had recorded a feature which could have been múr Tea in the location described in the *Dindshenchas*. However, the archaeological survey undertaken by the Discovery Programme under Conor Newman has succeeded in identifying a feature (31:33:12 in the report) which is incorporated in the Forrad which is tentatively identified as a bowl-barrow with a possible outer bank and is suggested to be the feature identified in the *Dindshenchas* as múr Tea.[37] Although this lends more credence to the topographical survey recorded in the *Dindshenchas*, it still does not supersede the fact that the *Dindshenchas* is a medieval interpretation of earlier mythological material. In addition, the *Dindshenchas* can be dated no earlier than circa 1160 AD, the earliest date assigned to the *Book of Leinster* from the *Dindshenchas*, which post-dates the definitions provided in the *Sanas Chormaic* by at least 250 years. Therefore, it is impossible to determine whether the inclusion of the tract regarding múr Tea was inspired by the *Sanas Chormaic* definition or whether the tract was part of a longer place-name tradition. However, Dónall Mac Giolla Easpaig has argued that these etymologies put forward in the *Dindshenchas* were most likely constructions based

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[33] Gwynn 1903-1935, vol. I, 20.
[34] Translation from Mac Giolla Easpaig 2005, 424.
[35] Gwynn 1903-1935, vol. I, 20.
[36] Translation from Mac Giolla Easpaig 2005, 424.
[37] Newman 1997, 78.

on his typonymic studies of Irish placenames and 'are both far-fetched and lacking any foundation'.[38] Thus this definition can not be taken to be more than a theory.

A second definition from the *Sanas Chormaic* is a more likely possibility in that it did not rely on interpretations of mythological material and can be applied to the multiple uses of the place name at different locations rather than uniquely dealing with Tara, Co. Meath. It was suggested that *Temair* derived from the Latin *teomoro .i. conspicio* meaning a 'height from which there is a fine view'.[39] However, given that the introduction of Latin to Ireland post-dates much of the activity at Tara which produced the monuments on the hill, it is impossible to determine whether or not the place-name *Temair* was an indigenous place-name tradition or whether it was the result of the interpretation of place-names and creation of place-names by early Christians and early medieval writers. Interestingly, this explanation is also found in the *Metrical Dindshenchas*:

> *Temair cech n-ard cech n-irgna*
> *forsmbít sosta so-dindgna;*
> *Temair cech mbennach mbirda,*
> *Acht mad Emain airirgna.*[40]
>
> 'Temair' is the name of every lofty and conspicuous spot whereon are dwellings and strong keeps; 'Temair' is the name of every peaked and pointed hill except the far-seen Emain.[41]
>
> *Uel Temuir a uerbo Greco temoro .i. conscpicio. Uair is Temair ainm do cech inad asnid soirb fegad radairc. Unde dicitur temair na tuathe temair in tige.*[42]
>
> So Temair from the Greek word temoro i.e. conspicio. For Teamir is the name of every place from which there is a favourable view. When is said 'Temair of the country and Temair of the house'.[43]

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[38] Mac Giolla Easpaig 2005, 424. Mac Giolla Easpaig, D. 1981 'Noun + Noun Compounds in Irish Placenames', *Études Celtiques*, 18, 151-63, 162.
[39] Byrne, F. J. 1973 *Irish Kings and High-Kings*, Batsford, London, 56. Also see Bhreathnach 1995b, 34 and Mac Giolla Easpaig 2005, 424.
[40] Gwynn 1903-1935, vol. I, 10.
[41] Translation from Mac Giolla Easpaig 2005, 425.
[42] Best & O'Brien 1957, 698: ll. 21039-41.
[43] Translation from Mac Giolla Easpaig 2005, 425.

Indeed, Mac Giolla Easpaig noted that the most extensive exploration of the meaning of the name *Temair* in the *Dindshenchas* is in Latin, related to the concept of a hill or high place and cites the *Sanas Chormaic* as the source of the etymology.[44]

Relating to the specific location of Tara, Co. Meath, it has been suggested by some scholars that *Temair* could be linguistically derived from words meaning 'darkness' such as the Old Irish *temel* and acted as a cognate for the Latin *tenebrae*.[45] It was suggested by Heinrich Wagner that a description of Temair as 'the Dark One' would facilitate a duality with Rudolf Thurneysen's etymology of Tailtiu (Teltown, Co. Meath) as 'the Beautiful One'.[46] Tailtiu was the location to where it was believed the inauguration of the kings of Tara moved when the ritual ceased at Tara. The tradition of this idea is recorded in the *Lebor Gabála Érenn*:

> He under whom that stone should cry was king of Ireland. But Cú Chulaind struck it with his sword, because it did not cry under him nor under his fosterling, Lugaid, son of the three Finds of Emain: and it did not cry out since, except under Conn alone. And so its heart sprung from out of it from Temair to Tailltiu: this is the reason that Fál's Heart is in Tailltiu. But it was not Lugaid's failure to take the kingship which caused the destruction of the idols, but Christ's birth at that time.[47]

This tradition was also recorded in the *Vita Tripartita*, or Life of Patrick, from the 9th century.[48] Bhreathnach suggested that this transfer of ritual authority from Temair to Tailtiu could actually have occurred under the guidance of the southern Uí Néill in the late 7th century AD.[49] The juxtaposition of Tara and Tailtiu in the tradition of the moving of the

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[44] ibid. 425-6. *Dindshenchas* reference can be found in Stokes, W. 1894-5 'The Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindshenchas', *Revue Celtique*, 15, 272-336 and 16, 31-83, 135-67, 269-312, 278-80.
[45] Wagner, H. 1975 'Studies in the Origins of Early Celtic Traditions', *Ériu* 26, 1-26, 21; Wagner, H. 1979 'Origins of Pagan Irish Religion and the Study of Names', *Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society* ser. 2, no. 2, 24-40, 26. Also see Borgeaud, W. A. 1971 'Hibernica: Echu-Echoch, Echoid-Echdach, Temair', *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 6, 40-4.
[46] Wagner 1979, 26. Thurneysen, R. 1936 'Allerlei Keltisches: 2 Tailtiu', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 20, 1-58. Also see Bhreathnach 1995b, 34.
[47] Macalister, R. A. S. 1938-1956 *Lebor Gabála Érenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland* (5 vols.), Educational Co. of Ireland for Irish Texts Society, Dublin, vol. IV, 142-4. Also see Carey, J. 2005 'Tara and the Supernatural' in E. Bhreathnach (ed.) *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara*, Four Courts Press for The Discovery Programme, Dublin, 32-48, 39.
[48] Bhreathnach 1996, 86. Also see Stokes, W. 1887 *The Tripartite Life of Patrick, with Other Documents Relating to that Saing*, 2 vols., Rerum Brittanicaum Medii Aevi Scriptores 89, London, reprinted in 1995 by Kraus Reprint Ltd, Wiesbaden.
[49] Bhreathnach 1996, 86.

inauguration site of the kings of Tara could have inspired the development of a concept as Temair relating to 'the Dark One'; however, it was more likely that this etymology was an idealised interpretation of the mythological material. Still, it is impossible to determine authoritatively whether or not the name *Temair* is related to a word meaning 'darkness'.

Most recently, Mac Giolla Easpaig put forward an interpretation which applied to all places named Teamir. He suggested that *Temair* derives from the Indo-European root relating to **tem* (cut), interpreting this to mean an area 'cut off'. He related this etymology to the Greek *temenos* and Latin *templum*. This led him to suggest that the reading of *Temair* as 'a sacred place' was the most appropriate.[50] In all instances, the etymological approaches which explore Temair as a name which related to many places seem more plausible. The examples which deal primarily with mythological narratives that were specific to the place of Tara, Co. Meath seem idealised, focusing on the uniqueness of the place of Tara which gave rise to the now more broadly used name Tara or Temair. However, there can be no singular definition of a place name with such a rich and varied narrative etymological background. This situation is complicated by the vast number of names which have been presumed to relate to the same place. However, what is constant between all the names and definitions is the experience of 'place' and the materialisation of narrative. Although the place would have been experienced differently in different times by different people, it is that all of the experiences have been united into a narrative of interpretation that has caused the manufacture of rich traditions of shared identifications with the place of Tara.

How do we know about Tara?

Just as the derivation of the place-name of Tara is rich, so too is the history of the interpretations and engagements with the site. As much of the activity on the hill which resulted in the monuments that survive today occurred before the keeping of written historical records, there are no authoritative documents relating to the establishment or use of the location for settlement, ritual purposes or political purposes. Thus, the corpus of 'historical' material relating to Tara are later interpretations of earlier oral and perhaps written mythological or traditional knowledge pertaining to the landscape of Tara.

[50] Mac Giolla Easpaig 2005, 448.

The earliest list of 'kings' of Tara comes from the *Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig* which can be dated no earlier than the 10th century AD.[51] However, the two most influential texts in the narrative and understanding of the place Tara are the *Dindschenchas Érenn* (c. 1160 AD) and the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (c. late 11th or early 12th century AD).[52] The *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, or 'The Book of the Taking of Ireland' is a composite of material from medieval, classical, biblical and native sources which tells the story of the different 'invasions' of Ireland. The fundamental aspect of the chronology of the text is the high-kingship of Ireland which was located at Tara and primarily associated with the Uí Néill. Similarly, the *Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig* seems to have been formed by the interests of the dynasties of Síl nÁedo Sláine, particularly of Fínnachta Fledach (d. 695) and Niall son of Cernach Sotal (d.701).[53] As has already been mentioned, the *Dindschenchas* is a collection of topographical tracts relating the derivation of place-names.[54] It is thought to be 11th century in date, but the earliest datable version of any single book of the collection, the *Book of Leinster*, can be dated no earlier that c. 1160 AD. The collection was intended to form an aspect of a 'curriculum' of early Irish education.[55] Through the recalling of the derivation of place-names, scholars and students would learn the associated 'histories', stories and myths associated with specific locales as well as develop a geographical awareness of regions of Ireland.

Eóin MacNeill coined the phrase 'synthetic histories' to describe the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* and *Dindshenchas* and similar sources that were compiled by medieval Christian scholars.[56] Rather than producing critical or didactic 'histories', the compilers were collecting and selecting poetic and mythological material, preserving and conveying them in a grand synthesis largely influenced by their current socio-political situation.[57] The

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[51] Bhreathnach, E. 2005b '*Níell cáich úa Néill nasctar géill*: The Political Context of *Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig*' in E. Bhreathnach (ed.) *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara*, Four Courts Press for The Discovery Programme, Dublin, 49-72, 49.

[52] Scowcroft, M. R. 1987 'Leabhar Gabhála – Part I: The Growth of the Text', *Ériu* 38, 81-142. Also see Gywnn 1903-1935, vol. 5, 91*f.*

[53] Bhreathnach 2005b, 49.

[54] See pages 167-9 of Chapter 4 of this thesis.

[55] Gwynn 1903-1935, vol. 5, 91*f.* See Simms, K. 1998 'Charles Lynegar, the O Luinín Family and the Study of *Seanchas*' in T.C. Barnard, D. Ó Cróinín & K. Simms (eds.) *A Miracle of Learning: Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning: Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan,* Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot, 266-83. Also see Barnard, T. C., D. Ó Cróinín & K. Simms (eds.) 1998 *A Miracle of Learning: Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning: Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan,* Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot.

[56] MacNeill, E. 1921 'Synthetic History', *Celtic Ireland*, Academy Press in association with the Medieval Academy of Ireland, Dublin, 40.

[57] See Carey, J. 1994 *The Irish National Origin-Legend Synthetic-Pseudohistory*, Quiggin Pamphlets on teh Sources of Medieval Gaelic History 1, Cambridge.

scholar John V. Kelleher took this description one step further by describing it as 'pseudohistory'.[58] The *Lebor Gabála Érenn* was seen by John Carey as an attempt to reconcile origin myths of Christianity and the Gaels by creating a single meta-narrative for the development of cultural, social and political traditions, rituals and systems in Ireland.[59]

As these sources survive in medieval Christian redactions dating roughly 2000-3000 years after the construction of the monuments, they must be seen for what they were, a literary interpretation of the landscape and archaeological features of Tara - a combination of myth and topography to interpret and yield significance to a particular landscape formed by contemporary agendas.[60] As Ó Ríordáin noted, 'the correct interpretation of the Dinnshenchas implies no more than the correct interpretation of the mind of its mediaeval compiler'.[61] Bhreathnach argued that:

> The early medieval topographical accounts of Tara preserved in the corpus of material known as *Dindshenchas Érenn* can no longer be described as the product of an antiquarian mind. They must be explained as texts compiled for a contemporary political reason, primarily that of enhancing the claims of an ailing dynasty, the southern Uí Néill, and most particularly those of Máelsechlainn II (d.1022). These detailed topographical texts ensured that Tara would be regarded from the late tenth or early eleventh century as the monument of kings, great heroes and gods – the greatest monument in Ireland.[62]

What Bhreathnach was discussing could be described as the utilisation of mythological and poetic material to create a codified and canonised origin myth of concepts of a high kingship of Ireland. Thus, the compilers of these sources were contributing to narratives of chosen glories and chosen traumas of group identity in Ireland. Certain poems and myths were chosen and brought together in the books of the *Dindshenchas* such as the *Book of Leinster*. In this selection, the compilers were creating chosen glories associated with certain places in order to create a narrative of Irish place identity. However, it should be said that literacy rates during this period would not have been high, so it is hard to assess what impact these written accounts would have had on the imagination of contemporary

[58] Kelleher, J. V. 1963 'Early Irish History and Psuedo-History', *Studia Hibernica* 3, 113-27.
[59] Carey, J. 1993 *A New Introduction to the Lebor Gabála Érenn*, Irish Texts Society, Dublin, 1.; Carey 1994.
[60] Waddell 2005, 15-9.
[61] Ó Ríordáin 1977, 8-9
[62] Bhreathnach 1996, 85.

society.[63] Still, by adding these accounts to the corpus of written material consulted by scholars, these sources have succeeded in affecting scholarship regarding the place of Tara which in turn has affected societal imagination.

The poems were certainly utilised in a pedagogical capacity from the Medieval period onwards.[64] Given this, it could be argued that the utilisation of these chosen glories of Irish places for educational purposes played an important role in the development of Irish large group identity. This is particularly relevant since the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* was the basis for Irish school history textbooks for much of the 20th century as it supported the concept of a united Ireland that was the victim of 'invasions' from outsiders and that there was a core of Irish culture and identity that has survived through these 'invasions' that must be celebrated.[65] The impact that these textbooks have had on the imagination, shared identifications and chosen glories of Irish society through the transgenerational transmission of group identity through the teaching of history to children can not be understated.[66] The *Dindshenchas* and *Lebor Gabála Érenn* would also have had a similar impact on medieval society as an educational tool.[67]

The creation of these 'synthetic histories' provided and still provides Irish society with the opportunity to choose the selected glories of notions of 'high kingship' and a united Irish people.[68] In many ways, these sentiments were what were capitalised upon by political leaders such as Daniel O'Connell and the Gaelic League. It was an object of the desire for Irish unity. This sentiment was something that predates political movements of Daniel O'Connell and was a possible motivation for the compilation of the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* and *Dindshenchas*. The sections of the texts that relate to Tara create the sense of a centre of the Irish cosmos (see Figure 6.9); a centre which was the seat of Irish social and cultural authority in the materialised form of the 'high king' or *ard rí*. It has been

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[63] For a discussion of literacy in medieval Ireland see Thornton, D. E. 1998 'Orality, Literacy and Genealogy in Early Medieval Ireland and Wales' in H. Pryce (ed.) *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 83-98.

[64] Gwynn 1903-1935. See Simms 1998. Also see Barnard *et al.* 1998.

[65] See Akenson 1975; MacCana 1985.; Scowcroft, M. R. 1988 'Leabhar Gabhála – Part II: The Growth of the Tradition', *Ériu* 39, 1-66.; Carey 1994.

[66] See Goldstrom, J. M. 1972a *The Social Content of Education: A Study of the Working Class School Reader in England and Ireland*, Irish University Press, Shannon.; Goldstrom, J. M. 1972b *Education: Elementary Education 1780-1900*, David & Charles, Newton Abbot.; Akenson, D. H. 1970 *The Irish Education Experiment: The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.; Akenson, D. H. 1973 *Education and Enmity: The Control of Schooling in Northern Ireland 1920-50*, David & Charles, Newton Abbot. Also see pages 97-100 of Chapter 2 of this thesis.

[67] See Barnard *et al.* 1998.

[68] See Carey 1994.

suggested by Nicholas B. Aitchison that Tara was asserted as the central point of Ireland in order to enhance claims of the Uí Néill whose power was based at Tara.[69] This same idea has been echoed in Máire Herbert's and Bhreathnach's reading of the *Baile in Scáil* which they suggested was informed by an advocacy for the sovereignty of the Uí Néill over all of Ireland and, thus, attempted to project their right to rule into primordial times.[70] This interpretation would have to assume then that the compilers of the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* and *Dindshenchas* were under the influence of or had a vested interested in the power of the Uí Néill. This is a hypothesis which, although compelling, is not provable. There is another possibility for the development of a notion of Tara as a centre of the Irish cosmos.

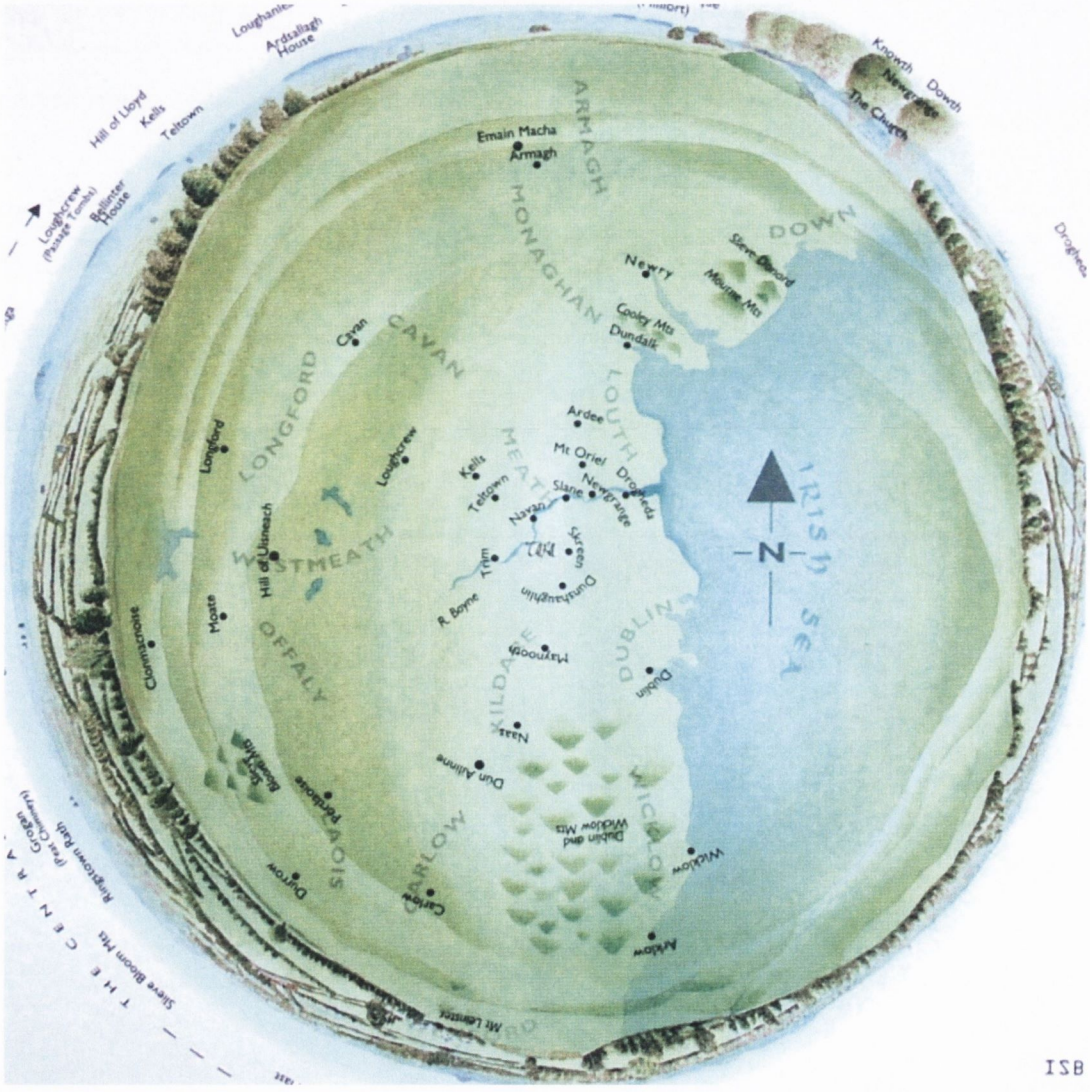


Figure 6.9 Back cover of Bhreatnach and Newman's introduction to the Hill of Tara.[71] Notice the construction of a globe with Tara as the focal point of the landscape of the island of Ireland.

[69] Aitchison, N. B. 1994 *Armagh and the Royal Centres in Early Medieval Ireland: Monuments, Cosmology and the Past*, Woodbridge and Boydell & Brewer for Cruithne Press, Glasgow, 114-5.
[70] See Bhreathnach 1995b, 15.
[71] Bhreathnach, E. & C. Newman 1995 *Tara*, Stationery Office, Dublin.

Given that the compilers of the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* and *Dindshenchas* were Christians and likely to be ecclesiastics, it was possible that they would have had the expression of the conversion of Ireland to a Christian country as a central aim in their interpretation of the poetic and mythological material. The compilers could have been following on from the use of Tara and the 'high kingship' as the centre of Irish society by Muirchú and Tírechán in their stories of the life of St Patrick. Writing in the late 7th century, Muirchú described Tara as 'the capital of the Irish ruled over by the fierce pagan, Lóegaire' (*imperator barbarorum regnas in Temoria, quae <tunc> erat caput <regni> Scotorum*) and compares Tara with Babylon (*in Temoria istorum Babylone*).[72] Tara then became the setting of St Patrick's contest with Lóegaire during Easter which when Patrick won caused the conversion of Lóegaire to Christianity. Bishop Tírechán's account was similar to that of Muirchú although it was less dramatic. The significance of this literary device was that by creating a tale of the mythological patron saint of Ireland converting what was described as the centre of Irish cultural and social life, both Muirchú and Tírechán were creating a mythological metaphor for the conversion of all of Ireland to Christianity. By converting the 'high king' of Tara and Ireland to Christianity, the writers created a foundation point for a united Christian tradition in Ireland in the tradition of Paul's letters.[73] Of course the impact of this mythology still resonates today at Tara given that a statue of St Patrick was erected on top of the Forrad sometime before the end of the 19th century (see Figure 6.10). The statue was later taken down and replaced by a modern version by Annette Hennessey in 1992 (see Figure 6.11). The original statue was described by Noel Dempsey, T.D. in March 1997 in Dáil Éireann as signifying 'his [St Patrick's] connection with that site [Tara] and the arrival of Christianity here [Ireland]'.[74] However, it should be noted that political discourse from the same debate around the erection of the new statue did take into account the fact that the tale of St Patrick converting king Lóegaire is mythological and not associated with the actual monuments of Tara. At the same time, it is evident that current politicians still hold the belief that St Patrick was associated with the site of Tara in a very 'real' way which testified to the tradition of Christianity in Ireland. This can be seen in an exchange between Deputy Dempsey and Donal Carey, T.D. which occurred in Dáil Éireann in 1997:

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[72] See Bhreathnach 1995b, 60.
[73] See pages 73-7 of Chapter 2 of this thesis. Also see MacCana 1985.
[74] Dáil Debates, vol. 476, c. 816, 13 March 1997.

Carey: … In a place as ancient and rich in diverse archaeological remains as Tara it is only fitting that a statue to commemorate St. Patrick should refer not only to the Christian tradition which has shaped Ireland today but also acknowledges our pagan celtic history.

Dempsey: The visitors centre can do that.

Carey: The recommendation of the selection committee was accepted and the Minister concurs with the view that the proposed sculpture is appropriate for one of our most important ancient sites-

Dempsey: It has nothing to do with it.

Carey: -and a fitting acknowledgment of St. Patrick's association with Tara.[75]

From this exchange it is evident that the mythological accounts of St Patrick by Muirchú and Tírechán still affect the imagination of Irish society, and both St Patrick and Tara as the site of conversion are symbols of Ireland's Christian heritage.



Figure 6.10 Photograph of the Statue of St Patrick and stone presumed to be the Lia Fáil on the Forrad dating to 1880-1900. 'Croppies Grave, Tara Hill'. National Library of Ireland, Photographic Archive, Lawrence Collection (LROY 5920). This statue was removed from the Forrad in 1992.

[75] ibid. c. 817-8.



Figure 6.11 Statue of St Patrick by Annette Hennessey adjacent to the monuments on the Hill of Tara, near the Church of St Patrick. Erected in 1997. Photograph by Chris Lawley (2004).

Since the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* and *Dindshenchas* were compiled approximately four centuries after the writings of Muirchú and Tírechán, it is likely that they would have been influenced by the same conceptions which influenced the debate between Deputies Dempsey and Carey in Dáil Éireann. Thus, it can be seen that the development of Tara as a centre of the Irish cosmos in the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* and *Dindshenchas* facilitated the larger mythological tradition of Tara as a focal point of Irish culture and encouraged the symbolic conversion of all of Ireland by St Patrick.[76] This spirit of the role of Tara in the conversion of Ireland to Christianity is most evident in a tract previously quoted from the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* relating to the destruction of the Lia Fáil:

> But it was not Lugaid's failure to take the kingship which caused the destruction of the idols [read: Lia Fáil], but Christ's birth at that time.[77]

That the writer suggested the destruction of the Lia Fáil was the result of Christ's birth signals the medieval Christian agenda of reinterpreting Irish mythological material to

[76] For a discussion of the conception of Tara as a focal point for Irish large group identity for the purposes of a symbolic conversion of Ireland see pages 73-7 of Chapter 2.
[77] Macalister 1938-1956, vol. 4, 144. Also see Carey 2005, 39.

explicate the acceptability and dominance of Christian traditions in Ireland. By stating that the ancient stone which imbued the 'high king' of Tara with authority to rule was destroyed by the birth Christ, the writer was asserting the primacy of Christian traditions and authority of Christianity in Ireland.

John Carey's study of the mythological narrative associated with Tara suggested that Tara was conceived of as a place recurrently in threat of attack by and in need of defense from supernatural forces and multiple deities.[78] Thus, the inclusion of a myth in the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* depicting Christ as destroying the symbol of legitimacy of the kingship of Tara fit into this narrative of competing divinities at the location of Tara. Carey's exploration also suggested a social situation in which there were competing mythological narratives of divine personas associated with Tara. This could also be described as a competition between different worldviews or indeed social groups. Thus, the imposition upon and redaction of the mythological narrative of the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* through a Christian worldview fit into the broader narrative of materialisations of conceptions of existence at Tara. This apparent redaction of the mythological material by Christian writers illustrated the 'medieval screen' which exists between contemporary society's experience of the landscape of Tara and experiences and understandings of the landscape which were contemporary to the construction of the monuments of Tara.[79]

There are other significant inauguration, 'royal' or ritual sites in Ireland such as Emain Macha (also known as Navan Fort, 1.5 km west of Armargh city) which was the seat of the Ulaid (see Figures 6.2), Dún Ailinne (Knockaulin - about 1.5 km south-west of Kilkullen, Co. Kildare) (see Figure 6.7) and Raffin Fort (about 3 km south of Nobber, Co. Meath).[80] This raises the question of why was Tara chosen to be the setting of the chosen glory of Christian conversion. This calls into question the assertion that Tara was indeed the seat of a 'high king' or had any pan-Irish authority. This could simply have been a convenient metaphorical device to illustrate the pan-conversion of Ireland to Christianity

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[78] Carey 2005.
[79] Bhreathnach 1996, 85.
[80] O'Donnell 2001 (Electronic Resource). For a discussion of Emain Macha see Mallory, J. P. 1987 'The Literary Topography of Emain Macha', *Emania* 2, 12-8. For a discussion of Dún Ailinne see Wailes 1990. Also see Ó hUiginn 1990. For a discussion of Raffin Fort see Newman, C. 1994 'Raffin Fort, Raffin' in I. Bennett (ed.) *Excavations 1993: Summary Accounts of Archaeological Excavations in Ireland*, Wordwell, Bray, 64-5. Also see Doyle, I., D. Jennings, J. MacDermott, D. Challinor & G. Lambrick, G. 2001 *Unpublished Excavations Survey 1930-1997*, Oxford Archaeological Unit for the Heritage Council of Ireland, Dublin.

or to assert the political authority of any particular leader. Still, the impact of sources such as the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* and Geoffrey Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* was the establishment of Tara as an 'institution upon which the legitimacy of the kingship of Ireland had rested from time immemorial'.[81] The myths and stories of the place of Tara were likely selected as chosen glories of Irish kingship and particularly that of the Uí Néill and were 'exploited to lend historic credence to contemporary creeds and events'.[82]

The impact of this 'medieval screen' was particularly evident in the romantic accounts of experiences of the landscape of Tara by 19th century antiquarians and Gaelic Revivalists.[83] For example, Sir William Wilde wrote after visiting the Hill of Tara:

> Standing at the top of southern extremity of this remain, and bearing in mind the various prose and bardic histories of the Irish annalists, one cannot help reverting to ancient heroic times, and again, in imagination, peopling it with its early occupants. Here sat in days of yore Kings with golden crowns upon their heads; warriors with brazen swords in their hands; bards and minstrels with their harps; grey-breaded ollamhs; druids with their oak-leaf crowns...[84]

Simimlary, the romantic conceptions of Ireland's past explored by O'Donovan and Petrie have been reviewed.[85] In his antiquarian studies, Petrie did attempt to dispel much of the cloud of romance regarding the interpretation of iconic monuments such as round towers. However, Petrie's survey of the monuments on the Hill of Tara, which was the first full modern survey of the hill, attempted to identify the monuments based on an interpretation of the portions of the *Dindshenchas* which related to Temair (see Figure 6.12).[86] Given the difficulties with these sources which have been discussed, it is problematic that the identification of the monuments made by Petrie still form the basis of our current archaeological understanding of the landscape.[87] Indeed, no monument has been renamed

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[81] Bhreathnach 1996, 85.
[82] ibid. 85.
[83] ibid. 85. For a discussion of 19th century antiquarianism and Romantic concepts of the Irish past see Murray 2000. For a discussion of the popularity of these narratives amongst the members of the Gaelic League and others during the Gaelic Revival see Castle 2001 and Crooke 2001. Also see pages 89-92 of Chapter 2 and 106-8 of Chapter 3 of this thesis.
[84] Wilde, W. R. 2003 [1849] *The Beauties of the Boyne and Its Tributary the Blackwater*, Kevin Duffy, Dublin, 102-3.
[85] See pages 89-90 of Chapter 2 of this thesis. Also see Murray 2000 and Doherty 2004.
[86] Petrie 1839. Also see Waddell 2005, 15-9.
[87] See Newman 1997, 2-5.

since Petrie identified them with the names recorded in the *Dindshenchas*. Despite the mythological aspects of the narratives of the *Dindshenchas* and the 'medieval screen' that they created, the attempt of narratives to explicate the current landscape through understandings of the past revealed an intriguing and productive quality of the discourses around their interpretation.[88]

The interpretations of the landscape in the *Dindshenchas* could be described as the earliest archaeological attempts in Ireland.[89] Since the compilers were attempting to identify and interpret landscape features using pre-existing narratives, this process was very similar to the method which Petrie employed in his survey. The best example of this was the Clóenfherta or sloping trenches (Figure 6.13).[90] The feature was a bowl-barrow with outer bank north-west of the Ráith na Ríg. The features were constructed on a sloping hillside, resulting in the eastern half of the feature seemingly falling down the hillside. The name of the feature 'the sloping trenches' came from pseudo-historical and mythological sources such as the *Senchas Már*.[91] The myth recounted that Lugaid mac Con, king of Tara, had made a false judgement violating the *fir flathemon* (the justice of a ruler). Cormac mac Airt had arrived at Tara and pronounced the true judgement, and thus Lugaid was forced to abdicate his throne, causing half of his house to fall.[92] This house was supposed to be the Clóenfherta, and the sloping nature of the feature was supposed to be evidence of the fall of Lugaid's house.[93] Thus we find the writer identifying the myth of the fall of Lugaid mac Con's house with the extant archaeological features of the Clóenfherta. The writers were attempting to interpret the archaeological landscape with which they were presented. In doing this, the compilers could be described as 'grounding' or materialising the myths and stories or chosen glories of Irish 'history' by identifying certain landscape features with specific myths and creating names which conveyed a sense of this myth.

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[88] See pages 164-6 of Chapter 4 of this thesis.
[89] Bhreathnach 1995b, 27. See Waddell 2005, 15-9. Also see pages 168-9 of Chapter 4 of this thesis.
[90] For a survey of the Clóenfherta see Newman 1997, 115-24.
[91] Binchy, D. A. 1975-76 'The Psuedo-Historical Prologue to the *Senchas Már*', *Studia Celtica* 10-11, 15-28.
[92] Ó Cathasaigh, T. 1977 *The Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt*, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
[93] Different accounts of such interpretation are found in the *Senchas Már* which suggested that Patrick had become angry with Lóegaire and caused an earthquake which resulted in a slant on the Hill of Tara. See Binchy 1975-76. Another account is found in the Norse *Konungs Skuggsjá* (1217-1263) which follows the account of a false judgement made by Lugaid mac Con. See Meyer, K. 1910 'The Irish *Mirabilia* in the Norse 'Speculum Regale'', *Ériu* 4, 1-16.

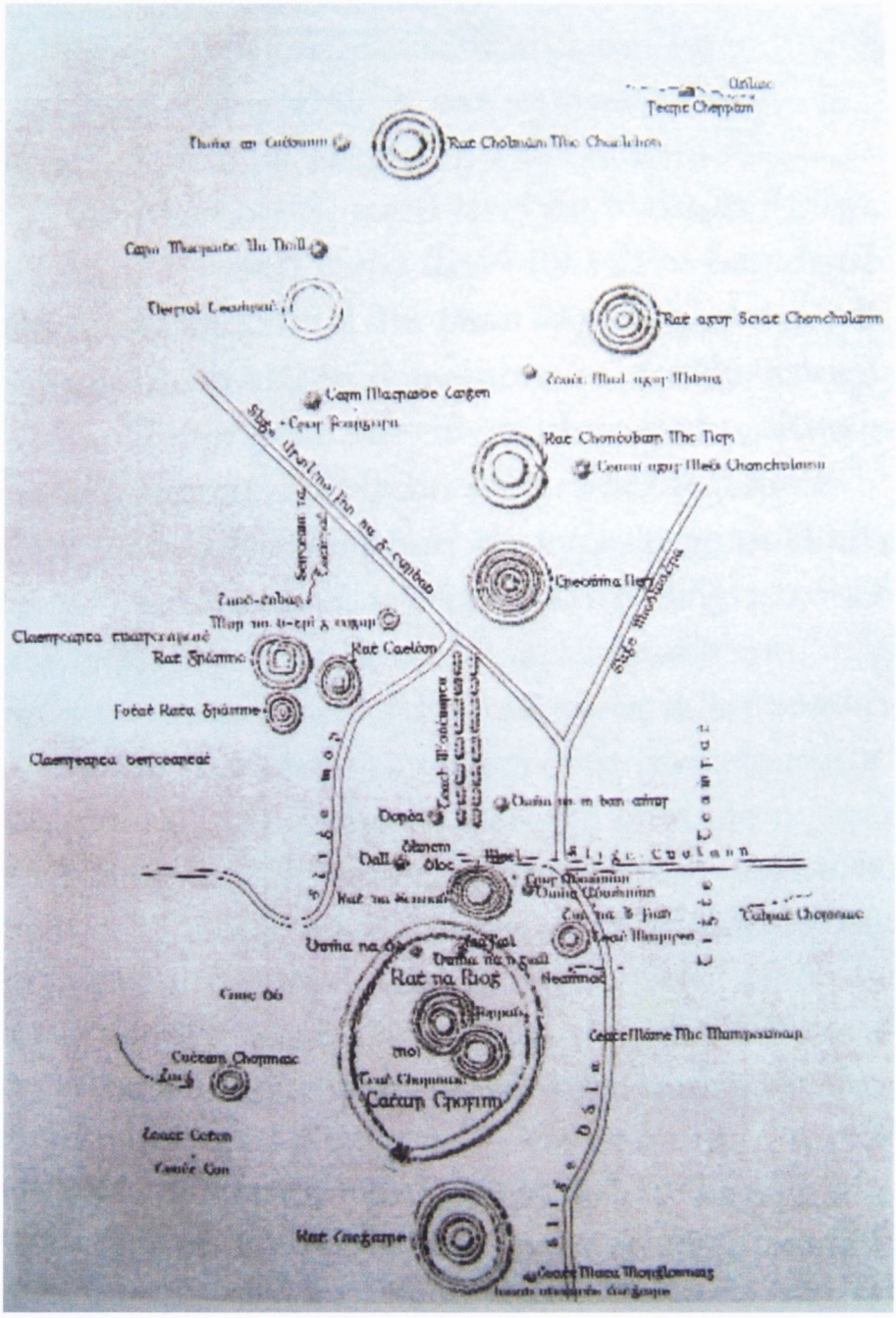


Figure 6.12 Map of the monuments on the Hill of Tara. Reconstructed from the accounts of the geography of Temair in the *Dindshenchas* by Petrie and O'Donovan in 1839. The identifications were still utilised by Newman for the contemporary names of the archaeological features on the hill. After Waddell 2005.



Figure 6.13 The Clóenfherta, western part of the Hill of Tara, Co. Meath. Series of barrows consisting of fosses and external banks.[94] After Newman 1997. Courtesy the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government. The largest or 'northern' is a ring-barrow (bottom of image) and measures 80m in diameter. The second largest or 'southern' is also a ring-barrow (top of image) and measures 57m in diameter. Detail in image is of a smaller bowl-barrow built into the larger 'northern' barrow, 20m in diameter. Newman dates the larger barrows to the Iron Age with tentative dates of the Bronze Age for the smaller barrow and a series of other mounds within this complex.

Petrie's use of the *Dindshenchas* in his survey produced a 'modern', rational map as a materialisation of the mythological interpretation of the landscape.[95] This materialisation still dominates much of the discourse surrounding Tara in that the names ascribed to monuments by Petrie are still in use today. Thus, the interpretations of the landscape of Tara in the *Dindshenchas* and *Lebor Gabála Érenn* still are an aspect of contemporary discourses of the landscape of Tara despite the volume of academic studies of the place. Petrie surveyed Tara in 1839. Rev. Denis Murphy and Thomas J. Westropp carried out another survey in 1894. The British Israelites excavated the Ráith na Senad

[94] There are series of other mounds and features in the complex of structures. For a full survey see Newman 1997, 115-24.

[95] Petrie's drawing of a modern map from the narrative description of the monuments on the Hill of Tara (Figure 6.12) is similar to the drawing of modern maps from Claudius Ptolemy's cartographic data (Figure 2.3)

from 1899-1902.[96] R. A. S. MacAlister carried out a study of the monuments in 1919. Seán Ó Ríordáin excavated the Ráith na Senad from 1953-1957, and upon his death, the excavation and report were completed by his colleague Ruari De Valera. D. L. Swan carried out an aerial photographic survey of the site in 1978.[97] From 1992 to 1997, the Discovery Programme and Conor Newman carried out a series of surveys and a one season excavation of Ráith na Senad in 1997. All of these surveys, excavations and studies have functioned under the identifications of the monuments of Tara in the *Dindshenchas*. Although the Discovery Programme's survey and resulting publication are an extremely successful use of geophysical survey techniques which yielded an unprecedented amount of data from the monuments at Tara, it is the parallel study of the bibliographic source material carried out by Bhreathnach in 1995 and 2005 which has allowed the archaeological survey to move away from the mythological identifications of the early medieval manuscripts. This is not the fault of the archaeologists or the Discovery Programme. Rather it is a testament to the impact that early antiquarian thought had on the social, cultural and archaeological imagination of Irish society.[98] Ó Ríordáin warned that the influence of the thought of early antiquarians such as Wilde and Petrie on the imagination of Irish society was largely unchecked: 'The speculation of the early antiquaries, being the first in the field, was widely accepted and was disseminated to people otherwise innocent of literary erudition'.[99] Considering this, the work of Conor Newman and Edel Bhreathnach to reform Irish imagination of Tara should be applauded for its mature, intellectual engagement with what are emotive and ideologically weighted landscapes and narratives.[100] They have begun the redaction of Irish society's view of a monument which is popularly accepted to be the focal point of Ireland and Irish cultural identity.

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[96] See Carew 2003.

[97] Swan, D. L. 1978 'The Hill of Tara, County Meath: The Evidence of Aerial Photography', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 108, 51-66.

[98] See Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 for a discussions of the impact of antiquarian societies on social imagination in Ireland. Also see Murray 2000 and Doherty 2004.

[99] Ó Ríordáin, S. P. 1966 *Antiquities of the Irish Countryside*, University Paperbacks, London, 24.

[100] See Bhreathnach, E. 2005a 'Introduction' in E. Bhreathnach (ed.) *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara*, Four Courts Press for The Discovery Programme, Dublin, ix-xvi.

How have we used Tara?: A Reflexive Approach

As has been discussed, Tara as both a place and an idea was imbued with social memory. It was a materialisation of idealisations of Irish history and identity. However, it was not only the medieval interpretations which have imbued Tara with social significance. As was discussed in the previous chapter, events of the early modern period also created a history of political activity at Tara.[101] A meeting took place at Tara before the rebellion of 1641, and a battle occurred on the Hill of Tara during the 1798 Rebellion of the United Irishmen.[102] The ideological importance of the United Irishmen battle at Tara is monumentalised on the hill where there is a stone lightly inscribed with 'R.I.P.' as a testament to those who fell in the battle (see Figures 6.2 and 6.10). The stone is considered by some to be the stone identified as the Lia Fáil in the *Dindshenchas*, but it apparently was moved to its present location from Duma na nGiall in 1824.[103] Whether or not the stone is in fact the Lia Fáil, the fact that the stone was identified as such and has been converted into a monument for the dead of the 1798 rebellion conflates the ideologies of the United Irishmen with the ideologies of the union of Ireland under the 'high kingship' of Ireland in the early medieval sources.

This quality of Irish society's shared identification with Tara has allowed many individuals and groups to utilise the popular sentiment associated with the site for their own agendas. The use of Tara as a symbol of the conversion of Ireland to Christianity has been discussed as has the role of Tara in the assertion of the Uí Néill 'high kingship'. So common was the use of Tara in these agendas, that the word 'Tara' could be seen as an epithet which was added to any story relating to an individual or group that wished to relate itself to Ireland or to authority within Ireland. 'It is virtually a literary cliché, a form of stock phrase'.[104] This is precisely the way in which O'Connell utilised Tara and Irish society's shared identifications with the place at his Monster Meeting on 15 August 1843. As was discussed in Chapter 5, setting his meeting of the Home Rule Movement at the 'seat of the high kings' capitalised on social conceptions of Irish unity and chosen glories of Irish 'high kingship'.[105] This influence was enhanced by the fact that O'Connell's

[101] See pages 221-6 of Chapter 5 of this thesis.
[102] Recorded in the 'Meath Depositions', see Breathnach 1995b, 29. For a discussion of the 1641 rebellion see Wheeler 2002. For a discsussion of the 1798 rebellion see Smyth 2000 and Packenham 2000.
[103] Ó Ríordáin 1966, 10. Newman 1997, 86.
[104] Bhreathnach 1996, 86.
[105] See pages 221-3 of Chapter 5 of this thesis.

movement was intended to gain equal representation and power for Irish Catholics.[106] Thus, O'Connell was attaching his political agenda to Irish society's shared identification with and the chosen glory of the St Patrick conversion myth set at Tara. O'Connell revived Tara as a protosymbol, indeed a protogeography, of Irish union, Irish authority and Irish Christian identity. Through the performative materialisation of his beliefs in the Monster Meeting, he solidified social bonds to the place of Tara and its mythological identity. It can be assumed that sections of the *Dindshenchas* as well as other sources such as the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* that relate to Tara were written in order to enhance claims of the Uí Néill to the 'high kingship' of Ireland. Following this assumption, O'Connell's invocation of this narrative of place during his 'Monster Meeting' on the Hill of Tara can be viewed as part of the same appropriation of mythical knowledge for the dictate of current political agendas by evoking popular sentiment and shared identifications to both the place of Tara and the narrative of Tara.

The sentiment revived and developed by O'Connell was again utilised during the ideological developments of the later 19th century. Because of the British Israelite excavation of the Ráith na Senad during 1899-1902, the protosymbol of Tara was revived by members of the Gaelic League such as Yeats and Maud Gonne who held demonstrations at Tara in opposition to the excavations.[107] The arguments against the excavation of the protosymbol of Tara allowed the Gaelic League to put forward concepts of Irish union and the sanctity of Irish identity. Particulary because the excavators were British, the arguments and movements of the Gaelic League carried weight in the developing Irish nationalist society.[108]

The political and ideological appropriation of Tara has continued into and through the 20th century. For example, Tara was invoked in less emotive political discourses regarding social housing by the Deputy Minister for Meath, Patrick Giles in Dublin on 19 March 1953 in Dáil Éireann:

> I want Dublin Castle blown sky-high and nothing put in its place. I want to see the Houses of Parliament here closed down and to have Houses of Parliament built in the country. I have a site for them; that is, the Hill of Tara. There is a great deal of

[106] See Jackson 2003.
[107] See pages 223-6 of Chapter 5 of this thesis.
[108] See Carew 2003.

> talk about tradition and the ancient laws of Irish kings. You have a chance now of reducing Dublin to its normal size. Take the Houses of Parliament out of here. The Taoiseach earmarked £5,000 for that a few years ago. Put the Houses of Parliament in Tara and carry on the Irish tradition. Bring the Civil Service and staffs of all types out of Dublin and then there will be plenty of room for the poor and those who need houses in Dublin. The Government keep building up huge staffs at huge expense and then they bring in the Vote on Account. What does it represent? Millions of pounds to build up Dublin. As you build up Dublin you are destroying Ireland. Take a hint and do what I ask you. Decentralise. Bring the Houses of Parliament to the place where they should be—to the place occupied by the ancient kings of Ireland. That place was chosen by the ancient kings because it was the cream of Ireland.[109]

All of these ideological uses of Tara contributed to the social role of Tara as a protogeography of Irish identity. It is a protogeography where there is no specific time, only sentiment. Thus to act within this protogeography is an interaction with emotional and psychological relationships with the landscape. This characterised the social reaction to perceived negative actions at Tara such as the excavations of the British Israelites. The physical interaction of the perceived others of the British Israelites with the place of Tara was perceived as bad and thus caused a societal regression, transforming the landscape of Tara into a ptorogeography of Irish large group identity. Thus, the Gaelic League and Maud Gonne in particular defended the place of Tara using ideological arguments and sentiments of Tara 'being' Ireland. In short, the mythical self of Ireland was conflated with the contemporary material which was perceived to be violated by the excavations. Thus, the sanctity of Tara was defended as an issue of national aspiration and identity. As has already been discussed, this was a common characteristic of Irish nationalistic thought, and it still dominates much of society's approach to the place of Tara today.[110]

What is Happening at Tara Today?

Currently we are faced with a new dilemma regarding Tara. Recent government decisions have resulted in the planning of a new motorway, the M3, which will run through

[109] Dáil Debates, vol. 137, c. 687-8, 18 March 1953.
[110] See Woodman, P. C. 1995 'Who Possesses Tara?' in P. J. Ucko (ed.) *Theory in Archaeology: A World Perspective*, Routledge, London, 278-97.

the valley between the Hill of Tara and the hill of Skryne (see Figure 6.14). Given the psychological importance of the protogeography of Tara, the route of the motorway is causing a great controversy in Irish society. As a result, a campaign group has been formed under the title of the 'Save Tara/Skryne Valley Campaign'. The organisation is headed by Vincent Salafia, head of the Brehon Law Project as well as political and legal head of the Carrickminders.[111] The primary issues being raised by the campaign are the conservation of the environment, preservation of the landscape and protection of the archaeology of the Hill of Tara and the surrounding land. Although these are admirable goals, the difficulty with their argument is the question where does the landscape or environment of Tara begin and end.

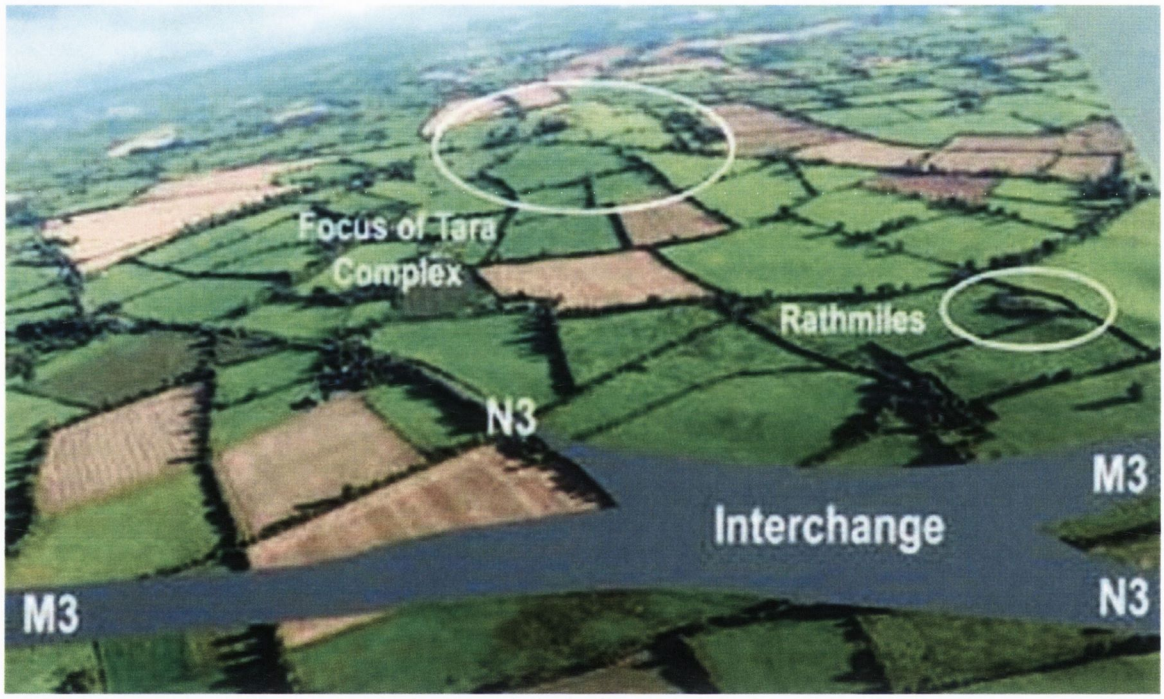


Figure 6.14 Aerial photograph of the Hill of Tara, Co. Meath, and its environs with a graphic representation of the route of the new M3 motorway and the proposed interchange with the existing N3. Courtesy of indymedia.ie.

In order to generate opposition to the construction of the motorway, the group has approached the concept of the landscape of Tara from multiple perspectives. Environmentally, the group utilised legal frameworks established by the European Commission's Environmental Impact Assessment Directive in order to call the

[111] See pages 235-49 of Chapter 5 of this thesis.

government's planning procedure into question.[112] They also associated themselves with the European Union's Network for the Implementation and Enforcement of Environmental Law in order to receive advice on the enforcement of European Union environmental legislation in Ireland and to encourage the Republic of Ireland's involvement in the Århus Convention of 1998. The Århus Convention calls for governments to involve citizens in environmental decisions and planning and educate them on the processes. These tactics were largely aimed at engaging Minister Dick Roche, Minister for the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, in order to have him review the environmental planning of the M3 motorway.

The campaign has also utilised ecology in order to defend the area of Tara. In particular, there was a movement to attempt to defend the landscape of Tara through the classification of its woodlands as 'ancient'.

> ... it would seem that there is a wooded area by Rath Grainne although I'm not sure there are any oaks there (and whether it could be classed as ancient woodland (NI forestry Service classify it as ancient woodland if it was "semi-natural woodland" on the ordinance [sic] survey map of 1830). There also would appear to be older oaks in the church area. ... Does anyone know if woodland by Rath Grainne is ancient or if the trees planted in the church yard are of ancient stock? Perhaps we could encourage one of the local farmers to start a tree nursery and help save another part of Irelands heritage![113]

> It would be nice to save an ancient woodland near Tara, (one may exist) and have one place that would be allowed to continue as Ireland's quintessential natural environment, which was, before the coming of man and his destruction, wildwood, from the sea almost to the tops of mountains.[114]

The strongest argument that the group has utilised, however, is the notion of an archaeological landscape. Two major tactics have been used by the group. In 2004, the

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[112] European Commission's Environmental Impact Assessment Directive, Resolution No. 2000/2036(INI), 16 January 2001.
[113] Email from Brian McCaul to Tara/Skryne Mail Group on 2 June 2005 titled 'RE: [Tara/Skryne] Re: Trees for Tara'. Author's personal archive.
[114] Email from sylvaticare to Tara/Skryne Mail Group on 28 May 2005 titled '[Tara/Skryne] Re: Trees for Tara'. Author's personal archive.

group petitioned Fumiko Ohinata from the United Nations Education Science and Culture Organisation who was coming to Ireland to inspect the potential threat of an incinerator the World Heritage Site of Brú na Bóinne to include a meeting with the Save Tara/Skryne Valley campaign. The argument used was that the Hill of Tara was only 15km from Brú na Bóinne and deserved similar consideration as that landscape. The group was successful in meeting Ohinata and commenced an application to have the landscape of Tara listed on the World Heritage List.[115] This process thus far has been unsuccessful. The second tactic was the defence of the landscape on the grounds that the monuments had been listed as 'national monuments' under the National Monuments legislation necessitating their preservation. The campaign argued that since Dúchas extended the zone of protection around the national monuments on the Hill of Tara to 6 kilometres in 1999 and that the planned motorway would invade that zone that the motorway should be moved.[116] However, since the dissolution of Dúchas, it has not been necessary to abide by this designation.[117]

In all of these approaches, the campaign has attempted to construct a notion of a 'national monumental landscape' of Tara which encompasses the monuments, the associated ecology and the broader environment which should broadly be preserved. This generalised conception of a 'national' archaeological landscape of Tara has been largely supported by current theoretical developments in archaeology. On 23 February 2004, a letter from a number of academics predominantly based in Ireland was published in *The Irish* Times:

> The Hill of Skryne, containing the 12th-century Skryne Castle, is also a national monument and an early religious and ritual centre. Both Tara and Skryne are part of the same cultural and natural landscape of The Boyne Valley and cannot be separated from the River Boyne, or from each other.[118]

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[115] McDonald, F. 2004 'UNESCO Extends Boyne Visit to Meet Hill of Tara Protesters', *Irish Times*, 16 February.
[116] Allason-Jones *et al.* 2004 'Plans for Motorway at the Hill of Tara- Letter to the Editor', *The Irish Times*, 5 April.
[117] An Taisce 2003b (Electronic Resource). Anon. 2003 'End of Dúchas' (News Resource).
[118] Bhreathnach *et al.* 2004 'Hill of Tara and M3 Motorway – Letter to the Editor', *Irish Times*, 23 February. See Appendix 3, Document 1 for a list of signatories.

On 4 April 2004, a similar letter from a number of prominent international archaeologists and academics was published in *The Irish Times*:

> In the comparatively short stretch between Dunshaughlin and Kilcarn Bridge (about 14.5km) no fewer than 26 areas of archaeological significance have been identified using geophysics. Once the top soil is stripped away further monuments may be discovered. All these will be destroyed by the projected motorway.
>
> Tara is a virtually intact archaeological landscape of monuments with the Hill at the centre. The Skryne side of the projected motorway is part and parcel of this complex. Driving a four-lane motorway through the valley will destroy the integrity of this ancient landscape forever.
>
> Archaeological evidence and historical sources tell us that this landscape is one of prime cultural importance in the history of the Irish nation.[119]

A series of quotations were also published in the *Sunday Tribune* on 24 October 2004 from academics which reveal some of the major themes of the campaign's argument:

> Archaeological sites are seldom defined by their boundary earthworks. Their significance instead lies in their context, their relationship with other sites in their landscape environment... Carving a motorway through such a landscape is an act of cultural vandalism as flagrant as ripping a knife through a Rembrandt painting.
>
> Prof. Dennis Harding, University of Edinburgh
>
> Historic landscapes have as much value as historic sites these days. Modern archaeological research is demonstrating that, in many countries, prehistoric and early historic monuments were not isolated ritual places, but were linked with the others in a kind of tapestry of landscape. The landscape thus carries a message from the past...
>
> Prof. Martin Carver, University of York

[119] Allason-Jones *et al.* 2004 (Newspaper Resource). See Appendix 3, Document 2 for a list of signatories.

> The landscape surrounding Tara is equally important. In the first archaeological report submitted to the contractors, it was written: 'The monuments around Tara cannot be viewed in isolation, or as individual sites, but must be seen in the context of an intact archaeological landscape, which should not under any circumstances be disturbed.
>
> Jane C. Walbaum, President of the Archaeological Institute of America
>
> The area surrounding contains a range of visible monuments including prehistoric burial mounds as well as other significant sites. It is crucial that the culturally rich landscape is avoided at all costs.
>
> Prof. George Eogan, University College Dublin
>
> Tara and its environs form one of the most significant ancient landscapes in Europe. It provides one of the most revealing examples of how important historical and legendary information can be integrated with archaeological data to reveal a past world view or cosmology.
>
> Dr. Stephen T. Driscoll, University of Glasgow
>
> It is vital that it be protected, and this entails protecting its broad landscape setting. In the past, Irish political leaders, such as Daniel O'Connell, appreciated the power and importance of Tara. It now appears that our modern leaders are hesitating to acknowledge the value of this sacred landscape to the people of Ireland.
>
> John Sheehan, University College Cork[120]

The assertions put forward in these quotations range from allusions to artworks, ritual spaces, sacred spaces, cultural spaces and archaeological landscapes. The invocation of the 'Monster Meeting' of O'Connell on the Hill of Tara by Sheehan is noteworthy for its utilisation of O'Connell's campaign as a chosen glory to be commemorated at the hill in order to appreciate its sacredness. What unites all of these quotations is an essential appreciation of the need to situate the monuments on the Hill of Tara with a contextual landscape consisting of cultural, environmental, archaeological and narrative aspects. This understanding of landscape at Tara is not limited to contemporary society and academics. In an letter from John O'Donovan to George Petrie on 2 January 1839 regarding Petrie's

[120] Anon. 2004 'Ripping a knife through a Rembrandt', *Sunday Tribune*, 24 October.

survey of the Hill of Tara, O'Donovan made the suggestion that: 'I think your description of the hill itself is too meagre, and that you might make some allusion to the rich plain in which it is situated'.[121]

Although this is an appropriate academic approach to contextualising the archaeological significance of the monuments on the Hill of Tara, it is difficult to apply in the pragmatic situation of development planning. The concept of an archaeological landscape is subjective and often explored through phenomenological approaches.[122] For a government planner, it is difficult to create a document which defines clearly where an archaeological landscape begins and ends and how to facilitate the subjectivity of landscape within this expression. Although progressive developments have occurred in the technique of Historic Landscape Characterisation in the United Kingdom, this approach has only been tentatively adopted by a few county councils in the Republic of Ireland.[123] The strength of Fairclough's theory of Historic Landscape Characterisation is that it attempts to document the landscape as a product of human agency as it exists today while appreciating the dynamic and changing nature of the landscape and necessity of continued human agency through development.[124] Thus, Fairclough's methods inherently appreciate the importance of preservation and conservation of aspects of the landscape as artefacts of human agency but ultimately attempt to provide developers and planners with accurate data to facilitate their work. The difficulty of the current campaign to save the Tara/Skryne Valley is that it focuses primarily on preservation and lacks a pragmatic appreciation of the inherent relationship between heritage, archaeology and development as different aspects of human agency. This has led to a stance which favours preservation over pragmatic excavation and acceptance of landscape change.

Campaigners and Salafia, in particular, have broadly called for the preservation of the landscape so that it may be excavated; however, the attempt to preserve an archaeological site through excavation is a paradox.

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[121] John O'Donovan to George Petrie 2 January 1839, NLI MS 792, Letter 405.
[122] See Tilley 1994; 2004.
[123] The Discovery Programme conducted a Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) survey of Co. Laois, Co. Offaly and Co. Westmeath as part of the Heritage Council's Dowris Project under the European Union's Pathways to the Cultural Landscape Project in 2003 (see Figures 4.6-7). HLC Surveys have been undertaken of Co. Meath by Gabriel Cooney of University College Dublin. A HLC survey was produced of Co. Clare by ERM Cunsultancy Group. Currently a HLC survey of Co. Derry is being planned Anthony Corns of the Discovery Programme.
[124] See Fairclough 1999. Also see Clark *et al.* 2003. Also see pages 163-7 of Chapter 4.

> Let us be clear: excavation is destruction, not 'preservation' in the true sense. Moreover, serious questions have now been raised in the Dáil as to the standard of 'preservation by record', with over 1,500 excavation reports currently missing. Every effort should be made to preserve national monuments in situ, according to stated Government policy, as well as the Council of Europe's Valetta Convention (The European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage), to which Ireland is a signatory.[125]

Such a stance against excavation in favour of preservation impedes archaeological research as occurred at Carrickmines.[126] Also, it plays into the 'anti-road' political agendas. The anti-development campaigns of Salafia have sought to present the necessity of preservation as a means to promote heritage and archaeological research; however, this overlooks that much archaeological discovery in human history has been a result of development such as the Wood Quay site in Dublin of the Woodstown site in Co. Waterford.[127] The campaigns use of archaeology has not appreciated the practical relationship between archaeological research or excavation with the government and developers. Rather, the campaign invokes archaeological potential in order to arouse the sentiments of a shared identification with the suitable reservoir of the Hill of Tara and the monuments on the hill to generate political support for their opposition platform.

The ideological appropriation of the site of Tara is best illustrated through the 'national' rhetoric in the group's public addresses. In the first press release by the Carrickminders to announce the beginning of their campaign to save Tara, Salafia said:

> The Hill of Tara is THE National Monument of Ireland and it must be respected. Carrickminders are taking legal advice to determine if the proposed route violates the National Monuments Act (1994), by passing close to the Hill of Tara, and destroying at least 141 associated sites.[128]

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[125] Bhreathnach *et al.* 2004 (Newspaper Resource). See Appendix 3, Document 1.
[126] See pages 235-49 of Chapter 5 of this thesis.
[127] See pages 226-35 of Chapter 5 of this thesis. Also see Reid 2004 (News Resource).
[128] Press Release from Vincent Salafia in the Carrickmines Mail Group dated 1 September 2003, titled 'Tara Gathering this Weekend to Address M3 Motorway Plan'. Author's personal archive. Capital letters are original. See Appendix 2, Document 3 for the full text of this press release.

Equally prominent is the use of emotive discourses within the campaign's rhetoric.

> The Hill of Tara constitutes the heart and soul of Ireland. Our ceremonial and mythical capital, its very name invokes the spirit and mystique of our people, and is instantly recognisable worldwide.[129]

These sentiments carry on the 'medieval screen' which was discussed by Bhreathnach. Salafia's and the campaign's assertion of the integral importance of Tara to Irish national identity continues the process of the 'detailed topographical texts [which] ensured that Tara would be regarded from the late tenth or early eleventh century as the monument of kings, great heroes and gods – the greatest monument in Ireland'.[130]

Given that Salafia's political leadership began with the Carrickminders and has overlapped with his leadership of the Save Tara/Skryne Valley Campaign, the political dimension of the use of Tara cannot go unnoticed. In August 2003, Salafia utilised the Carrickminders media visibility as a way of publicising the beginning of the campaign not to 'save Tara' but to stop the Tara motorway.[131] Salafia utilised control of the Carrickminders to exploit the political potential of the Carrickmines site in order to create a position of leadership of a broad-based action group opposing government planning policy. In October 2002 at the Carrickmines Forum at Trinity College Dublin, a debate arose over whether or not to continue to appear as the 'Carrickminders' or whether a new political group should be formed. However, given that a year later in 2003, headlines were published with the 'Carrickminders launch bid to halt Tara motorway' illustrates the broader political dimension of Salafia's platform. Salafia was open about this political tactic in an email to the Carrickmines Mail Group on 1 September 2003:

> Using our experience at Carrickmines, we hope to facilitate and re-focus the efforts of the many diverse groups and individuals who are concerned with the situation at

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[129] Anon. 2005 'Save Tara: Tara Needs You', tara-skryne.org <http://www.tara-skryne.org> [Accessed 17 June 2005].
[130] Bhreathnach 1996, 85.
[131] Rice, E. & M. Clifford 2003 'Carrickminders Launch Bid to Halt Tara Motorway', *Sunday Tribune*, 31 August.

> Tara, such as the hundreds who made submissions, as part of the Environmental Impact Study (EIS) for the motorway.[132]

Other heritage preservation campaigns, launched and supported by Salafia, by the Carrickminders and later Save Tara/Skryne Valley campaign include the campaign to save the round tower in Clondalkin, Dublin which 'the locals say ... is [a] national treasure, rivalling Glendalough in its importance, which must be preserved'.[133] Another campaign which Salafia has collaborated with greatly is The Save Viking Waterford Action Group which is campaigning for the full excavation of the site of Woodstown, Co. Waterford.[134] The site, which has yielded the only Viking longphort in Western Europe, is threatened by the construction of the Waterford bypass. As discussed in Chapter 5, the ideological impact of the significance of the finds from the Woodstown site resulted in a reconception of the landscape of Waterford city, and the popular support and interest in the site has led to a more amicable and successful compromise regarding the preservation of the site. What these examples illustrate is that Salafia's political campaign is broad-based and is designed to relate to all of the landscape of Ireland and reach all sectors of society in Ireland. His interests are not site specific but are general and political. However, he utilises specific sites in order to generate political issues which he then professes to champion through separate political organisations developed in response to individual threats to sites.

This became even more evident when we consider that the Save Tara March which occurred on 27 November 2004 began at the Garden of Remembrance (a popular place for the beginning of many protest marches) off Parnell Square and completed with a series of speeches and performances on the steps of the Dublin Civic Offices at Wood Quay (see Figure 6.15). Salafia's press release on the march on 14 November 2004 stated:

> Parnell Square is particularly symbolic because of Parnell's famous 'monster meeting' at the Hill of Tara in the nineteenth century. Wood Quay is even more significant since it was here that Viking remains were discovered in the late 1970's and a campaign was waged against the construction of the Dublin Civic Offices on

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[132] Email from Vincent Salafia in the Carrickmines Mail Group dated 1 September 2003, titled 'Tara Gathering' This Weekend to Address M3 Motorway Plan. Author's personal archive.
[133] Email from Vincent Salafia in the Tara/Skryne Mail Group dated 20 June 2004, titled '[Tara/Skryne] Heritage Campaigners Protest at Round Tower Clondalkin'. Author's personal archive. Also see http://www.rallyroundthetower.ie.
[134] Nolan, N. 2005 'Full Excavation of Viking Site "Essential"', *Irish Examiner*, 5 January.

top of the site. Ironically, the National Monument's Act was amended to prevent a repeat of such an act of desecration.[135]

Although he misidentified the figure of Parnell with the 'Monster Meeting' of 1843 held on the Hill of Tara actually organised by Daniel O'Connell, this quotation illustrated that Salafia wished to identify his political campaign with O'Connell's political career, the Wood Quay campaign and indeed the political ambitions of Parnell. At the end of the march, a series of speeches were given on the steps of the Dublin Civic Offices which continually invoked the political symbol of Wood Quay. Aengus Ó Snodaigh, T.D. (Sinn Féin) commemorated the protests at Wood Quay. Ciarán Cuffe, T.D. (Green) stated:

> You are welcome back to a place where many years ago a stand was made to save Wood Quay. The archaeology of Wood Quay was not saved, but there was a change in attitude towards Ireland's heritage. We need a similar change today. We're here because one of Ireland's most sacred sites is under threat. ... We're here because we value the past. ... Will there be any sacred space left in Ireland once the bulldozers are gone?[136]



Figure 6.15 Protestors gathered at the steps of the Dublin Civic Offices at Wood Quay, Dublin for speeches following the Save Tara March, 27 November 2004. Courtesy Indymedia.ie. Compare to the similar propaganda move made by the Carrickminders to 'wheelbarrow' their evidence across Wood Quay on the way to the Four Courts (see Figure 5.16). Also compare the numbers in attendance of these two events with the 'Viking March' to save Wood Quay in 1978 (see Figure 5.6-7).

[135] Salafia, V. 2004 'Press Release', Save Tara/Skryne Valley Campaign, 14 November. See Appendix 2, Document 6 for the full text of this press release.
[136] Public Address made at the 'Tara March' on 27 November 2004. Recording available in author's personal archive. See Appendix 4 and the CD supplement for a full recording of the speeches made.

Musician Pete St. John described Wood Quay as the location 'where they built this place on top of the Irish and Viking heroes'.[137] Finally, Muireann Ní Bhrolcháin from the Department of Medieval Irish Studies, NUI Maynooth stated:

> We are standing on the site of Viking Dublin which was under attack 23 years ago. ... This is not the British anymore. They wouldn't do this. No body else would dream of driving a road through the sacred and cultural heart of Ireland. ... Tara is 6,000 years old, and we do not have the right to destroy 6,000 years of archaeology and our culture. The protesters protesting here in the 1970s were right. The protesters against Woodstown are right, and it will be shown in the future that we are right to be here.[138]

That twice Salafia's political campaign has set itself on the stage of the chosen trauma of the failed protests to save the archaeological site at Wood Quay illustrates his attempt to connect his political platform to the narrative of shared identifications to the site of Wood Quay and its relationship to Irish large group identity.[139]

It is quite obvious why he is picking Tara to defend so vehemently. The site presents a rich network of cultural associations to be exploited for political purposes. Tara is a successful setting because of popular concern regarding a group identity associated with the narratives of the place and, for Salafia, the landscape of Tara. Daniel O'Connell realised this when he organised his 'Monster Meeting' on Tara in 1843. This is the same political methodology Salafia is utilising in his campaign. His invocation of the 'Monster Meetings' in the 'Tara March' press release makes this evident. Salafia's has used society's shared identifications with conceptions of heritage and archaeology in order to associate his political platform with Irish large group identity. The extent of his aspirations, as discussed in Chapter 5, were revealed when he attempted to contest the Presidency in September 2005.[140]

The legal case brought by Salafia against the State, Meath County Council and National Roads Authority in the High Court was concluded on 6 March 2006. Salafia's

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[137] ibid.
[138] ibid.
[139] For a discussion of Salafia's use of Wood Quay in the Carrickmines campaign see page 241 of Chapter 5 of this thesis.
[140] See pages 245-7 of Chapter 5 of this thesis.

case focused on the definition of a national monument in the National Monuments legislation and on the unconstitutionality of the amendments to the National Monuments Act (2004). Salafia lost the case as Justice Thomas Smyth saw no evidence for the unconstitutionality of the amendments to the National Monuments Act (2004). The Justice also ruled that the archaeological sites in question in Salafia's case were not National Monuments under the National Monuments legislation. Thus the sites did not require the same legal protection, and the planning process approached the situation correctly. Justice Smyth also cited the fact that Salafia's appeal was 'late in the day' and could, therefore, have appealed the planning process at anytime since the late 1990s.[141] Justice Smyth also ruled that Salafia had deliberately delayed his case, and that his case was largely a personal objection to the M3 route rather than a professional case. On this judgement, when Salafia requested that his legal costs be covered by the State, Justice Smyth ruled rather that Salafia was liable for an excess of €600,000 in legal costs incurred by the State, Meath County Council and the National Roads Authority for his failed case.[142] Salafia intends to appeal his case as well as the legal costs in the Supreme Court. That Salafia is overlooking the pragmatic and positive relationship between development and archaeological research is evident in his statement after this latest ruling. Although professional archaeological excavations are underway, Salafia has stated that his appeal will go forward as long as 'the Irish people's greatest treasures continue to be pilfered'.[143]

The Implications for the Narrative of Tara

The preservation movement for the Hill of Tara has overwhelmingly asserted the threat to cultural and spiritual identity as motivation for the campaign. The campaign is correct to highlight the impending threat to contemporary environmental, ecological and residential conditions in the area of the Hill of Tara. However, the development also necessitates large scale archaeological excavation, although perhaps in a time frame that may not lend itself to careful and thorough study of the archaeological landscape around the Hill of Tara. Such development schemes do create the opportunity and the funding for excavation and research. Thus, perhaps it is in the best interest of the archaeological

[141] See Anon. 2006 'Court Rejects M3 Injunction Bid', rte.ie <http://www.rte.ie/news/2006/0301/tara.html> [Accessed 7 Mar 2006].
[142] See Carolan, M. 2006 'Hill of Tara Case Costs Awarded against Objector', *The Irish Times*, 16 March.
[143] ibid.

narrative of Tara to engage with the planners and the government to create a mature and considered approach to the situation. By simply opposing the government on the issue of the M50 and Carrickmines Castle and again on the issue of the M3 and Tara, Salafia has abused the reputation of the heritage industry, heritage professionals and bodies such as An Taisce, the Heritage Council and Dúchas. The result of this political action has been the rewriting of the National Monuments legislation and the dissolution of Dúchas.[144] A more productive engagement with the government as an act of crisis management rather than staunch opposition may lead to more productive archaeological research and improved relations between the heritage and archaeological sector and the government.

Perhaps the biggest issue in such a situation is how such excavations and research should be conducted. Petrie noted at the onset of his survey of the monuments on the Hill of Tara that it would be a 'great national work'.[145] Tara was conceived of as a landscape which provided the setting for many of the mythological narratives and national narratives of Irish large group identity. Ó Ríordáin made clear that what was so significant about the remains at Tara was that they were one of the few places that can be identified with certainty based on the literary accounts of the *Dindshenchas* and *Lebor Gabála Érenn.* Therefore, Tara is a site of inspiration and interpretation, and thus, the remains of the landscape as the medium of that inspiration are significant and important to the narrative of Irish identities. But the question that begs itself is whether or not this significance can be ascertained through excavation. Given the significance of the site, it is perhaps surprising that so little of the site has been excavated.

Rather, it seems that the significance of the site of Tara is not in the ground. It is in the very fabric of Irish historical identity. Its prominence on the landscape of Ireland and in the history and traditions of Ireland demanded interpretation, as they equally do today. This is the starting point of the Discovery Programme's ongoing interdisciplinary study of the site including surveying, historical research and minor excavation.[146] Perhaps what is needed is, as Foucault put it, an archaeology of knowledge or what Freud called an archaeology of the mind to unravel the complex tapestry that is the narrative of Tara, both the archaeological narrative and the historical narrative.[147]

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[144] See page 249 of Chapter 5 of this thesis.
[145] Petrie 1839, 1.
[146] See Bhreathnach 2005a.
[147] See Freud 1964 and Foucault, M. 1972 *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Routledge, London.

In Freudian terms, to excavate Tara would be to excavate the group identity of Irish society, exhuming emotions and sentiments of identity and revealing fragments of the past and of contemporary social consciousness. The excavation of strata of deposits at Tara would metaphorically become an exploration of the levels of the construction of modern Irish identity. To recall Petrie's quotation on this issue, 'collecting all the matter relating to the history of Tara ... would in fact be nothing less than a history of Ireland'.[148] The performative materialisation of an excavation at Tara would become something of a 'national' excavation. It would add new shared identifications for society to the tradition of activity on the hill relevant to national and cultural identity. It could yield new artefacts which could form new suitable reservoirs of Irish 'national' or 'modern' or 'cultural' identity. Indeed, the 'violence' of the destructive act of excavation could provoke an ideological regression in Irish social discourse, resulting in the invocation of chosen glories and chosen traumas of the events which have occurred on the hill which were in themselves based on an idealised interpretation of those monuments. This has been evident in the recent political discourses surrounding the hill. However, this potential regression should be engaged with through an appreciation of the multiple narrative voices associated with the construction of the story of Tara. From oral traditions to Medieval compilers to Keating to Petrie to the British Israelites to the Gaelic League to Macalister to Ó Ríordáin to De Valera to the Discovery Programme, there has been a narrative of archaeological voices from scholars, excavators, antiquarians, politicians and others. It has been the performative materialisations of these voices in action and text that has yielded a protogeography of Irish large group identity in the meta-physical landscape known simply as 'Tara'.

[148] Petrie 1839, 5.

Chapter 7: Conclusion: Archaeology and Identity in Ireland: Beyond Modernity

Archaeology in Ireland has been, since its inception as a modern discipline, unapologetically material and process driven. In archaeological terminology, the discipline has been fundamentally processual.[1] The desire to excavate and record the volumes of material that are being produced through the development efforts of the 20th century and which continue today has caused archaeological theory in Ireland to suffer under the expectation of the discipline to provide the social service of 'documenting' and 'preserving' the material past.[2] As a result, the discipline in Ireland has not been able to move far away from its original social role as the 'discoverer' of physical evidence of previous human agency.[3] In many ways, the discipline has become 'entrenched' in its own materiality. Thus, archaeologists in Ireland have been unable to devote much time to forging new ways of understanding what archaeology is and what it does in society.[4] Therefore, little work has been done to confront the use of archaeology in the manufacture of apologetics for and materialisations of modern identities and ideologies. This has caused archaeology in Ireland to be exploited through the increasing emphasis put upon political and economic issues in Irish society over the 20th century. The appreciation of archaeology as a tradition of dynamic expressions of understandings of existence and temporality has been sacrificed to fulfil the charge of public and political policy regarding heritage and other economic industries, such as tourism.[5]

This thesis has situated the development of modern archaeological practice and social perceptions of the endeavour of archaeology within the psycho-social relationships of modern Irish society. In doing this, applied-psychoanalytic research has been utilised to

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[1] For a discussion of archaeological theory in Ireland see Cooney, G. 1995 'Theory and Practice in Irish Archaeology' in P. J. Ucko (ed.) *Theory in Archaeology: A World Perspective*, Routledge, London, 263-77. For a discussion of archaeological practice in Ireland over the second half of the 20th century see Eogan, G. 2002 'Archaeology in Ireland during the Last 50 Years: An Outline', *Antiquity* 76, 475-84. For a discussion of contemporary archaeological practice in Ireland see Malone, C. 2002 'Archaeology in Ireland', *Antiquity* 76, 472-4.

[2] See Rourke 2004 (News Resource).

[3] See Fenwick, J. (ed.) 2003 *Lost and Found: Discovering Ireland's Past*, Wordwell Books, Bray.

[4] See Cooney 1995; 1996; Cooney, G. 2001 'Bringing Contemporary Baggage to Neolithic Landscapes' in B. Bender & M. Winter (eds.) *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, Berg, Oxford, 165-80.; Ronayne, M. 2001 'The Political Economy of Landscape: Conflict and Value in a Prehistoric Landscape in the Republic of Ireland – Ways of Telling' in B. Bender & M. Winter (eds.) *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, Berg, Oxford, 149-64.; O'Keeffe 2001 for examples of archaeological theory being developed by archaeologists working in Ireland.

[5] See Russell, I. (ed.) 2006b Images, Representations and Heritage: Moving beyond Modern Approaches to Archaeology, Springer-Kluwer, New York.

develop new ways of understanding society's relationship with archaeology and archaeological material. In Chapter 2, the conflation of beliefs of a singular place called Ireland and a single people who were Irish was discussed as these concepts are fundamental to the development of notions of Irish ethnic identity which archaeology would later play a part in materialising. In Chapter 3, a selection of objects which were the result of archaeological process were discussed to illustrate how their discovery facilitated the establishment of new narratives of Irish ethnic identity and how subsequent modern technological developments such as mass production facilitated the marketing and dissemination of material totems of Irish identity. In Chapter 4, the role of objects within social dynamics was broadened to consider the role of concepts of landscapes in the manifestation of Irish large group identity. Social conceptions of the modern Irish landscape and its archaeological aspects function as materialisations of conflated beliefs of place and people. Similarly with smaller portable objects, these landscape concepts were commodified through a number of media and disseminated at large as idealisations of both the land and the people and the lifestyle of Ireland. In Chapter 5, modern and contemporary human social action was situated within these psycho-social relationships with objects, landscapes and narratives of archaeology and their relative ideologies. The use of archaeological sites as locations for social and political action illustrated the ideological importance of them to the facilitation of Irish identity discourses. This situation has continued where archaeological sites have become the staging grounds for debates over contemporary government development policies and debates over the nature of Irish social identities. This has put the discipline of archaeology at risk by appropriating emotional interest in archaeology in order to develop political support for particular party platforms. The result has been the subjugation of archaeology to the whims of political discourse and the stagnation of the development of new ideologies regarding what archaeology 'is' or 'does'. Finally, in Chapter 6, the Hill of Tara was taken as a case study in order to explore the theoretical models developed in the first five chapters of the thesis. In this chapter, a review of the impact of modernity on both archaeology and on society in Ireland will be made. This is intended to situate this conclusion within a reflexive critique of modern social, political and philosophical traditions. This will lead into an exploration of the nature of the current theoretical issues facing archaeology in Ireland. A few key areas for development of theoretically informed modes of practice will be suggested, such as in the museum and heritage sector.

Archaeology, Materiality and Modernity: A Review

The recent book by Thomas *Archaeology and Modernity* highlighted that archaeology as a scientific process was born of modern thought and relied on modern theoretical and technological developments.[6] One such early development was the concept of stratigraphy which allowed the correlation of linear temporal periods with sedimented layers of earth.[7] Archaeological process was developed as an endeavour which could expose evidence of previous human agency through the vertical excavation of deeper and deeper strata of deposits of human activity (see Figure 1.16).[8] This theoretical concept was used in archaeological theory to facilitate a 'depth metaphor' for exercises of self-exploration and understanding.[9] As noted previously, this metaphor was also utilised by founders of other modern disciplines such as Freud in his development of psychoanalysis.[10] Freud utilised this 'depth metaphor' in order to illustrate the investigations of the psychoanalyst into the unconscious of the patient.[11] In this metaphor he likened the archaeologist's excavation for artefacts as a search for 'remains found in the debris', comparing it to the psychoanalyst's search for 'fragments of memories' in treatment. Freud believed that 'the two processes [were] in fact identical'.[12] In Freud's metaphorical analogy of the processes of psychoanalysis and archaeology, the symptomatic relationship between modern disciplines founded upon desires of discovery and recovery can be seen. If archaeology is viewed as a symptom of modernity, then the use of archaeology within other modern discourses such as national self-determination can help us understand the social behaviour that surrounds the human desire for archaeological knowledge.

In this relationship between modern disciplines, there is a conceptualisation of the archaeological endeavour as a sifting through the detritus of societies upon societies – an endeavour which 'found' objects of the past in the revelatory process of excavation.[13] This

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[6] See Thomas 2004.
[7] See page 41 of Chapter 1 of this thesis. Also see Schoch 1989.
[8] See pages 39-41 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.
[9] ibid.
[10] See pages 41 of Chapter 1 and pages 209-12 of Chapter 4 for discussions of Freud's use of the modern 'depth metaphor' in relation to archaeological understanding.
[11] In psychoanalytic literature, the term 'analysand' is used for the individual who is the subject of psychoanalysis or psychoanalytic treatment.
[12] Freud 1964, 259-60. Also see pages 2-7 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.
[13] For a discussion of 'finding' the 'lost' past in Ireland see Fenwick 2003.

revelation of the material culture of previous societies fascinated 19th century and early 20th century society and still captures the imagination of society today.[14] The process of excavation still causes the horizontal strata of deposits to be equated with the vertical divisions of linear time.[15] This gives the perception that objects are of a certain time – and are evidence of human agency at that time. This is one of the reasons why society is drawn to archaeology and heritage in general. By 'rooting' modern social ideologies and identities in observable material objects, archaeology and heritage act as coping mechanisms for the modern and post-modern existential crisis – facilitating group cohesion and the establishment of social narratives of identity.[16]

The Power of the Past in Social Discourse

The use of representations of concepts of the past in order to encourage the establishment of new national cultural identities is evident in many modern groups other than those in Ireland.[17] Many great 'freedom fighters' and 'liberators' have used such rhetoric to support their claims. For example, Nelson Mandela in his *Long Walk to Freedom* recounted some of the inspiration for his revolutionary campaigns against the post- British white upperclass in South Africa and his call for a pan African nationalism:

> I spent the whole morning of my first day in Cairo at the museum, looking at art, examining artefacts, making notes, learning about the type of men who founded the ancient civilizations of the Nile valley. This was not amateur archaeological interest; it is important for African nationalists to be armed with evidence to refute the fictitious claims of whites that Africans are without a civilised past that compares with that of the West. In a single morning, I discovered that Egyptians were creating great works of art and architecture when whites were still living in caves.[18]

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[14] ibid. See McEwan 1997. Fenwick 2003.
[15] See Lucas 2005.
[16] See Russell 2006a.
[17] For a discussion of dimilar trends in other European national traditions see Kohl & Fawcett 1995. or Díaz-Andreu & Champion 1996.
[18] Mandela, N. 1995 *Long Walk to Freedom*, Abacus, London, 175.

The intentions of Mandela in this passage may have been honourable, but the racist nature of this quotation cannot go unnoticed. Mandela utilised chosen glories of 'African' prehistory to promote an African national identity while racialising and 'othering' individuals who were Caucasian. The chosen glory of Egyptian archaeology was juxtaposed with the declaration of the primitivistic and inferior culture of what he described as 'whites' in order to bolster pride in African large group identity. The nationalistic potential of such rhetoric is also very evident. For example, while imprisoned from 1942-1946 for his involvement in the Quit India movement, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), the first prime minister of India, wrote *The Discovery of India* (1946). In it he described some of his inspiration for his political campaigns against the British colonial regime in India:

> These journeys and visits of mine, with the background of my reading, gave me an insight into the past. To a somewhat bare intellectual understanding was added an emotional appreciation, and gradually a sense of reality began to creep into my mental picture of India, and the land of my forefathers became peopled with living bodies, who laughed and wept, loved and suffered; and among them were men who seemed to know life, understand it, and out of their wisdom they had built a structure which gave India a cultural stability which lasted for thousands of years.[19]

Again, the intentions of Nehru in writing this passage can be said to have been honourable. However, the nationalistic nature of his argument must be noted. The rhetoric of these quotations was very similar to that of Eamon De Valera. In an open letter in to President Wilson of the United States of America in 1920, he wrote:

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[19] Nehru, J. 1985 [1946] *The Discovery of India*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 51-2. It is interesting to compare this quotation with De Valera's famous 1943 St. Patrick's Day (17 March) broadcast discussed on page 13 of Chapter 1 of this thesis. In it he romantically recalled the 'dream' of those that fought for the establishment of the Irish nation, and De Valera's sentiments are very similar to that of Nehru: 'That Ireland which we dreamed of would be the home of a people who valued material wealth only as the basis of right living, of a people who were satisfied with frugal comfort and devoted their leisure to the things of the spirit – a land whose countryside would be bright with cosy homesteads, whose fields and villages would be joyous with the sounds of industry, with the romping of sturdy children, the contests of athletic youths and the laughter of comely maidens, whose firesides would be forums for the wisdom of serene old age. It would, in a word, be the home of a people living the life that God desires that man should live'. See De Valera 1980, 466. This speech was penned by Maurice Moynihan as were many of De Valera's public addresses; however, De Valera was actively involved in the development of the content and themes of his speeches. Also compare these quotations from De Valera and Nehru to William Wilde's description of Tara on page 274 of Chapter 6 of this thesis. Wilde 2003 [1849], 102-3.

> The people of Ireland undoubtedly constitute a nation – one of the oldest and most clearly defined in Europe. Their nation is not a nation merely in the sense of modern political science – it was a sovereign independent state for over a thousand years, knowing no external master but moulding its own institutions to its own life in accordance with its own will.[20]

On 12 February 1933, in a radio broadcast, De Valera also stated:

> Ireland is more than a political union of states. It has been a nation from the dawn of history, united in traditions, in political institutions, in territory.[21]

A comparison should be made between these quotations from Mandela, Nehru and De Valera and the following quotation:

> It is an unbelievable offense to represent the Germanic peoples of the pre-Christian era as 'cultureless,' as barbarians…a culture combining milleniums and embracing Hellenism and Germanism is fighting for its existence.[22]

This last quotation was written by Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) in 1924 and would come to define German nationalism in the early 20th century inspiring and condoning actions of expansionism, war and genocide. In comparing the argument put forth by Hitler and those put forth by Mandela, Nehru and De Valera one can see that they were in essence the same argument. Stated simply by the Portuguese archaeologist Aragão, 'we were a great people, therefore we are a great people'.[23] All these quotations asserted an entitlement to the self-determination of a nation based on concepts of culture, history, the past and ethnicity.

This became even more evident in Ireland in a speech made by De Valera on 7 February 1939 in Seanad Eireann in response to the issue raised by Senator Frank MacDermot (Centre Party) to end aggressive stances towards the United Kingdom and accept partition between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland:

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[20] De Valera 1980, 38.
[21] De Valera 1980, 235.
[22] Hitler, A. 1962 [1924] *Mein Kampf*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 393.
[23] Lillios 1995, 57.

> I think that the whole of this island is the national territory. I know that people sitting down calmly and thinking of the history of nations and national territories would tell me that national territories change from time to time; that there have been changes in the boundaries of states, in national boundaries in Europe, over the course of centuries; and that in the case of Ireland too, if that happened, well, something had happened which was not unique. There is a certain amount of truth, we must admit, in that contention; but, as was said by Signor Mussolini in a famous letter which he wrote, I think it was last September or October, there is something about the boundaries that seem to be drawn by the hand of the Almighty which is very different from the boundaries that are drawn by ink upon a map: 'Frontiers traced with ink on other inks can be modified. It is quite another thing when the frontiers were traced by Providence.' It is vain and foolish, of course, to try to prophesy or to look into the future, but I do not think that any generation of Irishmen living in this island would ever be satisfied – those of them, at any rate, who regard themselves as having a connection with the historic Irish nation – as long as a single square inch of the island was outside the control of the nation.[24]

In this statement, it was remarkable that in the Seanad, the then Taoiseach of the Irish Free State thought it appropriate to legitimate his argument against accepting the partition with the north of Ireland by quoting from writings of the dictatorial leader of Italy, Benito Mussolini (1883-1945). This was particularly interesting considering that Mussolini had ordered the invasion of Ethiopia on 3 October 1935 without a declaration of war and on 9 May 1936 declared the rebirth of the Roman empire.[25] Given De Valera's active support of the League of Nations, the rule of international law and the rights of smaller nations when faced with oppression from an aggressive imperial nation, it was interesting to find him selecting Mussolini's rhetoric to support his own. This was especially the case in February 1937. The Italian forces in Ethiopia began to imprison and later execute Ethiopians en masse in response to an attempt to assassinate Marshal Rodolfo Graziani (1882-1955),

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[24] De Valera 1980, 368.

[25] On May 9, 1936 Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) stood on the balcony of the Palazzo Venezia and declared: "Italia ha finalmente il suo impero!" (Italy finally has its empire!). Only a few days earlier, his troops had seized control of Addis Abbaba and completed the conquest of Ethiopia. With the acquisition of Italy's first overseas territory, Mussolini declared the rebirth of the Roman Empire. See Kopff, E. C. 2000 'Italian Fascism and the Roman Empire', *The Classical Bulletin* 76, no. 2, 109-15, 111.

viceroy of the occupying forces, in Addis Ababa.[26] However, it did illustrate De Valera's call for an aggressive defence of Irish union. The establishment of the legitimacy of his arguments on a social belief in a 'divine providence' for the union of Ireland and the conflation of history with individual 'connectedness' to the Irish nation illustrated the absorption of the De Valera's 'internal demands' into the large group identity of Irish nationalists in the 20th century.

It should be said that the intentions of Mandela, Nehru, De Valera and Hitler were quite different and have very different historical, social and economic contexts, but this only serves to better illustrate the role of the past within social discourse. Through interaction, interpretation and discussion, both historical and archaeological narratives were manifested which in turn facilitate thed development of chosen glories and suitable reservoirs in the establishment of group identities. Often these narratives also established the goals and ambitions of these groups by suggesting a method of 'completing' their narrative through freedom, revolution, imperial expansion or cultural distinction.

The Diagnosis of Historical and Archaeological Rhetoric

In modern groups, archaeology and history were utilised as a method of self-determination through the establishment of a linear narrative of selected historical or a-historical events.[27] These events were represented by material objects (suitable reservoirs) and textual materialisations (chosen glories and traumas). In modern psychoanalytic terms, this was a behavioural response to anxiety regarding the existential nature of society. In other words, social faith in archaeology and history as disciplines which can reveal truths about the origins of contemporary human social groupings allowed individuals in a social group to avoid engaging their own existential identity. Rather, their group identity was affirmed through the production of materialised 'truths' about the large group's past. This is particularly important during times of societal trauma such as the political instability

[26] The number of Ethiopians (primarily political leaders, intellectuals and other established citizens) executed has been estimated to be around 30,000. For general history regarding this event and the Italian campaigns in Ethiopia more generally see Barker, A. J. 1968 *The Civilizing Mission: The Italo-Ethiopian War 1935-1940*, Cassell, London.; Del Bocca, A. 1969 *Ethiopian War, 1935-1941*, trans. By P. D. Cummins, University of Chicago Press, Chicago. and Mockler, A. 1988 Haile Selassie's War: The Italian-Ethiopian Campaign, 1935-1940, Random House USA Inc.

[27] Kohl & Fawcett 1995; Díaz-Andreu & Champion 1996; Jones 1997.

following the end of British rule in Ireland and the subsequent Civil War.[28] Psychologically, archaeology, history and mythology were used in modern Ireland as a coping mechanism to support the construction of a new large group identity and political establishment through the traumatic period of separation from Britain and the turmoil during debates over the ensuing treaty with Britain and the subsequent Civil War.[29] Archaeology and history were utilised to create new, pan-Irish shared identifications and narratives which transcended divisions of the Civil War and engendered social faith in the newly developing social group of the Irish Free State.[30]

The reason that coping mechanisms were developed was that such crises and traumas can cause an individual or a group to psychologically regress, resorting to aggressive, defensive or exclusive modes of human behaviour.[31] Such behaviour includes tribalism and thus modern nationalism was evident in the quotations from Nehru, Mandela, De Valera and Hitler. In this way, a social group's entire past can become a protosymbol of group unity and distinctiveness, and thus, the development of archaeologies, histories, mythologies and cultural institutions devoted to the protection of these narratives (i.e. national museums) was a response to psychological regression resulting from trauma or crisis in order to stem social anxiety about the existence of the social group.[32]

Archaeology in Ireland played a role in the development of modern Irish nationalism, identity and ideological security.[33] This supposition helps explain the nature of the impediments to such lines of questioning in historical and archaeological study in Ireland. To threaten the nature of archaeology in Ireland is to threaten the nature of modern Ireland and modern Irish identity and jeopardises the emotional coping mechanism. Jeopardising the coping mechanism of the archaeological narrative increases anxiety in modern Irish society and causes a regression to culturally and ethnically specific argumentations and actions which defend the formation of modern Irish identity. This

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[28] See pages 30-5 of Chapter 1 of this thesis. For a discussion of this period in Irish history see Haire 1999 and Costello 2003. For a specific discussion of the Irish Civil War see Purdon 2000.
[29] See Cooney 1996. For a discussion of the development of archaeology in 19th century and early 20th century Ireland see McEwan 1997 and Crooke 2001, 17-99,. For a discussion of the development and role of concepts of 'Celtic' and 'Gaelic' culture in modern Ireland see Castle 2001.
[30] For an illustration of this phenomena through the case study of the history of the National Museum of Ireland, see Crooke 2001, 129-46.
[31] See page 30 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.
[32] This is the underlying yet unarticulated theory which Crooke's study of the formation of the National Museum of Ireland. See Crooke 2001.
[33] See Crooke 2001, 17-67.

regression is accompanied by the materialisation of narratives of the past within contemporary discourse. Rhetoric is developed which expounds beliefs of what Ireland always has been and always should be based on historical and archaeological narratives. This also results in the defence of the large group's interpretations of their 'chosen glories' and of the 'suitable reservoirs' which are associated with the group's identity. This defense, as has been discussed, causes these 'suitable reservoirs' to then become 'protosymbols'. The importance of these relationships in modern Irish society was illustrated in the words of Senator Maurice O'Connell (Fine Gael) spoken in Seanad Éireann in 1982:

> Our heritage is the point from which we start. It is the interaction of what is going on at the present time, the interaction of our own personalities, the interaction of our own circumstances; it is what makes us what we are.[34]

It serves to recall the quotation discussed in Chapter 1 from debates over an amendment to the National Monuments Bill of Ireland of 1993 in which Michael D. Higgins, then Minister of Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht, said:

> For many people it is the artefact or monument itself that symbolises the identity of a people. The images such as those printed on the front cover of every school child's homework copy as a daily reminder of the physical manifestation of our heritage are part of what we are – the Ardagh Chalice, the Tara Brooch, the Monasterboice High Cross and the Borrisnoe Collar.[35]

Textual materialisations of group identity such as histories and myths can also become protosymbols of the group's identity, similar to the physical materialisations found in the protosymbols of the Ardagh Chalice, Tara Brooch and other artefacts and monuments.[36] In this way, Higgins' rhetoric is very similar to that used by De Valera. In a 17 March 1943 radio broadcast celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Gaelic League where he declared the importance of the narrative of Irish history to Irish group identity:

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[34] Seanad Debates, vol. 98, c. 542, 30 June 1982.
[35] Dáil Debates, vol. 440, c. 1338, 24 March 1994.
[36] DeMarrais *et al.* 1996, 19-21. Also see DeMarrais *et al.* 2005.

> With the tidings that make such an Ireland possible, St Patrick came to our ancestors 1,500 years ago, promising happiness here as well as happiness hereafter. It was the pursuit of such an Ireland that later made our country worthy to be called the Island of Saints and Scholars. It was the idea of such an Ireland, happy, vigorous, spiritual, that fired the imagination of our poets, that made successive generations of patriotic men give their lives to win religious and political liberty, and that will urge men in our own and future generations to die, if need be, so that these liberties may be preserved.[37]

In these situations, it is imperative for archaeologists and historians to take the first steps to encourage ideological and psychological progression within Irish society regarding its relationship to its beliefs of heritage, identity, landscapes, time and human agency. The strength of archaeologists in this discourse is that they are fundamentally active and participatory agents within society and within the landscape. The action of archaeological excavation or the presentation of artefacts provide opportunities to engage local communities in self-exploratory and group-exploratory projects which foster new understandings of existence.[38] Thus, it is necessary to foster the development of theoretically informed practices and engagements within society in order to avoid the subjugation of the discipline to the ideological beliefs of society at large. A move must be made away from the dominant theme of processual archaeology. Not to post-processualism or post-modern approaches to the past, but beyond modernity towards practices of participation, communication and engagement.[39]

Moving beyond Modernity

Philosopher Jean Baudrillard pronounced of modernity that: 'We, the modern cultures, no longer believe in this illusion of the world, but in its reality (which of course is the last and the worst of illusions)'.[40] The belief in the 'real' as an observable phenomenon

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[37] De Valera 1980, 466.
[38] Renfrew, C., C. Gosden & E. DeMarrais (eds.) 2004 *Substance, Memory, Display: Archaeology And Art*, McDonald Institute Monographs, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge.
[39] For a development of such arguments and theories regarding the move beyond modern approaches to archaeological practice, see Russell 2006b.
[40] Baudrillard, J. 1997 'Objects, Images, and the Possibilities of Aesthetic Illusion' in N. Zurbugg (ed.) *Jean Baudrillard: Art and Artefact*, Sage Publications, London, 7-18, 18.

obscures the many layers of confusion and misrepresentation that are experienced in everyday life. That modern Irish society believes in a 'real' Irish past is not so much a declaration of the 'current state of affairs' but more an affirmative declaration of the desire of the project of modernity.[41] As a modern project, Irish society attempted to define what 'being Irish' was, and in this quest used modern conceptions of heritage, tradition, archaeology and history as ways of proving and defining a singular Irish identity.[42] In the 1982 debate over the National Heritage Bill, Senator O'Connell illustrated the impact that these conceptions still hold in contemporary modern Ireland and the implications of this thinking for conceptions of heritage:

> We still find people thinking in terms of 'the pure Irish', which would exclude Pearse and Eamon De Valera. ... When we are talking about this kind of thing we tend think that it is some kind of final declaration of 'Irish', that there was some race back there which was always Irish, which always belonged to this country. Nobody has yet shown that human life originated in this island. ... There is no race that has an exclusive right or title to the land apart from the Irish, and 'the Irish' has a very wide definition. If we are talking about the Irish as being indivisible, whatever 'the Irish' are, and it is difficult to define them at times, our heritage is indivisible.[43]

Perhaps social theorist Bruno Latour is right to ask whether we have ever been modern.[44] Ireland may never have been modern. In the publication of a culmination of discourses over his time on the board of *CIRCA*, the Irish visual arts magazine, cultural theorist David Brett asked whether 'an indigenous modernity can be achieved in Ireland'.[45] If modernity (and thus archaeology) is a progress which is in search of the scientifically explicable 'real', then it is a process which may never be able to come to completion.[46] Ireland may never be 'real' or 'modern'. It is not possible to attain a utopia of the 'real' Ireland. Rather this quest is part of a modern purgatory or struggle for authoritative meaning and control over the 'being' of 'Irish'. Sociologist Ulrich Beck is right to call for modern societies to

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[41] Latour, B. 1993 *We Have Never Been Modern*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, New York. Also see Russell 2006b.
[42] See Kearney 1985c.
[43] Seanad Debates, vol. 98, c. 547, 30 June 1982.
[44] Latour 1993.
[45] Brett, D. 1996 *The Construction of Heritage*, Cork University Press, Cork, 13.
[46] Latour 1993. Also see Russell 2006b.

move towards more reflective engagements with the modern world.[47] The greatest danger of belief in modernity is that it causes us to believe that things are statically 'real', denying the possibility for experience to be dynamic. This is a point which was picked up by Senator Seamus Mallon (Independent) in his response to Senator O'Connell in the 1982 debate over the National Heritage Bill which the Minister for the Public Service Eugene Fitzgerald (Fianna Fáil) presented.

> If I have any criticisms of the Bill it is that it seems to be rather passive; the emphasis seems to be on preserving rather than on creating that which is organic, that which is living, that which is a part of our present life and culture and indeed our future thinking.[48]

Mallon saw problems with the bill for its assumption that heritage was something that was stagnant and which could be preserved and presented to society in exhibits. Indeed, the representation of archaeology as a modern science asserts to society that there is an ascertainable and tangible reality of the past in static, factual objects. However, participatory archaeologies appreciate the inherent illusion, imitation and simulation of life. Baudrillard would have called us to exorcise the illusion of the 'real' through civilised forms of simulacrum or engaged simulation.[49] To follow this call is not to delight in deconstruction of the ability to convey meaning or to undermine the value of archaeology. Rather it is to reflect on the qualities of human participation in archaeologies and to develop reflexive approaches to conceptions of meaning and value.

Re-Presenting the Past in Ireland

As part of this reflection and revision of the endeavour of archaeology, it is critical to discuss briefly the social aspects of archaeology, the presentation of artefacts to society and the establishment of narratives of group historical identity. In particular, the development of 'grand' narratives of historical identity based on 'real' and tangible objects

[47] Beck, U. 1992 *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, Sage Publications, London; Beck, U. 1999 *World Risk Society*, Polity Press, Cambridge. Also see Koerner 2006.
[48] Seanad Debates, vol. 98, c. 560, 30 June 1982.
[49] Baudrillard 1997. Also see Russell 2006b.

from the past was propagated by elite, generally male, individuals.[50] Additionally, the development of the discipline of archaeology can not be divorced from its roots in the upper-class past time of male antiquarians and the leisure activity of the 'Grand Tour'.[51] The individuals who are often attributed with the status of 'fathers' of Irish antiquarianism or Irish archaeology such as George Petrie were also members of narrow, upper-class, male social groups. Antiquarian societies during the 18th and 19th centuries not only were male dominated but also urban and particularly Dublin-centred.[52] Groups such as the Royal Irish Academy are still largely dominated by a male membership.[53] Furthermore, the moving of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society to Dublin and its refounding as the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in 1899 illustrated the urbanisation of Irish antiquarian and archaeological study in Dublin.[54]

As archaeology came into the public eye at the end of the 19th century and during the 20th century, its presentation was mostly focused in urban centres such as Dublin and at elite events such as the Great Exhibition of 1853 in Dublin.[55] Indeed, the pastime of antiquarianism in Ireland as elsewhere in Europe developed out of leisure time activities such as the Grand Tour.[56] Thus the representation of glorified artefacts and monuments such as the 'Tara' brooch or the 'Ardagh' chalice were largely formed through male, class conscious contexts.[57] Baudrillard reminded us that 'there is a status attached to regression in time, and one's means are liable to determine whether one acquires a genuine Greek vase or a mere reproduction, a Roman amphora or a Spanish pitcher'.[58] More succinctly he stated '... the only people who can regress in time are those who can afford it'.[59] In this way, archaeology and heritage can be seen as signs of modern affluence and leisure time,

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[50] For a discussion of the social role of antiquarian societies in Ireland see Murray 2000.
[51] See McClellan 1999; Anderson *et al.* 2003; Bohrer 2003; Gosden 2004.
[52] See Murray 2000, 80-95.
[53] The membership of the Royal Irish Academy on 5 March 2006 consisted of 352 men and 33 women. Statistics compiled from the membership records available online. See Royal Irish Academy 2006 (Electronic Resource).
[54] A Kilkenny Archaeology Society was not refounded in Kilkenny City until 1946.
[55] See pages 113-5 of Chapter 3 for a discussion of the role of the Great Exhibition of 1853 in 19th century Irish society. Also see Saris 2000.
[56] For a discussion of tourism in Ireland in the 19th century see Hooper 2001. For a discussion of the Grand Tour and its impact on antiquarian studies see McClellan 1999; Anderson *et al.* 2003; Bohrer 2003; Gosden 2004.
[57] The description of the penannular brooch found at Bettystown, Co. Meath in 1850 known as the 'Tara' brooch and a 'royal' brooch demonstrated the contextualisation of the representation of the object within a hierarchical, royal society. See pages 112-4 of Chapter 3 of this thesis.
[58] Baudrillard 1996, 150.
[59] ibid. 151.

and this was much the same situation that the first antiquarians such as Petrie and Du Noyer were in when they performed research, presented papers, curated exhibitions and established museums.[60]

The establishment of new narratives of Irish prehistory and the presentation of the past in male-dominated societies and institutions began to create new social spaces and social discourses over identity.[61] These spaces would come to be exploited for the promotion of new political and cultural leadership. As was discussed in Chapters 2 and 4, Daniel O'Connell readily utilised this cultural discourse in order to place himself at the head of a national movement.[62] The discourse of a Gaelic Ireland distinct from British identity was further encouraged through the work of artists and writers such as Yeats, Gregory, Synge, Gonne and others.[63] The cultural discourse was readily seized by young politicians such as Eamon De Valera and young businessmen such as Michael Collins.[64] Framing their political movement in the rhetoric of the re-establishment of a Gaelic cultural unity within Ireland created an apologetic for much of their political, revolutionary and political behaviour. It also began a tradition of capitalisation upon emotional regression to maintain unified political and consumer groups around Irish ideologies.[65]

Revising the role of these nationalistic politicians causes one to meet not only with anxiety and sometimes anger in Irish society but also some acceptance.[66] The psychological and ideological regression must be worked through in order develop more

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[60] For similar discussions regarding the development of antiquarianism and museums out of colonialism and the practices of the Grand Tour see McClellan 1999; Anderson *et al.* 2003; Bohrer 2003; Gosden 2004. The inclusion of antiquarian research within the function of the Great Exhibitions of London (1851) and Dublin (1853) as part of the leisure activity of upper-class society should be noted. See Latvick 2000 and Saris 2000.

[61] See pages 109-16 of Chapter 3 for a discussion of the impact of the developments of the 19th century on ideological developments in the later 19th century and early 20th century. Also see McEwan 1997.

[62] See pages 109-111 of Chapter 3 and pages 221-3 of Chapter 5 of this thesis.

[63] Kiberd 1995. Also see Castle 2001.

[64] For a discussion of De Valera's role in the formation of political and cultural rhetoric see Coogan, T. P. 1995 *De Valera: Long Fellow, Long Shadow*, Arrow Books, London. For a discussion of Collins' role in the establishment of the political, economic and militaristic structures of Ireland see Coogan, T. P. 1990 *Michael Collins: A Biography*, Hutchinson, London.

[65] See pages 157-9 of Chapter 3 for a discussion of the capitalisation upon emigrant Irish communities for economic gain in Ireland. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the exploitation of emotional sentiment for archaeology and history for political purposes both in the past and today.

[66] For a reaction to revisionist histories which sees them as dangerous and damaging see Hassett, J. J. 2001 'The Threat from Revisionism', *The Irish Times*, 30 April. For a discussion of the intellectual controversy of revisisionism in Irish history see Boyce, G. & A. O'Day (eds.) 1996 *The Making of Modern Irish History: Revisionism and the Revisionist Controversy*, Routledge, London.

dynamic understandings of what it means to be Irish. To return again to the words of Senator Mallon speaking in Seanad Éireann in 1982:

> We will have to recognise that within that heritage there are different strands. It is our challenge to bring those strands together in a positive way where the living reminder of the past will possibly help us to cope with the misunderstandings of the present and where that understanding and concrete approach to the present will help to channel all strands of that diverse heritage into a new vision of the future, a vision indeed which can have its roots in that very important heritage…[67]

Revisions of historical and archaeological representations are critical to appreciate in order to develop more dynamic ways of engaging the public in the discourse of history and archaeology.[68] A more open and multi-vocal archaeology must be encouraged in Ireland which takes into consideration the urbanisation of heritage in city-centre museum spaces, universities and archaeological companies. It must also highlight the lack of involvement of rural communities where archaeology is often performed in the presentation of the material found or research developed.[69]

The process of revising the role of museums and heritage institutions in Irish society has been underway in earnest by the Heritage Council since late 2003.[70] A museum accreditation scheme was announced by the Heritage Council as a method of managing the expanding museum sector in Ireland. Michael Starrett, Chief Executive of the Heritage Council, stated:

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[67] Seanad Debates, vol. 98, c. 561, 30 June 1982.

[68] For an interesting revision of Irish social history in the context of contemporary 'multi-cultural' Dublin see Lentin, R. 2002 'At the Heart of the Hibernian Post-Metropolis: Spatial Narratives of Ethnic Minorities and Diasporic Communities in a Changing City', *City*, vol. 6, no. 2., 229-49.

[69] The struggle between Cork City and Dublin City over the control of heritage resources such as art, antiquities, historical materials and others should be noted here, although this debates is of course between two rival urban centres which overlooks the issues of the countryside. See Lucey, A. 2003 'Cork seeks "fare share" of national art treasures' in *The Irish Times*, 30 December. The opening of the National Museum of Ireland's Museum of Country Life in Turlough Park, Co. Mayo in 2001 should be noted here; however, this museum does not address the issue of the urbanisation of Irish antiquities in the National Museum on Kildare Street in Dublin as its remit is for the exhibition of conceptions of country life.

[70] See The Heritage Council 2003b 'Heritage Council Launches Major Policy Framework for Ireland's Rapidly Expanding Museum Sector', heritagecouncil.ie, November, < http://www.heritagecouncil.ie/news/story24.html> [Accessed on 4 Mar 2006]. Also see The Heritage Council 2003a 'About the Proposed Museum Standards and Accreditation Scheme', heritagecouncil.ie, November, < http://www.heritagecouncil.ie/news/story25.html> [Accessed on 4 Mar 2006]. For a response in the media see Teehan, V. 2003 'They're Museums, but What Do They Do?' in *The Irish Times*, November 18.

> The artefacts in our national collection have contributed enormously to our image abroad and our own self-image as a nation. That image is contained in the millions of objects in our national collections housed in a growing number of museums and galleries across the country. ... The protection of these objects is a core function of their custodians and equally important is the educational role museums play in informing us about the layers of our past and helping us shape through understanding, the heritage of the future.[71]

The scheme isolated seven areas in which a museum would be assessed in order to receive an accreditation:

- Raise standards and implement good practice
- Provide quality assurance and greater accountability
- Increase protection of cultural heritage
- Improve access to collections
- Provide better services to visitors
- Enhance co-operation and networking among the sector[72]

Starrett and the Heritage Council were right to initiate such a scheme in order to encourage a level of professionalism within the heritage and museum sectors. However, it is unfortunate that the rhetoric of this scheme is wholly modern, functionalist and economic. In the assessment areas, there is no direct emphasis put on the role of interpretation, curation or communication. These issues could be incorporated within 'standards', 'good practice', 'quality assurance', 'access' of 'services to visitors', yet that there is no evident assertion of the importance of interpretation, curation or communication is noteworthy. Indeed, that Starrett's call for museums to 'inform us about the layers of our past' illustrates the continued entrenchment of conceptions of museum space in modern 'depth metaphors'. The philosophical issues regarding the way modern society and specifically Irish society approach conceptions of heritage must be addressed as part of this discourse if the museum space is to become more than an antiquated, commodified representation of a modern conception of Irish large group identity.

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[71] The Heritage Council 2003b (Electronic Resource).
[72] The Heritage Council 2003a (Electronic Resource).

This argument over philosophical approaches to representation in museums does not take priority over the fundamental necessity to act and create ways of interacting in and discussing heritage and the past in general, and the Heritage Council's museum accreditation scheme should be supported for its attempt to create a sustainable management system. However, this does not take precedence over the need to create more dynamic ways of acting within these museum spaces. Senator Mallon's argument in the 1982 debate over the National Heritage Bill made a similar assertion, poetically discussing the relationship between modern disciplines and the organic nature of heritage.

> Let us have no platitudes about it. Let it be concrete; let it be bricks and stone; let it be something we can see, that exists, not just as something to look at, but as part of the community. Let it be something that will bring the advances in modern day sciences to play on the traditions of the past. Let us create something which in educational terms, political terms and social terms will help us to create and develop a new vision within this island.[73]

Engaging the Public: Participating in the Past

As archaeology is used by groups to construct and represent identities, then archaeologists must be aware of and engage with these groups – groups of which often they themselves are a part. It should be noted that it does not necessarily 'matter' to the group if the conceptions of the past in which they believe are 'accurate' (as processual archaeology would hope to succeed in developing).[74] What is more important is that they are able to satisfy needs for emotional affirmations of group identity.[75] However, popular desires for emotional affirmation or gratification through engagements with the past are not an impediment to the development of aware and reflective archaeological practices. Rather, the very fact that the public is interested in the past and in archaeological research is an opportunity for archaeology to engage that public. Minister for the Public Service Eugene Fitzgerald noticed this in 1982:

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[73] Seanad Debates, vol. 98, c. 563, 30 June 1982.
[74] See Russell 2006b.
[75] See Russell 2006a.

> In this country we have built up a considerable amount of expertise in the fields of history, archaeology, architecture and in related disciplines associated with the restoration and preservation of our heritage. There are also many enthusiastic interest groups which are greatly concerned with the preservation of our past. This expertise and enthusiasm must be utilised to the utmost if the vital task of preserving the national heritage is to succeed.[76]

The necessity of 'preserving' a 'national' heritage will be discussed later in this chapter, but the assertion of Fitzgerald to encourage and make use of public 'enthusiasm' for heritage is quite right. Declaration of an emotive and enthusiastic response to heritage or archaeology is at once both a declaration of awareness of self and an invitation for a reflective discourse over the phenomena of those emotions and conceptions of heritage. It is an invitation and desire to engage. Thus the interest that members of society in Ireland have in going to heritage sites or taking part in heritage performances or in reading history books should be seen as an opportunity to create a discourse over the nature of that interest.

The contention of this thesis is that through engagement with other disciplines that actively work with the public such as sociology or psychoanalysis, archaeology can come to find more interactive ways of participating in social discourse. Psychoanalysis is particularly relevant since it brings the issue of emotion to the forefront of discussion of the value of heritage and archaeology. If archaeology is to remain relevant to contemporary society, then archaeologists will need to appreciate the emotions that people have when relating to the subjects of the discipline. As archaeology grew with public support driven by emotional attachment to social and political movements aimed at establishing a new national, ethnic and cultural community, it is critical for archaeology to explore how the subjects of its discourse become agents within large group dynamics. These relationships provide archaeology with an audience which supports and often funds (although often indirectly through tourism and consumption of souvenirs) the archaeological endeavour.[77] To ignore the psycho-dynamics of society's relationship with archaeology would allow the co-dependency between archaeological artefacts, heritage and group identity to continue

[76] Seanad Debates, vol. 98, c. 538, 30 June 1982.
[77] For a discussion of these themes see Russell 2006a. Also see Cooney 1996.

while creating a larger gulf between archaeological practice and public perception and expectation of that practice.

David Lowenthal noted over ten years ago that there was a dangerous division between professional archaeology and public perceptions of the discipline which had broader implications than simply for the pursuit of archaeology.

> A cleavage between professionals and the public affects other perspectives on the past as well as those of archaeologists. In local and oral history, in the current preoccupation with genealogy, in rising support for preserving familiar structures and locales, in the spurt of museum growth and museum-going, a common dilemma confronts conservators and curators pledged to look after and explain the past, and at the same time to accommodate burgeoning public interest in it. Flooded with data, lacking resources to conserve let alone display, and swamped by public demands for access to evermore of the past, professionals become embroiled willy-nilly in partisan disputes.[78]

This is a challenge which has been brought to archaeology by the public, and as long as the public is interested in archaeology and the past, archaeology must continue to interact with the public.[79] Archaeology can not retreat from social and popular discourse. Rather, archaeology must continue to seek out new and innovative ways of engaging the public. As archaeology is such an expensive pursuit which relies heavily on public funding for research, then archaeology must interact in the public space, participating in discourses of 'meaning' and 'value' in archaeological representation.[80] Failing to engage with these interests or emotions could alienate the public, and this in turn could undermine the public support that archaeology enjoys. Senator O'Connell noted this tendency in the public opinion of archaeology later in his 1982 speech in favour of the National Heritage Bill:

> This is the kind of question that has come up again and again, when we have had incidents concerned with conservation, with the preservation of monuments,

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[78] Lowenthal, D. 1989 'Conclusion: Archaeologists and Others' in P. Gathercole & D. Lowenthal (eds.) *The Politics of the Past*, Routledge, London, 302-14, 302.
[79] See Holtorf 2006.
[80] See Russell 2006a for a discussion of the dependency of archaeology on public interest to generate funding.

> buildings and so forth. People have asked should public funds be devoted to this matter, or what proportion of public funds? What kind of value do we set up on these things? Should we be more concerned with today and the things which come up today, rather than set aside valuable resources for something that may well be considered to be dead?[81]

O'Connell's argument was part of a much larger treatise on what heritage is and what value it has in society. What O'Connell's quotation made clear was that heritage and archaeology may not always be a priority by the public or by a government, especially when there may be other pressing issues.[82] Thus, if archaeology can not be seen to be relevant, it runs the risk of losing public support and therefore much needed funding.

The responsibility that archaeologists, historians and heritage professionals have in such a situation is to move beyond modern thought and to cease to continue the tradition of materialising social ideologies in the form of 'authentic' objects, and instead encourage informed, subjective, participatory engagements with the artefacts and images which surround us. This sentiment is captured well in the words of the character Vladimir from Samuel Beckett's (1906-1989) 'Waiting for Godot' (1952):[83]

> *Ne perdons pas notre temps en vains discours. Faisons quelque chose, pendant que l'occasion se présente! Ce n'est pas tous les jours qu'on ait besoin de nous.*
>
> Let us not waste our time in idle discourse! Let us do something while we have the chance! It is not every day we are needed.[84]

Archaeologists must engage with the criticisms of the way in which the past is presented to the public in order to rehabilitise and develop our approach to the presentation and representation of the past. As noted by Lowenthal, if archaeologists do not seize this

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[81] Seanad Debates,vVol. 98, c. 540, 30 June 1982.
[82] For a discussion of such a situation regarding the site of Carrickmines Castle see pages 238-9 of Chapter 5 of this thesis.
[83] For a discussion of reflexive engagements with modernity in Beckett see Kearney, R. 1985a 'Beckett: The Demythologising Intellect' in R. Kearney (ed.) *The Irish Mind: Exploring Intellectual Traditions*, Wolfhound Press, Dublin, 267-93.
[84] Beckett, S. 1952 *En Attendant Godot*, Editions de Minuit, Paris, 110.

opportunity to create a discourse, it will be readily appropriated by others, and in time, archaeologists may no longer be needed.

There are initiatives in Ireland that are attempting to take advantage of public interest and encourage an exchange between archaeologists, historians, heritage professionals and the public. Most notable would be Heritage Week which occurs annually in September. Heritage Week is advertised as a series of events which include public lectures, museum tours, archaeological site visits, workshops, public performances, art exhibitions and a number of other types of events which take place throughout the country in both rural and urban locations. Organised by the Heritage Council in conjunction with the Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government, Heritage Week 2005 was composed of over 500 events which were predominantly free and open to the public.[85] Events included guided tours of sites such as Trim Castle, nature tours of Wildlife Lake in Tullahought village and Monicknew Forest in Co. Laois, lectures on the Brehon Laws, traditional crafts and skills demonstrations of spinning, breadmaking, rushwork and bee-keeping and music performances. Heritage Week is a good initiative in public education and exploration of heritage. However, since it is limited to a single week of the year means that very little of the rest of the year has such events. Rather all sectors tend to focus effort towards outreach and education at the same time which means that they often are competing for the same audiences. Heritage should not be viewed as something which need only be celebrated for a single week of the year but as a continual discourse of ideas which contextualise societies and inspire actions in the contemporary world. However, given the pragmatic relationship between the heritage sector and other economic sectors in modern Ireland, Heritage Week should be applauded for its successfulness in promoting activities which develop discourses about social and cultural being in a modern Ireland dominated by consumerism and materialism.

This movement towards a continually interpretative and participatory archaeology in Ireland is critical since as a modern discipline it facilitated the reappropriation of material from what we perceive to be earlier societies (see Figure 1.16).[86] This

[85] For a list of the events of Heritage Week 2005 see The Heritage Council 2006 'Heritage Week' Heritageweek.ie <http://www.heritageweek.ie> [Accessed 15 Feb 2006].
[86] See pages 39-41 of Chapter 1 and pages 209-12 of Chapter 4 of this thesis.

reappropriation is commonly referred to as 'finding'.[87] In this sense, archaeology is fundamentally about taking things and using them to represent the 'reality' of the past. However, this reappropriation does not end with the discovery of the artefact for it still must be presented to society. Only in its manner of presentation or (re)presentation does the artefact enter into social discourse and communication, gaining social meaning.[88] Here lies the crisis of the representation of the past. To follow modern scientific method, there are theoretical assumptions made when an archaeologist 'finds' an artefact, and these assumptions must be appreciated theoretically in how these objects are presented to society.

Re-Collecting the Past: Countering the Stagnation of a Discourse

Modern scientific archaeology and belief in historical processes has caused contemporary society to interpret artefacts and their intercontextual relationships as an assemblage, particularly when they are viewed as part of an exhibition.[89] However, this removal to an existence within a collection within the scope of modern thought negates the original uses of the objects. Reacting to the thought of Walter Benjamin, museum theorist Didier Maleuvre writes that:

> A collection removes the objects from the hustle and bustle of use-value and provides the place where, as Benjamin writes, 'they are free of the drudgery of being useful.' There the thing becomes an image of what it used to be. The collection hypostatises the image inherent in every object (as what that object resembles), making it the very essence of the thing.[90]

Thus, an artefact ceases to become a relative point for the development of discourse but is consumed by its own 'reality' as an artefact, as evidence, of previous human agency. As Benjamin wrote:

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[87] For an illustration of the dominance of the concept of 'finding' in archaeological rhetoric see Fenwick 2003.
[88] See Stone, P. G. & B. L. Molyneaux (eds.) 1994 *The Presented Past: Heritage, Museums and Education*, Routledge, London.; Molyneaux, B. L. (ed.) 1997 *The Cultural Life of Images*, Routledge, London.; Moser, S. & S. Smiles (eds.) 2004 *Envisioning the Past: Archaeology and the Image*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford. Also see Refrew *et al.* 2004; Russell 2006c.
[89] ibid.
[90] Maleuvre 1999, 70.

> The image-being of the collected object marks off the emergence of history: the object embodies a piece of immobilized time that hangs over the present and never matches it entirely. Not only does the collected watch stop telling the time; it tells of a time that has stopped as well as of a stoppage of time itself. This stoppage of time is the time of images.[91]

In this respect, archaeological artefacts themselves can be seen as objects which tell of time that has stopped and which has gone by – and this causes the artefact and the collections to enter into the time of images. Rather than presenting physical objects which can be interacted with (although not always physically) in an active space, the collection presents images or a series of representations which can be consumed in a stagnant space of viewing - the museum or exhibit.[92]

This theme of the artefacts as a representation being physically neutralised is picked up in the thought of Theodor Adorno (1903-1969) who in his essay 'Valéry Proust Museum' suggested that the words museum and mausoleum are connected through more than alliteration:

> The German word, '*museal*' ['*mueseumlike*'], has unpleasant overtones. It describes objects to which the observer no longer has a vital relationship and which are in the process of dying. They owe their preservation more to historical respect than to the needs of the present. Museum and mausoleum are connected by more than phonetic association. Museums are like the family sepulchres of works of art. They testify to the neutralization of culture.[93]

Architect Kay Edge in discussing the foundation of the crisis of representation of the past at the beginning of modernity illustrated that from the beginning of the first museums, philosophers were concerned with the 'taking' or 'removal' of objects from their original contexts.[94] Edge wrote that early 19th century thinkers feared:

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[91] Benjamin 1978 [1995],155. Maleuvre 1999, 70.
[92] See Stone & Molyneaux 1994 and Russell 2006c.
[93] Adorno, T. 1982 'Valéry Proust Museum', in *Prisms*, trans. by Samuel and Shirley Webber, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 173-85, 175.
[94] See Edge 2006.

> ...that instead of preserving history, the museum would destroy it. Historical objects and works of art, taken out of daily existence and out of context would be rendered inactive and would lose their authenticity as they were reinvented and institutionalised in the space of the museum. ... By removing the artefacts from their original places and 'reconstituting the debris' in the space of the museum, their 'network of ideas and relations' has been forsaken. ... Placed in the foreign context of the museum, the objects are meaningless caricatures. The museum then attests to the failure of the present to construct a reasonable relationship with the past.[95]

One such 18th century mourner of the removal of the artefact to the museum was Quatremere de Quincy (1755-1849) who in 1815 wrote of artefacts that:

> Their essential merit depended on the beliefs that created them, on the ideas to which they were tied, to the circumstances that explained, to the community of thoughts, which gave them their unity.[96]

By being placed into a museum collection, the artefact or collection of artefacts lost this essential quality of unity and context which was human agency. A more poetic statement in the same vein comes from Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's (1770-1831) philosophy:

> The statues are now only stones from which the living soul has flown ... the works of the Muse now lack the power of the Spirit, for the Spirit has gained its certainty of itself from the crushing of gods and men.[97]

These fears and concerns over the 'museum-ification' of the narrative, or spirit, of the past, were also shared by politicians and thinkers in Ireland. Minister for the Public Service, Eugene Fitzgerald said in the 1982 debates over the National Heritage Bill in Seanad Éireann:

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[95] ibid. Also see de Quincy, Q. 1989 [1815] *Considérations morales sur la destination des ouvrages del'art,* Fayard, Paris, 47-8. Maleuvre 1999, 23.
[96] de Quincy 1989 [1815].
[97] Hegel, G.W.F. 1977 [1832] *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art,* trans. A. V. Miller, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 455.

> Because of the task they perform in preserving the past, museums inevitably possess a somewhat staid or musty image.[98]

One of the general themes of this debate as has been highlighted in this thesis was the view held by some that heritage and the past was something that was to be preserved, but as is noted by Fitzgerald, this led to viewing the exhibition of these objects as a stagnant and non-vibrant experience. Indeed the role of the National Museum in the exhibition of a set of vernacular cultural symbols which represented a new Irish cultural identity led to the stagnation and neutralisation of the exhibition space of the National Museum. The Board of Visitors of the National Museum noted in their 1980 centennial report that:

> ...the advent of World War I halted further development and since then our National Governments have, without exception, treated the institution with a degree of neglect which could only lead to its appalling decline today.[99]

Elizabeth Crooke wrote of the transition from the Dublin Museum of Science and Art to a National Museum of Ireland that:

> Under British rule references to the 'ancient Irish nation' were used to endorse nationalist aspirations; furthermore, statements about the importance of the collections exhibited in the Dublin museum dominated the writing of cultural nationalists. However, in the early years of the Free State, management of the museum did not seem to have a high priority. ... it was important only to have it reorganised into a useful national symbol and certain artefacts prominently displayed. With that achieved, not as much political support was given for the provision of less appealing museum services.[100]

Indeed, the main floor of the National Museum of Ireland - Archaeology and History still prominently displays and advertises an exhibition of the glorified past of a nationalist Ireland represented by artefact assemblages brought together along materialistic guidelines.

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[98] Seanad Debates, vol. 98, c. 531, 30 June 1982.
[99] Board of Visitors of the National Museum of Ireland 1980 *Report on the National Museum and National Botanic Gardens 1980*, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, 5.
[100] Crooke 2001, 147.

The National Museum of Ireland, Archaeology and History: A Museum of Modernity

The conception of what an museum of archaeology is and does in society in Ireland is still entrenched in early 20th century discourses of nationalism and materialism. Patrick Wallace , Director of the National Museum, wrote in 2002:

> To encounter the archaeological treasures of Ireland is to appreciate national pride in a unique identity rooted over millenia in the achievements of an ancient European culture. ... The Irish Antiquities division, based at the Museum's Kildare Street, Dublin premises contains the national archaeological collection and includes the treasures of Irish prehistoric, Celtic, Early Christian and medieval eras. Of these the prehistoric gold ornaments as well as the early medieval Christian church vessels and reliquaries are fundamental to understanding the character and achievements of ancient Ireland.[101]

Wallace's conception of the museum as a space in which to exhibit a unique, 'rooted' Irish national identity manifest in 'treasures' of Irish craftsmanship, was the same sentiment shared by late 19th century and early 20th Irish ethno-nationalistic discourse.[102] For Wallace, the glories of what he conceived as 'ancient Ireland' reflected the entitlement of contemporary Ireland to a unique and indigenous identity preserved in a romantic conception of 'folk memory'.

> ...the distinctiveness and originality of the national treasures define the greatness and, in European terms, the uniqueness of ancient Ireland. ... It is as if a persistent but dimly-understood pride originates from a subconscious folk memory of bad times when tales of ancient achievements gave heart and concepts like the island of saints and scholars emphasised a desire to be regarded as having a distinct identity. One has only to look at the surviving treasures of ancient Ireland to gauge that distinctiveness and its quality. And one has only to be aware of the symbolism of the Young Ireland Movement of the mid-nineteenth century and the products of the

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[101] Wallace, P. F. 2002 'The Museum: Origins, Collections and Buildings' in P. F. Wallace & R. Ó Floinn (eds.) 2002 *Treasures of the National Museum: Irish Antiquities*, Gill & MacMillan in association with The Boyne Valley Honey Company, Dublin, 1-44, 1-2

[102] See pages 89-91 of Chapter 2 and pages 106-8 of Chapter 3 of this thesis.

later nineteenth-century Celtic Revival to appreciate the longevity of that folk memory.[103]

In this respect, Wallace's understanding of archaeology and cultural representation differed little from the ethnographic romanticisations of rural Ireland by elite intellectuals of the 19th and 20th centuries.[104] Interestingly, the curation of the museum has also differed little from the methods of the first curators in the National Museum. In his essay in *Treasures of the National Museum of Ireland: Irish Antiquities*, Wallace directly quoted Count George N. Plunkett (1851-1948) who oversaw the re-establishment of the Dublin Museum of Science and Art as the National Museum of Ireland in 1908.[105] Plunkett conceived of the building as 'as the Museum of Ireland and the treasury of Celtic antiquities', and its 'work inclines largely towards the collection of things distinctively Irish, both ancient and modern'.[106]

Evident in the rhetoric of the Museum's 2002 publication *Treasures of the National Museum of Ireland: Irish Antiquities* and particularly in the essay by Wallace, the main mission of the museum is still conceived to be a keeper of 'national treasures' such as 'prehistoric gold ornaments'.[107] In Wallace's words 'they [treasures] are, after all, the best expressions of their ancient times. ... their current location in the museum highlights the human desire to preserve what is best from the past'.[108] That Wallace demonstrated a preference for the use of gold objects and pieces of fine craftsmanship to represent Irish cultural identity illustrates the materialistic view which dominates many conceptions of a 'glorious' Irish or 'Celtic' past.

Wallace's assertion of the importance of the national archaeological treasures was part of a broader project of the National Museum over the 20th century to exhibit the gold and silver artefacts as evidence of an indigenous cultural tradition of high craftsmanship. In 1968-1969, refurbishment was undertaken of an existing 'Silver Gallery' of Irish silver

[103] Wallace 2002, 2-3. Compare this sentiment to that described in McEwan 1997, Murray 2000 and Doherty 2004 regarding 19th century romantic antiquarian study.
[104] See pages 89-91 of Chapter 2 and pages 106-8 of Chapter 3 of this thesis.
[105] Plunkett was appointed director of the Museum in 1907. He was a nationalist and member of the Gaelic League. See Waddell 2005, 185.
[106] Wallace 2002, 9.
[107] Wallace, P. F. & R. Ó Floinn (eds.) 2002 *Treasures of the National Museum: Irish Antiquities*, Gill & MacMillan in association with The Boyne Valley Honey Company, Dublin.
[108] Wallace 2002, 12.

artefacts in the Museum.[109] In 1979, an exhibition entitled 'Treasures of Early Irish Art' toured the United States of America.[110] In 1981, an exhibition entitled 'Gold from Ireland' toured Brussels, Frankfurt, Munich and Linz and an exhibition entitled 'Treasures from Ireland' was held in Museum which included the recent Derrynaflan hoard which reportedly had 750,000 visitors.[111] In 1982, an exhibition entitled 'Treasures from Ireland' was planned to be exhibited in Paris.[112] In 1984, the 'Treasures from Ireland' exhibition closed at the Museum, and plans were begun to establish a permanent exhibition.[113] In 1989, a 'Gold Exhibition' was held in the Museum.[114] This tradition has continued until present curation of the Museum. For example the homepage of the museum's website proclaims:

> Exhibitions include the finest collection of prehistoric gold artefacts in western Europe, outstanding examples of metalwork from the Celtic Iron Age, as well as the Museum's world-renowned collection of medieval ecclesiastical objects and jewellery. The Broighter Hoard, the Ardagh Chalice, the Tara Brooch and Derrynaflan Hoard are among the masterpieces on display.[115]

When a visitor enters the first exhibition space of the museum, collections of artefacts made of gold or collections of artefacts made of silver dominate the main space. In this way, the gold and silver objects' functional qualities or interpretative meanings are negated in preference of the visual aesthetic and materialistic qualities of the pieces and the unquestioned role these objects have in representing a glorified 'Irish', 'Celtic' and 'National' past. The current exhibition in the main space of the National Museum is entitled 'Ór' (gold) and is advertised on the website of the museum:

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[109] Board of Visitors of the National Museum of Ireland 1969 *Report on the National Museum and National Botanic Gardens 1968-1969*, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, 5-6.
[110] Board of Visitors of the National Museum of Ireland 1979 *Report on the National Museum and National Botanic Gardens 1979*, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, 6.
[111] Board of Visitors of the National Museum of Ireland 1981 *Report on the National Museum and National Botanic Gardens 1981*, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, 12.
[112] ibid.
[113] Board of Visitors of the National Museum of Ireland 1984 *Report on the National Museum and National Botanic Gardens 1984*, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, 12.
[114] Board of Visitors of the National Museum of Ireland 1989 *Report on the National Museum and National Botanic Gardens 1989*, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, 7.
[115] National Museum of Ireland 2006a 'Archaeology and History' Museum.ie <http://www.museum.ie/archaeology> [Accessed 2 Feb 2006]. Comparison should be made between this quotation and Higgins' assertion that these objects are part of 'what we are'. See Dáil Debates, vol. 440, c. 1338, 24 March 1994. Also see pages 28-9 of Chapter 1 of this thesis.

Ór - Ireland's Gold

The National Museum's collection of prehistoric goldwork, ranging in date between 2200BC and 500BC, is one of the largest and most important in Western Europe. Most are pieces of jewellery but the precise function of some is unknown.[116]

In this way, the 'glory' of gold as a valuable commodity and the amount of pieces manufactured in gold in Ireland is utilised to represent a cultural richness. Singular 'glorified' examples of the archaeological assemblage of national artefacts are utilised to generate interest in the National Museum rather than focusing on the broader significance of Irish archaeology as a narrative of self-understanding. Similar methods of representing Ireland's glorified 'past' can be seen in other exhibits such as:

The Treasury

... this exhibition houses outstanding religious and secular metalwork dating from the pagan Celtic Iron Age through to the Middle Ages. Objects include the sumptuously ornamented Broighter gold collar, found with other neck ornaments and intriguing models of a boat and a cauldron. ... Pride of place is given to some of the best-known treasures of the 8th-9th century 'Golden Age' such as the Ardagh and Derrynaflan Hoards, the Moylough Belt Shrine and the gilt silver Tara Brooch, remarkable for the sumptuousness and variety of its decoration and the detail and quality of its workmanship.[117]

Indeed, the banner slogan for the museum visible at the building, on the website and on other promotional material is telling:

Archaeology & History: A Vision of a Golden Age[118]

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[116] National Museum of Ireland 2006b 'Archaeology and History: Exhibitions and Collections' Museum.ie < http://www.museum.ie/exhibitionsandcollections/details.asp?id=32&subsection=collections&site_id=2> [Accessed 2 Feb 2006].

[117] ibid.

[118] National Museum of Ireland 2006a (Electronic Resource).

The selection of the glories of this 'Golden Age' is illustrated by the words of Wallace:

> Christianised from the time of St Patrick in the fifth century, Ireland was not dominated by the Romans nor was it fully urbanised until the tenth century. The country witnessed a flowering of Christianity which blossomed in a monastic milieu from which we have inherited cultural legacies including artworks from a devout and scholarly Golden Age...[119]

Thus the selection of materialised glories of Ireland's history and prehistory is governed by similar social perceptions to those to which Irish jewellers and Irish politicians have responded.[120] Social idealisation of an 'Irish', 'Celtic' or 'Christian' 'Golden Age' resulted in the creation of a market for consumable replicas of unique and significant archaeological finds such as the 'Tara' brooch or 'Ardagh' chalice. Wallace's marketing of the glorious objects of the 'Celtic' or 'Irish' 'Golden Age' sensationalises archaeological research. These presentations of archaeology as the finder of 'treasures' tend to undermine the long battle that archaeologists have made to engage and critique the view held by the public that an archaeologist is a treasure hunter, such as the fictional characters of Lara Croft or Indiana Jones. Furthermore, his preference for the preservation and exhibition of unique, 'golden' objects and his belief that they are 'the best expressions of their ancient times' has resulted in a general undervaluing of objects in wood or bone and abstract archaeological research from soil colouration, stratigraphy, landscape survey or other methodologies. Thus Wallace endorses what is a misrepresentative sample of the product of human agency in Ireland. The more common objects such as flints or iron nails are not a part of his conception of a 'Golden Age'. His manifesto has been to highlight materialistic achievements in Ireland, continuing the same trend of manifesting and constructing the notion of a glorious 'Celtic' or 'ancient Irish' people whose collection of 'gold' objects can sit alongside those of any other European nation.

This glorification of 'Irish' antiquities and 'national treasures' deviates little from the response to the first assemblage of glorified objects from antiquity such as the 'Tara'

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[119] Wallace 2002, 2.
[120] See pages 109-16 of Chapter 3 of this thesis.

brooch in the Hall of Antiquities at the Great Exhibition of Dublin in 1853.[121] In 1853, the *Exhibition Expositor and Advertiser* declared that:

> ... Ireland continues to be rich in valued remains of her early history to an extent which no other country of Europe that we know of can boast.[122]

It went on to emphasise the point that the collection could come to form the basis for a national museum which would be unrivalled in Europe.

> This collection is still much less known than it should be, and we believe that it was in the hope of bringing its claims better before the public, [that they] will thereby be enabled to form a correct opinion of its extent and value, and an opportunity will be afforded to everyone to assist in the establishment of the Museum – the only truly *national* one in Europe...[123]

Of course, the nationalistic rhetoric has been removed from the current National Museum's public statements; however, the national qualities of the collections in the main space are implicit in the establishment's English title, the National Museum of Ireland and in the words of its Director, Wallace.[124] He suggested that:

> ... the National Museum of Ireland has a role comparable to its sister institutions in Copenhagen and Edinburgh, having a similar responsibility in the overall national cultural landscape.[125]

That Wallace chose the Edinburgh museum to support his apologetic for the use of the National Museum as a forum for national rhetoric in the 21st century illustrates his lack of awareness of broader changes in the role of museum spaces in Europe and his lack of

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[121] See pages 112-7 Chapter 3 for a discussion of the Great Exhibition of Dublin in 1853 and its impact on the development of 'Irish' and 'Celtic' artistic styles. Also see Saris 2000.
[122] Anon. 1853 *Exhibition Expositor and Advertiser*, no. xi, John Cameron, Dublin, 5. As quoted in Saris 2000, 80.
[123] Anon. 1853 *Exhibition Expositor and Advertiser*, no. i, John Cameron, Dublin, 5. As quoted in Saris 2000, 80.
[124] The Irish title of the institution is *Ard-Mhúsaem na hÉireann* which would translate directly as 'High Museum of Ireland'. It is notable that in Irish the institution is not directly associated with the word *náisiúin* (nation).
[125] Wallace 2002, 1.

engagement with reconceptualisations of museums. The recent founding of the Museum of Scotland as a separate initiative within the National Museums of Scotland specifically questioned the validity of contextualising archaeological interpretations and exhibitions within national narratives.[126] In the words of its Keeper of Archaeology, David Clarke:

> For 90%, in terms of time, of the human occupation of the geographical area of Scotland, the concept of a Scottish nation, as we now understand it, is meaningless...[127]

The Museum of Scotland was developed specifically to present archaeological and historical collections which had previously been exhibited in a nationalist institution stepping beyond both the nationalistic discourses of both the Royal Museum of Scotland and the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland as is reflected in its name. Rather it intended to present cultural expressions resulting from social and environmental experiences in the geographical area now known as Scotland.[128]

What is particularly striking regarding the collection of antiquities in the central court of the National Museum of Ireland, Kildare Street is that there has been little attempt at a revision or reassessment of the significance of these material objects to conceptions of Irish cultural identity. Although the National Museum of Ireland – Decorative Arts and History at Collins Barracks carried the exhibition 'Neo-Celtic Art' which dynamically engaged with the inspiration of archaeological objects in the construction of new national and cultural symbols, no move was made on behalf of the National Museum of Ireland – Archaeology and History to display the original artefacts within this more subjective and revisionist exhibition.[129] It seems a pity that in this exhibition of replicas made by 19th century jewellers like William Waterhouse of archaeological artefacts such as the 'Tara' brooch, the replicas could not be directly compared to the original artefacts. Of course to

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[126] Since the completion of this thesis, the Museum of Scotland and the Royal Museum have been brought together under the same name, 'National Museum of Scotland'. Quoting the press release from 13 October 2006: 'The Royal Museum and the Museum of Scotland on Chambers Street jointly become the National Museum of Scotland. Research showed there is currently much confusion between the two parts of the joint complex and the new name will reduce visitor confusion and increase understanding of the content and international significance of our flagship venue.' <http://www.nms.ac.uk/ournewlook_1.aspx>

[127] Letter from Dr David Clarke to Jenni Calder, 27 August 1991. See McKean, C. 2000 *The Making of the Museum of Scotland*, NMS Publishing, Edinburgh, 101.

[128] For a discussion of the making of the Museum of Scotland see McKean 2000.

[129] See pages 112-7 of Chapter 3 for a discussion of 'Neo-Celtic Art' and the exhibition at the National Museum of Ireland - Decorative Arts and History at Collins Barracks.

do this, would subject the glorified examples from the 'Celtic Iron Age' and from early Christian Ireland to revisionist critiques.[130] This would also create new networks of relationships between these objects and society which could lead to a popular questioning of Irish chosen glories and suitable reservoirs and Irish large group identity in general.

De-Neutralising the Past

It is critical to counter Adorno's fear of the exhibition space and deneutralise the viewing of cultural objects by engaging and better understanding our methods of representing the past and presenting objects of the past to the public in all experiential space whether digital, textual, visual or physical. Such movements have begun elsewhere. For example, the recent exhibition by Latour and Weibel at the Zentrum für Kunst und Medientechnologie (Centre for Art and Media) in Karlsruhe, Germany entitled 'Making Things Public: Athmosphären der Demokratie' highlighted the need to move from objects to things – and things in the sense of the original German and English meaning of the word as an assembly of people.[131] In this way, assemblages of objects of art and assemblages of people can interact in participatory exchanges which develop new and dynamic groups and concepts with every individual who takes part. From the website of the exhibition:

> It turns out that the oldest meaning of the English and German word for 'thing' concerns an assembly brought together to discuss disputed matters of concern. Hence the focus on the slogan FROM REALPOLITIK TO *[TH]INGPOLITIK*, a neologism invented for the show. This major shift is reflected in the aesthetic of the show, in the ways in which the over one hundred installations and works of art are presented, and in the general physical and virtual architecture. What we are trying to do is compare modernist with non-modern attitudes to objects. In effect we are moving FROM OBJECTS TO THINGS [capitals original].[132]

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[130] It should also be noted that this would have required transport as well, which could have subjected these artefacts to unnecessary stress. However, the illustration of brooches and other artefacts from the museum collection in plate 6:9 page 238 in *Treasures of the National Museum: Irish Antiquities* (2002) against broken slate illustrates the willingness of the Museum to move these objects.

[131] Latour, B. & Weibel, P. 2005a 'Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy', zkm.de <makingingthingspublic.zkm.de/fa/dings/DingPolitikHome.htm> [Accessed 4 Nov 2005]. Latour, B. & P. Weibel 2005b *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, The MIT Press, Cambridge.

[132] Latour & Weibel 2005a (Electronic Resource).

The effect of this exhibition was to deneutralise the exhibition and museum space, allowing the public to come into being through participation in the experience of representations of concerns and issues through assemblages of objects and images whether visual, textual, digital, performative or other.[133] In the same way, archaeologists must seek to deneutralise the spaces in which discourses over the past and archaeology occur. The dichotomy between assemblages of people and assemblages of objects which facilitates passive consumption of images of the past must no longer be supported through archaeological theory and practice.

Recently, efforts have been made to open up the exhibition space of the National Museum of Ireland – Archaeology and History. For example, the current temporary exhibit 'Ten Years Collecting 1990 – 1999' attempts to shed light on the processes of acquisition, study and preservation of artefacts recently added to the museum's collection.

> *Ten Years Collecting 1990 - 1999*
>
> This exhibition celebrates ten years of discovery of archaeological objects by people from all over Ireland. This exhibition recognises the contribution which has been made by all finders of archaeological objects and by others who, through their interest and commitment, have assisted the Museum in its role as the guardian of one of the country's richest resources – the archaeological objects that lie buried beneath our feet. ... The exhibition deals with a number of different themes and answers questions that are often asked by finders and visitors such as: How do archaeological objects come to the National Museum? How are objects reported and acquired? What happens to an object when it comes into the Museum? What is it? How old is it?[134]

The merits of such an effort should be applauded; however, it can not go unnoticed that the approach to this exhibition still only engages with archaeology and the presentation of the past along 'processual' guidelines. There is little engagement with the philosophical theories involved in the interpretation of archaeological material or the subjectivity of their representation with in museum space. It would be enlightening if the museum were to do a

[133] See Latour & Weibel 2005b for a collection of essays from the contributors to the exhibition discussing the interaction between the pieces and the issues and ideas created.
[134] National Museum of Ireland 2006b (Electronic Resource).

similar exhibition dealing with the acquisition and handling of antiquities during the early 20th century since the establishment of the Irish Free State and particularly during the period surrounding the Wood Quay excavations of the 1960s and 70s. Of course these issues are political and would raise contentious questions regarding the materialisation of Irish ethnic, national, cultural identity in the exhibitions of the National Museum, or worse still, questions regarding the ignoring of or active choice against acquiring and preserving artefacts which did not fit into this national, ethnic, cultural image.

The clearest demonstration of the neutralisation of space with in the National Museum – Archaeology and History is in the Rotunda. During the 19th century, the Rotunda had been used as an exhibition space. Exhibitions included field guns captured by Lord Gough from the Sikhs in 1846 (see Figure 7.2), carriages and casts of Classical and European works of sculpture which were exhibited until 1928 (see Figure 7.3). In 1928, the *Report on the National Museum* decided that 'the Rotunda will be reserved for exhibits which do not fit conveniently into the other rooms of the Division, and for the display of burial reconstructions, new acquisitions and temporary exhibitions'.[135] Since this decision, the Rotunda housed the exhibition of casts of high crosses, architectural photographs and a Pieta statue.[136] These high cross casts were still on display in 1963.[137] By the 1980s, the Rotunda fell out of use, and during refurbishments to the Seanad offices in 1987, it was suggested to move the Seanad to the Rotunda as 'it is not used for display purposes'.[138] This was rejected by the Museum:

> Impressive spaces such as the Rotunda and the Central Court have been described by Hall Redman, as magnificent pieces of Museum design. It would be ill used for other than Museum purposes.[139]

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[135] Board of Visitors of the National Museum of Ireland 1928 *Report on the National Museum and National Botanic Gardens 1927-1928*, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, 5.
[136] In 1948, an exhibition of high cross casts is attested to in the Rotunda. The niches of the Rotunda were utilised to exhibit architectural photographs. A Pieta was included in the space that year, but it was seen as being 'incongruous in the midst of early Irish crosses and while it remains will continue to be an obstacle to the proper use of the room'. Board of Visitors of the National Museum of Ireland 1948 *Report on the National Museum and National Botanic Gardens 1947-1948*, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, 4.
[137] Board of Visitors of the National Museum of Ireland 1963 *Report on the National Museum and National Botanic Gardens 1962-1963*, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, 4.
[138] Noel Treacy (Fianna Fáil), Dáil Debates, vol. 373, c. 264-7, 28 May 1987.
[139] Board of Visitors of the National Museum of Ireland 1994 *Report on the National Museum and National Botanic Gardens 1993-1994*, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, 14-5.

It was perhaps ironic, that only two years later, the conversion of the Rotunda into a shop for the Museum was nearing completion (Figure 7.4).

> The adaptation has been sensitively achieved and plans are in hand to have first class replicas, souvenirs and a wide range of literature on sale. The Board still has some reservations, however, as to the location of the shop in the Rotunda, and sees potential problems with regard to surveillance and crowd control on occasions.[140]

Since these refurbishments the Rotunda has seen very little usage for exhibition.[141] A display of 'Folklife Material' did take place in the Rotunda from 1994 to 1995 but this was part of the launching of the 1995 Museum Calendar.[142] The shop was considered to be a 'resounding financial success'.[143] Yet this reorganisation has led to a general neutralisation of the space of the Rotunda. The first thing a visitor now experiences when entering the National Museum – Archaeology and History is a series of consumable representations and replicas of artefacts and cultural symbols as well as postcards, books, bags, blankets, calculators in the form of mobile phones with the National Museum brand and many other souvenir goods. For example, on display is a completed jigsaw puzzle of Jim Fitzpatrick's painting 'Nuada the High King' (1978) which can be purchased from the shop.

Thus, the reflective or introductory capacity of the space has been forsaken in preference of an opportunity for consumerism. The neutralisation of this space is further illustrated by the provision of a door between the Rotunda and the main exhibition hall. Thus, rather than inviting the visitor into the main space to engage with exhibitions of the material objects in the museum collection, the visitor is encouraged to stay within the Rotunda and engage with consumption. Only after making an active choice to open the door to the main space and entering does the visitor encounter any form of engagement or outreach or expression of interpretation on behalf of the museum.

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[140] Board of Visitors of the National Museum of Ireland 1989, 7.
[141] It should be noted that the lack of any exhibit in the centre of the Rotunda has allowed for better viewing of the fine Neo-Classical mosaic on the floor depicting the signs of the Zodiac. The mosaic was installed by Ludwig Oppenheimer of Manchester c.1885-1886.
[142] Board of Visitors of the National Museum of Ireland 1995 *Report on the National Museum and National Botanic Gardens 1994-1995*, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, 34.
[143] Board of Visitors of the National Museum of Ireland 1992 *Report on the National Museum and National Botanic Gardens 1991-1992*, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, 12.

The political, nationalistic and ethnic motivations behind removing plaster casts of Classical sculpture and of representations of British militarism (Figure 7.1) or other aspects of colonial culture (Figure 7.2) can be seen as part of the attempt to remove all things deemed 'un-Irish'.[144] Thus, the modern museum space was indigenised in order to represent the identity of the new Irish Free State.[145] However, this process has not led to reflection on the constructed nature of this indigenised modern identity nor on its representation. Rather, it has merely led to the commodification of those representations for the sake of marketing Irish cultural identity. Thus, the space of the National Museum has become a representation itself of Irish modern aspirations for entitlement to cultural recognition through the discourse of national self-determination. The National Museum itself has become an artefact of modern Irish identity.

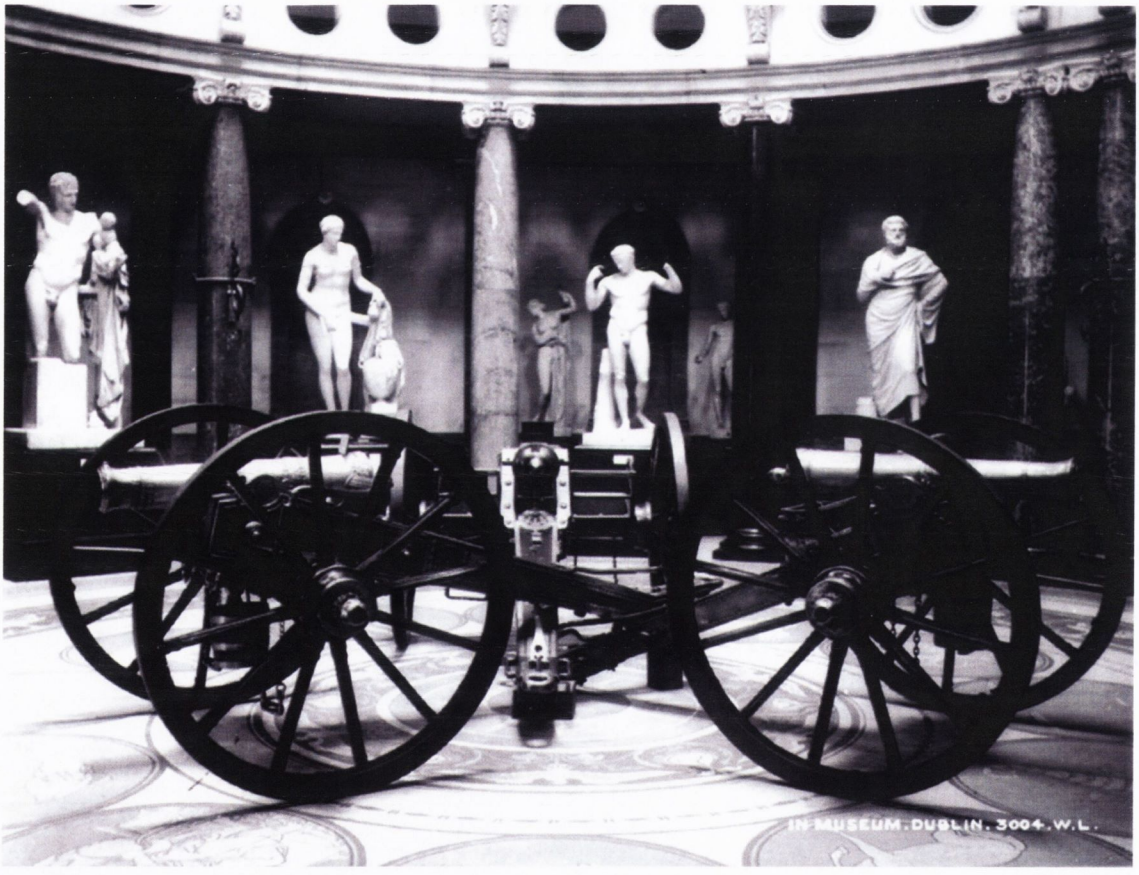


Figure 7.1 Field guns captured by Lord Gough from the Sikhs in 1846 on exhibition in the Rotunda at the Dublin Museum of Art and Science (contemporary National Museum of Ireland). Note the replicas of Classical statues in the background. Image taken between 1880-1900, titled 'In Museum, Dublin'. National Library of Ireland, Photographic Archive, Lawrence Collection (LROY 3004).

[144] See McBride 1999 and Kee 2000.
[145] See Crooke 2001.

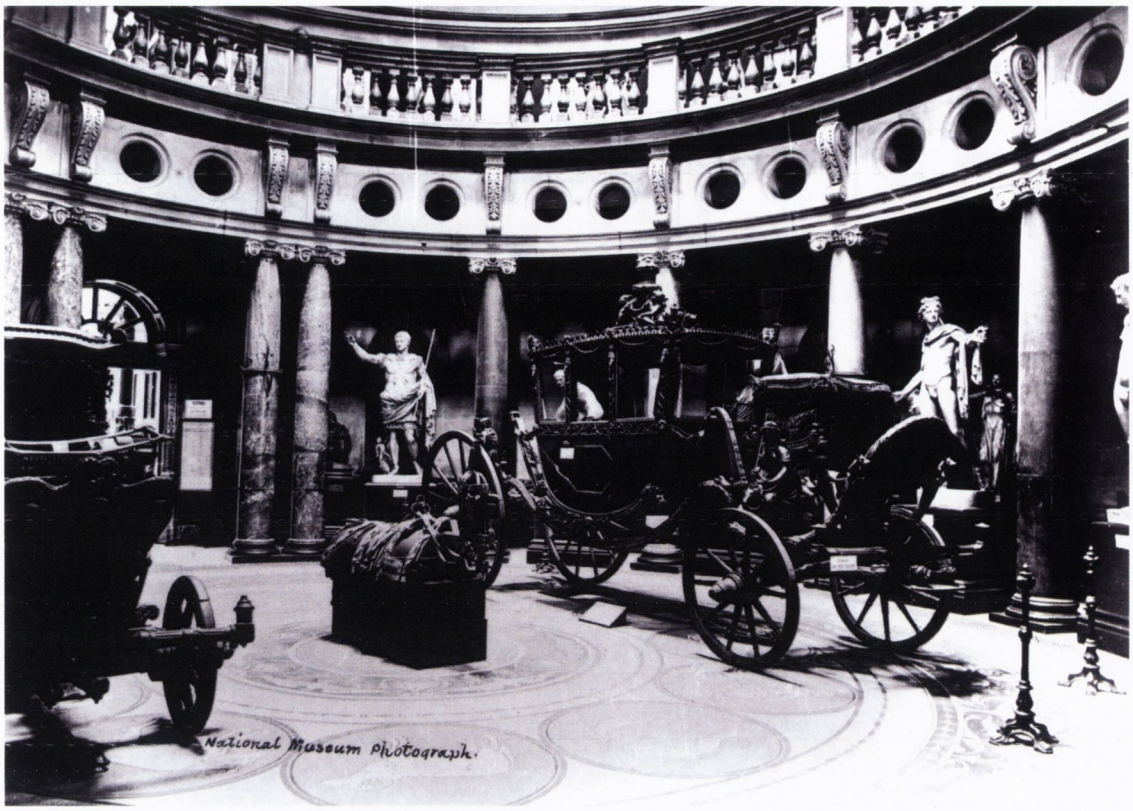


Figure 7.2 Carriages on exhibit in the Rotunda of the Dublin Museum of Art and Science (contemporary National Museum of Ireland). The example on the right was the coach used by Lord Clare, Lord Chancellor of Ireland. It was exhibited in the Rotunda from 1899-1929.[146] Note that the same replicas of Classical sculpture as in Figure 7.2 are still on display with this exhibit. Courtesy National Museum of Ireland.



Figure 7.3 The Rotunda and Museum Shop, National Museum of Ireland – Archaeology and History. Notice the replacement of exhibitions with postcard stands and other souvenirs. Photograph by Richard Nowitz.

[146] Wallace 2002, 19.

De-Neutralising Museums: The Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh[147]

Wallace likened the mission of the National Museum to that of the Museum of Scotland.[148] Thus it would be exciting if Wallace and other members of the National Museum staff then followed the example set by the Museum of Scotland, which opened in 1998, in the deneutralisation of their exhibition space and the active role the staff has taken in countering the commodification of modern Scottish or Gaelic identity. As opposed to entering through a museum shop, the visitor to the Museum of Scotland is led down a corridor which hosts changing installations by contemporary artists (see Figures 7.6-7). This corridor leads to a broad and open and bare central space, the Hawthornden Court (see Figures 7.8-9). This contextualises the visit within the experience of contemporary and modern Scottish society through the unimpeded experience of contemporary architectural form. The Hawthornden Court and the entire design of the museum is intersected by multiple doors and access points and paths. This explicitly materialises the attempt of the designers of the museum, Gordon Benson and Alan Forsyth, and the museum's staff to provide an experience of how 'our conception of time as linear and precise is inappropriate'.[149] The visitor is able to move and engage with objects in any order as contemporary lived phenomena and construct their own interpretations of phenomena of existence, materiality and time.

[147] Since the completion of this thesis, the Museum of Scotland and the Royal Museum have been brought together under the same name, 'National Museum of Scotland'. See footnote 126, page 329 of this chapter.
[148] See pages 328-9 of Chapter 7 of this thesis. Wallace 2002, 1.
[149] Interviews with Ian Hooper, Robert Smith and Sir Alistair Grant by Charles McKean. Also found in the National Museum of Scotland Trustres minutes on 6 October 1995. See McKean 2000, 113.



Figure 7.6 The entrance corridor of the Museum of Scotland (now National Museum of Scotland), Edinburgh. An installation by Ian Hamilton Finlay entitled 'Roses' (2003) can be seen in the left portion of the photograph, running along the wall.

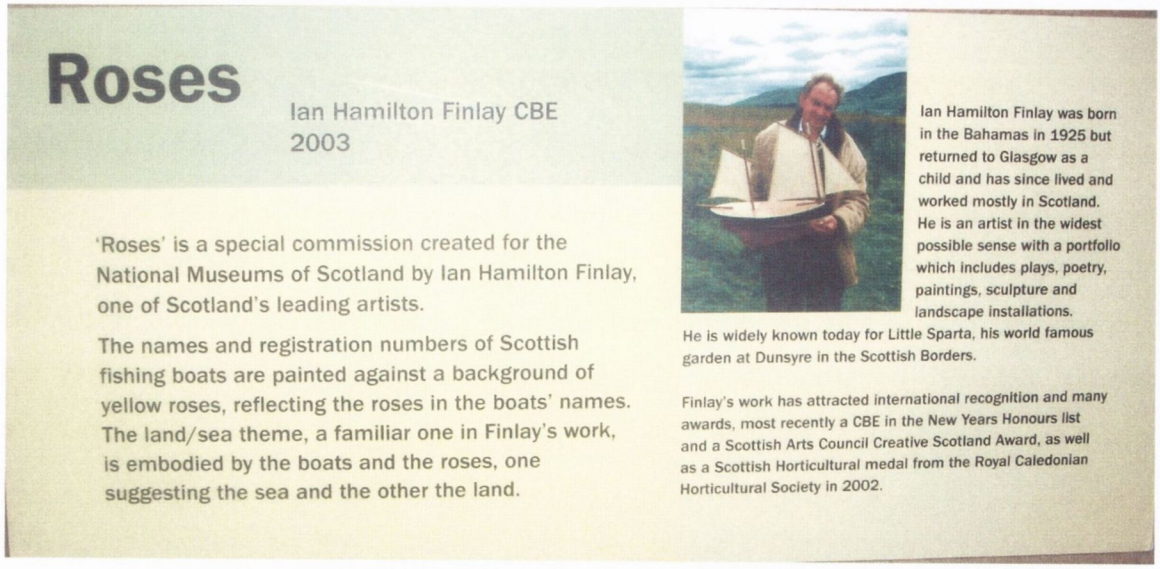


Figure 7.7 Public information notice in the entrance corridor of the Museum of Scotland (now National Museum of Scotland), Edinburgh. This introduces the installation by artist Ian Hamilton Finlay entitled 'Roses' (2003).




Figures 7.8-9 The Hawthornden Court of the Museum of Scotland designed by Gordon Benson and Alan Forsyth. Note the multiple access points and flowing yet disjointed paths through the space. Benson and Forsyth also designed the Millenium Wing of the National Gallery of Ireland which has a similar design. It was completed in 2002. Images after McKean 2000. Courtesy the National Museum of Scotland.

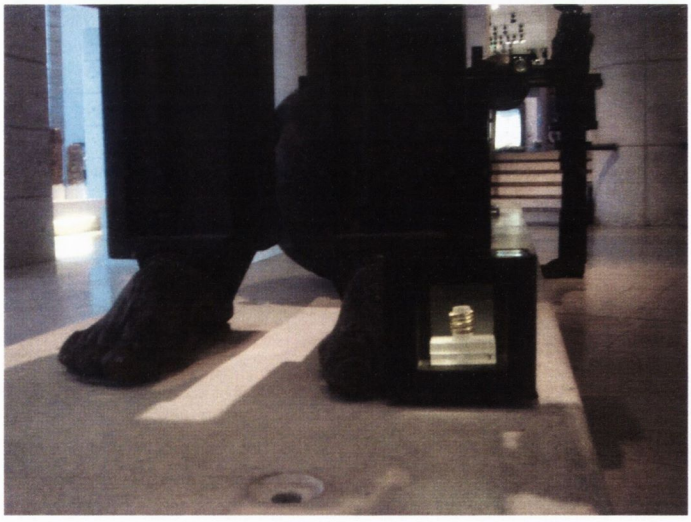
A particularly strong aspect of the design of the Museum of Scotland was its incorporation of work by contemporary artists.[150] After entering the central space, the visitor may proceed down stairs to the 'Early People' display. Upon entering this floor, the visitor is greeted by 12 larger-than-life bronze sculptures of abstract, cubist human form made by the contemporary sculptor Sir Eduardo Paolozzi (1924-2005) (see Figures 7.10-12). Within the bodies of these sculptures, display cases are incorporated to situate prehistoric artefacts in a way that illustrates where they may have been worn on the body. Thus rather than negating the functional aspect of artefacts by displaying them simply in a display case. The visitor is encouraged to explore and interact with the physical space around the sculptures in order to experience the objects as they may have been experienced when they were first made (see Figures 7.11-12). The strength of this installation is that it contextualises modern archaeological interpretation within the self-reflexive discourse of modern and contemporary art. The cubist style of the statues of Paolozzi symbolise the

[150] See Renfrew *et al.* 2004.

abstract, formulaic rationale of modern scientific process which archaeology utilises.[151] However, the contextualisation of this critique of the modern archaeological endeavour within abstract artistic form provides for a productive discussion of possibilities of expression rather than a static condemnation of process.



Figure 7.10 Humanoid sculptures with cases displaying artefacts where they may have been worn. Made by Sir Eduardo Paolozzi (1991-1998). Museum of Scotland (now National Museum of Scotland), Edinburgh.



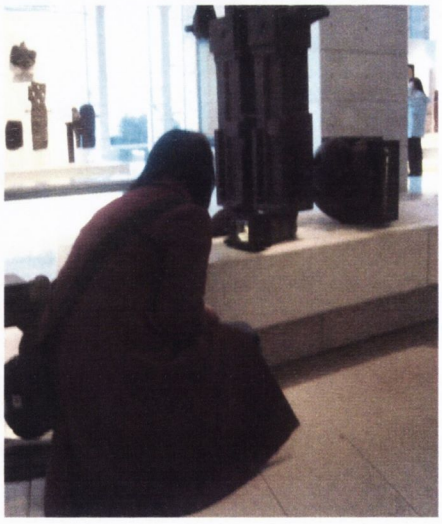


Figure 7.11 (Left) Detail of one of Paolozzi's sculptures wearing what has been interpreted as a gold toe ring.
Figure 7.12 (Right) A visitor to the museum crouching in order to view the object.

[151] These sculptures follow the same aesthetic and philosophical themes as Paolozzi's 'Master of the Universe' (1990), a bronze sculpture which depicts a human form of constructed of geometric blocks with its eyes obscured by a prominent geometric block. This statue expresses the impact of Newton's rational and logical systems on humanity. See Pearson, F. 1999 *Paolozzi*, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Similar open initiatives in Ireland are beginning, within the same National Museum of Ireland. In the Decorative Arts and History section a much more subjective approach to curation has been taken. They have opened up their store of over 10,000 pieces which they have set up in a 'visible storage facility' which the public can tour and come to their own conclusions about the curation of the museum (Figure 7.13-14).

> There are now 16,500 extra reasons to visit the National Museum of Ireland – Decorative Arts & History at Collins Barracks. For the first time in the history of the organization the entire national reserve collections of silver, glass and Asian as well as a fraction of the Museum's Ceramics collections are on view in this new visible storage facility. 'What's In Store?' is a behind the scenes Museum experience rather than an exhibition.[152]



Figure 7.13-14 Images of the 'visible storage facility' at the National Museum of Ireland – Decorative Arts and History, Collins Barracks, Dublin. Photographs by Lensmen photographers (2004). Courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland, Decorative Arts and History.

Of course the negation of the physical qualities of the artefact in social interaction is for the purposes of preservation and conservation. This is necessary to ensure that future societies have the opportunity to appreciate the objects which we interact with today. The issue with this though is that with the distancing of the subject from the physical state of the artefact, the modern self/object dichotomy is supported, and the conception of objectified truth is facilitated. Visual consumption all too easily falls into this commodification of the artefact as a symbolic representation of an expectation of the past to explain the existence of a social group today. The National Museum would do well to engage with contemporary

[152] National Museum of Ireland 2006c 'What's in Store?' Museum.ie <http://www.museum.ie> [Accessed 22 Mar 2006]. Altered by personal comment from Audrey Whitty, curator of 'What's in Store?' (2006).

movements in other museum institutions in order to revitalise the museum as a space to discover, explore and manifest new meanings and narratives about Ireland and the people, both present and past, who have lived in Ireland.[153]

Re-Valuing the Past: Heritage and the Marketplace of Icons

The exhibition of objects of the past and thus museums must be situated in the broader contemporary discourse of the heritage industry and thus the tourism industry. The contemporary Irish tourist economy relies heavily on conceptions of and interests in Irish heritage in order to market commodities and experiences.[154] The relationships between archaeology, heritage, tourism and cultural representation is critical to the modern phenomenon of tourism. Individuals who do not directly take part in social groups in Ireland are impacting the economics and cultural forms in Ireland through tourism or consuming representations of cultural and ethnic identities from the island through souvenirs.[155] The tourism and heritage industry in the Republic of Ireland rely heavily on the representation of modern conceptions of the 'Irish' past and of 'Irish' identity in order to encourage consumption and tourism as part of economic development.[156] Archaeological monuments and artefacts in Ireland have been particularly useful in this as they are 'verifiable' symbols of the 'Irish' past through the modern science of archaeology. This has led to a 'boom' in the use of cultural symbols derived from Irish archaeological artefacts and monuments in contemporary advertising in Ireland and the advertisement of 'Irish' products abroad. The iconic potential of artefacts and monuments in social

[153] The British Museum's recent exhibition 'The Museum of the Mind' is another example of such an initiative. The exhibit reconceptualised the space of the British Museum as an object of memory which housed the material experience of thousands of other objects and invited the visitor to the museum to create narrative paths within the museum space in order to manifest new meanings and understandings. For a discussion see Mack, J. 2003 *The Museum of the Mind: Art and Memory in World Cultures*, The British Museum, London.

[154] See McManus, R. 1997, 92 and Bord Fáilte, 1997 for a discussion of the impact of reliance on tourism in the Irish economy on Irish society.

[155] See pages 124-33 of chapter 3 for a discussion of the impact of souvenirs on the selection and development of symbols in Ireland. See pages 205-9 of Chapter 4 or a discussion of the impact of tourism on landscapes and lifestyles in the Republic of Ireland. See Russell 2006b for a general discussion of philosophical problems facing archaeology in its relationship with heritage industries and tourism.

[156] See Brett 1996. Also see pages 157-9 of Chapter 3 for a discussion of the role of objects as consumable representations of Irish large group identity. See pages 205-9 of chapter 4 for a brief discussion of the impact of tourism patterns on rural lifestyles.

discourses has been studied by archaeologists and socio-cultural theorists (see Figures 7.15-17).[157] This trend can be seen to be of a much broader trend in contemporary culture.



Figure 7.15 Logo for Indymedia.org, an international independent news website. Courtesy Indymedia.org.

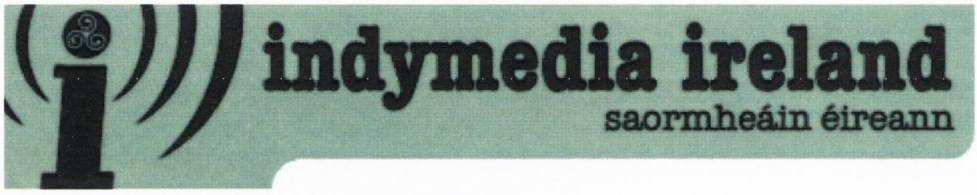


Figure 7.16 Logo for Indymedia.ie, a partner of Indymedia.org specialising in independent news in Ireland. Notice the use of the 'triple-spiral' motif from Newgrange on the 'dot' of the 'i'. Courtesy Indymedia.ie



Figure 7.17 Banner image for the website of the Discovery Programme (www.discoveryprogramme.ie). Notice the use of a schematic representation of Ráith na Ríg from the Hill of Tara as the company's logo. Although the Discovery Programme is an archaeological company, the logo-isation of a specific site in order to symbolise the general concept of archaeology and discovery should be noted.

Bill Evamy in a recent article in the British design magazine *Blueprint* discussed the evident phenomenon of corporations such as Macintosh (Apple), Nike, Shell and British Petroleum dropping the text from their corporate logos opting for the simple 'swoosh' without the 'Nike' or an 'apple' instead of the text 'Apple' or for example (see

[157] For a geneal discussion of the role of archaeology in European national identities see Kohl, P. L. & C. P. Fawcett (eds.) 1995 *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. or Díaz-Andreu, M. & T. Champion (eds.) 1996 *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, Westview Press, Boulder. For a discussion on the relationship between archaeology and ethnicity see Jones 1997.

Figures 7.18-19). Describing this phenomenon as the 'iconic boom', Evamy argued that this was evidence of a rise in visual literacy in society, meaning that as a society we are developing universal visual symbologies to facilitate more efficient communication which transcends language barriers:

> Symbols on their own are more powerful – or offer an impression of greater power – than symbols that require a supporting text. They can develop the capacity to trigger complex collections of feelings, bypassing the conscious mind on the way. And they are more exportable; they more easily avoid associations with specific cultures or languages.[158]

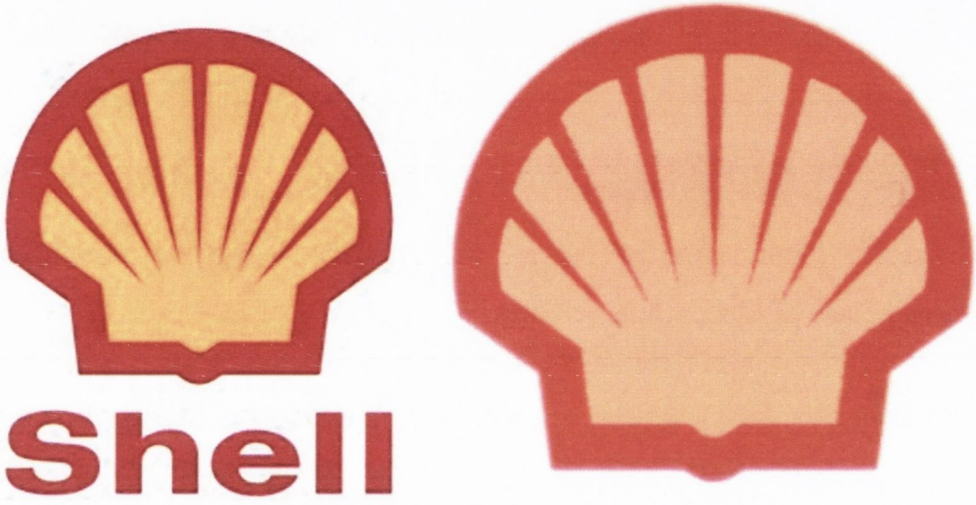


Figure 7.18 (Left) Shell's logo with its accompanying name.
Figure 7.19 (Right) Shell's purely visual logo without supporting text.

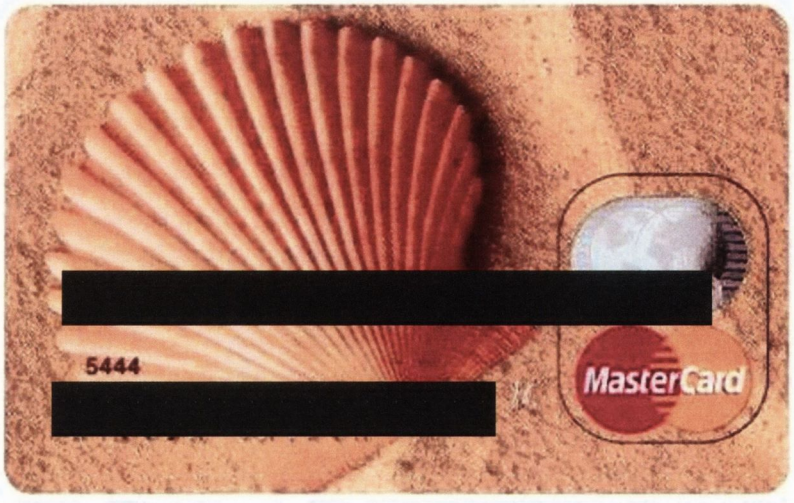


Figure 7.20 Sample of a Shell Mastercard. Notice the use of an organic, natural shell to symbolise the corporate identity of Shell Oil.

[158] Evamy, M. 2003 'Iconic Boom', *Blueprint*, no. 208, June, 62-6, 62.

DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle noted that archaeological monuments, when acting as a materialisation of an ideology, have the ability to cross-cut difference and boundaries within and without a society because they are a non-textual materialisation.[159] Despite this, archaeological artefacts have become associated with specific cultures or languages by contemporary society because of their perceived authenticity.[160] They are often perceived as pre-existing material markers of peoples and culture such as with Peter Heather's study of the Goths or Catherine Hills' study of the English.[161] This is the significance of the archaeological artefact in modern large group psychology. It is inherently iconic, as it has no supporting text to market its meaning. Thus, their meanings are continually renewed and re-envisaged within the communication channels of society. They are perceived as fixed, 'constant' material visual markers which facilitate the discourse of heritage and the construction of historical consciousness and grand narratives of identity.[162] To quote from Evamy again:

> Visual information systems have been established, absorbed and digested by cultures around the world. They offer anonymous, generalised, abbreviated, compacted visions of human existence. They do their work for governments, agencies and business. Now, though, the same graphic languages are being appropriated by others to reflect alternative visions of the world.[163]

Just as Shell's use of an organic shell on their credit cards and in their advertising campaigns enforces a natural, eternal and benevolent presence in the environment of Shell as a corporation, so too does the use of an artefact by a socio-political group give that group a certain credence and affirmation that it is tied to antiquity through a continual cultural and social lineage which therefore entitles them to exist and to act in the world today (see Figure 7.20).[164] As David Lowenthal noted in *The Politics of the Past*, 'the Western emphasis on material tokens of antiquity as symbols of heritage has been all but universally adopted.'[165] In this way, artefacts form a visual information system that

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[159] DeMarrais *et al.* 1996, 19. Also see DeMarrais *et al.* 2005.
[160] Jones 1997; Heather 1996, 5.
[161] Hills 1996; Heather 2003.
[162] DeMarrais *et al.* 1996, 19-20. Also see DeMarrais *et al.* 2005.
[163] Evamy 2003, 63.
[164] DeMararis *et al.* 1996: 19-20. See pages 221-3of Chapter 5 for a discussion of the role of such materialisations in the establishment of an ancient claim to cultural distinctiveness by the 'Home Rule' movement and the National Repeal Association.
[165] Lowenthal 1989, 302.

functions at the core of many modern cultural and social groups, and there has been a growing use of archaeological images in the marketing of companies and services through the 'logo-isation' of artefacts and symbols derived from artefacts (see Figures 7.14-16). As illustrated by the quotation from Minister Higgins found above and in the discussions of Daniel O'Connell's use of artefacts in his political symbology, artefacts and monuments are an integral component of modern society's visual literacy, inspiring groups such as in the Republic of Ireland in the construction of their identity.[166] This trend has become particularly problematic when considering the mass dissemination of images of artefacts that has come to dominate heritage awareness in the Information Age.

Heritage in the Information Age

In such a move towards participation and engagement in society, the current 'state of affairs' of the relationship between conceptions of heritage and society should be declared. In the Republic of Ireland and throughout the world, societies today are confronted with media saturated with images, visualisations and materialisations of identities, others, other worlds and other times, but which actively market commodities which individuals can consume in order to affirm beliefs in self and modern group identity.[167] This potential was noted by Minister for Public Service Eugene Fitzgerald in 1982:

> In this era of instant communication and increasing tendency towards a kind of universal or international culture our heritage is one of the strongest forces for preserving our own sense of identity as a separate nation and people.[168]

Currently, a proliferation of images and representations of both 'Irish' individuals as well as of 'Irish' social groups is readily available for consumption at the proverbial 'click of a mouse'. Brett argued that in the wake of the technological and social developments of the 19th and 20th centuries a 'disconnection between the identity "Irish" and the really existing

[166] See pages 109-11 of Chapter 3 for a discussion of the role of artefacts in O'Connell's political symbology.
[167] Lowenthal 1985.
[168] Seanad Debates, Vol. 98, Col. 527, 30 June 1982.

country produced the now familiar demand for "an imagined past"'.[169] In this situation an evident trend is to utilise modern conceptions of the past as a commodified experience which can be mass-produced for consumption in the form of images in order to capitalise on modern emotive responses to concepts of the past. Indeed, the effect of such images or 'logo-ised' artefacts on contemporary society is profound. There are currently mass disseminations of images of Irish cultural heritage sites and archaeological monuments on postcards, in guidebooks such as the dense barrage of images that are the *Eyewitness* travel guide series.[170] There are also numerous 'coffee-table' books with glossy images representing an idealised and romantic view of the landscape, material culture and lifestyle in Ireland (see Figure 4.27).[171] There are also countless websites visually celebrating or advertising Irish cultural and heritage experiences. John Urry has discussed the impact that the 'tourist gaze' can have on conceptions of heritage and identity; however, to some extent the 'tourist gaze' is also preconditioned through the experience of mass produced images of heritage sites for marketing purposes.[172] Many visitors will have already seen images of an artefact, monument or building prior to viewing the original in person. Often these images are used to assist the tourist to identify the location that they wish to visit and thus to ensure the tourist fully 'experiences' and appreciates the site.[173] Observable at any major Irish cultural heritage site are visitors with guide books comparing the heritage site they are experiencing with the image of the heritage site they are viewing.

This situation fundamentally affects social expectations of an experience of the past. A frequently overheard comment at popular visitor sites such as Newgrange, Poulnabrone or Stonehenge is 'I expected it to be bigger'. The website travelideas.com reports in their description of Stonehenge as a tourist destination that 'Stonehenge is one of England's most famous Neolithic monuments and has attracted visitors for many years. ... most visitors to Stonehenge say that they expected it to be bigger.'[174] Indeed, often sites such as the dolmen from the site of Poulnabrone in Co. Clare are lauded for their

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[169] Brett 1996, 37.
[170] Dorling Kindersley Publishing 2006 *Ireland: Eyewitness Travel Guide*, Dorling Kindersley Publishing, London.
[171] For an example of such publications see Fitzsimon, C. 2000 *The Most Beautiful Villages in Ireland*, Thames and Hudson, London. or Harbison, P. 2001 *Spectacular Ireland*, Beaux Arts Editions, London.
[172] Urry, J. 1990 *The Tourist Gaze, Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, Sage Publications, London.
[173] See Holtorf 2006.
[174] Travel Editors, 2002 'Stonehenge', VacationIdea.com <http://www.vacationidea.com/articles/stonhenge.html> [Accessed 1 Nov 2005].

photogenic qualities (see Figures 4.23-27). This dolmen is popularly referred to as one of the most photographed 'things' in Ireland.

> This portal tomb is spectacular though and it is easy to see why it is one of the most photographed things in Ireland. It is partly collapsed, but this is to its photogenic advantage. It is also a lot smaller than you image from any photograph, just under 2m tall.[175]

Similar comments from other websites illustrate the impact that mass-disseminated images have had on visitor experiences of the site of Poulnabrone:

> The monument is actually much smaller than you think from most photos. It isn't in the middle of nowhere as I'd imagined – it is just 100m from the road. ... it is a great tomb (but there are much better ones lurking close by, just not as spectacular or photogenic!).[176]

These two quotations admit the impact of the previously viewed representations of the dolmen on visitors' bodily experiences of the site. Given the proliferation of romanticised images of the tomb, it is understandable that visitors would feel that the site was not 'as large as they had imagined' or as 'in the middle of nowhere' (see Figures 4.24-26).[177]

What draws people to create visual representations of the dolmen at Poulnabrone is evidently that it has a visual aesthetic that is pleasing to the contemporary human eye. This preference of the visual aesthetic over bodily experience of the site has a distancing affect in the interaction between the visitor and the site. The result is the commodification of the dolmen as a visual other which can be consumed and re-consumed in materialised representations of the site.[178] This illustrates the pre-emptive quality of visual representations, particularly when they are available en masse over the internet.[179] Rarely

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[175] Megalithomania 2002 'Poulnabrone – Portal Tomb: Visit Notes' Megalithomania.com <http://www.megalithomania.com/show_site.php?site_id=768> [Accessed 30 Jan 2006].
[176] Fourwinds 2002 'Fieldnotes' Themodernantiquarian.com <http://www.themodernantiquarian.com/site/1817#fieldnotes>, [Accessed 30 Jan 2006].
[177] A Google.ie image search of the world wide web for 'poulnabrone' on 22 March 2006 returned 876 images.
[178] See Russell 2006c.
[179] A Google.ie search of the world wide web for 'poulnabrone' on 22 March 2006 returned 49,600 webpages and websites.

has a visitor not consumed a representation of a site or artefact before they come to experience. Indeed, visitors have expressed the sentiment that they prefer the experience of consuming these romanticised images to experiencing the original monument or site. In a discussion thread entitled 'Help with Trip Planning – UK and Ireland' (from the website iidb.org) the user Pandora states that 'Stonehenge is a bit of a disappointment - much better in photos … I like the chalk drawings better'.[180]

These examples of visitors' reactions to archaeological sites illustrate the impact of the pre-emptive experience of cultural heritage sites through images of the past on contemporary experience and interpretation of original sites and monuments. Given the growing trend of marketing national heritage (i.e. archaeological objects, sites, monuments and landscapes) through tourism industries for economic development, archaeology is not generally the first point of contact for many people wishing to experience the past. Rather, it can be argued that individuals more often explore their conceptions of the past through consumptive choices of where to go on holidays, which will be driven by what they expect to find there from the past, or what commodities to buy and only turn to archaeology as a means of supporting their representations and conceptions of the past after they have made their consumptive choices. Archaeology is not the only proprietor of images of the past, and perhaps, the discipline never was. There is a growing gulf, however, between expectations of experiences of the past based on mass marketed and mass produced images of the past from tourism and heritage industries and expectations founded upon experience of the past firsthand through visiting sites and monuments and participating in discussions over the interpretation of the past. This situation places practitioners of archaeology in an economic relationship with society in which the discipline must participate if it is to remain relevant to the public.[181]

This economic relationship is neither entirely negative nor entirely dangerous. However, it comes both with opportunity and also responsibility. Heritage practioners in the 'Information Age' need not be wary of digital spaces or public use of the internet for

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[180] Pandora 2002 'Help with Trip planning UK and Ireland: March 11, 2002, 05:06 AM', iidb.org, <http://www.iidb.org/vbb/archive/index.php/t-36100.html> [Accessed 1 Nov 2005].

[181] For a discussion of the relationship between the public and archaeology and the need to encourage the relationship see Holtorf 2006. For a discussion of the economic importance of archaeology on a global scale see Missikoff, O. 2006 'Assessing the Role of Digital Technologies for the Development of Cultural Resources as Socio-economic Assets' in I. Russell (ed.) *Images, Representations and Heritage: Moving beyond Modern Approaches to Archaeology*, Springer-Kluwer, New York, 139-60.

accessing heritage material. Rather these should be embraced and engaged.[182] A primary responsibility of archaeologists in the Information Age is to encourage the humanisation of digital space through active participation over consumption of archaeological information and images. An example of such an endeavour in Ireland is the recent pilot launch of Explorer.ie. Explorer.ie was the product of the Discovery Programme's contribution to the European Union's Communities of Interest Promoting Heritage of European Regions (CIPHER) project.[183] Explorer.ie was designed by Anthony Corns and consisted of an interactive database of information and images pertaining to heritage, archaeological material and archaeological sites in Ireland. There are two main aspects of the project which were relevant for the arguments of this thesis. The first was the democratisation of heritage through the freely available resource. Individuals, whether or not they resided in rural or urban settings, could access the material as long as they had internet access. The second was the provision of a 'create a story' option in the database. Users were encouraged to contribute their own 'stories' whether academic, historical, archaeological, mythological or fictional to the database of narratives pertaining to any given site or artefact. This resulted in a mass proliferation of views, narratives and understandings of archaeological material. A continually developing multi-vocal narrative provides a strong point for the beginning of any individuals exploration of conceptions of the past. Thus the project offered an invitation to a discourse rather than an opportunity to consume authoritative information and images. It encouraged the continuation of the open-ended questions of what heritage is, what archaeology does and what is the nature of the experience of Irish heritage and 'being' Irish.

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[182] See Missikoff 2006.

[183] The report on the CIPHER project can be found at: Anon. 2003 'The CIPHER Cultural Heritage Forums', cipherweb.open.ac.uk <http://cipherweb.open.ac.uk/app_domain/D5_main.htm> [Accessed 6 Mar 2006]. The report on Explorer.ie can be found here: Anon. 2003 'The Irish Natural and Cultural Heritage Forum', cipherweb.open.ac.uk <http://cipherweb.open.ac.uk/app_domain/D5_explorer_ie.htm> [Accessed 6 Mar 2006]. Further information on the progress of the project can be found here: Anon. 2003 ' The Discovery Programme', cipherweb.open.ac.uk <http://cipherweb.open.ac.uk/d13/discovery.html> [Accessed 6 Mar 2006]. For a report on the methodologies and approaches of the project see: Kilfeather, E., J. McAuley, A. Corns & O. McHugh 2003 'An Ontological Application for Archaeological Narratives', *dexa*, Proceedings of the 14th International Workshop on Database and Expert Systems Applications (DEXA'03), 110.

Continuing the Narrative

Archaeology can be conceived of as a narrative.[184] Historical writing is readily understood as a narrative of subjective engagements with conceptions of and evidence of past actions.[185] In the same way, archaeology as a series of recorded engagements with objects which are perceived as being the product of previous human agency results in a narrative of expressions of understandings about the nature and manifestation of human agency in the past.[186] Archaeology is not simply excavation of sites and the reassembly of fragments of pots or of buildings. Archaeology is the study of the material evidence of what contemporary society believes to be the past and of expressions of understandings of the past.[187] Archaeological engagements can be found in the way humans attempt to understanding the development of landscapes or the forensics of a crime scene.

The allure of archaeological thought can be found in the number of other disciplines which have used the theoretical processes in their own efforts of self-understanding. Freud's use of archaeology has been amply discussed thus far, but other examples such as Foucault's work *The Archaeology of Knowledge* for instance is a modern exploration of the layers of development of human knowledge construction.[188] However, these disciplines and thinkers do not expound that there is a singular 'truth', 'reality' or 'fact' about the past. Rather they engage in the explorative process of archaeology as a way of participating in the world. Their approaches are just one of many ways of expressing archaeologies of the world. In the same way, there is no one single archaeology of Ireland or of Irish society, but there are many archaeologies which all rely on modern beliefs in linear temporality, social evolution and developmental models of material reality.

Archaeologist Gavin Lucas likened archaeology to the stories of Scheherezade in the Medieval Arabic compilation *The Book of One Thousand and One Nights* (8^{th}-9^{th} centuries AD).[189] Shahryar, the king, everyday would marry a new virgin and behead the

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[184] Tilley, C. 1999 *Metaphor and Material Culture*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford. and Joyce, R. A., R. W. Preucel, J. Lopiparo, C. Guyer & M. Joyce (eds.) 2002 *The Languages of Archaeology: Dialogue, Narrative and Writing*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.
[185] Carr, D. 1991 *Time, Narrative and History*, Indiana University Press, Indianapolis.
[186] See Tilley 1999 and Joyce *et al.* 2002.
[187] See Thomas 1996; Tilley 1999.
[188] Foucault 1972.
[189] Lucas 1997, 9. McCaughrean, G. 1999 *One Thousand and One Arabian Nights*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

previous day's wife. When Scheherezade was chosen by Shahryar, she concocted the plan to as a last request tell her sister Dunyazade a story. The story lasted all night and was so compelling that Shahryar asked Scheherezade to tell him another. She responded that dawn was breaking and that she would tell him another the following night. Each story was more compelling, exciting and insightful, that Scheherezade recounted 1,001 tales to Shahryar over 1,001 nights not only entertaining him but also educating him in wisdom and morality. Thus, Scheherezade became his queen. The skill of reinventing narratives instilled with ever 'deeper' explorations of understanding of the world was a matter of self preservation for Scheherezade. This is the same process in which archaeology must take part. If archaeologists do not appreciate the emotional and sentimental foundations for the public's interest in archaeological narratives, the discipline will cease to be relevant. Thus, understandings of the approach of other modern disciplines such as psychoanalysis to the dynamics of group relationships is critical to help archaeologists, as members of society, come to new and 'deeper' self-understandings of society and humanity. Graham, Ashworth and Turnbridge made the clear point that contemporary society is the definer of the relevance of heritage.[190] Thus, archaeologists must continually we aware of society and engage in the creation of new and dynamic narratives about the past. Friel, a playwright in Ireland, put it well in the words of his character Hugh the schoolmaster in *Translations*:

> It is not the literal past, the facts of history that shape us but images of the past embodied in language...we must never cease renewing those images.[191]

This thesis has explored the materialisation of modern conceptions of Irish identity through a few thematic case studies. In doing so, it has situated the phenomenon of archaeology in Ireland within the broader trends of modern ideological and philosophical discourse. It has not been the object of this thesis to argue that archaeology changed Ireland or the world, but rather that through the development of the social practice of archaeology, new ways of interacting and engaging social conceptions of the past were developed. Thus, what is of prime importance here is not so much the material that has been discovered but rather the way in which people have related to its discovery. In this way, this thesis has been a modest contribution to the growing study of the basic emotional drives that encourage modern society to engage in archaeological practice. It is hoped that

[190] Graham *et al.* 2000.
[191] Friel, B. 1981 *Translations*, Faber, London, 66.

this study will encourage further discussion of the dynamic expression of conceptions of the past through material objects and instigate a movement towards more theoretically informed practices of heritage management, presentation of the past and archaeological research and expression.

Appendix 1

Extracts of Speeches and Statements of Eamon De Valera Relating to History and Ethnicity

All page numbers refer to: De Valera, E. 1980 *Speeches and Statements by Eamon De Valera 1917-73*, M. Moynihan (ed.), Gill and Macmillan, Dublin.

1) New York, 17 March 1920 (p. 35) (Also see Appendix 4 and CD supplement)

Themes: *internationalism, racism, Gaels, chosen traumas, invocation of St. Patrick and Christian unity*

Sons and daughters of the Gael, wherever you be today, in the name of the motherland greeting! Whatever flag be the flag you guard and cherish, it is consistent with your highest duty to band yourselves together to use your united strength to help break the chains that bind our sweet, sad mother. And never before have the scattered children of Eire had such an opportunity for noble service. ... We, the children of a race that has never ceased to strive, that endured for ages the blight of war and the disappointments of peace, who have had the cup of the fruition of hope dashed from our lips in every decade and have not despaired... And those of our race who are citizens of this mighty land of America...May God and St Patrick inspire you to use it, and to use it well.

2) Open Letter to President Wilson, 27 October 1920 (p.36-46)

p.37 Themes: *ethnicity, historical foundation of ethnicity*

That the people of Ireland constitute a distinct and separate nation, ethnically, historically...

p. 38 Themes: *trauma of invasion, LGE, glory of resistance, nationhood rooted 1000 years ago, autochthonous nationhood, international comparison*

The people of Ireland undoubtedly constitute a nation – one of the oldest and most clearly defined in Europe. Their nation is not a nation merely in the sense of modern political science – it was a sovereign independent state fore over a thousand years, knowing no external master but moulding its own institutions to its own life in accordance with its own will.

The original Norman came as an invader and an aggressor; and, down through the long seven centuries and one-half which his successors have sought to secure their domination in Ireland, the Irish have consistently challenged their authority and have resisted it with a courage and a perseverance for which there

is no parallel in history. Neither Czechoslovakia nor Yugoslavia, nor Finland nor Armenia nor Poland itself, nor any of the other newly established states of Europe, whose independence is now rightly recognised, even approach the perfection of nationhood manifested by Ireland, nor can their claim compare with Ireland's on other grounds…

3) Radio Broadcast, 4 March 1932 (p.191-3) – Prospect of Peace and Reconstruction

p.193 Themes: *race, conflation of land with Patrick and other Saints*

To the poeple of our race who are listening to me, I appeal to use their influence so that Ireland – this ancient land of their fathers, this land of Patrick, Columcille and Brigid, this land of Tone and of Emmet, whose anniversary this is – may have their unity restored to her.

4) Radio Broadcast, 17 March 1932 (p.193-6) – Aims of Fianna Fail in Office

p.193 Themes: *chosen glories, contextualise Finna Fail within mythological glories, establishes 'National' festival, declares centenary of St Patrick*

The fifteenth centenary anniversary of the coming of St Patrick, the year of the Eucharistic Congress, the recent election of the people of this State of the first Fianna Fail Government, all combine to make this year's celebration of the National Festival one of unique interest in our history.

p.195-6 Themes: *Gaels, attributes of Gaels, national games, internationalism*

The Tailteann Games are also being held this year and have our whole hearted approval. The Games are of very great national value, unifying our people in sentiment and endeavour and giving them, no matter in what land they live, a just sense of pride in the spiritual ideals, the physical prowess and the intellectual achievements of the Gael.

5) Dublin Castle, 21 June 1932 (p.217-19) – Welcome to the Pope's Legate

p.218 Theme: *race*

Here are gathered not only our own Irish race, but in great numbers also other peoples of the entire world, united with us in race or in faith… Your Eminence … has also for many years been united with many of your students, sons of the Irish race…'

6) Fianna Fáil Ard-Fheis, November 8, 1932 (p.223-30)

p.230 Themes: *ethnic and racial designation of Ireland*

We want not merely a free nation but an Irish-Ireland nation.

7) Opening of the Athlone Broadcasting Station, 6 February 1933 (p.230-3)

Themes: antiquity of Ireland, separate from Rome, chosen glories of Christianity, call for current Irish task like that of ancient saints, selected narrative of Irish history, chosen glories and traumas, antiquity of language, Celtic nations, race, depicts 18th century poets like disciples of Christ, Celtic nations, saving western civilization, values of spirit

It will enable the world to hear the voice of one of the oldest and, in many respects, one of the greatest of the nations. … Alone among the countries of Western Europe, she never came under the sway of Imperial Rome. When all her neighbours were under tutelage, she was independent, building up her own civilisation undisturbed. …

Because she was independent of the Empire, Ireland escaped the anarchy that followed its fall. Because she was Christian, she was able to take the lead in christianising and civilising the barbarian hordes that had overrun Britain and the west of Europe. This lead she retained until the task was accomplished and Europe had entered into the glory of the Middle Ages. The memories of Irish saints of that time – Columcille and Adamnan, Columbanus and Gall, Virgilius and Cathaldus – founders of monasteries and sees, heroic preachers of the Gospel, scholars and patrons of learning – are still venerated in the lands where they toiled. The foundations of these Irish monks, notably the monasteries of Iona, Bobbio and St Gall, became, like the famous schools of Ireland itself, great centres of religions and secular learning in the Middle Ages.

During most of this early missionary period Ireland was harassed by Norse invaders. Heathens and barbarians themselves, they attacked the centres of Christianity and culture and succeeded in a great measure in disorganising both. That Ireland in such circumstances continued the work of the apostolate in Europe is an eloquent proof of the zeal of her people, a zeal gloriously manifested once more in modern times in North American and Australia and in the mission fields of Africa and China.

Since the period of her missionary greatness Ireland has suffered a persecution to which, for cruelty, ingenuity and persistence, there is no parallel. It did not break – it strengthened – the spirit an devotion of her people and prepared them for the renewal of their mission at a time when it is of no less vital importance to the world than was the mission of the Irish saints of the seventh and eighth centuries to the world of their day.

Next to her services to religion, Ireland's greatest contribution to the welfare of humanity has been the example of devotion to freedom which she has given throughout seven hundred years. The invaders who came to Ireland in the twelfth century belonged to a race that had already subjugated England and a great part of Western Europe. Like the Norsemen before them, it was in Ireland that they met the most serious resistance – a resistance which was continued generation after generation against the successors of the first

invaders until our own time, a resistance which will inevitably continue until the last sod of Irish soil is finally freed.

During the first five centuries of this struggle everything was taken from the Irish people, until in the seventeenth century an Irish Catholic in the eyes of the law possessed no rights of property, no rights of citizenship, no rights of education, no right to life in the land of his fathers. Little by little, almost all that was taken away has been won back, and today the greater part of the country is once more in the ownership and subject to the rule of the Irish people. Ireland has taught the world that a brave and resolute nation can never be conquered.

The Irish language is one of the oldest and, from the point of view of the philologist, one of the most interesting in Europe. It is a member of the Indo-European family, principal of the Celtic group... Irish is closely related to Greek and Sanscrit, and still more closely to Latin....

In the eighteenth century, the most terrible period that Ireland has known, when the people were ground down by the Penal Laws, there was a remarkable revival of Irish poetry. Some of the finest poems in the language were written during those years by men who spent their lives in poverty, dependent on the hospitality of an impoverished and outcast peasantry. But they were welcome everywhere, and their songs, whether they were inspired by anger at the oppression of their country, b some false hope of foreign aid, by love, by the incidents of their daily lives or by the irrepressible gaiety of their race, were a source of consolation and joy to the people.

Anglo-Irish literature, though far less characteristic of the nation than that produced in the Irish language, includes much that is of lasting worth. ...

Ireland's music is of a singular beauty. ... It stands pre-eminent amongst the music of the Celtic nations. ...

I have spoken at some length of Ireland's history and her contributions to European culture, because I wish to emphasise that what Ireland has done in the past she can do in the future. The Irish genius has always stressed spiritual and intellectual rather than material values. That is the characteristic that fits the Irish people in a special manner of the task, now a vital one, of helping to save western civilisation. ...'

8) Radio Broadcast, 12 February 1933 (p.233-5) To the USA on Lincoln's birthday

Themes: *liberator of Irish race, preservation of unity over equality, nation since dawn of history*

The veneration in which Abraham Lincoln is held by the American people is shared in no small measure by the people of Ireland. Having ourselves so long striven for freedom, we honour him as the liberator of a race. Having had to suffer the partition of our territory, we revere him as the preserver of the unity of a nation. ...

It is especially as the defender of American unity that the memory of Lincoln is cherished in Ireland. In his own eyes, too, that was his chief task: 'My paramount object in this struggle', he told Horace Greeley, 'is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing

any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. ...

Ireland is more than a political union of states. It has been a nation from the dawn of history, united in traditions, in political institutions, in territory. ...

'Ireland not free merely but Gaelic as well,' wrote Padraig Pearse, who died before partition was effected. 'Ireland not free and Gaelic merely but united also' – that is the objective of the Irish people today...

9) Inauguration of the first President of Ireland, Dublin Castle, 25 June 1938 (p.353-8)

p.353-4 Themes: *attaching authority of president to ancestral authority, race*

You are now our President, our head, ... inheriting the authority and entitled to the respect which the Gaels ever gave to those whom they recognised as their rightful chiefs...

In you we greet the successor of our rightful princes, and, in your accession to office, we hail the closing of the breach that has existed since the undoing of our nation at Kinsale.

...in your person you hold up to us the ancient glory of our people and beckon us to make the future rival the past, urging us to be ever worthy of our inheritance as a great spiritual nation whose empire is of the soul. ..

With the millions of our race I once more acclaim you and wish you health and strength to perform all your tasks...

10) Press Interview, 13 October 1938 (p.358-62)

p.359 Themes: *race, historical roots of tension of partition*

[partition is] ...a wound which keeps alive ancient antagonisms between the English (morally responsible for the existence of division) and the overwhelming majority of the Irish race.

11) Seanad Éireann, 7 February 1939 (p.366-76)

p.367 Themes: *justify present state of affairs from current existence*

Now it is vain to think that one can transport oneself back into past conditions. The past is past. The things that have happened in the quarter of a century or so that has passed since than have had their effect and are going to have their effect whether Senator MacDermot or anybody else wishes it otherwise or not. ... We have a situation today which is the outcome of the past, and the future has to develop from the present.

p.368 Themes: *quoting Mussolini, invokes Manifest Destiny, Divine Providence, conflates Irishman with totality of nation and of land, defines Irishman as having historical connection*

I think that the whole of this island is the national territory. I know that people sitting down calmly and thinking of the history of nations and national territories would ell me that national territories change from time to time; that there have been changes in the boundaries of states, in national boundaries in Europe, over the course of centuries; and that in the case of Ireland too, if that happened, well, something had happened which was not unique. There is a certain amount of truth, we must admit, in that contention; but, as was said by Signor Mussolini in a famous letter which he wrote, I think it was last September or October, there is something about the boundaries that seem to be drawn by the hand of the Almighty which is very different from the boundaries that are drawn by ink upon a map: 'Frontiers traced with ink on other inks can be modified. It is quite another thing when the frontiers were traced by Providence.' It is vain and foolish, of course, to try to prophesy of to look into the future, but I do not think that any generation of Irishmen living in this island would ever be satisfied – those of them, at any rate, who regard themselves as having a connection with the historic Irish nation – as long as a single square inch of the island was outside the control of the nation.

12) Radio Broadcast, 17 March 1943 (p.466-9) – 50th anniversary of the Gaelic League

p. 466 Themes: *invokes God to justify dream for Ireland, Irish lifestyle, St. Patrick*

...let us turn aside for a moment to that ideal Ireland that we would have. That Ireland which we dreamed of would be the home of a people who valued material wealth only as the basis of right living, of a people who were satisfied with frugal comfort and devoted their leisure to the things of the spirit – a land whose countryside would be bright with cosy homesteads, whose fields and villages would be joyous with the sounds of industry, with the romping of sturdy children, the contests of athletic youths and the laughter of comely maidens, whose firesides would be forums for the wisdom of serene old age. It would, in a word, be the home of a people living the life that God desires that man should live. ... With the tidings that make such an Ireland possible, St Patrick came to our ancestors 1,500 years ago, promising happiness here as well as happiness hereafter. It was the pursuit of such an Ireland that later made our country worthy to be called the Island of Saints and Scholars. It was the idea of such an Ireland, happy, vigorous, spiritual, that fired the imagination of our poets, that made successive generations of patriotic men give their lives to win religious and political liberty, and that will urge men in our own and future generations to die, if need be, so that these liberties may be preserved.

p. 467-8 Themes: *language as three thousand years of history, roots, language and nationhood*

...many...are free, if they choose, to devote themselves more completely to cultivating the things of the mind, and in particular those which mark us out as a distinct nation.

The first of these latter is the national language. It is for us what no other language can be. It is our very own. It is more than a symbol; it is an essential part of our nationhood. It has been moulded by the thought of a hundred generations of our forebears. In it is stored the accumulated experience of a people, our people, who even before Christianity was brought to them were already cultured and living in a well-ordered society. The Irish language spoken in Ireland today is the direct descendent without break of the language our ancestors spoken in those far-off days.

As a vehicle of three thousand years of our history, the language is for us precious beyond measure. ... To part with it would be to abandon a great part of ourselves, to lose the key of our past, to cut away the roots from the tree. With the language gone we could never aspire again to being more than half a nation.'

13) Dublin, 7 February 1949 (p.522-7) - Address to the William Butler Yeats Cumann of Fianna Fáil

p.522 Theme: *the Gaels*

To make our nation once more a free nation and an Irish speaking nation and thus to lay the foundations from which could be rebuilt a Gaelic national state within which the traditional distinctive qualities of our people might find adequate and just expression...

p.524 Themes: *language and national identity*

...words of Davis [Thomas Davis] –

> A people without a language of its own is only half a nation. A nation should guard its language more than its territories – 'tis a surer barrier, and more important frontier, than fortress or river ... To lose your native tongue, and learn that of an alien, is the worst badge of conquest -

14) Foreword to book, November 1963 – *The Irish Volunteers*, 1913-1915, ed. By Rev. F. S. Martin, O.S.A., James Duffy & Co. Ltd (p.598-9)

p.598-9 Theme: *chosen glories*

The manner in which any great event has occurred, and its origins, immediate and remote, are always of interest.

Some of the great events of our time were: the founding of the Gaelic League, the founding of the Irish Volunteers, the uprising of Easter Week, the establishment of Dail Eireann and the Declaration of Independence.

15) Public Statement, 10 April 1966 (p.605-7) - 50th anniversary of Easter Rising

p.606 Themes: *language as embodying memory*

… Our nation could then become again, as it was for centuries in the past, a great intellectual and missionary centre from which would go forth the satisfying saving truths of Divine Revealation, as well as the fruits of the ripest secular knowledge

We cannot adequately honour the men of 1916 if we do not work and strive to bring about the Ireland of their desire. For this each one of us must do his part, and though the tasks immediately before us now are different from those of fifty years ago, we can have today, if we are sufficiently devoted and our will be firm, a national resurgence comparable to that which followed 1916: we can have our people united as a family – a nation of brothers – each working in industrial harmony, not for himself only, but for the good of all. We could then march forward confidently to that exaltation of our nation amongst the nations to which the men of 1916 pledged themselves.

In the realisation of all this our national language has a vital role. Language is a chief characteristic of nationhood – the embodiment, as it were, of the nation's personality and the closest bond between its people. No nation with a language of its own would willingly abandon it … they would never abandon their language, the language of their ancestors, the language which enshrines all the memories of their past. They know that without it they would sink into an amorphous cosmopolitanism – without a past or a distinguishable future.

p.607 Theme: *invokes God for actions of state*

Let us then, confidently, place the destiny of our nation anew under God's High Providence and, like the men of 1916, implore His blessing upon our aims and upon our work.

Appendix 2

Electronic Texts Relating to the Carrickmines and Save Tara/Skryne Valley Campaigns

1) Press Release by Carrickminders Declaring Occupation

Walshe, J. 2002 'Motorway Protest: Carrickmines Castle Occupied', indymedia.org, <http://www.indymedia.ie/article/11046> [Accessed 22 Feb 2006].

Carrickmines Castle Occupied to Defend Archaeological Site

In the early hours of Saturday morning activists occupied the archaeological site of Carrickmines Castle in a non-violent direction that could rival the Glen of the Downs protest. The excavation of the site, which is still incomplete, was wound up on Friday evening to make way for its destruction for the completion of the M50 motorway. The campaigners are calling for a realignment of the motorway to preserve the medieval site.

The occupation is a non-violent spontaneous civil protest.

Cian O'Callaghan, media spokesperson said: '575 million euro is been spent on the South Eastern Motorway which is the final part of the M50 C-Ring Motorway around Dublin. It is outrageous that such a large amount of money is been spent without preserving the archaeological site at Carrickmines Castle. The excavations, which ended on Friday, are still vastly incomplete. If the road goes ahead without realignment we will never know what historical artefacts have been lost. Carrickmines Castle has a unique history and heritage value. It was a Norman Castle that played a central role in the defence of the Pale. This role was vital during the nine years war in the 16th century. The castle was destroyed in 1642 when Irish Confederate rebels were besieged and massacred by the English at Carrickmines.

'We are not opposed to the construction of this motorway but we are opposed to the unnecessary destruction of our heritage and culture. A simple realignment of the road and a scaling down of a proposed access roundabout will preserve much of the archaeological site. If the Motorway goes ahead as planned a precedent will be set for the destruction of heritage sites accross the country.

Ends:
For Further Information Contact:
Cian O'Callaghan
Media Spokesperson
086 286 6631

Carrickmines - For the future of the preservation of our past

GUIDELINES FOR VISITORS

The archaeological site of Carrickmines Castle has been occupied to defend the site against destruction by the National Roads Authority. Below are a number of guidelines that we wish visitors to observe. The guidelines have been drawn up to ensure that the archaeological site is preserved without damage of any kind. If you are not willing to follow these guidelines we ask you to stay away from the Carrickmines Castle site.

1. The entire domain and surroundings of Carrickmines Castle is a strictly drug and alcohol free zone.

2. The site of the archaeological excavations is strictly out of bounds. Walking around these excavations can lead to serious damage of the work that has been carried out over the last 24 months.

3. Any litter brought to the site should be taken away.

4. Respect the local residents. Don't park vehicles that obstruct roads or driveways.

5. Keep noise to a minimum particularly late at night. The local residents have lived here all their lives and should not be disturbed by our presence.

6. This is a non-violent protest. Peaceful action is been used to occupy this site. If you cannot behave in an entirely peaceful and non-aggressive manner we ask you to stay away from this site.

Thank you for your co-operation

Related Link: http://www.carrickminescastle.org/

2) Email from Vincent Salafia to Maggie Ronayne, 30 May 2003

From: Vincent Salafia <uatuathal@yahoo.com>
Date: 30 May 2003 19:02
To: carrickmines@yahoogroups.com <carrickmines@yahoogroups.com>
Title: RE: [Carrickmines] Carrickmines Castle Preservation Group

--- Maggie Ronayne <maggie.ronayne@NUIGALWAY.IE>
wrote:
> Possibly I missed this in the flurry of emails but do you have a list of

> members of your group, Vincent or where is it available at?
> Maggie

Hi Maggie.

No you didn't miss it. I haven't posted the list because not all of the working members want their names made public, so I am being discreet. They are not looking for credit. As you know, this is a small country, and professional careers are easy targets when there is a controversey like this. Besides, the main purpose of this rather informal group is to create, present and lobby the Alternative Plan as effectively as possible. We are still working on that and anyone is welcome to join in that work.

Thanks,
Vincent

3) Press Release from the Carrickminders Announcing Beginning of Tara Campaign

CARRICKMINDERS PRESS RELEASE

1 September 2003

'Tara Gathering' This Weekend to Address M3 Motorway Plan

On the one-year anniversary of the beginning of the Carrickmines Castle occupation, Carrickminders are announcing a meeting and information session on the proposed M3 Motorway.

Co-hosted with the Colomban Mission of Delgan Park, it will be called the Tara Gathering and will be held at the Hill of Tara, beginning Friday 5th September 2003.

We are inviting interested parties, along with the public, to attend meetings and express their views on the approved route of the M3 motorway. The gathering will provide an opportunity assess the situation as it now stands, in the wake of the recent An Bord Pleanala decision.

There will be a public meeting on Friday at 7.00 PM, which will be addressed by Sean McDonagh SSC of the Columban Mission, Vincent Salafia of Carrickminders, as well as spokespersons from local residents groups, and others to be announced.

A press conference will be held on Sunday, at 3.00 PM, to present proposed campaign plans and announce any resolutions passed.

An information desk will be set up beside the Tara Bookshop, and will be manned all weekend.

Vincent Salafia, spokesperson for Carrickminders, said:

'The Hill of Tara is THE National Monument of Ireland and it must be respected. Carrickminders are taking legal advice to determine if the proposed route violates the National Monuments Act (1994), by passing close to the Hill of Tara, and destroying at least 141 associated sites.

'Using our experience at Carrickmines, we hope to facilitate and re-focus the efforts of the many diverse groups and individuals who are concerned with the situation at Tara, such as the hundreds who made submissions, as part of the Environmental Impact Study (EIS) for the motorway.

'The validity of the EIS must be questioned, as it does not properly address the impact on archaeology.

'The Tara Gathering will be a fun and inspiring way to build the campaign the save the Hill of Tara from unnecessary disruption. We hope all interested groups and individuals can join to effectively discuss the best way forward.'

ENDS

CONTACT:

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Spokesperson
Carrickminders
(01) 283-2880
(087) 132-3365
vsalafia@eircom.net

4) Vincent Salfia's 'Letter to Ireland', 26 September 2004

Salafia, V. 2004 'Letter to Ireland' Indymedia.org
<http://www.indymedia.ie/newswire.php?story_id=66768> [Accessed 22 Mar 2006].

A Letter to Ireland
26 September 2004

Dear Ireland,

Maybe I see you differently than most, but I see you in a crisis like none you have ever faced. Around your mountain-tops the clouds are darkening, and promising war. Yet, down on the street, the crowds are smiling, and shopping like never before. Every day I listen to your name, and watch your face. You are the father and mother, from whom I was born. Yet you are something more, an idea, and a place.

Your spirit is a very real force; though ancient in origin, it is alive in the people that make you their home. We are but its conduit, and long after we pass beneath, your spirit will carry on through our children and theirs. I call it the spirit of the law, and I have spent years trying to learn its beginnings and follow its path, so that it can live in health today. Now I invoke that spirit, as I seek your highest office, the Presidency.

Four years ago I stepped off a plane in Dublin, and thought I would stay for two weeks. My car was parked on the street in Andersonville, North Chicago and all my belongings safely put away. They are still there, somewhere, save the two bags in my hand that day. Having lived in America for long periods of time throughout my life, each returning visit found me more and more a stranger in my own home. Something happened during that two-week stay in 2000, that has now lasted four years.

Just the year before I had been back for a visit. It had been a while and the changes blew me away. I had changed too, and much to my dismay people thought I was American, and I realized they might be right, after staying away so much longer than I ever intended to. But I never traded in my Green Card for citizenship, and resolved to find myself again. Flying back into JFK, I found myself seated just behind JFK Jr and his wife, on what would be one of their last flights. He had that charisma, and that potential for leadership. Their loss soon afterwards moved me to weep for them, and for you, and for what could have been.

Perhaps you don't recognize me? When I was born in Hollis Street, Dublin in 1965, my birth certificate said I was Michael Vincent O'Toole. Why my parents separated I will never really know, but from a very young age I was called Vincent Salafia, and was raised by my maternal grandmother on a farm near Avoca. I loved your wildness in Wicklow, and spent long days wandering the woods and lanes, always dreaming. Sheepwalk House was the birthplace of Archbishop Daniel Murray of

Dublin, and in our front field lay a stone called Cromwell's Stone, where he sat and watched the original house burn, with all the inhabitants in it.

History tells us of your final military conquest in the early seventeenth century, followed shortly thereafter by a legal conquest, which erased your native system, but I don't believe it. You were never fully subjugated, and your spirit took refuge in higher heights and deeper recesses, and spread across the world once more, as it had done in the early monastic period of the sixth century. By the nineteenth century your early laws were back in vogue, due to partial translation by O'Curry and O'Donovan. The inspiration behind their rekindling formed the foundation of the modern State, firing the imaginations of Arthur Griffith, Eoin MacNeill and Douglas Hyde, your first President.

Leaving you for life in Florida after the Leaving Cert was a drastic yet welcome change for me, I must admit. After receiving my B.A. in Political Science I went to work in a Manhattan law firm, and worked as a free-lance journalist for *The Irish Voice* and *The Irish Echo*. Interviewing Noel Pearson when he brought over *Dancing at Lughnasa* was very inspiring, as was reviewing U2's first concert in their Zoo tour, and I felt closely connected with 'home'. Yet I remained in America to attend law school, returning to Trinity College Dublin Law School in 1995 to study Irish Constitutional Law, Irish Civil Rights and European law.

The role of your Presidency, as I learned at Trinity, is strictly defined in the 1937 Constitution, and indeed the primary function is to act as the guardian of that very Constitution. On election to office, the President makes an oath that he or she shall '...maintain the Constitution of Ireland and uphold its laws...' But a Constitution is a 'living document', subject to periodic Amendment and refinement by case law. In short, the President must nurture and fight for a just society. Instead the role seems to have been diluted to window-dressing, and this I promise to change.

A living Constitution requires a 'living' President, who is responsive and proactive in nurturing our legal evolution. This duty is pivotal in the Constitution, where on one hand the President must scrutinise every Bill before it is signed into law, and refer it to the Supreme Court if it appears doubtful. On the other hand, the President is also vested with the duty to 'promulgate' your laws, or put the law into effect by formal declaration. Reference to the Supreme Court has only happened three times in the history of the State, and never during the current Presidency. Yet, many laws have reached the courts after being passed, and were found to be unconstitutional, at great cost to the victims of these unjust laws.

Your legislation either reflects the ideals of a free society, or imposes alien ideas onto that system, depending on the Constitution and individuals that oversee the process. Watching the legislative process at work during the recent passage of the National Monuments Act, 2004, I am not so idealistic as to think that the law reflects the wishes of the society as a whole. Indeed, it appears to me that the law is unduly influenced by, and designed to benefit, a small portion of society, to the

detriment of the greater good. It allows Government bodies and private developers to demolish not just Carrickmines Castle, but also the Hill of Tara or any other monument that stands in the way of 'development' for trivial reasons. It is patently unconstitutional, and should not have been passed. As a lawyer, I am helping to build a full constitutional challenge against it. As President, I would have considered referring it, or any other law like it, to the Supreme Court immediately, rather than inflict it onto our people directly.

The recent culmination of the Carrickmines Castle series of cases has been to establish, for the first time in Irish history, that the protection of our cultural heritage is now a matter of constitutional law. Ms. Justice Laffoy, in her recent judgement understood the claim made to be that: 'The Oireachtas has put into place arrangements which are inimical to, and fail to safeguard and protect, a monument which is part of the national heritage in contravention of the States obligation derived primarily from Article 5 of the Constitution.' She agreed, and concluded 'It is beyond doubt that it is a constitutional imperative that the State safeguard the national assets, including monuments of cultural and historical significance.' This opens the door to a full constitutional challenge to the National Monuments Act.

The Laffoy judgement means that any statute or law must provide a minimum standard of protection for our national assets, and our cultural heritage, or it can be must struck down. This is a landmark decision, and I am proud to have played a small part in it along with the extraordinary talents of Colman Fitzgerald, SC; Frank Callanan, SC; and Colm MacEochaidh, BL. The decision is the product of three separate cases, wherein the Government lost the first two in the Supreme Court, and the people won new constitutional rights at every step. How sad it was to see our legislature attempt to wash those rights away, by statute. Having been found to have acted illegally, at every step, the Minister for the Environment changed the law, to legalise his heretofore-illegal actions. It is clear your Constitution will not abide this clear-cut breach of the State's duty.

It was a quest for the spirit of your law that led me to found the Brehon Law Project. During my last year studying for my Juris Doctor degree I stumbled on an old book about early Irish or 'Brehon' law. The surviving one hundred or so legal manuscripts, written in Old Irish, are a marvel to me. That to this day, barely half of them have been translated into English is a crime of omission that defines our generation, and indeed our modern history. This is our cultural DNA. These primary texts provide not just a direct historical link to our past, but a window into your very collective soul. They form the birth of your rule of law, one thousand years before the English common law took shape.

In 2000 I began holding annual conferences at venues like Blackhall Place, King's Inns and Mansion House. Speakers such as the Hon. Chief Justice Ronan Keane, Justice Susan Denham and Justice Adrian Hardiman joined with the legal historians, linguists and archaeologists, in a joint celebration of our unique legal inheritance. Now, for the first time in our history a class in early Irish

law is being taught to legal professionals.The purpose of this academic exercise in legal history is not to recreate society based on some illusory vision of the past, but rather to foster an accurate historical understanding of our origins.

Your legal heritage is perhaps our most important inheritance, and our Constitution is without doubt the critical manifestation of that heritage. It is the controlling mechanism for our newest experiment in democracy. Central to that concept, just as it was in earliest laws, is the concept of election. In early Irish law 'tanistry' was the name given to the process by which the fittest for office was chosen and it produced many a bloody conflict, due to the large number of eligible candidates for leadership.

Today, the Constitution formally outlines the procedure for election of President. Article 12.2.1 of the Constitution states: 'The President shall be elected by direct vote of the people.' However, our sitting President, championed by the Fianna Fail party, has come to an arrangement with the main Opposition party, Fine Gael, to nominate herself as an Independent candidate. In return, Fine Gael will not oppose her, and will in fact assist her in her campaign, if there is one. The stated purpose of this pact is to prevent the President from being elected by an expensive direct vote of the people. But the underlying purpose is to deny any other citizen the right to stand for election.

In addition, Article 12.1.2 of the Constitution states: 'Every citizen who has the right to vote at an election for members of Dáil Eireann shall have the right to vote at an election for President.' Denying citizens their right to vote for the President, due to a political decision that will benefit private party concerns cannot be in the public interest. This defies the notion of public service, and undermines the very Constitutional basis of the Office of Presidency and the constitutional rights of citizens.

Upon election, your President swore the oath of Presidential Office, and proclaimed: 'I will fulfil my duties faithfully and conscientiously in accordance with the Constitution and the law, and I will dedicate my abilities to the service and welfare of the people of Ireland. May God direct and sustain me.' Whatever the best intentions of the President, I must question her right and her ability to continue to hold office. This constitutionally questionable political arrangement before us deprives the people of Ireland of their right to either affirm or deny her fitness for office, and their right to aspire to that office themselves.

Ireland, you are a nation of poetry and prose, one whose songs have thrilled the world and driven so many others and me forward in your name. I sing to you now a favourite, sung by Amergin, the mythical Milesian jurist, when he first set foot upon your shore:

I invoke the land of Eriu!
The shining, shining sea!

The fertile, fertile hill!
The wooded vale!
The river abundant, abundant in water!
The fishful, fishful lake!

As your faithful servant and citizen I invoke my right to be nominated and stand in election for the Office of President. Whatever, your preference for the ultimate holder of this position, grant me this opportunity to be either chosen or rejected by the people of Ireland, in the most important ceremony of all, the election of the President of Ireland.

I am asking you, as a member of the Oireachtas, to please consider signing my nomination papers before Friday October 1st, 2004, so that I can become an official candidate in the 2004 election. I will be happy to meet with you or discuss this matter further with you in person, at your convenience.

Sincerely,
Vincent Salafia
6 Rivermill, Navan , County Meath
(041) 9825637, (087) 132-3365, salafiam@tcd.ie

5) Indymedia.ie Interview with Vincent Salafia, 27 September 2004

Indymedia.ie 2004 'Indymedia Interview with Vincent Salafia' Indymedia.ie <http://www.indymedia.ie/article/66771> [Accessed 22 Mar 2006].

Indymedia.ie: It has been said by Joe Higgins TD amongst others that the Irish Presidency should be abolished - would you agree or does it serve or can it serve a purpose?

Vincent Salafia: Absolutely not. However, I would say that the presidency as currently exercised needs to be radically changed. It is a core constitutional office, rather than window dressing for the State. The scrutiny and promulgation of legislation, and consideration of whether to refer to the Supreme Court, is a vitally important check and balance.

Indymedia.ie: Why did you take the sudden decision to run for President?

Salafia: It wasn't a sudden decision in the sense that I had been considering it for some weeks before I went public. In fact, I was in touch with the Green Party before Eamon made his move and decided not to oppose him. When he dramatically pulled out I decided to take the plunge.

Indymedia.ie: What do you say to accusations that this is purely a publicity stunt?

Salafia: Campaigning for any office involves publicity. In fact, it lies at the core of any election campaign. I see this race as a logical continuation of the path already chosen. Furthermore, I would not have entered the race if I did not feel it is one I can credibly participate in and potentially win.

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Indymedia.ie: Can you give our readers a sense of how your efforts to get support from TDs and Senators are progressing? Do you think you'll make it to a race?....

Salafia: On deciding to seek nomination, I decided it would be counterproductive to give an ongoing tally of who or who is not nominating me. I will have it or not on October 1st. However, it has been in the media that two political parties are seriously considering my nomination.

Indymedia.ie: You have questioned the constitutionality/legality of the the Fianna Fail and Fine Gael parties 'colluding' to deny citizens a vote for president. Can you explain your reasoning on this point?

Salafia: Article 12.2.1 of the Constitution states: 'The President shall be elected by direct vote of the people.' However, our sitting President, championed by the Fianna Fail party, has come to an arrangement with the main Opposition party, Fine Gael, to nominate herself as an Independent candidate. In return, Fine Gael will not oppose her, and will in fact assist her in her campaign, if there is one. The stated purpose of this pact is to prevent the President from being elected by an

expensive direct vote of the people. But the underlying purpose is to deny any other citizen the right to stand for election. In addition, Article 12.1.2 of the Constitution states: 'Every citizen who has the right to vote at an election for members of Dáil Eireann shall have the right to vote at an election for President.' Denying citizens their right to vote for the President, due to a political decision that will benefit private party concerns cannot be in the public interest. This defies the notion of public service, and undermines the very Constitutional basis of the Office of Presidency and the constitutional rights of citizens.

Indymedia.ie: If Labour, Sinn Fein and the Greens fail to nominate yourself or anyone else by the end of next week would you accuse them of the same thing?

Salafia: No, not necessarily, unless they sent out direct orders to their members not to nominate anyone.

Indymedia.ie: What, if anything, are you going to do about it if next week goes by and you haven't got enough support to run?

Salafia: I will continue with the Save Tara Skyrne Valley campaign, as before.

Indymedia.ie: What do you think of Mary McAleese and her conduct of her first term as President?

Salafia: I believe she has been window dressing for the State. Upon election, your President swore the oath of Presidential Office, and proclaimed: 'I will fulfil my duties faithfully and conscientiously in accordance with the Constitution and the law, and I will dedicate my abilities to the service and welfare of the people of Ireland. May God direct and sustain me.' Whatever the best intentions of the President, I must question her right and her ability to continue to hold office. This constitutionally questionable political arrangement before us deprives the people of Ireland of their right to either affirm or deny her fitness for office, and their right to aspire to that office themselves.

Indymedia.ie: What have you to got to offer voters that would contrast with the incumbent?

Salafia: I am an independent, non-partisan candidate, who would push the boundaries of the presidency, as defined in the Constitution. This would entail being more pro-active and responsive as guardian of the Constitution.

Indymedia.ie: What issues do you have other than Heritage Issues? Are you not a 'single issue' candidate?

Salafia: The only issue that is relevant to the presidency is the legal, non-political stance as guardian of the Constitution. Therefore, I would review all legislation with equal vigour. However, heritage is a very broad term and encompasses a broad church of Constitutional issues. The legal heritage is of primary importance since everything flows from that. That is not to say that I would

not pay special attention in less formal ways to the preservation and conservation of our national cultural heritage. Perhaps, an award of some kind may be appropriate for those involved in this activity.

Indymedia.ie: How would you represent Ireland internationally?

Salafia: I would be myself and practice the ancient Irish tradition of hospitality and friendliness as best I can. I would offer nobody special favoured nation status nor would I court big business as a primary focus. International cultural exchange would be at the root of my efforts.

Indymedia.ie: Considering that the Presidency is largely non-political and symbolic, how would you use the Presidency without interfering in the politics of Dáil Éireann?

Salafia: I would disagree in your interpretation of this being a purely symbolic role. For one, the President sits at the head of the Armed Forces. If elected, I would ensure that Irish blood would never be spilled contrary to our country's Constitutional neutrality. While not interfering with the politics of Dail Eireann per se, the President's role is to be a check and balance within the overall legislative process. Finally, I would address the Dail on matters of national importance should the need arise.

Indymedia.ie: People generally know you from your attempts to reroute the motorway around Carrickmines Castle. What are your politics more generally? Are you a 'leftie'? Are you a 'greenie'?

Salafia: I'm not a leftie or a greenie though I certainly sympathise in those directions. My stance in Carrickmines was largely a legal one because I truly believe in the rule of law. However, when the system fails I also believe there is a legal justification for civil disobedience. In fact, I would say as a citizen there is a duty to act in such a manner.

Indymedia.ie: RTE seem to have comprehensively ignored the fact that you are running. Their coverage of your attempt to secure a nomination has boiled down to a throaway one liner on 57 live and a paragraph at the end of a story on their website. When contacted by an imcer a journalist in the newsroom said that it was policy to not cover you or the 'other people seeking nominations'. The same journalist could not when challenged name any of these 'shadow' candidates. Dana according to the journalist was an exception because 'she has run in elections before'. Do you have any opinions on this? Can you help us find out who the 'shadow' candidates are?

Salafia: I have no idea who the shadow candidates are. As far as I am aware, there is only myself and Dana contesting the re-election of Mary McAleese. As for RTE, I received my first telephone call from them today. And I did an interview for 2FM news. However, I would agree that up until now RTE has ignored my candidacy and, indeed, been very slow to give any attention to the Tara

campaign. One is always aware that they are the public broadcasting service. Considering that I have survived and am still in the running, it is getting harder for them to ignore me.

Indymedia.ie: How have you been treated by the media generally in your estimation?

Salafia: Considerably well. The first day the phone was ringing off the hook and it has been steady since then. Ironically, The Irish Times seems to have taken a rather negative view of my candidacy and The Irish Independent has been very encouraging. **Indymedia.ie:** Have you or will you ask Michael D. or Eamonn Ryan for a nomination?

Salafia: I have sent letters to all members of the Oireachtas, including Micheal D. and Eamonn Ryan, seeking nomination.

Indymedia.ie: Who out of all the names thrown around in last couple of months would you have liked to see running and why?

Salafia: I think Eamonn and Michael were both quality candidates. I would also like to see some other regular people making a bid for the office. It should be a realistic goal for anyone who sets their mind to it.

Indymedia.ie: You have said there is a need for a presidential election and a national debate around it? What kind of debate would you be trying to open up? Would it boil down to some kind of Fianna Fail VS An Taisce rerun about conservation vs development?

Salafia: Yes, there is a need for an honest debate. Mary McAleese is not an independent candidate. What exactly she is after seven years in office we simply do not know. This is about private political parties getting together and deciding to cancel democracy for their own personal gain or savings. It is absolutely disgusting and, even more worrying, that there is not a huge outcry in this country.

Indymedia.ie: have you got much reaction good or bad so far from 'Joe Public'?

Salafia: Having spent the last week either in front of my computer or in front of a microphone I have had little chance to meet Joe or Josephine. The focus now is on Oireactas members. The only real feedback I have garnered has been from the likes of Newstalk 106 when I was interviewed by Orla Barry on the first day of my campaign. Generally, the response was split roughly 50:50, which to me is very encouraging.

Indymedia.ie: Are you looking for any types of assistance from the general public in your efforts?

Salafia: No, not yet, although fund raising is certainly a critical issue. So far, my campaign has been run on a very slender shoestring, using the Internet, my mobile phone, and bus tickets to public places. However, even these low costs cannot be sustained for long.

6) Press Release of the Save Tara/Skryne Valley Group, 14 November 2004

SAVE TARA SKRYNE VALLEY GROUP PRESS RELEASE

14.11.04

'March for Tara - From Garden of Remembrance to Wood Quay - Sat Nov 27'

A demonstration against the proposed M3 motorway route through the national monument of the Hill of Tara is to be held in Dublin on Saturday, November 27, beginning at 1.30pm. The public are invited to gather at The Garden of Remembrance , Parnell Square and march up O'Connell Street to the Dublin Civic Offices at Wood Quay.

The purpose of the march is to give the public an opportunity to voice their objection to the Government, particularly Dick Roche, Minister for the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, who is currently considering whether to give directions to begin excavations of over 40 individual monuments in and around the Hill of Tara, at a cost to us of 30 million euros.

Groups and individuals from all parts of Ireland have already pledged their support, as have members of all the Opposition parties. Primary, secondary and third level student groups in Offaly, Wexford, Cork and multiple other towns have begun campaigns, sending letters to the Minister, and have pledged to support the march.

The march will be an opportunity for people to express their anger over the bad planning, corruption, toll roads, public-private partnerships, overspending on motorways, lack of investment in public transport, as well as the overall widespread rapid destruction of Irish heritage being funded by Irish taxpayers money.

Campaigners from the Clondalkin Round Tower; Woodstown, Co. Cork; Carrickmines Castle, Trim Castle, and many other heritage sites under threat will be calling for the Government to make further efforts to preserve Ireland's cultural heritage.

Parnell Square is particularly symbolic because of Parnell's famous 'monster meeting' at the Hill of Tara in the nineteenth century. Wood Quay is even more significant since it was here that Viking remains were discovered in the late 1970's and a campaign was waged against the construction of the Dublin Civic Offices on top of the site. Ironically, the National Monument's Act was amended to prevent a repeat of such an act of desecration.

Dr. Muireann Ní Bhrolcháin, of NUI Maynooth said: 'We have been inundated with requests on how to get involved.'

Vincent Salafia, Public Relations Officer said: 'Irish people feel that Tara must be saved, and this is their way of saying that preserving cultural heritage is just as important as developing the economy.'

ENDS

Vincent Salafia - 087-132-3365 uatuathal@yahoo.com

Dr. Muireann Ní Bhrolchain - 087-924-9510
muireann.nibhrolchain@may.ie

7) De Rossa Links Carrickmines Campaign to EU Measures for Environmental Road Transport Systems

Statement - 23/9/2002

Speaking at the European Parliament in Strasbourg this evening Proinsias De Rossa, Labour Party MEP for Dublin, called for further development of European Union measures to end environmental damage resulting from transportation. He was contributing to the debate on the Bradbourn report supporting the Commission's establishment of the 'Marco Polo' programme which will grant financial assistance to improve the environmental performance of the freight transport system.

Referring to his ongoing campaign to save the Carrickmines archeological site from destruction Mr De Rossa said: 'while we need continually improving transportation infrastructure we must remain constantly vigilant and make sure that our precious cultural heritage is also protected.

'The Carrickmines site near Dublin is a prime example of the potential for conflicting interests between our ever increasing need for improved transportation infrastructure and our equally important obligation to protect our cultural and archeological heritage for the greater good of our own and future generations.

'I am currently submitting a request to the Petitions Committee of this Parliament demanding an urgent enquiry into the failure of the Irish Authorities to protect the Carrickmines castle archeological site when selecting the route for the Trans European Network motorway link Belfast-Dublin-Roslare, a motorway development being funded to the tune of €74 million in grants from the Cohesion Fund.

'Yes we need better road networks in Ireland and I am delighted that the European Union is funding this particular development. But I am also totally confident that we have the right to insist that such a development does not wipe away our archeological treasures.

'Just as I am currently engaged in ensuring that motorway development in Ireland proceeds in the most environmentally friendly way possible, the Marco Polo programme will fund measures to improve the enviornmental performance of the transport system throughout Europe. I therefore welcome the Marco Polo programme particularly the improvements to that programme which will result from the Bradbourn Report.'

ENDS

Appendix 3

Petition Letters to the Irish Times relating to the M3 Motorway

1) Bhreathnach *et al.* 2004 'Hill of Tara and M3 Motorway – Letter to the Editor', *Irish Times*, 23 February.

Madam, - The Hill of Tara constitutes the heart and soul of Ireland. Our ceremonial and mythical capital, its very name invokes the spirit and mystique of our people, and is instantly recognisable worldwide. An Bord Pleanála's recent approval of the Government's scheme to divide the Tara/Skryne valley with the M3 motorway spells out a massive national and international tragedy that must be averted.

This narrow valley is one of the most culturally and archaeologically significant places in the world. Many monuments predate the Egyptian pyramids. The chamber within Tara's Mound of the Hostages is perfectly aligned with the full moon of Lughnasa and the rising sun of Samhain and Imbolg. The Hill of Tara has been a sanctuary for every generation since. It is precisely because it has remained intact, unlike many comparable Continental sites, that it holds a special key to understanding the continuous progression of European civilisation.

We are only just beginning to understand and appreciate how the Mound relates to the hundreds of other monuments in this archaeological complex, many of which will be destroyed if the valley is sliced in two. The Hill of Skryne, containing the 12th-century Skryne Castle, is also a national monument and an early religious and ritual centre. Both Tara and Skryne are part of the same cultural and natural landscape of The Boyne Valley and cannot be separated from the River Boyne, or from each other.

Let us be clear: excavation is destruction, not "preservation" in the true sense. Moreover, serious questions have now been raised in the Dáil as to the standard of "preservation by record", with over 1,500 excavation reports currently missing. Every effort should be made to preserve national monuments in situ, according to stated Government policy, as well as the Council of Europe's Valetta Convention (The European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage), to which Ireland is a signatory. The Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, signed by Ireland in Paris, in 1972, resolved to protect parts of the cultural or natural heritage that are of outstanding universal value and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole. Tara warrants UNESCO protection, if ever an Irish site did.

We call on the Government, particularly the Taoiseach, the Minister for Transport and the Minister for the Environment, Heritage and Local Government to review this decision and choose one of the

many intelligent options that are still available. These include: improving the existing N3, as per the original advertised scheme; re-opening the Navan-Dublin railway line, which is widely supported in the locality; or simply moving the M3 away from this delicate archaeological landscape.

In the alternative, we ask our public servants to place these viable options before the Irish nation, openly and democratically, and let Irish taxpayers decide for themselves if their money should be spent destroying this singular element of Irish identity.

Yours, etc.,

Dr Edel Bhrathnach, Mícheál Ó Cléirigh Institute, University College, Dublin
Francis John Byrne, Early Irish Historian
Nicholas Canny, Department of History, University College, Galway
Máiread Carew, Archaeologist and writer
Prof. Thomas Charles-Edwards, Faculty of Modern History, Oxford University
Julitta Clancy MBE, Meath Archaeological and Historical Society
Prof Thomas Owen Clancy, Department of Celtic Studies, University of Glasgow
Dr Howard Clarke, School of History, University College, Dublin
Dr Mark Clinton, Archaeologist and writer
Prof Charlie Doherty, Department of History, University College, Dublin
Dr Seán Duffy, FTCD, Department of History, Trinity College, Dublin
Máire Herbert, Department of Old Irish, University College, Cork
Prof Bart Jaski, Celtic Department, University of Utrecht
Dr Raimund Karl, Department of History and Welsh History, University of Wales, Bangor
Prof. Mícheál Mac Craith, Department of Modern Irish, NUI, Galway
Prof. Kim McCone, Department of Medieval Irish Studies, NUI Maynooth
Prof. Neil Mcleod, Murdoch University, Australia
Prof. Joseph Nagy, Department of English, University of California, Los Angeles
Dr Muireann Ní Bhrolcháin, Department of Medieval Irish Studies, NUI Maynooth
Dr Máire Ní Neachtain, Department of Irish, University of Limerick
Kenneth Nichols, Retired statutory lecturer, University College, Cork
Prof. Tomás Ó Cathasaigh, Irish Studies, Harvard University
Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Department of History, University College, Cork
Dáibhí Ó Crónín, Department of History, NUI Galway
Vincent Salafia, Save Tara/Skryne Valley Campaign, PO Box 30, Tara, Co Meath
Prof. Ruairi Ó hUiginn, Department of Modern Irish, NUI Maynooth
Prof. Alfred Smyth, Chair of Medieval History, Canterbury University
Pádraigín Riggs, Department of Modern Irish, University College, Cork
Dr Nancy Stenson, Department of Linguistics, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis
Rev Dr R. Stiefel, University of New Hampshire.

2) Allason-Jones *et al.* 2004 'Plans for Motorway at the Hill of Tara- Letter to the Editor', *The Irish Times*, 5 April.

Madam, - We write as a group of specialists whose professional lives have been devoted to different aspects of European archaeology from prehistory onwards. We do so because we learn, to our astonishment, that An Bord Pleanála has sanctioned a four-lane motorway over agricultural land between the Hill of Tara and the Hill of Skreen. Our sense of shock is increased by the news that plans for the M3 include the construction of a floodlit interchange occupying around 25-and-a-half acres (10.6ha) of land, a mere 1,090 metres from the core area of the Hill of Tara.

Tara has a unique position in Irish archaeology and history. It was used as a pagan burial ground and focus of ritual ceremony for over 4000 years from the Neolithic (c 3500 BC) to the later Iron Age (c AD 400). With the arrival of Christianity, its importance as a religious centre waned. Nevertheless, the earliest historical records show that it remained a centre of ancient sacral kingship. In the early Middle Ages, Tara was chief among of the best-known royal sites of Ireland. Its royal demesne, which the Vikings attempted to seize in the 10th century, approximated to the modern barony of Skreen. It was later seen as an inspiring place from which to launch political campaigns. There were incidents there in the reign of Brian Ború, during the O'Neill rebellion of the 16th century and in 1798, while in 1843 it was the location chosen for Daniel O'Connell's "monster meeting".

Though the greatest concentration of monuments is on and around the summit of the Hill itself, this area is ringed by a number of outlying monuments in the surrounding countryside which show that the Hill belongs to a much wider complex of related ritual and settlement sites.The full extent of this ancient ritual landscape was recently demonstrated by the Discovery Programme. As a result in 1999, Dúchas, the Heritage Service, expanded the zone of protection around the Hill of Tara to a radius of 6 km.
The problem with the proposed route for the M3 is that it runs inside this zone of protection.

In the comparatively short stretch between Dunshaughlin and Kilcarn Bridge (about 14.5km) no fewer than 26 areas of archaeological significance have been identified using geophysics. Once the top soil is stripped away further monuments may be discovered. All these will be destroyed by the projected motorway.

Tara is a virtually intact archaeological landscape of monuments with the Hill at the centre. The Skreen side of the projected motorway is part and parcel of this complex. Driving a four-lane motorway through the valley will destroy the integrity of this ancient landscape forever.

Archaeological evidence and historical sources tell us that this landscape is one of prime cultural importance in the history of the Irish nation. We urge the Irish Government to revoke the decision

by An Bord Pleanála and to choose instead one of the other routes proposed for the M3, four of which will leave the Tara/Skreen valley untouched. We also urge it to apply for World Heritage status for Tara so that it is preserved for future generations.

Yours, etc.,

Lindsay Allason-Jones, Director of Archaeological Museums and Reader in Roman Material Culture, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne

David Austin, Chair of Archaeology, Head of School of Social Sciences, University of Wales, Lampeter

Martin Biddle, FBA, Director, Winchester Research Unit, Emeritus Professor of Medieval Archaeology, University of Oxford

Richard Bradley, FBA, Professor of Archaeology, Reading University

Dr Ewan Campbell, Dept of Archaeology, University of Glasgow

Martin Carver, Professor of Archaeology, University of York

Barry Cunliffe, Professor of European Archaeology, University of Oxford

Dr Stephen T. Driscoll, Dept of Archaeology, University of Glasgow

Dr Nancy Edwards, Reader in Archaeology, University of Wales, Bangor

Dr Jane Hawkes, School for Medieval Studies, University of York

Dr Richard Hobbs, Secretary, The Roman Finds Group

Laurence Keen OBE, President, The British Archaeological Association

Dr Alan Lane, School of History and Archaeology, Cardiff University

Dr Gary Lock, MIFA, FSA, Director, Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford

Dr Nancy Netzer, Director, McMullen Museum of Art and Professor of Art History, Boston College, Boston

Dr Michael Parker-Pearson, Dept of Archaeology, University of Sheffield

Dominic Powlesland, Director, The Landscape Research Centre, Yedingham, North Yorkshire

Colin Renfrew, (Lord Renfrew of Kaimsthorn), Director of the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research and Disney Professor of Archaeology in the University of Cambridge

Dr Julian Richards, Dept of Archaeology, University of York

Dr Alison Sheridan, Dept of Archaeology, National Museums of Scotland, Chambers St, Edinburgh

Prof Geoffrey J. Wainwright, Chairman, Wessex Archaeology; David M. Wilson, Honorary MRIA

Appendix 4

CD Supplement: Track Listing

Track 1 – Eamon De Valera – St. Patrick's Day Radio Broadcast – 17 March 1920
'Sons and Daughters of the Gael...'

Track 2 – Eamon De Valera – Statement Issued in America – 31 October 1920
'Death of Terence MacSwiney'

Track 3 – Carrickmine's Blockade Song recorded by Dominic Dunne at Carrickmines – 6 January 2003

Track 4 – Speeches at close of 'Tara March' at Wood Quay – 27 November 2004
(*Note: The recording volume level is high. It is suggested that this track is listened to at a low level.*)

Glossary of Frequently Used Terms

applied psychoanalysis – the use of psychoanalytic theory developed for psychoanalytic treatment in the study of broader social phenomena such as group dynamics

core identity - a sustained feeling of inner sameness within oneself…[and] a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others (Erikson, 1956, 57)

ego - that part of the mind which is most conscious of self; the work of Freud that part which, acted upon by both the id and the super-ego (ego-ideal), mediates with the environment (Oxford English Dictionary)

externalisation – the psychological perception of externalising emotional expectations onto bodies and objects which are seen as distinct and separate from the individual

internal object relations – a specialised section of Objects Relations Theory which explores the conception of external objects within an individual's mind.

internalisation – the absorption of emotional expectations of bodies and objects which are seen as distinct and separate from the individual

large group identity - the subjective experience of thousands or millions of people who are connected by a persistent sense of similitude (Volkan 2003a, 50)

materialisation - the transformation of ideas, values, stories, myths, into a physical reality (a ceremonial event, a symbolic object, a monument, or a writing system) (DeMarrais *et al.* 1996, 16)

Objects Relations Theory – a school of thought in Psychoanalytic Theory which explores the relationship between individuals and objects (both tangible and intangible) in childhood development and the continued affect of these objects in adulthood

othering – the perception of other existential beings as separate from one's own lived experience and as distinct and unique and different beings

protogeography - a landscape which has become the focus of group emotion and concepts of identity to the extent that the landscape and action within that landscape are conflated within the conception of group identity

protosymbols – objects and images which, during times of social crisis, are perceived as materialisations of ideologies and group identity

regression – the psychological return to behaviour and communication which is familiar to an individual from earlier stages of development, often childhood

shared identifications – cultural associations learned by members of a group during childhood to narratives, languages, objects, landscapes, etc. which are shared with other members of the group

suitable reservoirs – external objects or images which are the focus of shared externalisations of expectations of group membership by members of a group

transgenerational transmission – the passing on of large group identities particularly in the teaching of narratives of chosen glories and chosen traumas to children and the continued use of shared identifications and suitable reservoirs of the group identity

transitional objects – objects which are carried with a group in movement, exile or cultural transition. Defined psychoanalytically, a transitional object is 'a temporary construction to aid [the patient] in the early stages of developing a sense of reality and establishing his own individual identity' (Greenacre 1970, 334)

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