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Annual Outing 2020

South Donegal

Postponed until 2021

(See page 51 for details)

€5 (Free to members)



Group
for the Study
of
Irish Historic Settlement

President's Welcome

A year has passed since we held our 50th Anniversary Thematic Conference: *Past, Present and Future of Irish Settlement Studies* in Dublin and our 50th Anniversary Annual [May] Conference, *Ireland-Galicia*, in May 2019 in Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain. This was a truly momentous occasion and the Groups' first international event, providing a broad European forum for Irish Historic Settlement Studies. Both the papers and guided tours highlighted the strong links in archaeology, history and culture between our two regions. We learnt a valuable lesson, that the sea connects rather than divides us. And the Group will build on these continental links over the next few years culminating in a proposed international thematic conference on *Sea and Settlement* in 2022.

In Galicia we found a family we didn't know we had and a home away from home. It felt more like a family wedding abroad in sumptuous venues with great feasts and courses that never ended. One of so many tangible highlights for me was the tour of properties in the heart of Santiago de Compostela that had associations with the Irish (in particular the O'Sullivan family), and a visit to the Irish College in the company of Her Excellency Síle Maguire, Irish Ambassador to the Kingdom of Spain. This impressive building (which I believe is still for sale!) was founded by the governor of Galicia, the Count de Caracena, O'Sullivan Beare, and the Lord of Castlehaven for the sons of Irish lords in 1602.

We now live in strange times and the travel restrictions imposed with Covid-19 have forced us all out to the roads and by-roads of our own area. This gift of time has allowed us to appreciate our towns and countryside. And what I have been seeing is changes taking place as Covid-19 leaves its own physical legacy in the Irish landscape. On my own road I see new gardens emerging; sheds being erected, and walls being built and re-built, reminiscent of the Famine relief works of the nineteenth century. I have been doing my own bit of land reclamation in our garden and such works are being replicated across the country.

As president I want to extend my sincerest thanks to our former president Michael Byrne who worked heroically to make the 2019 conference the triumph that it was; thanks to our committee members in particular Margaret Murphy our secretary and David Fleming our treasurer for taking on this major challenge. We are grateful to the Consello da Cultura Galega, Santiago de Compostela for very kindly making available the conference centre and providing so much support to the Group; also President Rosario Álvarez for her warm welcome; thanks also to Her Excellency Síle Maguire for her support and generosity. To our speakers and chairs we owe so much for their participation in the Dublin and Spanish conferences in our 50th year. Huge thanks to Charles Doherty for his work as editor of our newsletter.

Warmest thanks to you, our loyal members, who keep this Group so strong and vibrant.

Geraldine Stout (President) May 2020
geraldinestout56@gmail.com



Panoramic view of Cathedral of Santiago with the Consello Da Cultura Galega (location of conference) opposite



GSIHS President Michael Byrne, Her Excellency Sile Maguire (Ambassador of Ireland to the Kingdom of Spain) and Geraldine Stout President-elect GSIHS



Síle Maguire (Irish Ambassador), Michael Byrne, Presidenta Rosario Álvarez, Geraldine Stout



Margaret Forrestal, Síle Maguire (Irish Ambassador), Lisa Shortall and James Scully



Patrick Flanagan and Carlos Ferrás Sexto



Group on bridge at Ames



Margaret Murphy and spouse, Jim Galloway at A Pobra do Caramiñal



Lunch in Noia

Photographs by Adrienne Hume and Charles Doherty



At the Pazo de Armesto, 16th–18thc. ('Big House') in the Aldea de Salaoño Pequño, Concello de Brión



At the pazo in Salaoño Pequño, Concello de Brión with owner Don César Soto Sánchez and daughter, Alexandra



Inside the chapel of San Roque at the Pazo de Armesto in Salaoño Pequño



View from the altar in the chapel of San Roque at the Pazo de Armesto in Salaoño Pequño



At Igrexa de San Martiño, St Martin's Church, Noia, built 1434

Visit to Pazo de Armesto in the Aldea de Salaoño Pequño and the church of San Martiño in Noia



Professor O'Flanagan and parish priest giving talk inside church



Group photo at A Pobra do Caramiñal, Galicia

Articles

Patrick O’Flanagan
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***Galicia: settlement and
landscape change. Comparisons
and contrasts with Ireland.***

Introduction

The statue of *Breogán* beside Corunna’s famous light-house, *La Torre de Hércules*, reminds us that former contacts between Ireland and Galicia are still alive in popular imagination. Deeper down, comparing social and territorial structures, there are some remarkable shared structures and even deeper contrasts. Galicians demonstrate distinctive DNA profiles not shared elsewhere on the peninsula except in northern Portugal. Also in their profile is a notable North African element – however, there is less than five per cent comparison with Irish profiles. Also outstanding is extreme localisms emphasizing intense territorial endogamy. My task here is to present an outline of the processes at work sculpting modern Galician cultural landscape change citing relevant comparative experiences.

I saw Galicia for the first time in 1965. What did I see? It was like going back to the Ireland of my grandparents. It reminded me of a place where time had stopped and where people were replicating the daily motions of their recent forbearers. Noises and smells were then as distinctive as settlement patterns and rural house types. The sound of ox or cow drawn carts was even more excruciating than being exposed to the loudest pop music. The attractive smell of damp wood burning in the countryside was some compensation for these raucous noises.

As a visitor to what was then a country governed by a quasi-military dictatorship, I asked myself was I experiencing the apparent silence of a forbidden nation? The Galician language was underground. Most people spoke it and it resonated everywhere, especially in the countryside. Forty years later, Galicia now has the status of an autonomous region within Spain. It has its own government and hordes of civil servants, its own TV station and distinctive political parties. Galician is taught in state schools and many courses are delivered through this medium in state universities.

Irish people have been trekking for centuries along the Camino de Santiago, often highlighting in writing their religious experiences. Even in medieval times and beyond few pilgrims have written detailed accounts about the Galicia they experienced.

The most obvious comparison between the two areas is that physically, Galicia looks like Ireland and other parts of Atlantic Europe. It is green, wet and often overcast. Its common lands covered with gorse, heather and broom. Recent introductions such as mimosa and eucalyptus have altered the appearance of many areas.

The ever diminishing proportion of native deciduous woodlands share many species with Ireland. In both areas grass is now replacing maize as a prime improvement crop. Until recently maize was the dominant crop in Galicia whereas potatoes in Ireland were the mark of subsistence agriculture. Population pressure, inherited tenurial structures and farm size ensured that subsistence agriculture was paramount in Galicia until the 1990s. In addition, until then cattle were multi-purpose beasts in Galicia and sheep were virtually absent. Woods and forests still occupy at least a quarter of Galicia’s land area.

Galicia: Monopoly and enlightenment

The trope of peripherality as a metaphor for underdevelopment and poverty in Galicia was introduced into discourse repeating the concerns of enlightenment personalities such as Feijoo and Sarmiento centuries before. From the seventeenth and long into the twentieth century, Galician economic progress had to contend with some major obstacles relating to internal conditions and external connections. It is difficult to accurately calibrate the effects of Spain’s political economy enshrined in its monopoly policies between 1502 and 1786. Its implications for Galicia were stark. Ports were banned from direct trading with Ibero-America for almost three hundred years.

Although the port of Corunna acted as the base for one of Spain’s principal Atlantic naval squadrons, colonial trading prohibition damaged, not only the region’s principal ports, but also Galicia’s entire regional economy by detaching it from acting as a major colonial supplier of raw materials and processed goods and redistributor of colonial goods. One of the great contradictions and paradoxes of Galicia is: why is, and was, this region so economically underdeveloped while retaining an enormous productive potential? Wealth there was epitomised in the elaborate churches and monasteries where rents of rural tenants were transformed into stone.

Another interpretation of this apparent contradiction is that ‘*minifundismo*’ (Galician small scale farming) actually maximised the region’s productive potential. Its high watermark can be set perhaps between the forties and sixties of the last century. Every available square metre of land was exploited. Intricate terraces (*socalcos*) were constructed, and irrigation systems; and with maize ubiquitous except in the eastern uplands. Much of the landesque capital then employed had more ancient origins, however, and its utilisation was maximised during this period.

Where did the money go? Like in Ireland, the nineteenth century was a period of convulsive change in Galicia. Then state expropriation and sale of church lands and buildings marked a critical juncture. Unlike in Ireland, rentiers controlled much of the land and a tenantry still remained trapped on their minute fragmented holdings. Monastic orders and lay land magnates had, over the centuries, carved out enormous landed properties. A copious flow of rents sustained

them and allowed them employ armies of skilled artisans to create elaborate embellishments in stone, wood and other materials. The sheer proportions and number of these enormous buildings, both in rural and urban areas, is a stark reminder of the wealth that they were once able to command.

Fertility, migration, return migration, fishing, farming, fire and *fariña*

So many of Galicia's current development problems are linked to changing fertility patterns: their cultural landscape consequences are dramatic. After nearly two centuries of growth, radical natural change declines have recently set in. Initially, buoyed up with extra food security provided by mass adoption of maize, natural change in Galicia was positive. By the 1980s natural change was negative and, by 2018, only 15 *municipios* out of a total of 315 registered population increase. Geographically, this growth was confined to an Atlantic axis extending from El Ferrol through to Santiago and onwards to Vigo with the AP 9 motorway acting as spine. Like some other regions on the peninsula, Galicia's population today is both ageing and declining. Over the last ten years, for instance, anecdotal information suggests that more than forty per cent of coastal Carnota *municipio's* population of c.6,000 in the 1990s have left to work in the Canary Islands. This may well be an extreme instance; however it is symptomatic of the difficulties found in many rural areas. So drastic have been these declines promoted by steep falls in fertility and tidal waves of migration that Galicia's traditional cultural landscapes are being transformed before our eyes. This scale of change has not been experienced for nearly a millennium.

Farming, settlement and society

Geographers writing about Iberia have consistently noted that Galicia's rural settlement pattern is characterized by dispersion. But what kind of dispersion? Compared to the great agro-towns of Andalusia or the once solid villages of Castile, Galicia's traditional pattern of settlement resembles that of pre- and immediate post-famine Ireland. Farm clusters were a pivotal and ubiquitous feature of rural Galicia where again, until recently, up to eighty per cent of the rural population resided. On average each parish counted ten of these often formless settlements and only a parish centre discharged some rudimentary service functions. Surrounded by minute open-fields, areas of woodland and commons, these townland-like territorial units acted as the lived universe for most Galicians. Solid houses and outbuildings give an impression that many of these settlements have ancient lineages. These buildings might be compared to some of the settlement zones identified by French geographer P. Flatrés. Galician house clusters are often built with gargantuan stones quite unlike the class four and class three houses recorded in nineteenth-century Irish censuses, descriptions and texts. They appear on eighteenth-century surveyor's maps and they are mentioned in many fourteenth-century monastic extents.

Farming

2 What vintage had this 'system' of clusters and frag-

mented holdings popularly referred to as *minifundismo*? How ubiquitous was it? What kind of food and survival security did it provide in the past? Recent scholarship has confirmed that it was indeed already a reality within the confines of the larger monasteries by the fourteenth century. Its incidence obviously owes much to the nature of tenurial structure of extensive landed estates. Within them, for complex reasons no numerous middle-tenantry emerged. Effectively, the vast mass of the population were tenants at will or landless.

Migration was the answer for many in this crowded land over the centuries up to our own day. It largely involved surplus sons and daughters and sometimes, at times of crises as during the 1960s, entire families. Place-names all over western Castile and much of Portugal record their former presence in many *aldeas gallegas* – 'Galician villages' – recalling former surges of people. Lisbon, at the end of the eighteenth century, registered some forty thousand resident Galicians. Moves were then afoot to expel them; however, it was realized that the city could not function without them. For centuries many moved to Castile as temporary farm-hands and their experiences have been so eloquently captured in the poetry of Rosalía de Castro. The late eighteenth century and nineteenth century witnessed large numbers moving to Argentina in particular, once direct sailing links were established between Corunna and later Vigo and River Plate ports. Venezuela, Cuba and Nueva Galicia in Mexico were also centres for their reception as was Santo Domingo and culturally close Brazil. Movement of Galicians to Ibero-America only finally petered out during the 1970s.

Many came back from the late nineteenth century onwards and several did as rich philanthropists colloquially known as *Indianos*, funding the building of schools, hospitals and libraries. Introducing very attractive colonial house (*Casas Indianas*) designs from Brazil and elsewhere and more importantly exotic plants, trees and shrubs arrived decorating their eccentric gardens with giant palms: their trademark emblem.

The varied migration fields carved out by them are evidenced by the incidence of *Centros Gallegos* around the world. While different contemporary web sites provide contradictory numbers (many may be inactive or closed) a conservative estimate for 2007, yields some fifty worldwide with the largest concentrations in Argentina, Brazil and Switzerland and in addition, some forty active centres in Iberia. Today, these *Centros* offer a wide variety of services for emigrants and their children.

Holy orders, fishing and migration

Holy orders, military service and the sea were other important permanent or temporary migration fields. Holy orders often meant short distance movements. It was one less mouth to feed on the farm and those involved were guaranteed some formal education. The connection between Galicia and the sea requires more extended comment. Up to the eighteenth century, most fishing activity was artisanal in nature, engaged low level technologies underwriting only part-time employment. The arrival and settlement of Catalan fishmasters acted as a catalyst transforming the fishing

sector. It ushered in a period of proto-industrialization leading to the foundation of many new fishing settlements, the so-called *villas sardineiras*. These developments allowed Galicia emerge in the twentieth century as Europe's premier fishing region. The consequences of the changes for settlement and society were enormous. First and foremost, it prompted a rapid hierarchialization of fishing centres facilitating the eventual emergence of Corunna and Vigo as Europe's premier fishing ports. It acted as a migration field for many young Galician males. *Gran Sol* is a sea area to the south west of Ireland where most Galician boats flock to, and a glance at the Marine Traffic website today confirms the ongoing role of Galician sea-power especially in Irish waters.

Fire and fariña

The aging and intense haemorrhaging of population especially from rural areas has prompted a breakdown of traditional community institutions. One of its results is manifested in the management of the 'commons'; these are often lands held jointly by mainly local *aldea* ('hamlet / village') or *lugar* ('place / village') communities and also privatised former common lands. Utilization and vigilance of these territories is now no longer possible due to severe population deficits. More than twenty five per cent of all lands in Galicia fall into these categories. Darker social elements have now become involved as actors deliberately kindling massive fires destroying or damaging woods and common lands. Some of these actors here are ensuring, by their incendiary activities, that more land can be planted with quick profit trees like eucalyptus; that cellulose and wood industries purchase damaged wood cheaply; or that others can be involved in lucrative urbanization projects. Extensive swathes of land are now denuded of trees, slope soils have been washed away making remediation expensive, if not impossible, and in addition, shellfish banks have been polluted by being smothered by mudslides. Over a hundred local residents in neighbouring Portugal were killed in 2017 at Pedregos in one of these incidents. Apart from human losses such ecological damage has had dramatic consequences on landscape character throughout Galicia once the shrubs, trees and woods have been removed leading to major acceleration of erosive processes.

Fariña

The title of a recent fashionable Spanish national TV series refers to another related landscape transforming process. *Fariña* in Galician means 'flour' and it is a metaphor for coca or cocaine. The lack of stable employment in many parts of Galicia has allowed more unscrupulous elements popularly known as 'clans' get involved in importing massive quantities of Colombian cocaine for redistribution all over Europe. Built on earlier networks of cigarette smuggling recent police hauls have tallied to more than six tons (2019) arriving indirectly from Cape Verde and Senegal. In order to divert the attention of police from landing these hauls of narcotics, contrabandists have started massive fires in some coastal zones of the region. It is difficult not to underestimate landscape consequences of this form of

ecocide.

Feismo and return migration

Galicians who settled in other Spanish urban centres soon established permanent homes; those who went to Europe eventually returned, with or without their now-grown-up children. Once again important cultural transfers were made such as one-off European style houses, stand-alone blocks of flats in the countryside, or in existing villages, enclosed gardens tightly packed with flowers, shrubs and vines. Among the legacies of these return movements was the erection of massive trophy houses now often inhabited by retired couples or three generation family groups (stem families). Residents often live on the ground floor in a kitchen-cum-garage leaving expensively equipped upper floors vacant.

Urban structure

Galician towns are different to their counterparts in Ireland. Many retain impressive, if spatially restricted, cores. Many developed under medieval ecclesiastical tutelage and hence count attractive arcaded residences and fine churches, convents and sometimes massive monasteries strung around elegant *plazas mayores*. Few Irish small and middle sized towns can boast of such kinds of continuities of built heritage. As in Ireland, numbers of small towns are few and early nineteenth-century administrative reorganization led to the titular appearance of some 315 municipal centres.

In spite of all its contradictions and paradoxes, Galicia remains a lived reality for 2.7 million Galicians. Its cultural landscapes remain utterly distinctive, even if they are no longer instrumental in sustaining most rural livelihoods. The transition, on entering Galicia from Castile, remains extraordinarily abrupt. Galicia is much more than what has been outlined in these pages. It extends eastwards to include much of the Leonese *comarca* (*pays*, 'shire') of El Bierzo. Southwards, Galician influences percolate to the *Arribes del Duero* in the provinces of Salamanca and Zamora. Even more significantly, they extend into northern Portugal.

The Galicia which has been eloquently and encyclopaedically described by French geographer Abel Bouhier (1979) was a portrait of a region as he 'saw' it in the 1950s and 1960s. Like Arensberg and Kimball in Ireland, he emphasised both continuity and antique origins for this '*vieux complexe agraire*'. The jury may still be out in relation to age and origins of the cultural landscape he so dexterously dissected. Immediately after that date, fertility changes prompted its rapid demise. What he prescribed was essentially a health certificate then for socio-economic and territorial organization of rural society. His extraordinary detailed and accurate description and reconstruction of cultural landscapes serves as a magnificent historical gazetteer of rural Galicia's complexities. He placed stress on the mapping of a number of almost ubiquitous elements like the *agras* ('minute open fields') associated with small clustered settlements within the confines of enclosed territorial units, having exactly the same historic implications as Irish townlands.

Acknowledgements:

Thanks to professor Carlos Ferrás Sexto of the Departamento de Xeografía, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela for providing me with some up-to-date background material for this piece and also for his assistance in organizing the field trip for the conference to the peninsula of Barbanza. Thanks to Don César Soto Sánchez for inviting the entire field trip compliment to his residence at Salaño Pequeño, Brión. I acknowledge the work of Dr Neil Buttimer of University College Cork who also helped me with details of early manuscript references.



Plaque at door of Irish College, Santiago de Compostella

Around rim:

Historic route – University of Santiago de Compostella

Plaque centre reads:

The Irish College of St Patrick.
 The foundation of this College was initiated by Felipe II.
 In the same manner as those of Alcalá, Sevilla and Valladolid,
 it was destined for Irish students
 in order to counteract the advance of the Anglican religious reform.
 Their activities began in the year 1605
 and continued until 1769.
 The Conde de Ramirás erected this house on this site.

*

The fifth centenary of the University of Santiago de Compostella [1495–1995]

*

Dr Ciaran O'Scea
(John Hume Institute for Global
Irish Studies, and the School
of Archives and History, UCD)
***The foundation plaque of the Irish
College in Santiago de Compostela***

The foundation of the Irish college in Santiago de Compostela like much of the information regarding the Irish communities in Galicia in the early modern period has been bedeviled by historical inaccuracies in both Irish and Spanish historiographies. One of the most commonly repeated mistakes is that the Irish college was founded in the sixteenth century by Thomas White, nephew to Thomas Strong, bishop of Ossory, and auxiliary bishop of Santiago de Compostela in the 1590s, despite there being no evidence to support this assertion. The current plaque outside the original college attributes the foundation of this college to Philip II as a means of counteracting the advance of the Protestant religious reformation in Ireland. Nevertheless, there is considerable mythology making in this assertion.¹

The Irish college of Santiago de Compostela, as its official title, 'The College of Irish Nobles', stated, was founded by the governor of Galicia, the Count de Caracena, O'Sullivan Beare, and the Lord of Castlehaven to cater for the sons of the Irish lords who were sent as hostages to Philip III in early 1602. These the Count gathered initially in his house in La Coruña before transferring them to rented accommodation in Santiago in late 1603 where they were put under the supervision of an Irish Franciscan tutor, Daniel Hanglin, and the informal college was placed under the direction of the governor's Spanish Franciscan confessor, Joseph Vázquez.² From 1605 until the Jesuit assumption of control in April 1613, the secular priest, Eugene McCarthy acted as its rector, and the involvement of the Spanish Franciscans ceased. The overall responsibility for the running of the college, however, remained with the governor of Galicia.

In origin the actual foundation of the college came about as a result of the rivalry between the Old English Jesuits and the Gaelic Irish at the Spanish court to control the foundation of a new Irish college in Valladolid in 1605. Given the refusal of the Old English Jesuits to take in equal numbers of students into the Irish college

in Salamanca from each of the provinces of Ireland, the Spanish crown allowed the Irish college in Salamanca to absorb the college in Valladolid. However, at the same time it satisfied Gaelic Munster concerns by giving permission for the foundation of the college in Santiago de Compostela, and allowing Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire to found an Irish Franciscan college for the Ulster Irish in Louvain in Flanders in the following year.

Although the Old English Jesuits had the Irish college in Santiago de Compostela in their sights from 1605 they had to wait until 1611 before a favourable opportunity arose. This came about due to the abandonment of the Irish cause by the royal favourite, the Duke of Lerma, which in turn led to O'Sullivan Beare bringing most of the Irish at court into the anti-Lerma camp. In parallel the Old English Jesuits tied their fortunes to the Duke of Lerma in their quest to control all of Spain's Irish colleges. In February 1611 the Old English Jesuits, taking advantage of the identification of the Irish as part of Spain's deviant problem at a time of heightened xenophobia, and the Duke of Lerma's sympathy for the Jesuit cause, applied successfully to the Council of State to have it put under the control of the Jesuit order, though it was a further two years before it was put into effect.³

Both the timing and the manner of the takeover of the college clearly indicate that the whole affair was concocted in order to counter O'Sullivan Beare's move to the anti-Lerma camp. The Gaelic Irish interpreted the takeover of the college in terms of the granting of one of the principal symbols and rewards for their having supported the Spanish in 1601–02, to the representatives of the Old English cities, who had either remained neutral or had fought against the Spanish in the same campaign. From this moment on virtually all contact ceased between the Gaelic Irish community in La Coruña and the college as well as with the Irish college in Salamanca. A further consequence was the intensifying of the struggle, fought out in the royal councils, between O'Sullivan Beare and the Old English Jesuits over the college's curriculum and properties that lasted from 1613 to 1618. This struggle in turn poisoned the political atmosphere among the Irish at court, and was a contributing factor leading to the assassination of O'Sullivan Beare in Madrid in July 1618.

In the light of these events the current plaque clearly represents the Old English Jesuit view of the college's foundation that ignores the real motive for its foundation as well as eliminating the role of O'Sullivan Beare and the Lord of Castlehaven in its founding.

¹ For the most complete study of the college see Patricia O'Connell, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostela, 1605–1769* (Dublin, 2007); for the most recent work on the college see Ciaran O'Scea, 'The Spanish Court, Ecclesiastical Patronage and the Irish College in Santiago de Compostela (1611–17)' in L. Chambers and T. O'Connor (eds.), *Forming Catholic Communities. Irish, Scot and English College Networks in Europe, 1568–1918* (Leiden, 2017), pp 143–68. ² Archivo General de Simancas, Eestdo., leg. 1755, report of Diego Brochero, 1611; Archivo Histórico Nacional (Nobleza), Frias, caja 67, fo. 371r, Joseph Vázquez to Count of Caracena, 9 April 1604; fo. 632r, billetes de libranza por el sustento de los niños irlandeses a Daniel Hanglin.

³ AGS, E., leg. 2513, consulta, 4 February 1611.

Dr Ciaran O'Scea
(John Hume Institute for Global
Irish Studies, and the School
of Archives and History, UCD)
***Geographical residence, and
patronage networks among the
O'Driscolls in Galicia and Madrid
in the seventeenth century***

Introduction

Little is known about the residence patterns within the Irish communities in early modern Europe. The best that can be said is that they don't appear to have created ghettos as they did following the waves of emigration in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in England and the USA – due probably to the fact that the earlier emigration was to a large extent more structured in that it followed in the wake of the elites to France, Spain, and elsewhere. In the case of France we know that in some cities the Gaelic Irish tended to live outside the town walls and the Old English within them.¹ Even less is known about how Irish immigrants socialised within urban contexts both within and beyond their own communities. How they related to the native inhabitants or with other groups of foreigners. In this article I am going to look at the residence patterns of one family, the O'Driscolls of Castlehaven during the first half of the seventeenth century first, in La Coruña and then in Madrid, and look at how they interacted with wider society via the patronage networks that they created.

The Irish community in La Coruña and the O'Driscolls

The origins of the Irish community in La Coruña were principally related to the extension of royal rule in Galicia, the militant religious spirit of Philip II and the Spanish Church, Spain's new role as an Atlantic power after the union with the Crown of Portugal in 1580, and the various attempts at rebellion against the English crown in Ireland from the 1570s. All these elements combined to form important politico-religious links between Ireland and Galicia that was first reflected in the presence of Irish ecclesiastics in Santiago de Compostela and La Coruña from the early 1580s such as the bishop of Ossory, Thomas Strong, who was auxiliary bishop of Santiago from 1586 until his death in 1601.² These links were reinforced by the Counter-Reformation militancy of the archbishop of Santiago, the Church in Galicia, and royal officials who actively supported Irish ecclesiastics and promoted military intervention in Ireland.

Added to this were the increasingly important trade

links between Ireland and the city from the 1590s to cater for the needs of the Spanish navy. It has been shown that this trade route represented 13 per cent of all Irish trade to the Iberian Peninsula between 1590 and 1604.³ One Irish merchant, Robert Comerford played a very important role in the city's commercial activities from the 1580s on until his death in 1623 as is evident from the quantity of documentation in the city's notary archives, and from his dealings with royal officials.

Nevertheless, the real consolidation of the Irish community in the city only came about as a result of the failure of Spanish military intervention in Ireland at Kinsale in 1601–02. The resultant emigration from the south of Ireland to Spain was due principally to the failure of Red Hugh O'Donnell's embassy to the Spanish court in 1602, the deteriorating military situation in West Munster in the first half of 1602 after the withdrawal of the Spanish forces from Ireland, the harsh English provincial presidency in Munster from 1604–07, and socio-economic factors resulting from the end of the Nine Years War that continued at least until 1608.

More than anywhere else the brunt of Irish emigration to Spain in the aftermath of Kinsale fell on Galicia's capital, La Coruña. The arrival of Red Hugh O'Donnell, O'Sullivan Beare, the O'Driscoll lord of Castlehaven and other Irish leaders who came in their wake, caused severe social, political, and financial problems for the kingdom's governor. At the same time most of the Irish immigrants who made their way to the Spanish court in Valladolid either via Galicia, Cantabria, the Basque Country or Portugal were inevitably re-directed by royal authorities to La Coruña owing to the need to resolve the Irish problem at the royal court. The large amount of correspondence generated between the conde de Caracena and the royal councils on these matters is testimony to the extent to which the Irish immigration had become the governor's principal concern from 1601–06.⁴ Essentially, from January 1605 through to June 1606 the area between Santiago, La Coruña and Betanzos became a virtual Irish encampment made up of Gaelic Irish nobles, soldiers, poor, and young children. Probably, all told some 10,000 Irish emigrated to Spain between 1602 and 1608, the majority of whom spent some time in Galicia. In the end the problem of Irish emigration to Galicia was only solved through the creation of the Irish regiment in Flanders in 1605 and the re-directing of Irish military migrants there. Those who remained, principally nobles, who had pensions from the king went on to form the backbone of the Irish community in La Coruña.

Composition and principal characteristics

Once the problem regarding Irish emigration ceased, the Irish community in La Coruña numbered c.300–500 individuals or c.70–90 families c.1606–40. Leaving aside O'Sullivan Beare who resided in Santiago, or the lord of

¹ Éamon Ó Ciosáin, 'Regrouping in exile: Irish communities in western France in the seventeenth century' in Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnracháin (eds), *Community in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), p. 141. ² On this community see Ciaran O'Scea, *Surviving Kinsale: Irish emigration and identity formation in early modern Spain, 1601–40* (Manchester, 2015); on many of these figures see Enrique García Hernán, *Irlanda y el rey prudente* (Madrid, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 88, 184. ³ Karin Schüller, *Die Beziehungen Zwischen Spanien und Irland im 16 und 17 Jahrhundert. Diplomatie, Handel und die Soziale Integration Katholischer Exulanten* (Münster, 1999), p. 83. ⁴ For a more detailed study of this emigration see Óscar Recio Morales, *El socorro de Irlanda en 1601 y la contribución del ejército a la integración social de los irlandeses en España* (Madrid, 2002), ch. 3; Ciaran O'Scea, 'Irish emigration to Castile in the opening years of the seventeenth century' in Patrick J. Duffy and Gerard Moran (eds), *To and from Ireland: planned migration schemes, c.1600–2000* (Dublin, 2004), pp. 17–37.

Castlehaven, Denis O'Driscoll who continued to reside in La Coruña, the remainder of the Irish community consisted of a high number of small or middle-ranking families from the Gaelic Irish or Hiberno English lordships of West Munster such as the McCarthy Reagh, the McCarthy Mór, the McCarthy of Muskerry, the O'Sullivan Beare, the O'Sullivan Mór, and the earl of Desmond. These were supplemented by a number of Old English families from various parts of Munster such as Comerford, Plunkett, Archer, and Conway.

For the most part, there existed a relationship between the geographical origins of the emigrants and events in Ireland.⁵ The devastation of Munster in the aftermath of the Nine Years War played a big role in pushing many to emigrate – the most significant relationship is to those areas of Munster that had either been the property of those involved in the Desmond rebellions (1569–73, 1579–83) against the English crown, had suffered land confiscation in their aftermath, or had suffered land intrusion on the part of English undertakers or other Gaelic Irish lords during the changeover to English forms of inheritance after 1605.

The most characteristic feature of this community was that its members performed service in the city's garrison or in one of the Irish infantry companies in the navy. Many of the first generation of arrivals alternated between La Coruña, Lisbon or Cadiz.⁶ Many of the sons of the first generation can also be found serving in the same companies. In 1621 the remnants of one Irish infantry company that included members from the city's Irish community was captured on the galleon *el Rosario* by Turkish ships in the Straits of Gibraltar.⁷ Many of these Irish captives spent from two to ten years in captivity before being ransomed. Thus, captivity or high mortality was a feature among many of the male members of the community. The wills made by Irish testators in the city also bear witness to the high male mortality rate as almost invariably the male grantees were leaving wives behind.

The downside of royal service in either the navy or the army was the dependence on the irregular payments from the king for economic survival. Soldiers or pensioners could go years without being paid anything other than small scale financial aid given to soldiers in order to survive. In most cases it was their heirs who eventually received these payments, frequently some 20–40 years later. This precarious financial situation is again underlined in all the Irish wills as all the testators were leaving overdue back pay as inheritance to their heirs, to repay their debts, or to pay for their funeral expenses.

The O'Driscolls

The Irish community in La Coruña during the first decades of the seventeenth century fundamentally consisted of the re-location of a network of interrelated

Munster kinship and clientage groups. The O'Driscolls of Castlehaven represented the core of this group together with a number of other families from the McCarthy Reagh lordship who were intermarried with the O'Driscolls such as the McSweeneyes, O'Mahoneys, McCarthys, and O'Kellys. In total, the domestic unit of the O'Driscolls consisted of about seventy persons, made up of four brothers and two sisters, together with all their children and grandchildren, who were resident in the city from 1602 until the death of the last brother in 1635.

From the family reconstruction of the O'Driscolls we can outline a number of elements regarding their permanence in La Coruña. The first of the brothers to arrive in the city was the second eldest, Dermot, who arrived as a messenger from the Munster lords to the Spanish king. He was followed by various sons of the O'Driscoll brothers, and then by Donough, or Dionisio as he is in Spanish sources, the lord of Castlehaven. Donough's mother and sisters travelled independently to Spain via France but only the sisters managed to make it to La Coruña as the mother died along the way. Initially the sons of the brothers were educated in the house of the governor of Galicia, the conde de Caracena until the Irish college in Santiago was founded in 1605. We know that the daughters of the lord of Castlehaven's second marriage, Juana and Catalina were educated in the convent of Santa Barbara in the high city.

It is clear that before 1615 the lord of Castlehaven like other lords did not consider that their exile would be permanent. It is only after this that we get the first tentative attempts to marry into the local community, as shown by the marriage of Thady, the eldest surviving son of the lord of Castlehaven to the daughter of a member of the local Corunese elite in 1615.⁸ In a similar fashion to many Gaelic Irish marriages, this conformed to the practice of utilising the eldest sons to create political alliances for Gaelic Irish lords.

The lack of economic means evident among the generation had a profound effect on the fertility rate of the second generation, which was almost halved with a noticeably higher ratio of boys to girls. Among the two most senior branches of the O'Driscolls, the marriages took place in succession. Thus, Tadhg, the second eldest son of the lord of Castlehaven, only got married after the death of his eldest brother, Connor. In like manner, Dermot, the next eldest, got married only after the latter's death in the mid 1630s. Daniel, the second eldest son of the second most senior line, married his first cousin, Juana in the late 1620s, but again only after the death of his eldest brother, Thady Dermot. Both the location and the time of the marriages demonstrate a determination to maintain the economic means in the two most senior lines of the O'Driscolls at the expense of the more junior lines.

⁵ On the Munster Irish background see William F.T. Butler, *Gleanings from Irish History* (London, 1925); Donal McCarthy, *Life and Letters of Florence MacCarthy* (London, 1867); Kenneth Nicholls, 'The Development of Lordship in County Cork, 1300–1600' in Patrick O'Flanagan and Cornelius G. Buttner (eds), *Cork: History & society – interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1993), pp 157–21. ⁶ For examples of these, see the many Irish memorials in Archivo General de Simancas, Guerra Antigua, legs. 840, 847, 871, 907, lib. 103, f. 56rv. ⁷ This was Florence O'Driscoll, son to Conor. Several of his memorials can be found in AGS, GA, legs. 919, 920. ⁸ Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Santiago de Compostela, San Nicolás, libro de casamientos no. 26 (1608–68), f. 27.

Residence patterns

The analysis of residence patterns of any foreign group in Catholic Spain inevitably means taking into consideration the local parish structure, which formed the basis of all socialisation. In line with the decrees of the Council of Trent, the registration of births, marriages and deaths was obligatory. Nevertheless, Galician historians consider that the regulations regarding the keeping of registers was not fully enforced before the 1630s. The data from La Coruña shows that this was not the case, at least in regards to the Irish. Based on an examination of the city's registers it would appear that the Irish community in La Coruña barely amounted to 1 per cent of the total population.⁹ However, a cross comparison with central administrative sources shows that the size of the Irish community in the Galician capital was considerably greater than what appears in the parish registers. This situation was in part due to the failure to maintain the registers fully but also due to the fact that Irish migrants were unfamiliar or unwilling to register their children's births in a parish environment. Even the high ranking or important Gaelic Irish or Old English members of the community only registered 50 per cent of their children's births. Presumably, many of the town's Irish priests and friars would have baptised the Irish children, but did not register them in the local parishes. When we look at the data from Madrid, we find the same situation. There were no Irish registrations in San Justo y Pastor, where the O'Sullivan Beares resided before the 1620s or with occasional exceptions in San Martín before the mid 1630s, notwithstanding that we know from other sources of a substantial Irish presence in the city. From the second decade on Irish priests were kept in permanent residence in the court so that the Irish could have the sacraments in their own language. So presumably these priests should have been keeping the registers. What both the La Coruña and Madrid data show is that only the principal members of the Irish elites and their related clientele registered their births, which of course implies that the Irish presence in Madrid and elsewhere is probably seriously underestimated.

All the data from local parish records show that the O'Driscolls like the other members of the Irish community lived predominantly in the two parishes of the Pescadería, San Nicolás and San Jorge. Over two thirds of Irish baptisms were to be found in these two parishes. On the other hand Irish children baptised in the parishes of the High City represented for the most part statements of socio-cultural integration. At the same time there was no evident social division between which Irish families lived in which parish. The principal Irish families baptised their children in both San Nicolás and in San Jorge with a slight preference among the O'Driscoll brothers for the latter. Probably, the closeness of the two parishes explains this situation.

In contrast, the situation in Madrid underlines stark differences, and reveals facets not apparent in the Galician data. First, individuals were tied to their specific parish, and could not baptise their children where they wanted to. Even a change of residence from one parish to another might require some documentary proof in order to take part in the new parish's sacramental activities. In December 1650 Luis O'Driscoll got married to Barbara de Guevara in the parish of Santa Cruz but then had to re-register his marriage in San Martín in October of 1651. This was clearly done as they had moved into a house in the latter parish.¹⁰ Much of this was clearly due to the Spanish Church's greater control in the capital compared to the more lax practices in the peripheral areas like Galicia. Second, this greater control is reflected in the greater detail in the sacramental registers that frequently allows a street level reconstruction of Irish residence patterns.

In essence, the residence patterns of foreign groups in Madrid appears to have consisted of a series of mini pyramidal structures in which the top lord was the route to patronage, and his power depended on the physical presence of his followers in certain parishes. The Irish in both Madrid and in La Coruña appeared to have followed a similar pattern, for example, the O'Sullivan Beare in the parish of San Justo y Pastor or the O'Driscolls in the Pescadería of La Coruña.¹¹ In the case of San Justo all those registered were closely associated with the Countess of Bearhaven or her son Dermot, and were all inevitably West Munster Gaelic members of the O'Sullivan Beare clientele. When we look at San Martín, leaving aside the case of the O'Driscolls, which was really a case apart, there was a total absence of any Gaelic West Munster members. Instead, the Irish in this parish were heavily non Gaelic Munster families such as the Geraldines, or Butlers, and Gaelic non-Munster families from other parts of Ireland such as the O'Neills or the O'Maolchonaire. The reason why the O'Driscolls chose to reside in San Martín is unclear but it was probably partly related to the absence of a permanent Irish presence in the parish before 1635. Certainly, if they had chosen to reside in San Justo y Pastor they would have been seen as setting themselves up as rivals to the O'Sullivan Beares. More than likely, however, the patronage network to the court that they had cultivated in Galicia was probably a more determining factor.

The O'Driscoll networks of patronage

When Irish lords and their followers first arrived in Spain at the beginning of the seventeenth century they started at an extreme disadvantage and had to build up a patronage network to the Spanish monarchy from scratch.¹² For this reason Irish lords were forced to rely on the existing Spanish patronage networks of the Duke of Lerma or of the anti-Lerma opposition. Furthermore, most of the success of the exiled west Munster lords in

⁹ Karin Schüller, 'Inmigrantes irlandeses en España en la primer mitad del siglo XVII: condiciones básicas para una integración' in María Begoña Villar García (ed.), *La emigración irlandesa en el siglo XVIII* (Malaga, 2000), pp 216–18; María del Carmen Saavedra Vázquez, *Galicia en el Camino de Flandes* (A Coruña, 1996), pp 225–51. ¹⁰ Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Madrid, San Martín, libro de matrimonios 5 (1638–52), f. 539r. ¹¹ On the Irish data in San Justo y Pastor see Oscar Hernanz Elvira, 'Irish entries in the baptism and death registers of the parochial archive of San Justo y Pastor, Madrid (1609–1659)', *Archivum Hibernicum*, 70 (2017), 7–20. ¹² AGS, GA, leg. 736, memorial of O'Sullivan Beare, 8 February 1610; Igor Pérez Tostado, '“Por respeto a mi profesión”: disciplinamento, dependencia e identidad en la formación de las comunidades militares irlandesas e inglesas en los ejércitos hispanos' in Enrique García Hernán and Davide Maffi (eds), *Guerra y Sociedad en la Monarquía Hispánica: Política, Estrategia, y Cultura en la Europa Moderna (1500–1700)* (Madrid, 2006), 2 vols, vol. 1, p. 685.

monopolising Irish access to patronage in the Councils of State and of War was directly related to their services in Ireland alongside the Spanish in 1601-02, and the extent to which they became part of the established in situ patronage networks of the Duke of Lerma, the Protector of the Irish at court, or the governor of Galicia, the Count of Caracena.

However, the removal of the Count of Caracena from Galicia in 1606, the abandonment by the Duke of Lerma of the Irish cause from 1609, and the assassination of O'Sullivan Beare in 1618 effectively cut off many of the traditional points of access to patronage at court. On the other hand, ties of godparenthood played a fundamental role in linking the Irish to patronage at court especially from the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century.

Recent research on the role of godparenthood in the early modern Europe has shown how this institution underwent profound change as a result of the Council of Trent. Prior to this event the number of the godparents varied considerably and most of them were not related kin. One of the principal results of the changes made at the Council led to the altering of the relationship between the baptised child and his/her godparents from a horizontal relationship to a vertical one that encouraged the development of bonds of patronage between the two parties. In practice this led to the choosing of peers as godparents among the elites and the naming of individuals of superior rank among the lower classes in a horizontal relationship, and the inclusion of related kin as godparents rather than non-kin in a vertical relationship.¹³

The evidence from the Irish community in La Coruña shows an almost 80 per cent horizontalization of relationships between the parents and the godparents irrelevant of social status.¹⁴ Even among many members of the lower classes, the parents tended to choose their godparents from their own social class. In La Coruña the O'Driscolls chose godparents from among some of the principal West Munster lords and their families that came with them in exile such as the McCarthys, O'Kellys, O'Sullivan and McSweeneyes.¹⁵ A global analysis of Irish godparents shows that the choice of godfathers or godmothers was not a spontaneous affair. Instead, they were chosen as representatives of the 'public face' of the community or of particular families. For this reason some 79% of the Irish godmothers and 70% of the godfathers acted as godparent more than once. Frequently, these figures were either the youngest or the eldest of their respective families such as the eldest son of the lord of Castlehaven, Thady O'Driscoll or the *beata*¹⁶ Leonor O'Sullivan Beare who was the youngest child of Dermot O'Sullivan Beare. In both these examples these

individuals only acted as godparents after their respective fathers had passed away.

The status and identity of the godparent was important and not everyone was suitable to act in that capacity. Thus, other sons and daughters or brothers and sisters of these 'public face' figures almost never appeared as godparents unless these persons were indisposed or had passed away. Also the choice of godparent appeared to have been linked to the question of the existing social hierarchy. The *beata* Elena McMahon, who was one of the most integrated Irish women through her role as interpreter and as intermediary with Spanish bureaucracy for many of the Irish, never served in this capacity, but her more highly ranked cousin and fellow *beata*, Leonor O'Sullivan Beare acted as godmother at least five times.

In striking contrast to the above trend, from the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century a different pattern of godparenthood practices started to emerge. The most noticeable feature of this new trend was the increasing presence of Spanish godparents, the vast majority of whom were either spouses of members of the military garrison / royal administration, or else soldiers, officials or the administrators themselves.¹⁷ The vast majority of these cases occurred after 1618 when the Irish no longer possessed Spanish figures of the calibre of the Count of Caracena (later Marquis) or the Duke of Lerma, or their Irish equivalents to intervene on their behalf at court. In March 1619 Captain Pedro Codines Brochero acted as godfather to the eldest son of the lord of Castlehaven, Tadeo and his Corunese wife, Juana de Rubia at the birth of their daughter, Isabel.¹⁸ Some ten years later at the baptism of the son of Daniel O'Driscoll and Juana O'Driscoll, first cousins to the above Tadeo, the garrison's military inspector (*veedor*) acted as one of the two Spanish godparents.¹⁹

The most characteristic features of these later Irish-Spanish fictive kinship relationships was the verticalization of relationships in line with the changes brought on by the Council of Trent as mentioned above, and the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Irish godparents in these cases were members of the second generation or had been under fourteen years of age on arrival in Spain.²⁰ Although the members of this generation clearly had vested interests in becoming integrated into Castilian society, they continued at the same time to maintain fictive kinship ties with members of the Irish community. Tadeo O'Driscoll, mentioned above, who had six Spanish godparents, one English godfather and one Irish individual at the births of his four children, only acted as godparent at all Irish baptisms.²¹ The evidence in his case demonstrates a twin function of patronage. On the one hand the overwhelming pres-

¹³ Guido Alfani, *Fathers and Godfathers. Spiritual Kinship in Early-Modern Italy* (Farnham, 2009). ¹⁴ Guido Alfani, 'Godparenthood and the Council of Trent: crisis and transformation of a social institution', *Obradoiro de Historia Moderna*, 18 (2009), 65. ¹⁵ O'Scea, *Surviving Kinsale*, pp 77-8. ¹⁶ A single woman, usually a widow, who led a form of religious life without belonging to any order, often wearing distinctive garb and engaged in charitable works. ¹⁷ O'Scea, *Surviving Kinsale*, pp 192-3. ¹⁸ AHDS, San Nicolás lib. baut. 1 (1603-49), f. 196, 4 March 1619. ¹⁹ AHDS, Santa María del Campo, lib. baut. 1 (1589-1643), 4 October 1629. ²⁰ Alfani, *Fathers and Godfathers*, p. 214. ²¹ For the baptisms of his four children see AHDS, San Nicolás, lib. baut. 1 (1603-49), f. 152, 6 March 1616; *ibid.*, f. 196, 4 March 1619; Archivo de la Parroquia de Santiago, Santiago, lib. baut. 1 (1601-36), 12 February 1618; AHDS, Santa María del Campo, lib. baut. 1 (1589-1643), 16 August 1618. This latter one may have been the product of an extramarital relationship. He acted as godfather on three occasions. AHDS, San Nicolás, lib. baut. 1 (1603-49), f. 289, 10 January 1626; APS, Santiago, lib. baut. 1 (1601-36), 5 July 1627; *ibid.*, Santa María del Campo, lib. baut. 1 (1589-1643), 3 August 1629.

ence of Spanish godparents at the birth of his children served to create a network of vertical relationships to the local elite and to court, and on the other hand he continued to maintain horizontal links within the city's Irish community.

This is a trend that continued in Madrid when the senior line of the O'Driscolls moved to Madrid post-1635. At the baptism of Juana's first Madrid child she and her husband, Daniel chose influential and long settled Irish members of the second generation like the de Burgs and the Cunnigans, whereas for their second Madrid child, they chose Spanish godparents. Logically, for her first child of her second marriage to the governor of Antiquía influential Spanish godparents were chosen. Both Juana and her half brother Tadhg in La Coruña and in Madrid tried to maintain fictive kinship links with both the Irish community and with members of

the local elites. Her other half brother Dermot who also resided in San Martín did not even attempt to maintain fictive ties with the Irish community. Instead all but one of his four children's godparents were Spanish. As the century progressed there was a general jettisoning of the younger branches of Irish families, apparent in the case of the O'Driscolls and in others. For this reason some of the members of these families can be found among the clientele of the O'Sullivan Beares in San Justo y Pastor. In the case of Dermot he sought to emulate Juana's first husband's achievement in obtaining a knighthood of Santiago. But although he had it granted, he never had the economic means to wear it. For this reason he spent considerable amounts of time and effort in trying to have the pensions of his brothers and sisters put in his name or in acting as intermediary with Spanish bureaucracy in order to get the back pay of Irish claimants.



In the garden of the Irish College with excellent guide Suso Martínez: *Colexio de San Patricio dos Irlandeses*

Manuel Gago
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Old heritage, new meanings

Introduction

In these first decades of the twenty-first century, the countries on Europe's Atlantic coast face a major challenge in preserving their cultural heritage. These territories, which have been densely populated throughout history, have many archaeological and historical sites about which there are many local narra-

tives. In many cases they are sites that we could consider, from an artistic or even tourist point of view, as 'humble'. Throughout history they have been far from the great centres of power of imperial Europe. Located in rural areas they lack the lavish scenery of the great abbeys, palaces or castles built as examples of luxury, ostentation and dominance that characterise other European areas. They also lack historical narratives associated with them – great historical events, chronicles of lavish noble feasts and coronations, or scenes of great mass events. Texts and stories narrated by different media, produced initially for the powerful classes, or under their guidance, are perpetuated in schools and in tourist guides.



Figure 1 Legends and myths storytelling for younger locals at Mallou hillfort

Transition to modernity

However, the Atlantic countries have managed the transition from their past to modern identities in different ways. From the 'celtic revival' of the nineteenth century until today, a significant part of the identity of cultures such as the Irish, Welsh, Breton or Galician have been based on the intangible heritage associated with these small rural heritage sites – Iron Age hillforts, castle ruins, ancient megalithic necropolises, chapels or small ruined monasteries. Legends, songs, myths, stories of oral tradition that were collected since the nineteenth century became the cement that crystallized contemporary cultural and political identities. It is a prodigious magma in which old and 'new' traditions converge. Along with that cultured elaboration that gave – and gives – meaning to these national cultures, we must not forget the important local dimension.

In the past these heritage sites have held important symbolic value for local communities. They were spaces of healing and devotion, meeting places providing contact with the Other World, or spaces that define us in

comparison with the other – the *Mouros*, *Daoine Sidhe* or the *Korrigans*. All these narratives have been sustained, not only by oral tradition and its codified forms of narration, but also by the existence of particular social conditions – a subsistence farming and fishing economy, a large family (with several generations living together in the same space), and a strong symbolic sense of the local community in relation to others.

The conditions in many of these countries, together with their distance from large urban metropolises, have enabled many communities to keep this wealth of stories alive and, above all, to maintain a particular relationship with their cultural heritage up to the present day. All this heritage is intangible – it cannot be seen; it cannot be protected by laws and restoration interventions; and it disappears in a 'non-aggressive' way. It is not threatened by major public works or the construction of new urban neighbourhoods. But I have no doubt that this narrative is what gives ultimate meaning to cultural heritage – it is what connects with our lives, what gives us a sense of place.

A large part of my projects for intervention in cultural heritage contemplates this problem – that is, the confluence between the cultured and scientific discourse brought by archaeologists and historians (usually outsiders for locals) and the ancient knowledge and traditional memories that communities keep about these places. The researchers carry out projects that are limited and delimited in time, usually with a high impact – physical or symbolic – on these spaces. But the heritage site must remain in place for generations. Cultural heritage interventions must, therefore, consider what to do and how to interact with the symbolic layer that gives meaning to a cultural asset in its environment.

In many of the interventions that we have carried out in recent years, we have realized what is the vector that should animate these projects. At a time when the rural habitat is becoming depopulated and agricultural practice is undergoing a process of industrialization that separates it from traditional practices, we cannot imagine that our relationship with the cultural heritage will be like that of our grandparents. It is no longer possible because we do not live in their society – we live in ours. Our countryside is very different, even the landscape is noticeably different from that of our ancestors. And, therefore, so is the impact of this cultural heritage on our environment.

New social role of cultural heritage

We have discovered that, on many occasions, the new social role of cultural heritage is to generate new spaces of cohesion and identity, which until now have been little explored. As I said before, there has been a shift in the popular interpretation of these landscapes. Our grandparents considered that the ancient castros were the domain of another race, of beings who lived in the subterranean world, accumulated wealth, were dangerous and notably different from us. Those *mouros*, dwarves, fairies, giants, *sidhe* people, magical beings defined us by opposition. Our ancestors, in fact, lived in our own houses. In Galicia, on certain days of the year, our dead came to eat with us, because they had not left, or were able to return to our houses.

But in the stories we now gather from teenagers, or middle-aged people, this is beginning to change. The old Iron Age hillforts, especially abundant and monumental in Galicia, are now the places of the ancestors, of *our ancestors*, of those who created our communities. The ancient races have gone to the Grey Havens, as Tolkien would say, and the hillforts, dolmens and megalithic tumuli now legitimize us. When land ownership is no longer important, when it is not our family that must justify who we are and why we are in a place and have certain rights, cultural heritage can give us the needed sense of identity.

In my projects I always film a very simple video – I ask the neighbours to present to the world the archaeological site we want to recover. I do not give them any hints. I ask them to tell us why they want to recover it, why it is important. In the Cerqueda (Malpica) community on the Galician Costa da Morte, ‘Coast of Death’, one of the locals gave me a clue – “our castro allows us all to be at one”. That is, it allows people who are no longer

in the old communal institutions and shared work of the agrarian society to find a link, a bond of union, to continue to feel a sense of community.

In my work, digital technologies play a fundamental role in this. To what extent can the web, social networks, virtual reality and audiovisuals help us build this new imaginary world, which is necessary for these landscapes? At a time when the old modes of oral transmission have disappeared from everyday life (and only in some cases are they converted, in a codified way, into exceptional performances, such as storytelling sessions), innovation in digital and interactive narrative formats is fundamental, because many of our generations (even the older ones) use these communication channels continuously. We must build common spaces that allow these communities to generate new symbolic spaces and give meaning to these sites once again.

In order not to exceed my time, I will give two examples. When we decided to start video broadcasting the excavations at archaeological sites – which, in Galicia, are located on hills that are not easily accessible to older people – we realized that these videos became the first channel of access to information about the project for the older people in the community. They asked their grandchildren to help them watch the videos on their computers, establishing new links around these places, which previously did not occupy a space in their relationship.

A sense of community

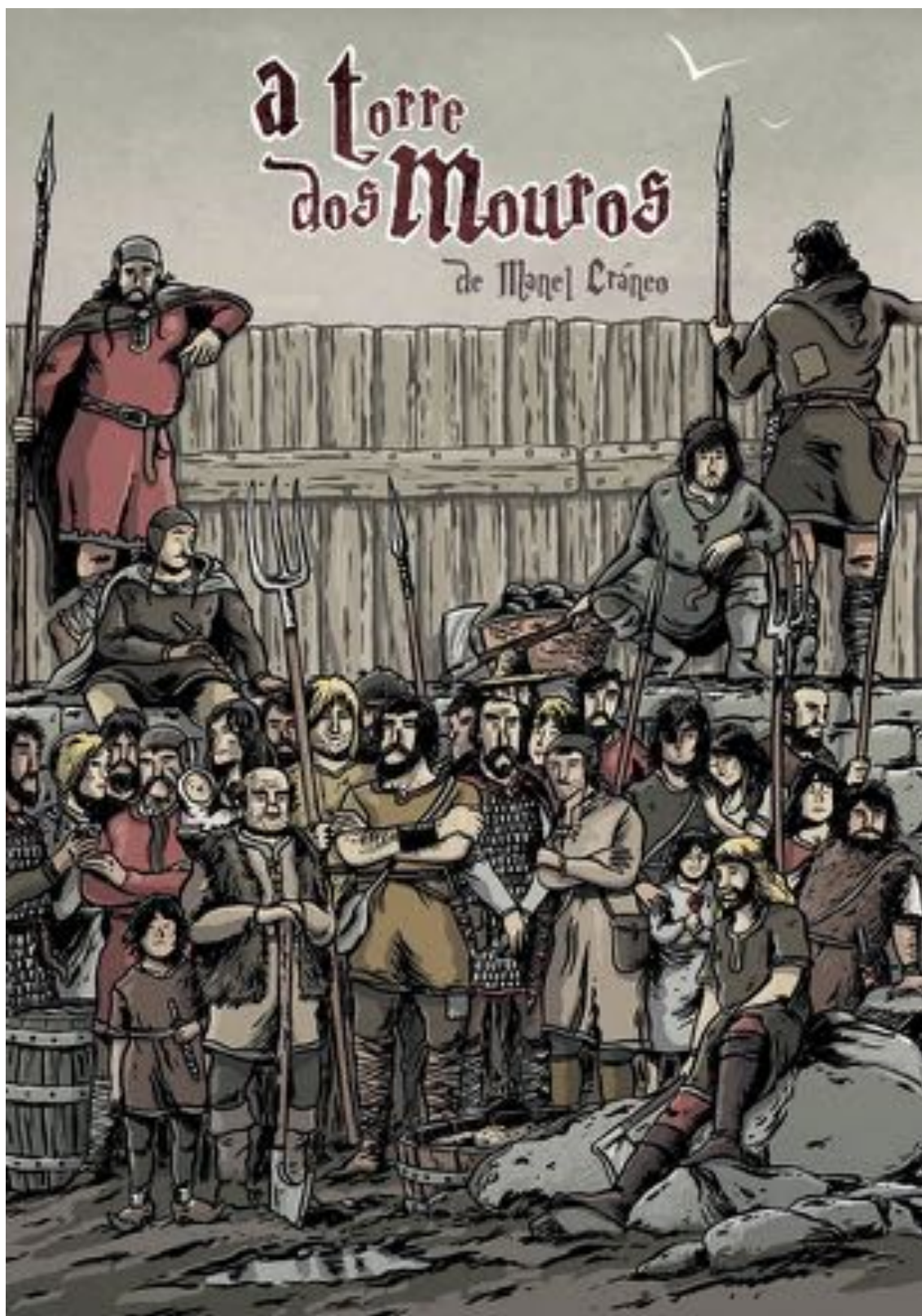
Another important parameter is around the construction of a sense of community. In our projects we now consider the digital dimension as an asset, as real as the physical actions on the landscape. In our countries, where there has been a strong migration from the rural to the city, we are aware that in many cases the social networks of the projects are the only public spaces of socialization for these communities, if we exclude local festivals and burials. It is the only place of encounter for individuals who are very separated from each other but who want to feel part of a space where they no longer reside. Through the social networks of our projects they are enabled to make contact with that world. From our point of view, it is necessary not to control the narrative about the place too much and let the neighbours themselves find it. When we recovered knowledge of the hillfort of Mallou (Carnota), we worked specifically with the children of the community (see figure 1 on page 11). They are very few and, due to their scarcity in an ageing population, they are ‘gold’. We worked with them on the whole mythical dimension of the hillfort: the *rampoña* (a winged monster) and the throne of *Raíña Lupa* (the Wolf Queen), the mythical sovereign of the territory. It was the children who demanded from the adults that the site be clean in order to turn it into their new playground, where they recreated and staged in their caves, stones and hiding places, the old legends that we managed to recover.

Conclusion

We cannot fall into the error that the recovery of the heritage has to do only with its legal protection and the

application of the techniques of physical preservation of the place. Recovering and keeping a heritage alive is, above all, to ensure that it continues to occupy a space in the imagination of its community, which is mainly responsible for its survival into the future. It is

necessary to give it a meaning, to find a use for it, to make it play a role in the structure of a local community. To use only moral or academic arguments to defend a site is to condemn it to becoming a meaningless object, lost on the bottom shelf of a museum without visitors.



The first scientific report on the archaeological project of 'Torre dos Mouros' (Lira, Carnota) was distributed as a comic book among the neighbours. The objective was to facilitate the visual understanding of this communal fortification of the Early Middle Ages. Cover by Manel Cráneo.

Dr Geraldine Stout
(National Monuments Service)
***Exploring the Boyne
and Iberian prehistoric
tomb building tradition***

Introduction

Over four thousand years ago before Santiago de Compostela became a place of pilgrimage, that part of Spain was already a centre of prehistoric re-

ligion. It experienced a spiritual movement that had taken hold of much of the western fringes of Atlantic Europe, stretching from the south of Spain to the Shetlands in Scotland. Its religious identity was expressed in mortuary practice; building large megalithic tombs embellished with art and a funerary ritual reflected in a distinct range of grave goods. This movement went hand in hand with the emergence of a settled agricultural community. Their shared coastal distribution emphasizes the sea connections between these communities, indicating advanced maritime technology and seafaring ability.

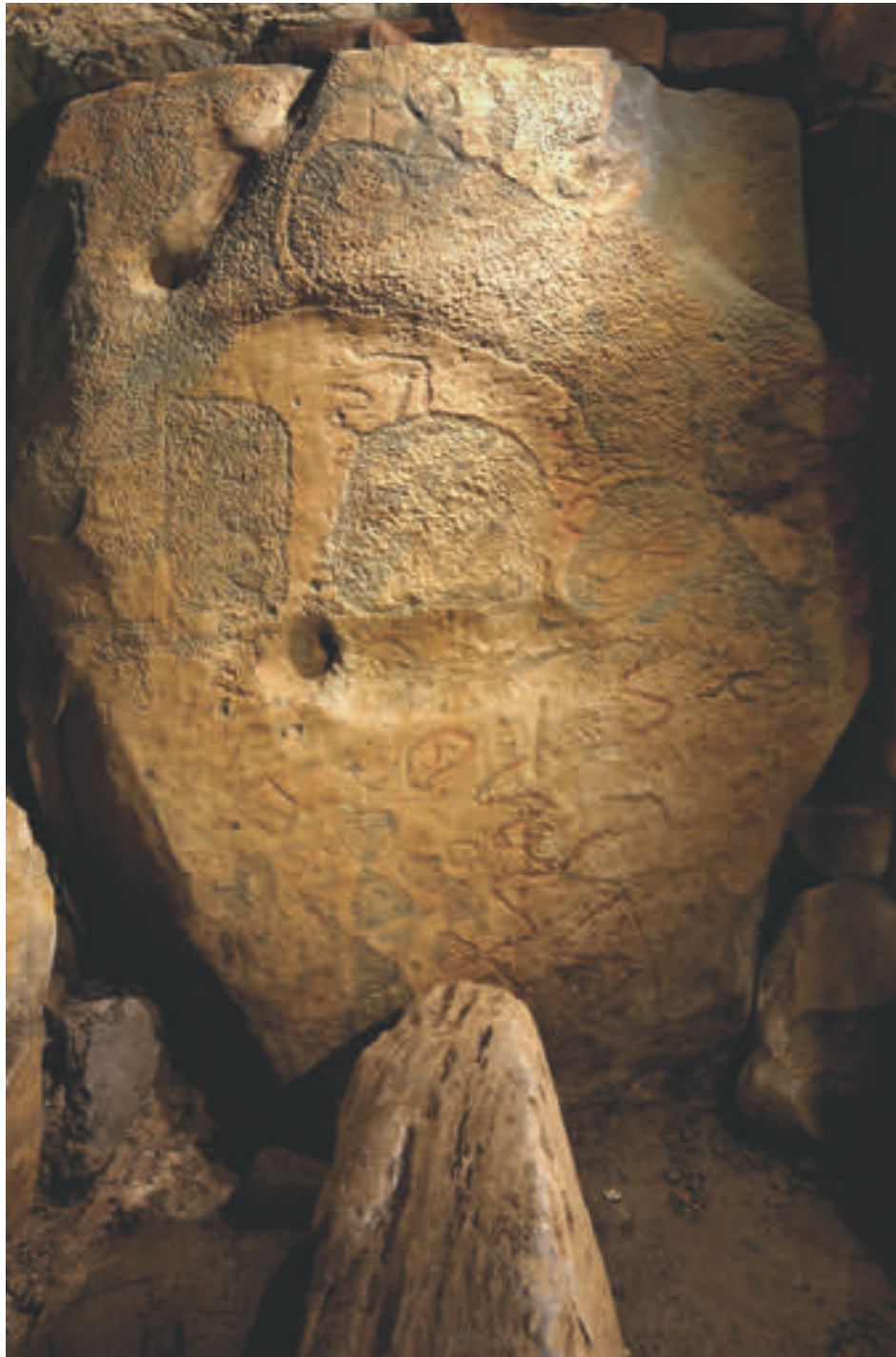


Photo: Ken Williams

Figure 1 A hump back whale carving at Knowth

In the Boyne valley, Ireland, the Underwater Unit of the Department of Culture, Heritage and the Gaeltacht

have identified a number of prehistoric wooden boats contemporary with the construction of these tombs. A

logboat was found on the banks of the Boyne shaped out of a trunk of tree using stone axes, which has been dated to 3300 BC–2900 BC. Grave goods from the Boyne Valley tombs also demonstrate a close link with the sea; shells, cockles, mussels and limpets have been found in many of the passage graves at Newgrange and Loughcrew, Co. Meath. A hump back whale was carved into a stone in the chamber in the western tomb at Knowth (see figure 1 on page 14) and whalebone objects have also

been found as grave goods at Carrowmore passage tomb cemetery in the north-west of Ireland.

This paper explores the tomb tradition of the Boyne Valley and Galicia under the headings of architecture, archaeo-astronomy and art. It identifies similar characteristics in both traditions, which shows that the Boyne Valley and Galicia had a shared ancestry in prehistoric times.

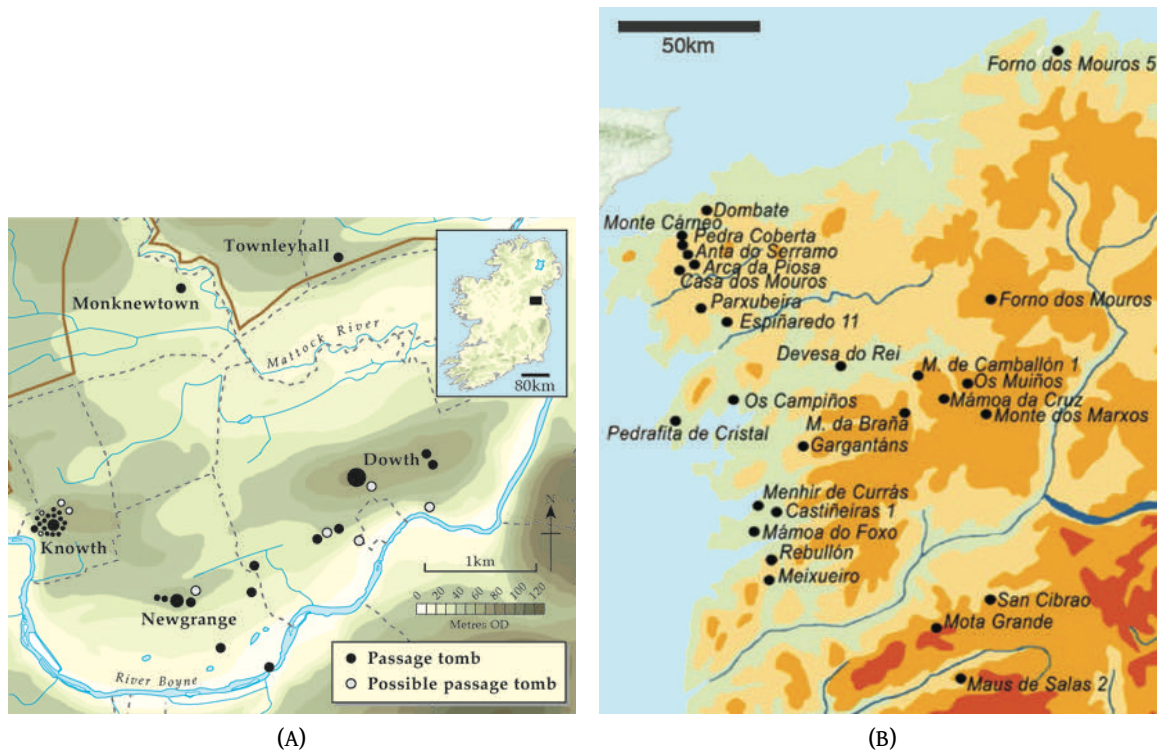


Figure 2 Location maps of the Boyne Valley (A) and Galicia (B)

Location

The Boyne valley opens onto the east coast of Ireland (Figure 2 (A) above). The passage tombs have a river valley distribution extending into higher ground at Loughcrew with the greatest concentration in the lower Boyne valley. This is a rolling landscape with some of the best grassland in Ireland. In this area the mountains are distant and it is one of the driest areas in the country. Galicia has one of the highest concentrations of megalithic tombs in western Europe (Figure 2 (B) above). Their general distribution extends across all landscapes into the uplands but the distribution of the passage tombs is broadly coastal. It is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean to the west with mountain ranges in the east and southeast. The coastline is sharply indented with deep inlets.

Architecture

In both regions the tombs share many architectural features, including the presence of round burial mounds; central chambers and passages that rise towards the burial chamber so pilgrims would have had to bow their heads on entering. At Knowth in the Boyne valley there are nineteen smaller tombs and the large main mound containing the finest megalithic art in Western Europe. All are enclosed in circular cairns (or earthen mounds),

and tombs are delimited by a ring of contiguous kerbstones, which is unique to Irish tombs (Figure 3 below).



Figure 3 Knowth passage tomb cemetery

At Knowth the passage graves vary from simple sites with short passages leading to a circular chamber to elaborate monuments with long passage and multi-celled chambers. Several show a cruciform arrangement with three chambers. The undifferentiated tombs (examples lacking a pronounced chamber) are similar to the Galician sites. In the great mound at Knowth both tomb types are present. At Newgrange there is also a cemetery aligned along a natural ridge with the large

mound; and smaller tombs, which have been excavated, lie to the east and west of the main mound. The tombs open into the south-east, a familiar feature of Galician examples. The corbelled roof is more common in Boyne

chambers than the simpler lintelled type. The latter is a feature of Galician tombs, but corbelled chambers are found in sites further south on the Iberian peninsula.



Photo: Ken Williams

Figure 4 Pedra Moura Galician passage tomb

Pedra Moura (Figure 4 above), with its round mound, is typical of Galician passage tombs. The mounds and their internal structures are generally small. The passage increases in height from the entrance to the chamber. The chamber becomes more prominent than the mound as it rises out of the mound. The megalithic tombs have a circular plan rising to a spherical cap. The average size is between 15m and 25m in diameter and 1m–2m high. Mamoia de Rei in Castaneiras (see figure 5 (A) on page 17) is one of a large number of passage tomb cemeteries, that include more than twenty tombs. Quartz is a frequent feature of the mound façade as in the Boyne. The northern and western tombs of Galicia have polygonal chambers which are quite high and roofed by a single capstone. The lintel-roofed passage is lower than the chamber.

In both the Boyne and Galicia ‘monumentalising’ the tombs (the reuse of earlier monuments) is common. The excavations at Knowth showed that the original tomb was enlarged and the passages extended (see figure 5 (B) on page 17). Newgrange incorporated an earlier turf mound in the back of the monument, which accounts for its peculiar heart shape. At Dombate in Galicia (see figure 6 (A) on page 17) we see exactly the same phenomenon; a small chamber was buried under the mound of a great passage tomb. The intention of preserving the ancient monument under the new one indicates clearly a relationship with the ancestors buried there. Dombate is the largest megalithic chamber in Galicia and shares many characteristics of the Boyne sites. It has a passage and chamber opening to the south-east with evidence for a round cairn. Dombate dates

to 3900 BC–3400 BC, making it slightly earlier than the Boyne tombs.

At Dombate we also see the enhancement of the entrance where ritual activity took place (see figure 6 (B) on page 17). A forecourt is located where the entrance widens and carved stone ‘figures’ were placed here. Dombate-style ‘figures’ are a feature of Galician tombs. They are reminiscent of the decorated kerbstones on the Boyne tombs, which may have served the same purpose in funerary practice. At Parxubeira passage grave there was a pavement in front of the entrance featuring stone ‘idols’, marking the limit of the burial mound and ‘guarding’ access to the tomb. Enhancement of the entrance of larger tombs in the Boyne is also a distinct feature and highlights the outdoor funerary ritual that took place. There were quartz stone dishes and worked stone found in Irish tombs which have been compared to Iberian examples. At the entrance to Newgrange there is a highly decorated stone and there was also a stone/dish feature for offerings. Small, hand-carved stones which were found in the cairn at Newgrange are similar to the Iberian ‘idols’. These are sandstones with ziz-zag carving on the upper surface and four chiselled grooves (see figure 7 (A) on page 18) They have been compared to stones from Parafita in northern Portugal.

Archaeo-Astronomy

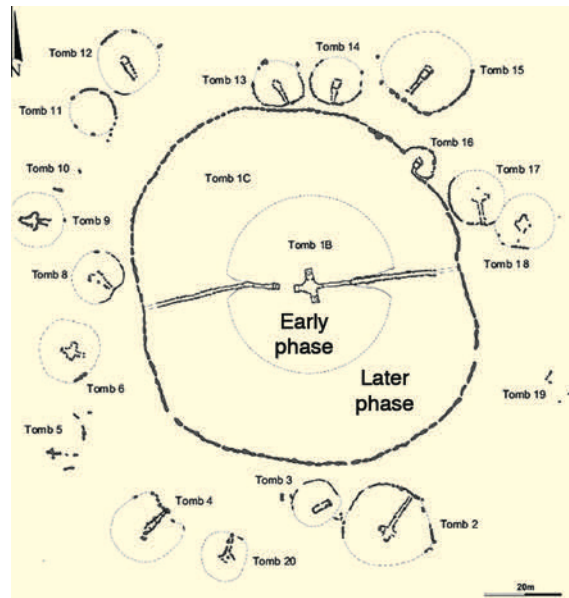
The enhancement of the entrances to these tombs was tied into special ceremonial events such as the celebration of the winter solstice. In both regions the alignment to sunrise or sunset on the shortest day of the year is a feature of the larger monuments. At New-

grange in the Boyne the first beams of winter sunrise comes through a specially designed roofbox and lights up the inner chamber and the backstone. At Dowth, both tombs face west and at sunset during the winter solstice the sun shines into the south-western chamber and lights up the backstone. In Galicia all the tombs display an orientation towards the eastern half of the horizon and the most frequent alignment is to a winter solstice sunrise. Dombate is orientated towards the

winter solstice sunrise. The inner parts of the chamber are only lit by direct sunlight during the few days either side of the solstice. A reconstruction shows that a beam of light would have hit the backstone, as seen at Newgrange. At Forno dos Mouros, located next to the ancient road to Santiago de Compostela, the burial mound and chamber projects a shadow over the large natural boulder of Pena Moura at winter solstice.



(A) [Photo: Ken Williams]



(B)

Figure 5 Mamoa de Rei passage tomb cemetery (A) and Plan of Knowth passage tombs (B)



(A)



(B) [Photo: Ken Williams]

Figure 6 Dombate passage tomb, Galicia (A) and Entrance of Dombate tomb (B)

Art

Megalithic art is what distinguishes these passage tombs from other funerary monuments. Megalithic art can be painted, carved or sculpted. Both areas share a great richness in prehistoric art. Engraving is the standard in the Boyne Valley but painted decoration is com-

mon in the north-west of the Iberian peninsula. The Boyne Valley is particularly famous for its carved art. The art is geometric and reflects their beliefs and ideology in the same way as biblical scenes on Irish High Crosses or the simple symbol of a cross on Christian monuments.

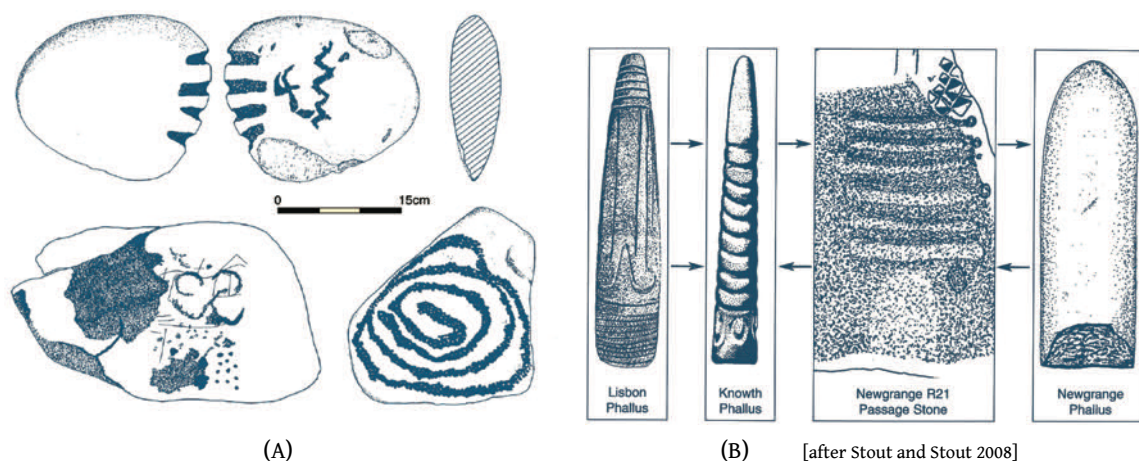


Figure 7 Carved stones from Newgrange (A) and Phallic stones from the Boyne Valley (B)

Re-cycled stones of the earliest funerary monuments in both areas contain geometric and angular art. This is best seen at Knowth. All the elements of this angular style are, however, based on Iberian motifs. Prof. George Eogan claimed Iberia (with its abundance of stone and mobile objects including plaques, pottery vessels, idols, croziers and decorated structural stones) as

a possible origin of megalithic art at Knowth. European megalithic art expert, Dr Elizabeth Shee has identified ten principal motifs of Iberian art including triangles, serpentine-forms, circles and U motifs that are present in both areas. Fourknocks, Co. Meath, for example, contains fine examples of the angular art found on Iberian schist plaques (figure 8 below).



Figure 8 Fourknocks megalithic art

There is an immense body of work on the art of Galicia by Spanish archaeologists such as Criado Boada, Ramirez, Fábregas Valcarce and Sanchez. In Galicia the detailed analysis of direct radio-carbon dates of organic pigments in some burial chambers indicates at least two superimposed episodes of painting. Painted art has not been identified in the Boyne but Galicia has got both painted and carved art. At Castiñeiras the engraved art is earlier than the simple paintings on the tomb. The latter also has some clearly trimmed uprights that could

have been used before the construction of the current chamber. Fábregas Valcarce has identified a sequence of ornamentation in Galician tombs. By studying the painted decoration, it is possible to derive chronological development. The existence of reused uprights in Galician tombs could be linked to this first stage of tomb building and could have been the very reason for the beginning of the construction. The combination of painting and carved decoration in Galicia indicates that both types of artistic expression were contemporary.

Dombate has a complex sequence of painting and engraving (figure 9 above). The painted criss-cross style is similar to that found on decorated pendants found in Iberian tombs. At Newgrange the incised lines found on some of the stones are also reminiscent of Iberian pendant design. It is possible that this style of funerary art may have been transferred to Ireland by the arrival of these stone plaques from Iberia. Iberia has a major collection of Neolithic portable art; there are over 4,000 plaques in its museums. They are made of stone, trapezoidal in shape and bear geometric decoration. They are found in collective burial contexts. A pendant fragment from Knowth burial chamber, with criss-cross design, is thought to be one of these Iberian pendants. There are other similarities between Iberian and Boyne art; the fern carved in the chamber stone at Newgrange also appears on a tomb at Pedralta, and the backstone at Dowth (with picked vertical and horizontal serpentine-forms) is similar to a decorated stone at Parade de Alperiz.

In both tomb regions we find stone tools, pottery and personal ornaments deposited as grave goods. These

are often the same tools that would have been used for domestic activities but their presence as grave goods gives them more symbolic significance. There are some particularly exotic finds in the Boyne tombs that have Iberian parallels, such as the carved phallic-type objects found at the entrance to the western tomb at Knowth (see figure 7 (B) on page 18). This stone has been compared with similar examples from the south of Portugal. What is particularly interesting about the Knowth example is how similar it is to a carving on an orthostat in the passage of Newgrange, showing a cross over from portable object to a structural stone in two different tombs.

Conclusions

It is clear that the ceremonial customs of prehistoric communities in Galicia and the Boyne Valley had much in common. Both communities shared a religious zeal and spiritual vitality, which inspired them to construct burial monuments that would last for millennia. These religious connections between Ireland and Galicia continued into the medieval period when communities reconnected as pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela.

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Photo: Ken Williams

Figure 9 Painted art at Dombate

Dr Elías Cueto
(Architect)
(Universidade da Coruña)
and
Sagrario Abelleira
(Philologist)
A history of friendship

O'Sullivan in Santiago de Compostela

On 11 May 2019, I had the opportunity to share some ideas about the Irish who settled in Santiago de Compostela during the seventeenth century. I thank the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement (and Mr Byrne) for that opportunity. Their invitation forced me to review the facts of religion and politics in the seventeenth century with the aim of sharing that history in an accessible way and, why not, try to amuse the audience. The topic selected was friendship and en-

mity; with the paradox of the first being international, and the second local.

I came to the issue of the O'Sullivan family settling in Santiago de Compostela while I was studying a block of houses situated in the old city of Santiago. My research focused on a group of twenty-eight contemporary houses and their evolution during the last five centuries (see figure 1 below). Those tiny houses were, in the past, a single unity – a palace that no longer exists. For some of those 500 years, the Irish, and more precisely the O'Sullivan family, happened to be the guests at the principal house of the complex. Those who might be interested in my study or in the houses, may please check my previous post at this blog (<https://offalyhistoryblog.wordpress.com/2017/09/02/the-osullivans-in-santiago-de-compostela-by-elias-cueto/>) or have a look at the book containing all the results of that research (<https://realaudienciadegalicia.wordpress.com>)

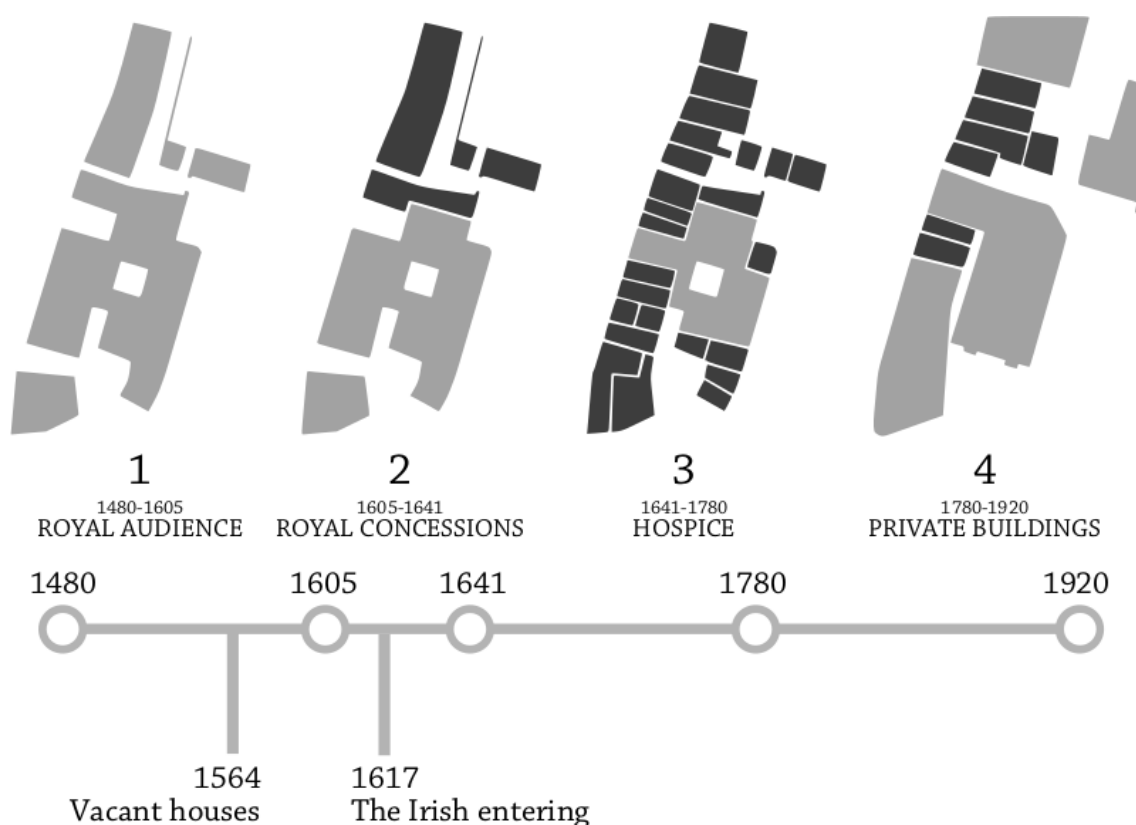


Figure 1 The Royal houses evolved during five centuries from a single palace to becoming a conglomerate of buildings with different uses. In the XVII century the houses split into two sections. Later, they were rented separately as private dwellings. Finally many houses were replaced by public buildings currently existing. (Image courtesy of Elías Cueto)

It was not by chance that the Irish settled in those houses. The houses are known as the Royal Houses, and in fact that is the current name for the street where they are situated – the street of *Casas Reales*, just at the point where the *Camino de Santiago* enters the historical city (see figure 2 (A) on page 21). You have probably guessed the reason for that name. The Spanish monarchy established its first stable settlement in Galicia at the beginning of the sixteenth century precisely in those houses, at which time the current group of houses was a single palace.

But the Spanish monarchy soon moved away from Santiago. By the seventeenth century, it had already changed its Galician settlement from the city of Santiago de Compostela to a village on the coast called A Coruña. That village soon became a large city thanks to being the city of the king. There were plenty of reasons for that move, but probably the most relevant was the rivalry between two contemporary powers at that time. On the one hand there was the emergent force of the Spanish king; and on the other the local power of the Archbishop of Santiago. In order to avoid conflicts, the monarchy decided to settle in Coruña by 1564.

Because of this transfer, the Royal Houses in Santiago became vacant and available for those who were either friends of the king, or enemies of the archbishop! The Irish were an example of the former. They were victims of the English, and for that reason they gained natural sympathy from the Spanish king. But most of all, the Irish were potential allies against the English enemy. This was not just friendship, this was strategical interest in the context of war.

For those reasons, in 1617 the Spanish king granted his houses in Santiago de Compostela to the Irish (see figure 2 (B) below).

But the decision was controversial as two different factions of Irish asked for the houses. One of the Irish applicants was a family of noblemen called the O'Sullivan, yes, the Count of Bearhaven, the one who marched across Ireland escaping from the English. He and his family wanted to establish an Irish College in Santiago. Another was a group of Jesuits who already ruled a poor Irish Seminary in Santiago de Compostela. Both were Irish, but they had different missions. The first focused on recovering Ireland from the English. The second aimed at the maintenance of Catholicism in the island.

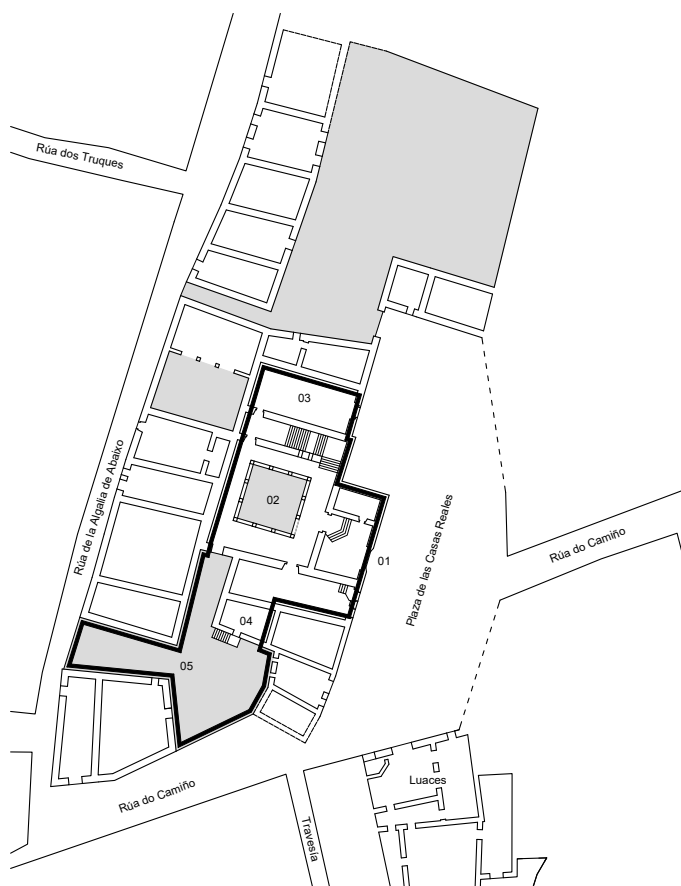
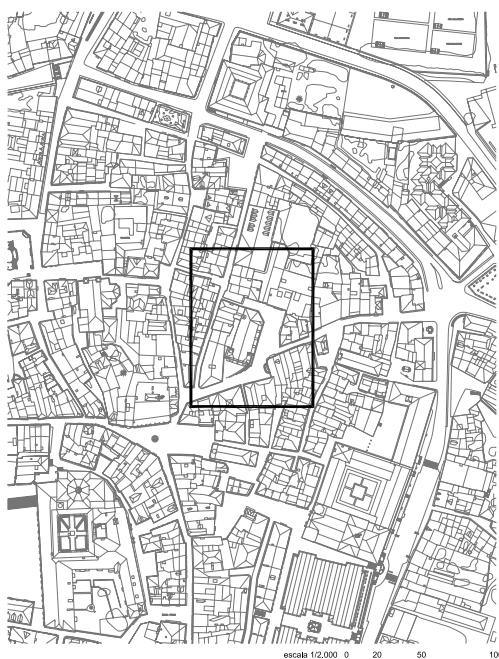


Figure 2 (A) The Royal Houses were placed in the heart of the historic city of Santiago de Compostela, in a street currently named Casas Reales (Royal Houses) which is the main entrance of the Camino into the city.

(B) At the beginning of the XVII century, the Royal Houses split in two. Those granted by Felipe III to O'Sullivan are the ones around the main court. They included: (01) main entrance, (02) two level patio with a water well, (03) the room where the Royal Audience first settled, (04) a tower, and (05) a backyard.

By mistake, the Spanish king granted the houses to both groups. Who would ever think that there were two different groups of Irish trying to settle in the same house at the same time? Even today we tend to confuse the Irish College and the Irish Seminaries. The former was driven by Irish noblemen who dreamed of going back to Ireland and defeating the English with the military support of the Spanish king. The latter formed priests in order to preserve the Catholic faith in Ireland. Surely you can guess which one succeeded in its pretensions during the upcoming years.

As the confusion among those two different factions of Irish was clarified, the O'Sullivans were finally granted the Royal Houses. The Irish Seminary found an alter-

native dwelling in the same city. This was possible by means of an agreement with the university which rented its houses at the street called Rua Nova to the seminary. The College of Irish Nobles did not last for long – note that O'Sullivan died in Madrid in 1618. But the seminary did succeed and continued to exist in Spain until the Jesuits were expelled in 1767. The archives of the seminary remained in Santiago for years. Later they were moved to Salamanca. Today, they rest at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth under the name of “Salamanca Papers”.

The Milesian lobby

Following on my resumé of the lecture held in Santiago de Compostela, during the celebration of the fifty years

of the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement, I would like to return to the friendship among Spaniards and Irish in the seventeenth century. More specifically, I would like to focus on the friendship among the Irish noblemen in exile who wanted to recover their possessions in Ireland, and the Spanish monarchy which was fighting against England during that period.

It is well known that friendship is a matter for two. From the point of view of Irish noblemen, the Spanish monarchy was the only military power that could defeat England and by means of this make possible the recovery of their traditional position. From the Spanish point of view, the Irish noblemen were the local support needed to succeed in a war against the English enemy.



Figure 3 Spanish pamphlet entitled “Reasons why the servants of God of this Kingdom should support the Irish Seminary” in which it is stated that Santiago had been in Ireland before Saint Patrick. (Source: Russell Library in Maynooth, National University of Ireland.)

The example of Flanders was in the minds of the Spanish. There the war was very expensive and, therefore, the Spanish king dreamed of an English Flanders. This should be a conflict taking place in Ireland. Even if the conquest of Ireland seemed to be too complicated and worthless for the Spanish monarchy, in terms of strategy, Ireland was the backyard of England, just as it was Flanders for the Spanish kingdom.

As long as both parties had strategic reasons to collaborate, they became friends and made statements concerning their links. With time their friendship turned into a myth including many episodes with different profiles – from religion to dynasty, from ancient shared origins to romantic ideals. For centuries, the general idea of friendship has survived as a means of serving the ideals of the moment.

The most immediate connection between the two countries was Catholicism. That belief was shared among Irish and Spanish, but most of all it was also not shared with their common enemy the protestant English. The general idea of Catholicism was enhanced by means of enabling links between Santiago and Saint Patrick. Both saints were leading figures of the resistance of the catholic faith in each country. Santiago protected

Spain fighting against the Muslims, while Saint Patrick saved Ireland by converting it to Catholicism. This missionary resistance became a shared value for Irish and Spaniards during the seventeenth century, and it also contributed towards the establishment of a common myth. A nice example of this is the pamphlet printed in the city of Santiago de Compostela by Juan Pacheco. The text explains that Santiago spent some time in Ireland before the arrival of Saint Patrick (see figure 3 above).

But for certain purposes, Catholicism was not enough. It was certainly a good point for the Irish seminaries that wanted the support of Spain for the formation of priests in order to send them to Ireland; but it was not enough for the Irish noblemen who were thinking about recovering Ireland. This is why the Irish tried to connect the lineage of the Irish with that of the Spanish monarchy. If they were family, then the Spanish king should provide military help. A good example of this idea is the work *Compendium...*¹ published in 1621 by Philip O’Sullivan. He was part of a wide movement known as the *Milesian Lobby*, a group pushing forward the idea of a common root for Irish and Spanish nobility.

A clear example of the efforts of the O’Sullivans trying

¹ Philip O’Sullivan Beare, *Historiae Catholicae Iberniae compendium*, (Lisbon: excusum a Petro Crasbeeckio, 1621).

to get the favour of the Spanish king can be found in the only portrait of Donal Cam O'Sullivan Beare, Count of Bearhaven (translated to Spanish as Conde de Birabén). The picture hangs on the walls of the National University of Ireland in Maynooth and presents the Irish chieftain following the Spanish style for painting kings. The picture fits the canon used by all the Spanish kings from Carlos V to Felipe IV (see figure 4 below). By following this model, O'Sullivan was making a political statement:

Irish nobility is aligned with the Spanish monarchy. When looking at the portraits in detail it is possible to see how both nobles define themselves as champions of Catholicism – the Spanish king proudly shows the *Toison d'Or*, insignia of 'The Order of the Golden Fleece' on his breast, while the Irish nobleman does the same with the Cross of the Order of Santiago (see figure 5 on page 24). It is worth pointing out that he became the first non-Spaniard who was granted that dignity.



Figure 4 Pictorial tradition of dress by Spanish kings. Layout for comparison by Elías Cueto. The kings from left to right are: Carlos V: Pantoja de la Cruz, Juan (© Museo Nacional del Prado); Felipe II: Anónimo. Basado en Sánchez Coello; Felipe III: Pantoja de la Cruz, Juan (© Museo Nacional del Prado); Felipe IV: Velázquez, Diego (© Museo Nacional del Prado)

The target and the myth

Closing the resumé of my lecture, I would like to suggest how the idea of friendship established in the seventeenth century has been evolving and persists. And I would also like to suggest that it has been possible because the idea of Irish and Spaniards being linked has been useful to multiple and even opposite interests.

A key value of the alliance among Irish and Spaniards in the seventeenth century is that it worked in both directions. It was not just of interest for one side, it was profitable for both of them. The idea of the Spanish monarchy having its roots in ancient times independent of the Roman Empire, was of much interest for Spanish international politics, and not just in military matters.

By that time, Spain was very powerful in terms of economics and military force, but lacked historical legitimacy in comparison to the Pope and his marvellous past. In fact, the Spanish Emperor had to pay the Pope in order to be recognised; and for a long time Italians dismissed the dignity of the Spanish Empire. It is worth pointing out that by that time, the power of monarchy was founded in tradition and heritage. In the sixteenth century, Spain became a new Empire, but it had little past behind it and so it was weak in terms of legitimacy.

For that reason, the idea of a remote past with its roots among the Celts, separate from classical history, became very valuable for the Spanish Empire. This idea was largely developed by Juan Francisco Masdeu (1744–1817) and became one of the foundational myths

of legitimacy for the Spanish monarchy already in the seventeenth century. It is easy to understand that, as the Spanish Empire started to decline, the efforts for finding legitimacy had to be increased.

Masdeu suggested that Spain was the result of a union between Celts and Iberians. The first came from Ireland, while the second was already situated in Iberia. Their origin was previous to the Roman Empire and also previous to the Greeks. That statement had a political dimension, since Masdeu pretended to achieve independence for the Spanish monarchy from the Italian church. Having a different origin, being *Celtiberos* and no longer descendants of the Romans, made it easier to claim that independence.

In a similar manner, the Galician historian José Verea y Aguiar (1775–1849) took advantage of the link between Ireland and Spain, but this time focused upon a different target. According to his interpretation published in the *Historia de Galicia* in 1838, the Celts were originally found in Portugal and Galicia, and it was from that origin that they spread to Ireland and Scotland. So the local population of Galicia had an exclusive and remote origin, and this should enable them make a claim for their own legitimacy. Just in the same manner that the Spanish historians took advantage of a supposed remote origin for claiming independence from the Italian church, the Galician historians reproduced that idea focused on claiming political decentralization.

Both Masdeu and Verea y Aguiar took advantage of historical events from a very distant period in time

in order to support their political aspirations at that moment. The first was acting as a religious regalist who attempted to legitimize the Spanish church outside the papacy, thus giving independence to the Spanish monarchy. The second was acting as a liberal jurist, claiming Galicia's own identity against that of Spain.

Conclusion

I leave it to the reader to consider whether the effort of Masdeu and Verey y Aguiar continues in the discourse of later authors who sustain present claims by means of different – and sometimes even contradictory – in-

terpretations of the past.

I also suggest the reader consider whether the general idea of international friendship has been used for promoting generosity among foreigners or just for claiming private/local interests.

And finally I wonder whether that mechanism which consists of using imprecise and remote facts in order to justify and support current claims, is based on interest rather than on reason.



Figure 5 Portraits of King Felipe III and O'Sullivan Beare. Layout for comparison by Elías Cueto. On left – Felipe III: Pantoja de la Cruz, Juan (© Museo Nacional del Prado); On right – O'Sullivan Count of Bearhaven (© NUI Maynooth).

Bernadette Cunningham
(Deputy Librarian RIA)
***Pilgrimage to Santiago de
Compostela from medieval Ireland***

Introduction

In 2018 more than 7,500 people from Ireland completed a walk of at least 100km to arrive in Santiago de Compostela, following designated routes through Spain, sometimes starting further afield in Portugal or France.¹ The present-day phenomenon is not the first phase of heightened interest in pilgrimage from Ireland to Santiago and this essay looks at the nature of the journey undertaken by pilgrims from Ireland in the later middle ages.²

Santiago de Compostela

By the early twelfth century Santiago de Compostela had joined Jerusalem and Rome as one of the three major pilgrimage destinations of the Christian world. This gave geographical balance to the map of late medieval Christian Europe and offered those living on the Atlantic edge of Europe an accessible alternative to Rome and Jerusalem. The popularity of the shrine in Galicia marking the reputed burial place of the apostle St James the Great spread throughout Europe mainly through the efforts of the local archbishop, Diego Gelmírez.

The appeal of such pilgrim destinations was intimately connected with developments in the concept of purgatory from the twelfth century onwards. The idea emerged that a devout visit to a special shrine would allow pilgrims earn time off purgatory either for themselves or for the soul of another person who had already died. Santiago de Compostela enjoyed papal authorisation to issue generous indulgences and this attracted international pilgrims to the shrine in jubilee years (when the feast of St James, 25 July, fell on a Sunday).

Santiago had two particular features that made it popular. First, its geographical position meant it was much more accessible by sea for pilgrims living on Europe's Atlantic rim. Secondly, the frequency of jubilee years at Santiago – every six, five, six and eleven years – gave it a distinct advantage over other major shrines where jubilee indulgences were usually on offer only twice each century.

Routes by land and sea

The normal route to Galicia from the east and south of Ireland in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries involved sailing first to England, to a port such as Bristol or Plymouth or Southampton, and then waiting for another ship to cross the English channel.³ Small merchant ships, single-masted cogs, could be found at a

variety of Anglo-Norman port towns in the south-east such as New Ross, Waterford, Dungarvan and Wexford. Further north, pilgrims would have sailed from towns such as Dublin and Drogheda generally crossing first to Bristol. Some pilgrims destined for Santiago might have visited the shrine of St James's hand at Reading Abbey, or perhaps that of Thomas Becket at Canterbury on their way through southern England. Once across the English Channel, an overland route down through France was possible, generally using horses or mules for transport. This would have been the preferred option for pilgrims hoping to visit other major shrines, such as Chartres or Tours, along the way. Another option was to continue by ship down along the French coast, at least as far as Bordeaux, a major international port. From there, an onward ship to Ferrol, A Coruña, or Vigo might be found. The final stage of the journey within Galicia could be completed on horseback on or foot.

There is evidence for an expansion of interest in Santiago throughout Gaelic lordships in many parts of Ireland in the fifteenth century, aided by improved shipping and increased wealth throughout Atlantic Europe. The economic boom was facilitated by new ships developed in the Low Countries and Portugal in the fifteenth century. The availability of larger three-masted ships – carracks and caravels – that were suitable for long-distance voyages meant that direct routes from Ireland across the Bay of Biscay became the norm for Irish pilgrims to Santiago (see a detail of a ship from a map by John Speed in figure 1 on page 27).

By the fifteenth century, the ports of departure from Ireland, in addition to those on the south and east coast, would have included Kinsale, Dingle and Galway, which became renowned for their Spanish links. Further north in Gaelic Ulster it is known that Spanish wine was imported through Ballyshannon and nearby Assaroe by the fifteenth century, and merchants using that port could also have carried pilgrims.

Those making a direct crossing to Iberia often used the port of A Coruña on the north coast of Galicia. In the fifteenth century, the merchant ships taking this direct route could generally carry more than 100 pilgrims. It was not just the Irish who went by sea. Pilgrims from as far away as the Hanseatic towns of northern Germany also used the sea route. It was quicker, cheaper, and no more hazardous than the land-based options.

Having waited for a favourable wind, once ships put to sea, the journey could be relatively short, taking five to ten days to reach the Iberian coast from the south of Ireland, if not disrupted by storms. Richard Mac William Burke sailed to Galicia from Inisbofin in the summer of 1603 reaching A Coruña ten days after his departure from the west coast of Ireland.⁴

No Irish pilgrims left a detailed narrative account of

¹ officinadelperegrino.com/en/statistics, accessed 20 Feb. 2020. ² This essay draws on material published in Bernadette Cunningham, *Medieval Irish Pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2018), where a more detailed discussion of the medieval evidence will be found.

³ For ports of origin of ships licensed to transport pilgrims from England, 1235–1484, see C.M. Storrs, *Jacobean pilgrims from England to St James of Compostela* (Santiago de Compostela, 1994), appendix II. ⁴ Ciaran O'Sceá, 'Irish emigration to Castile in the opening years of the seventeenth century' in P.J. Duffy (ed.), *To and from Ireland: planned migration schemes, c.1600–2000* (Dublin, 2004), pp 17–37 at p. 26.

their journey, but in the jubilee year, 1456, an English pilgrim, William Wey, wrote about his pilgrimage to Santiago, using the direct route to A Coruña. His story gives us a sense of what it was like. William left his home in Eton (west of London) on 27 March, arriving at Plymouth on 30 April. The ship he found finally sailed on 17 May. They went in convoy with five other ships which was normal practice for merchants on long voyages. The pilgrims reached A Coruña at noon on 21 May after barely five days at sea. The tower of Hercules, known in the Irish literary tradition as Breóghan's tower, was one of the landmarks they used to locate the port of A Coruña.

William wasted no time there, because he arrived in Santiago on the eve of the feast of the Holy Trinity, which fell on 23 May in 1456. A mere day and a half had taken him from A Coruña to Santiago, an 80km journey that must have been done on horseback. On his return journey through A Coruña William observed many ships in the port – Irish, English, Welsh, Breton, Norman and French – an indication of the popularity of the pilgrimage in a Jubilee year among all those with access to the trade routes of the Atlantic coast.⁵

Anglo-Norman ports and the pilgrimage

The Irish cult of St James and the pilgrimage to Santiago were originally Anglo-Norman imports. It is significant, for example, that medieval church dedications to St James, as well as holy wells, are overwhelmingly located in areas of Anglo-Norman settlement.⁶ In the south east and east of Ireland, from Waterford to Drogheda, Anglo-Norman mercantile communities had links to other ports, particularly places like Bristol and Plymouth. Those ports were important points of departure for English pilgrims and would have brought news of Santiago to Ireland's urban communities.

Routes within Ireland

Pilgrims from inland parts of Ireland travelling to Santiago could have chosen any of a variety of routes to reach the Irish coast. One option for midland pilgrims was to travel along the rivers Barrow, Nore, or Suir to the south coast. The river Barrow, for example, was navigable from Athy, Co. Kildare. Pilgrims could have sailed southwards along the Barrow to New Ross or Waterford. From there, they could have sailed directly to Spain in the mid-fifteenth century. If they opted instead to follow an established trade route across the Irish midlands, then pilgrims from midland lordships could have begun their pilgrimage by travelling to Dublin. If horses and wheeled vehicles were used for the journey, they would have completed a journey of 100km to Dublin within two days. They might have followed the line of the old *Slighe Mhór*, eventually arriving in Dublin near the Cornmarket. It is uncertain whether that route went through Kilmainham and followed the high ground along James's Street and Thomas Street approaching the walled city from the west.⁷ Nor is it

certain that St James's Gate existed, as the first documentary reference to that street gate is in a sixteenth-century account of events that had occurred in 1485.⁸

While in Dublin, pilgrims might take time to pray before the large relic collection at Christ Church cathedral, and they would probably have sought guest accommodation in a religious house while waiting for a suitable ship to sail. Their ship might have departed from near the 'stein' a long stone close to the south bank of the River Liffey, although larger ships might have used the deeper waters at Dalkey.

The Irish travelled in sufficient numbers to be noticed in Spain. In about 1474 García Alonso de Torres, chronicler to Ferdinand of Aragon, was prompted to mention Ireland in the context of its pilgrims.

In this kingdom of Ireland (or Hibernia as others call it), the king of England is lord. It is an island and some say that it lies outside the seven climates and that the inhabitants live long ... There is no bread on that island but livestock is abundant. The people are simple, exceedingly handsome and good-looking and many of them frequent the jubilee pilgrimages to Santiago.⁹

At the shrine of St James

Pilgrims arriving in Santiago, by whatever means, and from whatever starting point, would have shared in certain rituals while there. The cathedral had been designed and built to serve as focal point for the pilgrimage, and pilgrims would have been naturally drawn to it. They would enter via the north door and make their way to the wooden shrine of St James on the high altar. They would see the chains that had bound St James and his staff which was attached to the altar. They would make their confession to a priest and would attend Mass. They would also seek to view the relics kept in the sacristy, and they would make the requisite monetary offerings. The pilgrims would regard these payments as an intrinsic part of their prayers of intercession for whatever benefit they sought through their pilgrimage.¹⁰

Few pilgrims would have remained in Santiago for much longer than was necessary to complete the prescribed rituals and obtain the indulgences they sought. In a jubilee year they could rely on the hospitality provided by religious houses, inn-keepers, or local residents for just a short time. After a few days of rest and rejoicing, the long journey home still beckoned.

Scallop shell burials

It is known throughout Europe that some Santiago pilgrims were buried with perforated scallop shells, and sometimes the scrips in which they had carried their money for the journey. Such burials have been found at various Irish locations since the 1980s. Among them were two burials in a fourteenth-century context in the

⁵ Francis Davey, *William Wey, an English pilgrim to Compostela in 1456* (London, 2000). ⁶ Cunningham, *Medieval Irish pilgrims to Santiago*, appendix 2 & 3. ⁷ Hermann Geissel, *A road on the long ridge: in search of the ancient highway on the Esker Riada* (Newbridge, 2006), pp 9–13. ⁸ *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts: the Book of Howth* (London, 1873), p. 176; Howard Clarke, *Dublin, part 1, to 1610*, Irish Historic Towns Atlas, 11 (Dublin, 2002), p. 22. ⁹ Cited in Óscar Recio Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish empire, 1600–1825* (Dublin, 2010), p. 35. ¹⁰ Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: an image of medieval religion* (London, 1974), pp 159–60.

grounds of the medieval cathedral of St Mary in Tuam, Co. Galway; two at Mullingar, Co. Westmeath; one female burial at Ballyhanna in west Donegal; one female burial with an oyster shell at Drogheda; two burials at the site of the former St Thomas's Abbey outside the walls of medieval Dublin, not yet precisely dated. At Ardfert cathedral, Co. Kerry, a decorated pilgrim badge, with an image of St James was recovered from a medieval stone lined grave.

These pilgrim burials are a reminder of each person's enduring connection to the experience of the Santiago pilgrimage. Long after they had returned home, the shells and badges were reminders of a significant journey that had taken them far beyond the confined horizons that defined much of their lives. As Christians, they hoped that those shells and emblems and all that they represented would ease their ultimate journey to the gates of paradise.



Figure 1 Detail of a ship from John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine, presenting an exact geography of the kingdomes of England, Scotland Ireland, and the Iles adjoining* (London, 1616). Speed's small vignettes were not intended as accurate sketches but give some idea of the kind of merchant ships routinely used along the Atlantic coast of Europe.

Notices of recently published books

Bernadette Cunningham

This is a selection of recently published books thought likely to be of interest to readers of *Áitreabh*. Some notices are partly derived from information supplied by the publishers.

Making a mark: image and process in Neolithic Britain and Ireland

Andrew Meirion Jones & Marta Diaz-Guardamino
(Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2019. xxix, 288p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781789251883. £40)

This book investigates how the visual imagery found on decorated portable artefacts compares with other Neolithic imagery, such as passage tomb art and rock art. Using new digital imaging techniques, the 'Making a Mark' project examined Neolithic decorated portable items of chalk, stone, bone, antler, and wood from three key regions: southern England and East Anglia; the Irish Sea region (Wales, the Isle of Man and eastern Ireland); and Northeast Scotland and Orkney. Digital analysis revealed, for the first time, the prevalence of practices of erasure and reworking on a variety of decorated portable objects. The book documents the contexts of the decorated portable artefacts from each region, discusses the significance of erasure and reworking, and compares these practices with those found in other Neolithic contexts.

Magheracar, County Donegal: excavation of a passage tomb on Ireland's north-west coast

Eamon Cody
(Archaeological Monograph Series, 12)
(Dublin: Stationery Office, 2019. xv, 224p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781446880210. €30)

A rescue excavation at a passage tomb in Magheracar, Co. Donegal was undertaken in 1986 and 1987. The tomb is one of two surviving examples of what may have been a larger number of the type dispersed along a short stretch of Atlantic coastline in north-west Ireland. Perched on a sea-cliff, it consists of a megalithic gallery in the surviving southern half of a kerbed round mound, the original height of which is not known. The northern half of the mound has been lost to coastal erosion. The book records the findings of the excavation and explains the Middle Neolithic context. Aspects of the tomb construction process, burial rite and material culture are explored, and the factors that may have influenced the choice of location are discussed. The team who worked on this report are Anna Brindley, Anne Carey, Judith Carroll, Stephen Carter, Dáire Leahy, Linda G. Lynch, Susan Lyons, Jacqueline MacDermott, Dermot G. Moore, Dara O'Doherty, Lorna O'Donnell, Rick Schulting, Claudia Tommasino Suárez, Scott Timpany, Tom Walker and T.P. Young.

Hidden voices: the archaeology of the M8 Fermoy – Mitchelstown motorway

Penny Johnston and Jacinta Kiely
(TII Heritage, 7)
(Dublin: Transport Infrastructure Ireland (distributed by Wordwell), 2019. xiv, 270p. illus. Pbk. ISBN

9781911633150. €25)

Archaeological investigations were undertaken at 24 sites along the 16km route of the M8 Fermoy–Mitchelstown motorway, in north County Cork, a route that traverses broad plains of rich pastureland and the western foothills of the Kilworth Mountains. (The motorway opened to traffic in May 2009). A diverse range of archaeological sites was discovered, representing the day-to-day life, work and beliefs of the communities who occupied this landscape over the last 10,000 years. The report includes overviews of the settlement, plant remains, human remains, pottery, stone tool and iron-working evidence. Readers will learn of Mesolithic nomads fishing the River Funshion and of Neolithic farmsteads excavated at Gortore, Caherdrinny and Ballinglanna North. Bronze Age houses were found at Ballynamona, Gortnahown and Kilshanny, as well as a rare Iron Age example at Caherdrinny. Timber circles uncovered at Ballynacarriga are evidence of ceremonial practices in Later Neolithic times. Discoveries from the historical era included an early medieval cliff-edge fort at Ballynacarriga and cob-built houses and a blacksmith's dwelling at Gortnahown. The iron-working evidence indicates highly specialised bell manufacture and brazing. An early 12th-century manuscript known as *Críchad an Chaoilli* provides a backdrop to these medieval sites, with its evidence for territorial boundary evolution and land ownership in the old kingdom of Fir Maige (Fermoy). The report is available online from TII: https://www.tii.ie/technical-services/archaeology/publications/tii-heritage/HiddenVoices_online.pdf

A Moycullen miscellany: History, architecture and the archaeology of the N59 Moycullen bypass

Jerry O'Sullivan, Shane Delaney, Carlos Chique and Karen Molloy
(TII Heritage, 8)
(Dublin: Transport Infrastructure Ireland (distributed by Wordwell, 2019). ix, 107p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781911633174. €15)

Moycullen village lies between the fertile limestone basin of Lough Corrib and the upland granite of Connemara. Archaeological excavations conducted in 2014 along the 4.3km route of the N59 Moycullen bypass road identified new sites of prehistoric and early medieval settlement in this landscape, including the first Neolithic farmers. Fossil pollen from a local peat bog provides evidence of the advance and retreat of woodlands as successive human communities cleared the land for tillage and pasture throughout prehistory. Anglo-Norman settlers built a castle and church near the lake, but their manor of Gnó Beg (a former name for this locality) was afterwards ceded to the O'Flahertys, the Gaelic medieval lords of Connemara. By early modern times the choicest land was occupied by big

landowners and their mansion houses, while their tenants lived in clustered cabins on the rugged hillslopes. From the 1830s the modern village began to converge around a crossroads created by Alexander Nimmo when he engineered a new road from Galway Bay to Lough Corrib.

Gaelic influence in the Northumbrian kingdom: the Golden Age and the Viking Age
Fiona Edmonds
 (Studies in Celtic History, 40)
 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2019. 322p. Hbk. ISBN 9781783273362. £60)

Northumbria was the most northerly Anglo-Saxon kingdom; its landscape featured two sweeping coastlines, which opened the area to a variety of cultural connections. This book explores influences that emanated from the Gaelic-speaking world, including Ireland, the Isle of Man, Argyll and the kingdom of Alba. It encompasses Northumbria's 'Golden Age' in the seventh and early eighth centuries and ends with the kingdom's decline and fragmentation in the Viking Age, which opened up new links with Gaelic-Scandinavian communities. Political and ecclesiastical connections are discussed, emphasising routes between the Gaelic world and the Northumbrian Kingdom, together with the evidence for linguistic contact and material culture.

Leitrim history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county
 Edited by Liam Kelly & Brendan Scott; series editor William Nolan
 (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2019. xxx, 890p. illus. Hbk. ISBN 9780906602898. €60)

Among the 35 chapters in this multi-disciplinary volume, essays of particular interest to readers of *Áitreabh* include Susan Hegarty on Leitrim's physical landscape; Donna Gilligan on the prehistoric archaeological landscape, with its 'clear evidence of the continued intensive ritual and domestic activity of people within the area over a long and unbroken period of time'; Susan Curran on early medieval archaeology; Kieran O'Connor and Christina Fredengren on medieval settlement; J.J. McDermott on late medieval Gaelic strongholds and Siobhán Scully on medieval parish churches in south Leitrim. Dominic Rooney discusses Sir Frederic Hamilton, a Leitrim planter in the seventeenth century, while Anthony Malcomson examines the late eighteenth-century estate formation of Nathaniel Clements. Building on research conducted for other counties, Arnold Horner looks at William Larkin's mapping of the county in the early nineteenth century. Desmond A. Gillmor analyses the population of Leitrim in the twentieth century and Ruth McManus considers the prospects for a sustainable future in the light of contemporary landscape pressures and opportunities.

Central Leinster: the Counties of Kildare, Laois and Offaly
 Andrew Tierney
 (The Buildings of Ireland)
 (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2019.

xx, 697p. illus., 30 plates. Hbk. ISBN 9780300232042. £45)

This long-established series aims to guide the reader to all buildings of significance in Ireland, rural and urban, from prehistoric times to the present. This is the fifth volume relating to Ireland. Significant sites of Christian settlement such as Clonmacnoise, Killeslin, Castledermot and Kildare are described alongside castles such as Leixlip, Ballyadams, Maynooth, Kilkea and Killeel, and major houses such as Carton, Castletown, Ballyfin and Emo Court. Churches, convents, and secular public buildings are also included. The introductory essay is chronological, ranging from 'early settlement' and the 'early Christian period' to 'architecture since 1900', while the gazetteer is arranged alphabetically by place, from Abbeyleix to Wolfhill. The book includes a selection of maps and plans, and over 120 colour photographs. There are indexes of artists, architects, patrons, residents and visitors followed by a separate index of places.

Dublin: the making of a medieval city
 Howard B. Clarke, Sarah Dent and Ruth Johnson
 (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2019. New edition. 128p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781788491204. €12.95)

This is a reissue of an illustrated book originally published in 2002 under the title: *Dublinia: the story of medieval Dublin*. Archaeological finds, documents, maps and photographs are used to present an accessible introduction to the realities of life in medieval Dublin, considering trade, guilds, crime, religion and related themes.

Medieval Dublin XVII
 Edited by Seán Duffy
 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019, 324p. Hbk. ISBN 9781846827303. €50; Pbk. ISBN 9781846827310. €29.95)

Gill Boazman examines the material culture of the half-barony of Rathdown in the southern hinterland of Hiberno-Norse Dublin; Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel reassesses the evidence for the origins of the medieval diocese of Dublin. Sheila Dooley looks at the evidence for the 'lost' medieval church of St Michael, on the site of 'Dublinia' while Linzi Simpson discusses her findings on the site of the medieval parish church of St John's of Bothe Street. Máire Geaney reinterprets the carpentry involved in the Anglo-Norman waterfront revetments at Wood Quay, Antoine Giacometti describes the medieval urban landscape and routeways in the James's Street area, based on his excavations near the former parish church of St James. Sources for the history of medieval Dublin presented here range from Phyllis Gaffney and Yolande de Pontfarcy Sexton's full translation of an Anglo-Norman text from the Dublin Chain book which casts light on daily life in medieval Dublin, to Ruth Johnson's introduction to the County Dublin Archaeology GIS [Geographical Information System], an online archaeological resource hosted at heritagemaps.ie. Essays by Paul Dryburgh, Áine Foley, Randolph Jones, and Theresa O'Byrne, complete the latest volume in this remarkable series.

Carrick, County Wexford: Ireland's first Anglo-Norman stronghold

Edited by Denis Shine, Michael Potterton, Stephen Mandal & Catherine McLoughlin

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019. 264p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781846827969. €24.95)

Published to coincide with the 850th anniversary of the coming of the Anglo-Normans to Ireland, this book of essays focuses on an enigmatic medieval site at Carrick, County Wexford. Built in the autumn and winter of 1169 by Robert Fitz Stephen, one of the first knights to land at Bannow Bay, Carrick is the oldest Anglo-Norman fortification in the country. It developed as an important borough in the thirteenth century and was home to one of the first Marshal castles in the south-east. It was also the location of one of Ireland's earliest Anglo-Norman deer parks. Since 1987, Carrick has been incorporated within the Irish National Heritage Park, which partnered with the Irish Archaeology Field School in 2018 to carry out a major archaeological research programme – 'Digging the Lost Town of Carrig'. This volume details the results of the project to date, building on previous research at Carrick.

Households of God: the regular canons and canonesses of St Augustine and of Prémontré in medieval Ireland

Edited by Martin Browne and Colmán Ó Clabaigh

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019. 336p. illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781846827884. €50)

The regular canons and canonesses of St Augustine were the most numerous and widespread of all the religious orders in medieval Ireland. The essays in this collection trace the history of the followers of the Rule of St Augustine in Ireland from their origins in the twelfth century through the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century and their continuation into the early nineteenth century.

The contributors combine evidence for the archaeology, architecture and history of the movement with that relating to its cultural, economic, liturgical, intellectual and pastoral activities. The Irish evidence is placed within a broader European ecclesial context. Authors of essays in this collection are Edel Bhreathnach, Martin Browne, Miriam Clyne, Tracy Collins, Christy Cuniffe, Adrian Empey, Marie Therese Flanagan, Clemens Galban, Arlene Hogan, Rachel Moss, Louise Nugent, Colmán Ó Clabaigh, Tadhg O'Keeffe, Pádraig Ó Riain and Brendan Scott.

Drogheda / Droichead Átha

Ned McHugh

(Irish Historic Towns Atlas, 29)

(Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2019. 72p+ maps. illus. Includes CD-ROM. Pbk. ISBN 9781908997746. €35)

In this large-format urban atlas, a 10-page essay tracing the evolution of Drogheda is followed by 62 pages of detailed topographical information. A series of historic and reconstruction maps is presented in loose-leaf format, together with reproductions of selected topographical illustrations. As in other titles in the series, the topographical information is drawn from a wide variety of printed and manuscript sources as well as from the evidence of the built landscape. A standard format

is adopted across all the atlases, presenting evidence regarding name; legal status; parliamentary status; proprietary status; municipal boundary; administrative location; administrative divisions; population; housing; streets; religion; defence; administration; primary production; manufacturing; trades and services; transport; utilities; health; education; entertainment, memorials and societies; and residence. For a large town such as Drogheda, a vast amount of information is tabulated under certain headings, notably 'streets' and 'manufacturing'. The cartographic editor is Sarah Gearty, and the editorial assistants for this volume are Jennifer Moore and Frank Cullen.

Carrickmines castle: rise and fall

Mark Clinton

(Dublin: Wordwell, 2019. xi, 328p. illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781916492271. €30)

Carrickmines began as an isolated habitation in a relatively fertile river valley, south of Dublin. This meticulously detailed study traces the evolution of the settlement over five centuries, from an open settlement to a defended farmstead, a fortified border outpost and a wealthy manorial centre. Ranging across the areas of Shanganagh, Kilgobbin and Balally in south County Dublin, and Old Court and Killincarrig in County Wicklow (as well as parts of the continent), Mark Clinton explores the fascinating story of the Walsh family who were established at Carrickmines by the late fourteenth century. The book places particular emphasis on the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, telling a story that ended in catastrophe for the Walsh family and their Carrickmines property in March 1642.

The Irish tower house: society, economy and environment, c.1300–1650

Victoria L. McAlister

(Social Archaeology and Material Worlds)

(Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019. ix, 278p. illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781526121233. £80)

Tower houses were constructed in Ireland c.1350–1650, and extant examples number in the thousands. The author examines the social role of the tower house, using a multidisciplinary methodology (well familiar to regular readers of *Áitreabh*) to uncover the lived experience of a wide range of people. Archival evidence is combined with archaeological fieldwork and on-site survey, using the Irish tower house as a medium for analysing the impact of global trends at the local level. The author reflects on ways in which these small castles were used as a social tool and in environmental exploitation for economic gain. The price charged by the publisher for a well-presented but relatively slim book is off-putting.

Irish houses and castles, 1400–1740

Rolf Loeber

Edited by Kevin Whelan and Matthew Stout

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019. xiv, 317p. illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781846828201. €55)

Six substantial essays by Rolf Loeber are reprinted in this handsome, illustrated volume: 'An architectural history of Gaelic castles and settlements,

1370–1600'; 'The geography and practice of English colonisation in Ireland, 1534–1609'; 'The architectural impact of the plantations in Ireland: Ulster and the Midlands'; 'Irish houses and castles, 1660–90'; 'Early Classicism in Ireland: architecture before the Georgian era'; 'The architecture of Irish country houses, 1691–1740: continuity and innovation'. A bibliography of Rolf Loebner's publications on Irish history, art history and literature is also provided, along with a cumulative bibliography of works cited, and a comprehensive index.

Galway's heritage in stone: medieval and late medieval heraldic corbels

Jim Higgins

(Galway City Museum catalogue no. 5)

(Galway: Crow's Rock Press, 2019, 24p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781871137538. no price given)

This illustrated catalogue of one particular aspect of the built heritage of medieval Galway includes many architectural details still visible to eagle-eyed visitors to the city in the twenty-first century.

Renaissance Galway: delineating the seventeenth-century city

Paul Walsh

(Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2019. x, 101p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781911479079. €15)

Galway is unique among Irish cities in possessing a large-scale, detailed bird's-eye view of the city in the mid-seventeenth century. Two copies of the original printed map, designed as a wall-hanging, are known to survive – one in Trinity College, Dublin, and one in NUI Galway. Paul Walsh has written an outstanding contextual introduction to the map, explaining its origins and purpose. This is followed by illustrated discussion of 38 details from the map, highlighting individual buildings and streetscapes. Paul Walsh's commentary on the map provides fascinating insights into the cultural and social world of an urban Catholic elite in the mid-seventeenth century, as revealed in the mapped topography of their town.

Kilkenny: city of heritage

Pat Dargan

(Dublin: Eastwood Books, 2019. 111p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781916137516. €16.99)

This is an accessible introduction to the central streetscapes and buildings that define Kilkenny city. Presented in gazetteer format, it explores three phases of the development of the city, through the medieval, Georgian and Victorian eras. This well-illustrated book is designed for readers of local history as well as the tourist market.

The O'Donnells of Tyrconnell: a hidden legacy

Francis M. O'Donnell

(Washington & London: Academica Press, 2018. xxviii, 718p. illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781680534740. €99.99)

Having traced the history of the O'Donnells in their home territory of Donegal, the author then turns his attention to the branch of the family that settled in Ardfert, County Kerry, some of whom later formed part of the O'Donnell aristocratic diaspora in France. The au-

thor has made extensive use on French archival sources relating to the O'Donnells. This thoroughly researched book is primarily biographical and genealogical in approach, and there is a comprehensive bibliography, an indication of the exhaustive range of sources consulted.

Abbey of Donegal: headstones & heritage

Séamus O'Doherty

([Donegal]: Tirconnell Books, [2019]. vi, 364p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781527243040. €20 + €9 postage)

This book tells a story of famous people associated with the Donegal Franciscans in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as a microcosm of Irish history (though it erroneously describes all four of the 'Four Masters' as Franciscans). The book records numerous burials in the abbey since the seventeenth century and makes a plea for the systematic recording of the graves and inscriptions still legible there.

The Londonderry Plantation, 1609–41: the City of London and the Plantation of Ulster

T.W. Moody

(Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2019. xii, 487p. Colour maps, some folded. Hbk. ISBN 9781909556690. £34.99)

Moody's classic study of the City of London's role in the Ulster plantation has been reprinted, some 80 years after it first appeared. The original edition, published in the inauspicious year of 1939, is exceptionally rare. The study is based on exhaustive research among archival sources, including the records of the London Livery Companies. It describes the formation and early history of the county of Londonderry, the plantation city of [London]Derry, the town of Coleraine, and the Irish Society of London. The new edition has a foreword and additional bibliography by James Stevens Curl.

Society and administration in Ulster's plantation towns
Edited by Brendan Scott

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019. xiv, 198p. illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781846827358. €50)

Urban aspects of the Plantation of Ulster are explored in this essay collection. Rachel Tracey and Audrey Horning survey plantation archaeology, while Jonathan Cherry looks at the planning, development, and urban form of the plantation towns. Annaleigh Margey considers London's influence on Ulster towns; Raymond Gillespie looks at markets and market towns; Patrick Fitzgerald discusses poverty in urban areas; Colm Lennon and Robert Armstrong examine religious aspects of Ulster towns; and Gerard Farrell looks at the Irish presence in the urban plantation. Other essays focus on the shaping of individual towns such as Belurbet, Coleraine and Strabane.

Landholding in the new English settlement of Hacketstown, Co. Carlow, 1635–1875

Oliver Whelan

(Maynooth Studies in Local History, 144)

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019, 62p. Pbk. ISBN 9781846828058. €9.95)

The new Protestant settlement in the lordship of Clonmore, centred around Hacketstown, proved resilient to the 1641 rebellion and attracted investment, including by Dublin bureaucrats and landed and military figures. Entrepreneurial Catholics turned to trade in response to the penal laws. This book tells how, unusually, in the period 1852–74 most leaseholders, including Catholics, achieved security of tenure, subject to fixed rents. In 1874–5, Henry Parnell (brother of Charles Stewart), owner of the lordship, had the Landed Estates Court auction its heavily encumbered 13,000 acres which were purchased, piecemeal, mainly by large-scale local landowners, sitting tenants and Dublin-based professionals.

The earls of Castlehaven: Lord Audleys of Cork and Kildare. War, sex, corruption, land. From the Battle of Kinsale to the Great Famine and beyond

Michael Christopher Keane

(Ovens, Co. Cork: The author, 2018. 232p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781527230026. €20)

George Touchet, 11th baron Audley and 1st earl of Castlehaven, was an English military commander during the Nine Years War and was injured at the Battle of Kinsale in 1601. He subsequently became one of Ireland's largest landowners, acquiring some 200,000 acres not just among the west Cork territories of the O'Driscolls and O'Mahonys but also in Tyrone and Armagh as a beneficiary of the plantation of Ulster. This book is primarily concerned with the escapades of the family in the seventeenth century, but also discusses the Audley mining enterprise in the Mizen peninsula in the nineteenth century, the family's huge indebtedness by the 1830s, and the serious impact of the Great Famine on their estates in west Cork.

The books of Knockninny: manuscripts, culture and society in early eighteenth-century Fermanagh

Edited by Raymond Gillespie and Brendan Scott

(Cavan: Cumann Seanchais Bhreifne, 2019. [x], 167p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781916196315. €15)

Brendan Scott's essay on 'The Maguires and Fermanagh, 1603–1720', and William Roulston's survey of 'Landed society in Knockninny, c.1660–c.1740', outline the evolution of Fermanagh society through the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These essays provide the political and social context within which to interpret cultural patronage and scribal activity, and perceptions of the past in Fermanagh, a century after the plantation of Ulster. Essays analysing aspects of the Irish-language manuscripts associated with Captain Brian Maguire of Knockninny and the scribes he employed are contributed by Bernadette Cunningham, Raymond Gillespie, Ciarán Mac Murchaidh and Nollaig Ó Muraíle.

Building reputations: architecture and the artisan, 1750–1830

Conor Lucey

(Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018. xix, 244p. illus. 16 plates. Hbk. ISBN 9781526119940. £80)

Eighteenth-century brick terraced houses and the artisan communities of bricklayers, carpenters and plasterers who designed and built them are considered in this book. There are chapters on the design, decoration and marketing of the town house in the principal cities of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century British Atlantic world. The facades and architecture of streets and squares are given special consideration, along with the business of interior decoration.

Knappagh

Máiread Terris

(Armagh: Cumann Seanchais Ard Mhacha, 2019, 104p. illus. Pbk. £7)

The four-storey Georgian style Knappagh House, 8km west of Armagh city, was built in 1775/6 for James Johnston, who managed an estate leased from the Church of Ireland. The house is similar to, though smaller than, the Archbishop's Palace which had been built in Armagh a few years earlier in 1768/70. This book tells the story of three generations of the Terris family who lived at Knappagh, and includes an account of the division of the Knappagh Estate in 1904, when tenants were given the option of purchasing their holdings. The Terris family continued to live on the remaining demesne. Curiously, in the early 1960s, when most of the country had electricity, the occupants of Knappagh House still used candles and oil lamps, an unusual but not unique situation in Ireland's former landlord houses.

Civic identity and public space: Belfast since 1780

Dominic Bryan, S.J. Connolly and John Nagle

(Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019. ix, 238p. Hbk. ISBN 9780719086366. £80)

Analysis of the way in which urban public space has been thought about and regulated in Belfast over the past 200 years shows that few modern claims to territorial entitlement can be taken for granted. The argument of this book, by an historian, an anthropologist and a sociologist, is that the character of urban living was shaped by nineteenth-century developments, and that its regulation has long been contentious. In recent decades, sectarian violence, changing ideas of human rights and new attitudes towards cultural and political diversity have influenced modern strategies for the management of public space in a divided city.

Charles Abbot's tour through Ireland and North Wales in September and October 1792

Edited by C.J. Woods; with a foreword by David Dickson

(Dublin: Edmund Burke Publishers, 2019. xxxiv, 124p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9780946130498. €20)

During his travels in 1792 Charles Abbot, an English barrister, looked for evidence of enterprise in the landscape, whether progressive agriculture or manufacturing. He commented on the condition of many Irish towns, large and small, and he researched aspects of the population and economy of many of the places he visited. He was impressed by the size of Dublin, and also made positive comments on Armagh, Clonmel, Derry, and Limerick. Otherwise, most Irish towns received neg-

ative comment. Abbot's account provides much incidental detail on housing, roads, bridges, inns, fisheries and woodland, in this highly informative account of an extensive Irish journey.

Monksgrange: portrait of an Irish house and family, 1769–1969

Philip Bull

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019, xvi, 269p. Hbk. ISBN 9781846827860. €50)

Philip Bull tells the story of a County Wexford 'big house', and the people who lived there, from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. Amazingly, despite being based in Melbourne, the author worked on cataloguing the Monksgrange archives prior to writing this book. Now owned by the Hill family, the house was formerly the home of G.H. Orpen, well-known historian of medieval Ireland. Orpen's study is preserved in an annexe to the original house. The rich Monksgrange archives permit a detailed survey of the world of the ascendancy families who lived there over two centuries.

The gate lodges of Connaught: a gazetteer

J.A.K. Dean

(Dublin: Wordwell, 2019, xi, 117p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781916492202. €20)

The gate lodges of Connaught completes a set of province-by-province studies representing some fifty years of research into the gate lodges of Ireland. Like its predecessors, this illustrated book seeks to increase awareness of the importance of the gate lodge as part of Irish architectural heritage, not least because they survive in greater concentrations in Ireland than in any other country. Built to impress, gate lodges and entrances were intended as a favourable first encounter. Some now survive in locations where the associated big house no longer stands.

Terrorists, anarchists and republicans: the Genevans and the Irish in time of revolution

Richard Whatmore

(Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2019, xxix, 478p. Hbk. ISBN 9780691168777. €34)

This is a sophisticated study of the late eighteenth-century plan for a 'New Geneva' settlement in County Waterford. It analyses the context within which a group of exiles from Geneva planned to create their own utopian settlement in the parish of Crook, six miles from Waterford, and overlooking Waterford harbour. Ireland was chosen as an under-populated country with excellent land, navigable rivers and good ports. James Gandon produced a design for the proposed town, and James Cuffe of Mayo was appointed to oversee the development. The town never materialised, and the site was eventually used for a Barracks. Whatmore explains why the social experiment failed – in the context of Genevan and British history – and in doing so raises questions about the real influence of the French Revolution and the nature of the European Enlightenment.

Rathcoole and the United Irish Rebellions, 1798–1803

Kerron Ó Luain

(Maynooth Studies in Local History, 143)

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019, 71p. Pbk. ISBN 9781846828041. €9.95)

This book focuses on Rathcoole society between the years 1798 and 1803 and argues that, rather than agrarian or sectarian tensions, it was primarily United Irish politicization and organization that led to the outbreak of rebellion in the locality.

The Glynnns of Kilrush, Co. Clare, 1811–1940: family, business and politics

Paul O'Brien

(Dublin: Open Air / Four Courts Press, 2019, xi, 170p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781846827761. €24.95)

This is a study of the Glynn family, whose original corn milling business diversified into shipping and railways through the nineteenth century. They were instrumental in bringing a rail connection to Kilrush from 1890, and the family gained a position of economic dominance not just in the town of Kilrush but in much of County Clare. The town became a thriving centre for the export of locally sourced farm produce, while the navigable river Shannon allowed traders from minor landed families to profit from the river trade, even after the arrival of the railway. The author attributes the Glynnns' commercial success not just to their family solidarity and their entrepreneurial spirit but also to the prior investments of the Vandeleurs in the eighteenth century, and above all to the strategic location of Kilrush at the mouth of the Shannon estuary.

Waterford port and harbour, 1815–42

Mary Breen

(Maynooth Studies in Local History, 140)

(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019, 67p. Pbk. ISBN 9781846828003. €9.95)

The management and development of Waterford port and harbour during a formative period in Irish history are explored in this book. Particular attention is paid to the relationships and interactions between Waterford Corporation, the body granted control of the port and harbour under successive royal charters, Waterford Chamber of Commerce, the chartered body representing merchants and traders, and Waterford Harbour Commissioners, the new statutory port authority established in 1816.

From landlords to genetics: the historical and modern story of the Trant estate at Dovea, Thurles, Co. Tipperary

Compiled and edited by George Cunningham

(Thurles: Dovea Heritage, 2019, xiv, 363p. illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781527240360. €35)

Part one of this large-format, illustrated book presents an overview of the physical and historical landscape of Dovea, with essays by John Feehan, W.J. Hayes and Tom O'Neill. The fifteen chapters in part two, written by George Cunningham and other members of the Dovea Heritage Group, deal with many aspects of the Trant family and their estate at Dovea. A further eight chapters in part three trace the modern story of Dovea Genetics, the modern commercial enterprise that is now based in and around the 1820s Dovea House.

John Ferrall, master of Sligo workhouse, 1852–66
Fergus O’Ferrall
 (Maynooth Studies in Local History, 142)
 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019, 61p. Pbk. ISBN 9781846828034. €9.95)

This intriguing case study examines the career and work of a master of an Irish workhouse. It explores the role of a master in respect of issues such as management, governance and the provision for the poor in post-Famine Ireland during the fourteen-year period when John Ferrall served as Master of Sligo Workhouse. It illuminates how the poor-law system evolved in terms of medical and other services in the 1850s and 1860s despite the limitations laid down for the system in law and the ineffective governance provided by the annually elected Sligo Poor Law Boards of Guardians and the detailed regulations of the remote Poor Law Commissioners in Dublin.

The museum building of Trinity College Dublin: a model of Victorian craftsmanship
 Edited by Christine Casey & Patrick Wyse Jackson
 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019. 398p. illus. Hbk. ISBN 9781846827891. €50)

Geology, quarrying, building, carving and architectural design are all explored in this assessment of Dublin’s most influential Victorian building. The building was designed by Sir Thomas Deane, Benjamin Woodward and Thomas Newenham, and originally housed two museums and some lecture theatres. It was constructed of Leinster granite from Ballyknockan, County Wicklow, finished with Portland limestone around windows, balconies and for stringcourses. There are essays by Paul Arnold, Leila Budd, Christine Casey, Louise Caulfield, Susan Galavan, Tony Hand, John Hussey, Edward McParland, Frederick O’Dwyer, Andrew Tierney, Patrick Wyse Jackson and Peter Wyse Jackson.

Clare Island
John Feehan
 (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2019. ix, 309p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781911479130. €40)

In the early twentieth century, Irish naturalist Robert Lloyd Praeger led a survey of the natural history and cultural heritage of Clare Island at a level of detail greater than any area of comparable size at that time. Almost a century later, the Royal Irish Academy set about repeating the exercise with the intention of assessing and evaluating change on the island over the intervening years. In this book John Feehan distils the results of the two great surveys with elegance and enthusiasm to shine a spotlight on the richness of life surviving on Clare Island. Feehan interweaves the natural and cultural heritage of the island and shares his wider ecological knowledge to help us understand the role each species plays in the life of this remarkable place.

Irish islands, folk studies and folklore: papers from Galway City International Heritage Conference and Seminars 2018 & 2019
 Edited by Jim Higgins
 (Research Papers in Archaeology, Folklore and History)

(Galway: Crow’s Rock Press, 2019. ii, 140p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781871137545, no price given)

Among the conference papers printed in this collection are a discussion of traditional wooden boats and fishing techniques of the west coast of Ireland (Séamas Mac Philib); the post-medieval pilgrimage to Skellig Michael (Michael & Myles Gibbons); archaeological monitoring at Dún Aonghasa (Martin Fitzpatrick); and the archaeology and folklore of Kid Island off the north-west Mayo coast (Michael & Myles Gibbons). Other contributions by Úna Bhreathnach, Pádraig Ó Héalaí and Jim Higgins complete the volume.

Another world: hill farming in the Wicklow mountains. Séamus Balfe’s memories of Lackan, Kylebeg and Ballynultagh
John Hussey
 ([Dublin]: John Hussey, 2019, 107p. illus. Pbk. ISBN 9781913108182. no price given)

Farming as practised in the uplands of west Wicklow in the mid twentieth century is documented in this book. It is based on interviews conducted by the author with Séamus Balfe between 2006 and 2019, and the language of the recorded interviews is preserved in the narrative. The farmland in question was located immediately to the east of what is now Blessington Lake, a lake that has existed only since c.1940.

Gleann Cholm Cille: an áit agus a naomh / Glencolmcille: its places and its saint
 Edited by Seosamh Watson
 (Gleann Cholm Cille: Oideas Gael, 2019. [iii], 230p. illus. ISBN 9780956319524. €15)

Place-names are an invaluable part of our heritage, helping illuminate the shape of the historic landscape and the history of human occupation. This book documents some 2,500 names collected from oral sources in Gleann Cholm Cille. Each name appears in its authentic Irish form as compiled from the memory of local informants, and this is combined with documentary sources to give a definitive interpretation in English for each place-name. The book includes colour photographs of many of the locations discussed.

Logainmneacha agus an chuimhne
Isobel Ní Riain
 (Dublin: Coiscéim, 2019. xiii, 190p. illus. 6660012190133. €10)

This Irish language study explores the significance of place-names in people’s understanding of their relationship with the landscape. The author’s case studies are places she knows well, and in which she or members of her family have lived, and she discusses how people’s strong sense of identity with ‘the remembered earth’ of particular places finds expression in the place-names used.

Experiments on reality
Tim Robinson
 (Dublin: Penguin Ireland, 2019, v. 191p. Hbk. ISBN 9781844884834 £14.99)

In this accomplished memoir, stretching from Yorkshire to Istanbul, via Cambridge, London and Vienna,

Tim Robinson also revisits some of the scenes of his researches for the maps he made of Aran and Connemara,

places that continue to throw up remarkable stories and puzzles.

Notices of sources and guides to sources Bernadette Cunningham

Irish Jesuit annual letters, 1604–1674

[Vol 1: 1604–1615; vol. 2: 1616–1674]

Edited by Vera Moynes

(Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2019. xxvii, 517; xiv, 519–1013p. Hbk. ISBN 9781906865573. €80 two-volume set)

Annual letters were the means by which Jesuits active in early modern Ireland stayed in contact with Rome and with their fellow Jesuits. The surviving letters in the Irish Jesuit Archives and the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus relating to seventeenth-century Ireland are published in full in this edition. Translations from Latin and Portuguese into English are provided, and there is a detailed index. The letters were the work of astute observers of conditions in Ireland in the course of the century. The Jesuits in Ireland were normally based in towns and in addition to discussion of religious matters the letters contain much detail on social conditions in urban areas. They also went on preaching missions through the countryside and, while the accounts concentrate on the spiritual mission of the preachers, there is much incidental local detail. Among the phenomena described are plague in Clonmel, famine in Connacht, and massacre in Drogheda.

1641 Depositions. Volume V. Kildare, TCD, MS 813; Meath, TCD, MS 816

Principal editor Aidan Clarke

(Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2019, lviii, 504p. Hbk. ISBN 9781906865399. €50)

An online edition of the 1641 Depositions has been available for some years at 1641.tcd.ie, but for readability, browsability and long-term availability, the printed edition will prove invaluable. The depositions and examinations of witnesses from Counties Kildare and Meath provide a wealth of evidence for the chal-

lenges faced by the Old English of the Pale in the mid seventeenth century. The documents offer insights into the social, economic, cultural, religious and political history of early modern Ireland and Britain.

Documents relating to the Bogs Commissioners, 1809–1813

Edited by Arnold Horner

(Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2019. xli, 249p. illus. ISBN 9781906865559. €40)

Irish bogs have changed greatly over the last couple of centuries. The records of the Bogs Commissioners help in assessing the extent of these changes, feeding into local and national studies of environmental transformation. This book describes the large volume of documents associated with the government-appointed commissioners charged with enquiring ‘into the nature and extent of the several bogs in Ireland, and the practicability of draining and cultivating them’. Between 1809 and 1813 the commissioners compiled maps and reports on bogs in some 22 counties across Ireland. Much of their working materials – reports, manuscript maps and diagrams – are now preserved in the National Library of Ireland. The National Archives of Ireland hold the minute book of the commissioners, while further related documents are preserved among the Foster papers in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. The principal document in this edition is the minute book, which recorded transactions of the commissioners. Attention is also given to the manuscript maps and other documents now in the National Library of Ireland. The records generated by the commissioners contain much local detail on the Irish countryside and rural life in the early nineteenth century.

Fiftieth Anniversary Conference
[Theme Conference: Past, Present and Future of Irish Settlement Studies]
Margaret Murphy



In March 2019 the GSIHS celebrated its 50th anniversary with a special conference entitled
GSIHS@50: *Past, Present and Future of Irish Settlement Studies*.

The conference was held over the weekend of 29–31 March in the beautiful surroundings of the City Assembly House, South William Street, Dublin, home of the Irish Georgian Society. It attracted a large number of members as well as present and former office holders. Guest of honour was Professor Robin Glasscock who founded the Group back in 1969. We were also delighted to welcome eight former Presidents and one very long-serving former treasurer, Niamh Crowley.

The keynote address was delivered on the first evening of the conference by Professor Patrick Duffy and was aptly entitled *Breaching disciplinary boundaries: a half century of explorations of Irish settlement landscapes*. Over the following two days a total of twelve papers were delivered in a number of thematic sessions. These papers were delivered by scholars from thirteen different national and international institutions and all testified to the current vibrant state of Irish settlement studies. These papers will be published in a volume marking this significant anniversary.

The past history of the Group was the theme of a special session on Saturday afternoon when Honorary Treasurer Dr David Fleming interviewed a selection of alumni of the Group and then opened the floor for general reminiscences. Professor Glasscock explained the thinking behind the decision back in 1969 to set up a 'Group' rather than a society. Professors Anngret Simms and Ray Gillespie and Dr Harman Murtagh spoke of particular conferences which stood out in their memories. Niamh Crowley recollected being taken as a postgrad to her first GSIHS conference. The general conversation was a reminder that the Group boasts an impressive continuity of membership with some stalwarts marking their own 50 years of GSIHS activity year. At the same time, the presence of many younger members demonstrated that the Group has remained relevant to new generations of settlement enthusiasts.

This special session merged seamlessly into one of the Group's favourite activities – a book launch and wine reception. Two publications of the Group were launched by Professor David Dickson – *Church and Settlement in Ireland* edited by James Lyttleton and Matthew Stout and Kevin Whelan's *Religion, landscape and settlement in Ireland: From Patrick to present*. Four Courts Press provided sponsorship for the reception. We then repaired to Fallon and Byrne for a wonderful conference dinner.

The conference concluded on Sunday with another special session, this time taking the future as its theme. Members of the current committee each took a particular chronological period and identified the most pressing areas and topics needing research. There was no shortage of ideas and it was very fitting to bring the conference to a conclusion with thoughts of new investigations to stimulate our interest over the next half century.

Note: Generous sponsorship for the conference was received from Dublin City Council, Keogh-Norton Notre Dame, The American Society for Irish Medieval Studies, The Discovery Programme and the National Monuments Service.



Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement
Fiftieth Anniversary Conference 1969–2019
 Dublin, 29–31 March 2019

[Theme Conference: Past, Present and Future of Irish Settlement Studies]

Session 1		Friday 29 March	Royal Irish Academy	Keynote Lecture
Time	Speaker	Title		Chair
6.30–7.30pm	Opening Reception			
7.30–8.30pm	Professor Patrick Duffy Maynooth University	Keynote Lecture: <i>Breaching disciplinary boundaries: a half century of explorations of Irish settlement landscapes</i>		Michael Byrne President GSIHS
Session 2		Saturday 30 March	City Assembly House (Irish Georgian Society)	
(Settlements of Power / Defence)				
9.30–10.00am	Dr James O’Driscoll University of Aberdeen	<i>High Society: settlement activity at Bronze Age Hillforts in Ireland</i>		
10.00–10.30am	Professor Elizabeth FitzPatrick NUI, Galway	<i>Filling out the Gaelic settlement picture: landscapes of pedigree and power</i>		
10.30–11.00am	Dr Ivar McGrath University College Dublin	<i>Barrack-building and settlement as evidenced from the online mapping of Ireland’s eighteenth-century army barracks</i>		
11.00–11.30am	Coffee / Tea			
Session 3		Saturday 30 March	Session sponsored by Notre Dame Global Gateway – Dublin	
(Religious Settlement)				
11.30–12.00pm	Dr Tomás Ó Carragáin University College Cork	<i>Ecclesiastical landholding in Early Medieval Ireland: archaeological evidence from Cork and Kerry</i>		Kevin Whelan
12.00–12.30pm	Professor Colm Lennon Maynooth University	<i>“Bare, ruin’d choirs”: the impact of monastic dissolution on urban topography</i>		
12.30–1.00pm	Dr Gillian O’Brien & Jessie Castle Liverpool John Moores University	<i>Hidden in Plain Sight: Presentation Convents in Ireland from Penal Era to Catholic Emancipation</i>		
1.00–2.30pm	LUNCH			
Session 4		Saturday 30 March		
(Rural Settlement)				
2.30–3.00pm	Dr Fiona Beglane Institute of Technology, Sligo	<i>Living on the edge: upland settlement in Co. Donegal</i>		
3.00–3.30pm	Dr James Lyttleton AECOM UK and Ireland	<i>The castles of Plantation era Ireland: where the medieval meets the early modern</i>		

3.30–4.00pm	Dr Georgina Laragy Trinity College, Dublin	<i>Institutional burial and human settlement; communities of memory and forgetting in 19th and 20th century Ireland</i>	
4.00–4.30pm	Coffee / Tea		
Session 5 Saturday 30 March (Looking Back)			
4.30–5.30pm	Dr David Fleming University of Limerick Treasurer, GSIHS	<i>Interviews with past-officers of the GSIHS</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Robin Glasscock (Founder of the GSIHS)• Anngret Simms (President 1992–5)• Ray Gillespie (President 2001–4)• Niamh Crowley (Treasurer 1982–2013)• Harman Murtagh (President 1995–8)	
7.00pm	Reception and launch of <i>Church and Settlement in Ireland and Religion, landscape and settlement in Ireland: From Patrick to present</i>		
8.00pm	Conference Dinner		
Session 6 Sunday 31 March (Urban Settlements)			



Panel for Discussion



Past Presidents of GSIHS

On the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary Conference 1969–2019



Group
for the Study
of
Irish Historic Settlement

Report on the Fiftieth Anniversary Conference
Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement
Annual [May] General Meeting Santiago de Compostela
Ireland—Galicia Conference
9–11 May 2019

Venue for the conference: Consello da Cultura Galega, Santiago de Compostela

Michael Byrne

President GSIHS (2016–19)

An attractive feature of the GSIHS is that it has insisted on going about Ireland and to a different province each year so as to kindle enthusiasm for the aims of the organisation and build on the amateur and voluntary effort in so many historical and archaeological societies. In 2019 not only have we had a thematic conference in Dublin in March 2019, but we also had our annual meeting in Santiago de Compostela in Galicia. Ireland and Galicia have strong links in archaeology, history, culture, the Atlantic economy, and not least in the many Irish people who now travel as pilgrims to the shrine of St James.

This was the first overseas trip for the Group, and about fifty members and friends attended the conference. We were glad to have Professor Muiris Ó Súilleabháin attend on behalf of the Heritage Council of Ireland with whom we have had close links since the inception of the Council.

We wish to record our thanks to Her Excellency, Síle Maguire, Ambassador of Ireland to the Kingdom of Spain, for accepting our invitation to attend the conference. Síle attended the conference on Saturday 11 May and was an enthusiastic guest and participant.

The venue for the conference papers was outstanding, and for that we are grateful to the Consello da Cultura Galega, Santiago de Compostela for very kindly making available the conference centre in the Rajoy Palace/Pazo de Raxoi in Plaza Obradoiro. From the first we received support and encouragement from Manuel Gago Mariño, of Consello da Cultura Galega, our friend Antón Pais Rodríguez, the former president of Consello da Cultura Galega, Ramon Villares and the current Presidenta, Rosario Álvarez, who welcomed us on Saturday in the presence of our ambassador, your outgoing president, and our president for the next three years, Geraldine Stout. In thanking those who assisted with the conference details we should also mention former Maynooth student, Dr Elías Cueto, who gave very helpful advice as did Professors Raymond Gillespie and Tom O'Connor. Dr Ciaran O'Scea was enthusiastic from the first; as was Dr José Carlos Sanchez Pardo who, in particular, facilitated access to the venue for the launch of Bernadette Cunningham's, *Medieval Irish pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela*.

Dr Patrick O'Flanagan is almost a native in Spain and has done a great deal to advance the study of Galicia and Ireland. He was a staunch supporter of this conference and, indeed, organised one himself some twenty years ago. Professor O'Flanagan organised the Sunday tour with the magnificent views. Professor Carlos Ferras provided very welcome assistance. We had enthusiastic support from Professor Felipe Criado-Boado, a research professor at the Spanish National Research Council, who was unable to be with us, but is keen to see strong links between the archaeological community in Galicia and Ireland. Perhaps there is a strong case for extending this linkage to a third such community on the Atlantic coastline.

We wish to thank Dr César Parcero-Oubiña, Dr Clíodhna Ní Lionáin, Dr Geraldine Stout, Dr Bernadette Cunningham, the authorities of the Dept. of History (Facultade de Historia), University of Santiago, Santiago de Compostela Turismo (Ann Munin), our tour guides and Rodrigo Arbones.

Finally, we wish to thank the committee of the Group and, in particular, David Fleming, Matthew Stout, Geraldine Stout, James Lyttleton and Bernadette Cunningham who was co-opted to our subcommittee. Michael Byrne had overall responsibility for the conference and had much assistance from David Fleming, Matthew Stout and Bernadette Cunningham.

By all accounts it was a good conference and the cloudburst on the day of our arrival did nothing to dampen enthusiasm that evening in the *O Dezaseis* restaurant. After that we were favoured with sunshine in the wonderful city of Santiago de Compostela. Thanks to all of you who travelled and helped make our first away conference such a memorable occasion.

Let us expand the links for settlement studies between Ireland and Galicia.

Michael Byrne

President 2016–9

info@offalyhistory.com



Group
for the Study
of
Irish Historic Settlement

Fiftieth Anniversary [Annual May] Conference Programme *Ireland–Galicia*

Thursday 9 May

5.00 p.m. Registration in Consello da Cultura Galega, Obradoiro Square

6.00 p.m. Reception

7.00 p.m. Welcome from the Galician Cultural Council

Address by Patrick O’Flanagan, Professor Emeritus, University College Cork. Lecture on *Galician settlement and landscape change: comparisons and contrasts with Ireland c.1700 to present*

Chair: Dr Patrick Duffy

8.30 p.m. Meet and greet in the well-known Santiago restaurant *O Dezaseis* (on Rua de San Pedro).

Friday 10 May

Papers from 10.00 a.m. to 2.00 p.m. with coffee break

Welcome from Manuel Gago/Director culturagalega.gal/Consello da Cultura Galega and Michael Byrne GSIHS

1. César Parcero-Oubiña (Institute of Heritage Sciences – Incipit, Spanish National Research Council – CSIC): *An archaeological walk through prehistoric landscapes in Galicia.*

2. Clíodhna Ní Lionáin, *Somos irmáns – the use of an imagined prehistoric past in articulating modern Irish-Galician connections.*

3. Coffee

4. Geraldine Stout, *Exploring the Boyne and Iberian prehistoric tomb building tradition.*

5. Dr Bernadette Cunningham, *Pilgrimage from medieval Ireland to Santiago de Compostela.*

6. Lunch in local restaurants 2.00 to 4.00 p.m. Free time until 5.00 p.m.

7. A Guided Tour from 5.00 to 6.30 p.m. Tourist Board recommended professional guides. Starting from Hostal San Martin Pinario (no. 8 on SdC map).

8. 7.30 p.m. book launch *Medieval Irish pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela*, by Dr Bernadette Cunningham, venue Dept. of History (Facultade de Historia), University of Santiago. The reception beforehand will be held in the student cafeteria at the back of the main Geography and History Faculty building on Travesa de Universidade (between 37 and 38 on the map supplied to you courtesy of SdC Turismo) and will include coffee, wines and tapas. Gins and beers can be purchased at the bar. Copies of the book will be available for purchase and signing by the author.

Speakers: A welcome from Dr José Carlos Sanchez Pardo and a vote of thanks to Dr Cunningham on her book. The proposal will be seconded by Dr Muiris Ó Súilleabháin. Those attending may add a comment. Dr Bernadette Cunningham will respond. Chair: The President GSIHS, Michael Byrne.

9. 9.00 p.m. Conference Dinner in the Santiago restaurant *AMOA* (on Rua de San Pedro).

Saturday 11 May

9.30 am Annual General Meeting of Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement. Papers will commence at 10.00 a.m.

Address by Her Excellency Síle Maguire, Ambassador of Ireland to the Kingdom of Spain.

1. Dr Elías Cueto, *The O’Sullivan family settlement in Santiago de Compostela: foreign friends and enemy compatriots.*

2. José Carlos Sanchez Pardo, *Atlantic contacts among Galicia and other European Lands Ends during the Early Middle Ages.*

3. Coffee

4. Dr Ciaran O’Scea, *Geographical residence, patronage networks and inheritance practices among the O’Driscolls in Galicia and Madrid in the seventeenth century.*

5. Manuel Gago Mariño (Consello da Cultura Galega, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela), *Getting closer to the past: interactive technologies and digital narratives for the communication of historical projects.*

6. Closing speeches and thanks with a special Welcome from Presidenta Rosario Álvarez, Consello da Cultura Galega / Galician Cultural Council. Professor Muiris Ó Súilleabháin will respond on behalf of the Heritage Council as will Her Excellency, Síle Maguire, and the incoming president Geraldine Stout.

7. A Guided Tour from 5.00 to 6.30 p.m. of the old city. Tourist Board professional guide. Hostal San Martín Pinario (no. 8 on SdC map).
8. 8.30 p.m. Dinner in *O Dezaseis* restaurant (on Rua de San Pedro).

Sunday 12 May

Sunday: Bus tour in the vicinity of Santiago for the day with the kind assistance of Professor Patrick O'Flanagan. Bus hired, light lunch arranged and those travelling will be asked to contribute to the costs. More details of this tour to follow. Commences from Hostal San Martín Pinario.

Monday 13 May

Tour of the churches of Santiago and the market with local guides starting at 11.00 a.m. from San Martín Pinario. The rest of the day will be free and some of our members may participate in a church procession in the evening.

Tuesday 14 May

A free day to relax and return to Dublin for those travelling with Aer Lingus.

Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement

2019 Annual Conference, Santiago de Compostela

9–11 May, based at the Consello da Cultura Galega, Santiago de Compostela

Abstract of lectures and a note on the speakers

Dr Elías Cueto

The O'Sullivan family settlement in Santiago de Compostela: foreign friends and enemy compatriots

Dr Cueto's research has contributed unpublished data on the settlement of Irish in Santiago de Compostela at the beginning of the 17th century. This information includes documents from Donal Cam O'Sullivan and his family. In that period, he has documented the internal divisions among the Irish nobles and religious. He has also analysed the different relationships with archiepiscopal and royal power.

Note on the speaker:

Elías Cueto is an architect, Master in Urban Planning and PhD on history of architecture. He is the author of three books. In 2016 he received the Domingo Fontán Award for historical research. His field of knowledge is early and late modern history focusing on the historic city of Santiago de Compostela.

Bernadette Cunningham

Pilgrimage from medieval Ireland to Santiago de Compostela

The current popularity of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela is built on strong medieval foundations. Bernadette Cunningham's lecture will trace the Irish connections with one of the major pilgrimages of the medieval Christian world, telling stories that explain why and how men and women travelled from Ireland to Santiago de Compostela in the Middle Ages. Her new research draws on official documents, historical chronicles, literary texts, saints' Lives and archaeological finds to discover Anglo-Norman and Gaelic pilgrims who went from Ireland to the shrine of St James in Galicia in search of salvation and perhaps a little adventure.

Note on the speaker:

Dr Bernadette Cunningham is the author of a new book on *Medieval Irish Pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela* (Four Courts Press, 2018). Her previous books include *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish history, kingship and society in the early seventeenth century* (Four Courts Press, 2010) for which she was awarded the prestigious NUI Irish Historical Research Prize in 2011.

Manuel Gago Mariño (Consello da Cultura Galega – Universidade de Santiago de Compostela)

Getting closer to the past: interactive technologies and digital narratives for the communication of historical projects

Historical and cultural heritage is an area of special interest for the application of new digital technologies, both in the field of scientific research and in the dissemination of knowledge to a wider audience. The aim of this talk is to present different experiences made in archaeological and cultural dissemination projects in Galicia, which explore the idea of community, participation and experience in the relationship of the public with the past.

Note on speaker:

Manuel Gago Mariño is director of culturagalega.gal, the cultural media platform of the Consello da Cultura Galega, and associate professor in the Department of Communication Sciences of the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela. He develops prototypes and experiences about cultural communication and new technologies as a member of the research group in new media of the USC and promotes community heritage projects all over the country.

Dr Clíodhna Ní Lionáin***Somos irmáns – the use of an imagined prehistoric past in articulating modern Irish-Galician connections***

This paper examines modern perceptions of prehistoric Irish-Galician connections, looking at how mythology, folklore, medieval literature (Book of Invasions), genetics, and archaeology have been used since the medieval period up to the present day to articulate Irish-Galician connections, whether real or imagined, for political and cultural nationalist purposes.

Note on speaker:

Dr Clíodhna Ní Lionáin is a commercial archaeologist, with field experience in Ireland and Iberia. Her doctoral thesis looked at modern perceptions of prehistoric Irish-Iberian connections, with a particular focus on Galicia. She is currently working as Project Archaeologist on the Devenish Lands at Dowth, in the World Heritage Site of Brú na Bóinne.

Patrick O’Flanagan, Professor Emeritus, University College Cork***Galician settlement and landscape change. Comparisons and contrasts with Ireland c.1700 to present***

Galicia has supported one of Iberia’s richest and most distinctive cultural landscapes for hundreds of years. It evolved as a result of population pressure, growing food security and particular landholding structures and which reached its most intense expression probably during the inter-war period. A strict national political economy based on a commodity monopoly reduced Galicia’s economic energy and emasculated its potential economic growth. Among the leading results of these conditions were the emergence of stunted and unstable urban growth and a failure of a graduated urban hierarchy to appear. Potential Irish and other economic migrants to Galician ports and towns were deflected elsewhere on the peninsula especially to Cadiz. More recently, powerful centripetal and centrifugal forces have radically modified and often obliterated entirely this almost ubiquitous cultural landscape and its associated territorial structures. My task is to explain the growth and consolidation of the landscape and social complex. An interpretation through the lenses of the model of internal colonialism might serve in part as a form of explanation.

Note on speaker:

My experience of Galicia goes back to at least 1967. Then as an undergraduate I whetted my interests there by travelling around Iberia. Returning to Galicia in 1970, to begin field work for a PhD, I have been coming back ever since. Attached to UCC’s Geography Department from 1976, I have worked there, at Santiago de Compostela and at other universities in Iberia, Mexico, France, the US, England and Scotland. My main research interests have focused on landscape and socio-economic change along Atlantic Europe with especial reference to Galicia, Ireland and Portugal. Besides these topics, I have worked on port cities, early industrialization and Irish communities in Iberia.

Dr Ciaran O’Scea***Geographical residence, patronage networks and inheritance practices among the O’Driscolls in Galicia and Madrid in the seventeenth century***

One of the most important consequences of the failure of Spanish intervention in Ireland in 1601–1602 was the ensuing emigration of some 10,000 Irish individuals to Galicia and the court in Valladolid that followed in the wake of the arrival in Galicia of Dionisio (Donough) O’Driscoll, lord of Castlehaven, and Donal Cam O’Sullivan Beare, lord of Bearhaven between 1602 and 1608. These events led to the consolidation of the Irish communities in La Coruña, Santiago de Compostela and Betanzos. The most important of these communities was that of La Coruña, which consisted up to the 1640s of elements of West Munster families, based around the almost totally re-constituted extended family of the O’Driscolls of Castlehaven.

Once it had become obvious by the middle of the second decade of the seventeenth century that their stay had become permanent, the city’s Irish community had to come to terms with their new socio-economic and political circumstances. This entailed integrating with the city’s population, and creating their own networks of patronage in order to gain access to honours and rewards at court in order to ensure their economic survival. At the same time the socio-cultural baggage that they brought with them from Ireland clashed at times with Spanish practices. Over time Irish families had to adapt to these new circumstances and develop alternative strategies for gaining access to patronage that had a transforming effect on their socio-cultural practices of origin.

This talk looks at how one family, the O’Driscolls of Castlehaven adapted to their new circumstances, first in La Coruña, and later in Madrid where most of the leading members emigrated post-1635. In this process, geographical residence, which reflected native Irish practices, together with godparenthood were significant determinants in the creation of networks of patronage and thereby access to royal favour in order to ensure economic survival. Both these elements in turn influenced their marriage and inheritance practices, which by the 1660s reflected their concerns as members of the Madrid urban elites, a situation far removed from their former role as small scale pirates off the south coast of Ireland at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Note on speaker:

Ciaran O’Scea has published extensively on Irish emigration to Spain in the early modern period as well as on the role played by foreigners in the Habsburg monarchy. His research interests cover the areas of literacy, family structure, religiosity, and the naturalization of foreigners. In 2015 his monograph on the Irish community in La Coruña, *Surviving Kinsale: Irish emigration and identity formation in early modern Spain, 1601–40* was published

by Manchester University Press. He also curated the bilingual exhibition *Los irlandeses y la Monarquía Hispánica (1529–1800): vínculos en espacio y tiempo*, held in the Archivo General de Simancas in 2012. He is currently working on a project to map the Irish presence in the Madrid parishes during the seventeenth century.

César Parcero-Oubiña (Institute of Heritage Sciences – Incipit, Spanish National Research Council – CSIC)
An archaeological walk through prehistoric landscapes in Galicia

My talk will consist of an archaeological overview of the main changes documented in the history of the earliest landscapes in Galicia. Beginning with the emergence of the first human-built forms of landscape in the Neolithic, and finishing with the incorporation of Galicia into the global world of the Roman empire, I will show how the remains of those ancient landscapes are still present today and what kind of social processes can be envisaged behind the changes that archaeology has identified across that long time period.

Note on speaker:

I am an archaeologist who currently works as a Staff Researcher at the Institute of Heritage Sciences (Incipit), Spanish National Research Council (CSIC). I developed my previous career at the University of Santiago de Compostela (Spain), where I got my PhD in 2001 with a dissertation on the productive, social and cultural landscapes of the Iron Age in NW Iberia. For a long time, my main interests have been in the analysis of the interactions between the material remains of human communities and the landscape; in other words, in what is known as Landscape Archaeology. Within that framework, I've developed research in the later prehistoric periods in the NW Iberian Peninsula, and also in the late prehispanic period in N Chile and NW Argentina.

José Carlos Sánchez-Pardo

Atlantic contacts among Galicia and other European Lands Ends during the Early Middle Ages

This presentation will explore the evidence for contacts between Galicia and other European Atlantic areas, with special attention to the case of Ireland. Although Galicia is often considered a “peripheral” area of Europe, it has a key position within the maritime routes between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. The recent archaeological findings in Vigo, combined with other information on the ‘Celtic’ or Atlantic influences in Early Medieval Galicia (some aspects of ecclesiastical life and organization, the case of the ‘Britonia See’, as well as shared literary traditions) seem to indicate relatively intense communications between Galicia and other regions of Atlantic Europe such as Aquitaine, Brittany, Britain and Ireland at least during the Early Middle Ages. Moreover, the nature and chronology of some of the evidence suggests the possibility of a real and ‘independent’ system of maritime contacts between the Atlantic seafront of Western Europe between the 5th and 8th centuries.

Note on speaker:

Dr José Carlos Sánchez-Pardo is specialist in Galician early medieval history and archaeology. His work focuses on the study of early medieval landscapes, by means of the combination of material and textual sources. He has a Master in Medieval Archaeology by the University of Siena (2004) and PhD in Medieval History by the University of Santiago de Compostela. Between 2005 and 2006 he was a predoctoral fellow at the Spanish School of History and Archaeology at Rome). Between 2009 and 2014 he was a post-doc researcher in the Institute of Archaeology (UCL, London). Between 2013 and 2017 he led a 4 years Marie Curie Career Integration Grant project on Galician early medieval churches at the University of Santiago de Compostela. He is currently Ramón y Cajal fellow researcher in Medieval Archaeology in the Department of History at the University of Santiago de Compostela.

Geraldine Stout

Exploring the Boyne and Iberian prehistoric tomb building tradition

Today Santiago de Compostela is well known as a centre of pilgrimage with medieval roots. However those roots go down deeper into prehistory to a time when Galicia was a major Neolithic religious centre. It had strong maritime connections along the Atlantic façade of Europe which indicates advanced maritime technology and seafaring ability. Galicia had links with prehistoric communities in the Boyne Valley in Ireland during the fourth millennium BC. Both regions were affected by a religious movement which had spread along the Atlantic fringe with origins in north western France. This movement expressed itself in the construction of magnificent megalithic tombs embellished with art, both painted and carved, and a range of grave goods. A settled community is an essential prerequisite for such an undertaking dependant on a vibrant Neolithic farming economy in both regions.

Note on speaker:

Dr Geraldine Stout is a State archaeologist with the Irish National Monuments Service, Department of Culture, Heritage and the Gaeltacht. She is a leading expert on the archaeology of the Boyne valley, currently excavating at Newgrange, and lecturing widely on the subject. She is the author of numerous papers and books on the area including *Newgrange and the Bend of the Boyne* (2002); *Newgrange* (with M. Stout) 2008 and *Knowth Site M* (with M. Stout, 2008).

The coffees and tasty pastries and snacks for the conference were provided by Albarín Catering.

Report on the tours and social activities

Sunday tour to Barbanza peninsula

Our thanks to Professor Patrick O’Flanagan and Professor Carlos Ferrás Sexto of the Departamento de Xeografía, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela for organizing the field trip for the conference to the peninsula of Barbanza. Thanks to Don César Soto Sánchez for inviting the entire field trip group to his residence at Salaño Pequeño, Brión. We had a memorable walk and later a climb to the highest point on the peninsula.

Our conference hotel was Hospedería San Martín Pinario which turned out to be an excellent choice. This hotel is one minute from the Cathedral and two minutes from the conference centre. La Hospedería de San Martín Pinario is a wonderful complex including church, cloisters, and Historic Archives. <http://www.sanmartinpinario.eu/>

Some of our members stayed nearby at the swanky San Francisco Hotel Monumento. This is near the cathedral and is Four Star. It was particularly useful for the latter part of the trip when it was not possible to book rooms in San Martín Pinario, reservas@sanfranciscohm.com.

We held conference dinners on the first three nights in Santiago

Thursday and Saturday:

O Dezaseis, 16 Calle de San Pedro, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, +34 981 56 48 80

On Friday evening in **AMOA** (on Rua de San Pedro).

Traditional Galician cuisine with an imaginative twist was the order of the day at **O Dezaseis**. This was typified in their approach to octopus – their *polba* is served *á grella*, or grilled, as opposed to boiled. Also on the menu are *xouvas* (small, fried fish), *chipirones* (baby squid) and *lacón con grelos* (ham with turnips). Once a stable, the restaurant has wooden beams and stone walls that give the restaurant a rustic ambience.

<http://dezaseis.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/menu-en-out-181.pdf>

The Walking Tours on Friday and Saturday were first class due to the quality of the guides and our gaining admission to the old Irish College (now for sale).

5.00 pm to 6.30 pm

Santiago de Compostela

‘The 90-minutes’ walk consisted of four stops on the trail. The tour was led by experienced Suso Martínez (altogether fascinating guide) and took us on more than 200 years of Irish history in Galicia, from the ‘Flight of the Earls’ of 1602 and the establishment of the St Patrick College at Santiago de Compostela until 1769. Galicia was known by the Gaelic chieftains as the ‘Mansion of the Milesians’ and cradle of the Celts, and the Irish College played a fundamental role in the configuration of the resistance and construction of a national Catholic identity for Ireland during the period between the Fall of Kinsale (1602) and the Confederation of Kilkenny uprising. We were to discover the last Irish refuge after the fall of the Gaelic rule in the Emerald island and learn about the important role of chieftains as Bearehaven or Tyrconnell, bishops, famous soldier-poets like Felipe O’Sullivan or disturbing personalities like Patrick Sinnott and the real identity of “El Zorro”, old pupil of the College.

May 11th

5.00 pm to 6.30 pm

Santiago de Compostela Cathedral

Tour around Santiago de Compostela’s monumental heritage, including a walk around about the Cathedral and the famous Plaza del Obradoiro, as well as the main monuments and squares.

The site, made up of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela and its four squares, is one of the most interesting and richest in Europe. A whole world of historic and artistic content, spiritual meaning and religious symbolism. The Cathedral is the heart and soul of the city. A baroque building with a Romanesque heart, whose crypt houses the remains of the Apostle James.



Group
for the Study
of
Irish Historic Settlement

Ireland / Galicia

Report on the launch of Dr Bernadette Cunningham's Medieval Irish pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela (Four Courts Press: Dublin, 2018) on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary Conference of the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement, Santiago, 9–11th May 2019



Great Hall of the Faculty of History and Geography University of Santiago

Dr Bernadette Cunningham gave a lecture at the Fiftieth Anniversary GSIHS Conference on Friday 10 May 2019 on the subject of 'Pilgrimage from medieval Ireland to Santiago de Compostela'.



Based very much on her recent book it was a widely acclaimed lecture and excellent preparation for the launch in Santiago that evening of her, *Medieval Irish pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela*. The venue for the book launch was the great hall or sala of the Department of Geography and History (Facultade de Xeografía e Historia), University of Santiago. This is a striking room, dating to the late eighteenth century with fine sculptures and mural paintings, one of which represents a woman, the symbol of the university, handing a child over to the goddess Minerva. The university building is in the neo-classical style and has an exceptional library. There is also a fine cloister surrounding a courtyard.

The sumptuous reception beforehand was held in the student cafeteria at the back of the main Geography and History Faculty building on Travesa de Universidade, Santiago. Dr José Carlos Sánchez-Pardo assisted GSIHS with both venues for which we are most grateful.

The book was launched by Dr José Carlos Sanchez-Pardo and Professor Muiris Ó Súilleabháin following an introduction by GSIHS President Michael Byrne. Dr Cunningham responded in what was a very happy occasion for the seventy members and friends present.

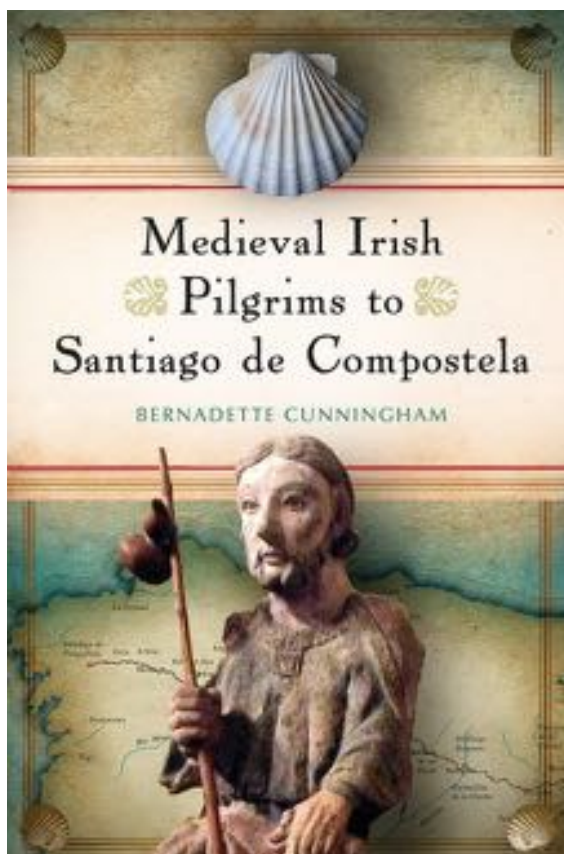
Dr José Carlos Sánchez-Pardo is a specialist in Galician early medieval history and archaeology. His work focuses on the study of early medieval landscapes, by means of the combination of material and textual sources. He has a masters in Medieval Archaeology by the University of Siena (2004) and PhD in Medieval History by the University of Santiago de Compostela. In the years 2005 and 2006 he was a predoctoral Fellow at the Spanish School of History and Archaeology at Rome. From 2009 to 2014 he was a post-doctoral researcher in the Institute of Archaeology (UCL, London). Between 2013 and 2017 he led a four-year Marie Curie Career Integration Grant project on Galician early medieval churches at the University of Santiago de Compostela. He is currently Ramón y Cajal Fellow Researcher in Medieval Archaeology in the Department of History at the University of Santiago de Compostela.

Professor Muiris Ó Suilleabháin is a member of the board of the Heritage Council and attended the GSIHS Fiftieth Anniversary Conference on behalf of the chairman of the council, Michael Parsons. Dr Ó Suilleabháin is Emeritus Professor of Archaeology, UCD School of Archaeology. Formerly head of UCD School of Archaeology (2004–8), Dean of Arts (2014–15) and Director of the UCD International Summer School (1999–2002). He is a widely published author of academic, professional and popular texts. He has extensive field experience as director of excavations projects, notably at Knockroe Passage Tomb, and is now very much in demand as leader of historical and archaeological field excursions.

There has been a tremendous resurgence of interest in pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. In this book the author reveals a story of a much longer connection between Ireland and the pilgrimage than previously thought. Stories of men and women who went from Ireland to Santiago de Compostela in the Middle Ages tell of Irish involvement in one of the major pilgrimages of the medieval Christian world. The long and hazardous journey by land and sea to the shrine of St James in Galicia was not undertaken lightly. This innovative book explores the varied influences on and motivations of the pilgrims, as well as the nature of medieval travel, in order to understand when, why and how pilgrims from Ireland went to Santiago in the heyday of the pilgrimage, between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. It draws on official documents, historical chronicles, literary texts, saints' 'lives' and archaeological finds to uncover stories of those Anglo-Norman and Gaelic pilgrims who ventured beyond the confines of their local communities in search of salvation and perhaps a little adventure.

Michael Byrne
President
Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement

Bernadette Cunningham, *Medieval Irish pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela* (Four Courts Press: Dublin, 2018)





Reception at launch of Bernadette's book



Assumpta Duffy, Geraldine Byrne,
Margaret Forrestal, Matthew Stout



Reception on evening of book launch
in Faculty of Geography and History



Donie Hogan and James Scully at the entrance
to the Faculty of Geography and History



John Tighe and Lisa Shortall

2019 Conference, Santiago: Photographs courtesy of Michael Byrne (President GSIHS)



One of the maps that will be reproduced in IHTA, *Dungarvan*, this is part of the large-scale OS town plan, 1880. The castle and barracks are depicted, as is the town hall and butter market (now occupied by the Dungarvan Museum).

News from the Irish Historic Towns Atlas (IHTA), Royal Irish Academy

Sarah Gearty, Cartographic editor



Figure 1 Sarah Gearty, Joanne Rothwell (Waterford County Archivist) and John Martin, looking at the map collection in the Waterford County Archive, Dungarvan Library, November 2019.

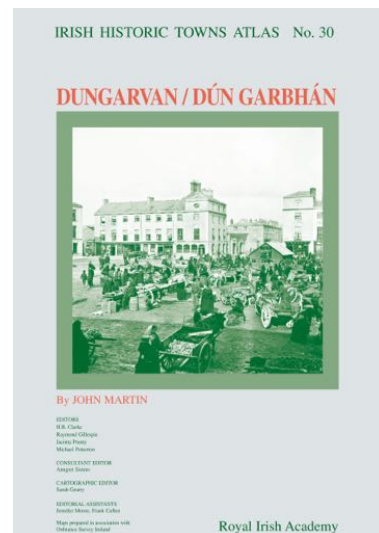
Like much of the rest of Ireland, the Royal Irish Academy closed on 12 March 2020. At that point, IHTA, no. 30, *Dungarvan / Dún Garbhán*, by John Martin was being typeset for print and we retreated to our homes armed with large sets of proofs.

By time of writing (the end of May), the process of proofing had been completed with the intention of printing and releasing *Dungarvan* when the time is right, hopefully in October 2020. In the interim, the topographical information is being prepared for output as a series of thematic, interactive layers in the 'Digital Atlas of Dungarvan', which will combine IHTA research with Ordnance Survey Ireland's GeoHive mapping.

The theme of this year's annual IHTA seminar was to be 'Town and County'. This had been scheduled for 13–14 May 2020 — it has been postponed until the same time next year. As part of the proceedings, we had hoped to host a public lecture by Arnold Horner in the Royal Irish Academy, to mark the enormous contribution of our dear colleague John Andrews, who died in November 2019 (see photograph on page 50). This has been rearranged to take place in November 2020. More details to follow.

In Europe, the IHTA presented at an international conference run by the Polish Academy of Sciences on the 'Historical Ontology of Urban Spaces' (<https://urbanonto.ihpan.edu.pl/>). Originally intended to take place in Münster, Germany in March, this conference was transferred to and took place online very successfully at the end of April 2020 instead. The annual meeting of the International Commission for the History of Towns was scheduled for Marburg in September and has been cancelled (the next AGM will be held in Split in September 2021). The associated conference dealing with the comparative aspects of the European atlas project will now take place in Marburg in March 2021.

Back in Ireland, rest assured that work continues on future atlas publications despite the current restrictions. In the Dublin suburbs series, *Rathmines* by Séamas Ó Maitiú is 'coming soon', while the essay text for Cork is currently



being drafted. Contributors on Arklow, Ballyshannon, Carlow, Cavan, Clonmel, Drumcondra, New Ross, Tralee, Tullamore and Westport are all progressing their drafts.

IHTA Online continues to grow — select contents from IHTA, no. 27 *Youghal* by David Kelly and Tadhg O’Keeffe were made freely available on the web in April 2020. As part of ‘lockdown reading’ we have been revisiting the short essays on different town types in Ireland by IHTA editors. These can be accessed via the news section on the IHTA website (<https://ihta.ie/>). Keep up to date with all IHTA news via Twitter @IHTA_RIA.

The Irish Historic Towns Atlas (IHTA) is a research project of the Royal Irish Academy.

Series editors: H.B. Clarke, Raymond Gillespie, Jacinta Prunty, Michael Potterton.

Consultant editor: Anngret Simms.

Cartographic editor: Sarah Gearty.

Editorial assistants: Jennifer Moore, Frank Cullen.

Angela Byrne and Rachel Murphy provide additional editorial and GIS expertise.



J.H. Andrews (1927–2019), with Mary Davies (left) and Anngret Simms (right) at the launch of IHTA, no. 4, *Kells* by Anngret Simms with Katharine Simms, in the Royal Irish Academy, 1990.

GSIHS Annual Conference: Atlantic South Donegal 2021



Donegal Castle Photographic Archive NMS

The group's next conference (postponed until 2021) will be in South Donegal in association with Donegal, Ardara, Glenties & Portnoo (GAP) Heritage and History Group. The papers are wide ranging and deal with settlement from prehistory, the medieval period, through to the nineteenth century. An introduction to the historic settlement of south Donegal will be given by Dr Brian Lacey, an archaeologist and medieval historian who specialises in the northwest of Ireland (County Donegal and Derry). Brian Lacey has been one of the most important figures in history and archaeology in Donegal in the last thirty years.

The papers include one by local archaeologist Paula Harvey on the 'Adopt a Monument' scheme at Doon Fort, undoubtedly one of the most spectacularly picturesque heritage sites in Donegal. It is situated on a small island in the middle of Loughadoon, just outside the village of Ardara. Doon Fort is a large drystone fort, thought to be the residence of the O'Boyle chieftains. The exact date of the construction of the fort is unknown and it may date from the late Iron Age to the Early Medieval period. There will be two papers on the Ballyshannon area and Chris Corlett (National Monuments Service) will discuss an amazing survey undertaken in June 1946, in advance of the Erne Hydro-Electric Scheme near Ballyshannon. This survey was carried out in order to document the archaeological monuments, vernacular buildings, folklore and place-names of the area that would be effected. Shortly after completion of the field work a report was compiled that contained descriptions and photographs of the archaeological monuments and vernacular buildings, as well as some drawings. This report was submitted to the Office of Public Works, who had commissioned the survey, and its contents remained unpublished. Material collected in relation to the folklore of the area was submitted to the then Irish Folklore Commission.

Two separate field trips are planned to the north of Donegal town to see Kilclooney dolmen, Doon Fort, Inishkeel monastic site, Eden House and examples of vernacular architecture. The second field trip will be based in Donegal town which rose to prominence in the later middle ages as one of the principal residences of O'Donnell lords of Tirconnell. Donegal castle was constructed around 1474 by Hugh Roe O'Donnell (d. 1505) at much the same time as the Franciscan friary was established a short distance to the south of it. After the flight of the earls in 1607 the land around Donegal town was granted to Captain Basil Brooke who began to settle the land and succeeded in attracting sufficient settlers that the town was incorporated in 1613. The town was laid out around a triangular diamond placed to the south of the castle. Three streets led from the diamond: Bridge St, Main St and Quay St. The burgage plot pattern still survives within the town. In 1612 Basil Brooke was granted the right to hold a weekly market at Donegal. The diamond was evidently the market place of the new town.

Geraldine Stout (President) June 2020

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<http://irishsettlement.ie/membership/>

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Contributions are invited on topics related to historic settlement in Ireland and the Irish-sea region, the history, conservation and interpretation of the cultural landscape and on local and regional studies. These should be sent to the Editor, Mr Charles Doherty, 13 Bancroft Road, Tallaght, Dublin 24, D24 YH2V; or e-mail: charles.doherty@upcmail.ie

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