From Wilderness to Wonderment: The Presentation of Irish Heritage, Durrow and Glendalough.

By Aine Mc Adam B.A (Hons)., M.A.

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Maynooth University
National University of Ireland Maynooth

Department of Sociology

Maynooth University

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Head of Department: Professor Seán Ó Riain

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Eamonn Slater

Second Reader: Dr. Mary Benson

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Dedication

For the most wonderful, inspiring, intelligent and funny man, my Granda, Joe Mc Cann. Always in my heart and missed every-day.

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List of Abbreviations

Coillte National Commercial Forestry Company

DPS Dublin Philosophical Society

CSO Central Statistics Office

GAA Gaelic Athletic Association

NMI National Museum of Ireland

NMS National Monuments Service

NPWS National Parks and Wildlife Service

OCC Offaly County Council

OPW Office of Public Works

OSI Ordnance Survey Ireland

PHS Physico-Historical Society

RIA Royal Irish Academy

RDS Royal Dublin Society

TCD Trinity College Dublin

THC The Heritage Council

UCD University College Dublin

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

WCC County Council

Abstract

This study explores how heritage is presented at different sites, by different social, political and national groups. How heritage is communicated, displayed or conveyed is dependent on a number of influencing factors, such as tourism, local and national politics, and economic conditions. Moreover, how heritage is presented has altered significantly over time at these sites. It has been influenced by external factors such as economic cycles, political and even climatic events, while continually being restructured by changing aesthetic styles, cultural trends, and technological advancements. As such, each of these influencing factors has been investigated in order to provide a complete representation of the two Irish case study sites, Durrow, County Offaly, and Glendalough, County Wicklow. Through a multifaceted system of analysis this project has utilised several disciplinary elements such as history, archaeology, sociology and spatial geography. This inclusive understanding of the past provides answers to our current form of existence, both in terms of the physical space we occupy, nature and our society, moreover, this kind of knowledge provides us with the tools to envisage possible future outcomes. Whilst initially the term heritage will spark preconceived impressions of its meaning, heritage as a concept is extremely complex and culturally subjective. Heritage is a crucial component in identity formation. It can be fundamental to community connections and provide people with a sense of belonging.

Key words: Heritage, conflict, community, identity, belonging, place and spatiality, ideal form

Prelude

My PhD thesis is not merely the work conducted within the doctoral research period; it is the culmination of my academic journey. A complex and intellectually demanding interdisciplinary thesis like this results from the accumulation of knowledge and study for many years. To begin, I undertook an undergraduate double honours degree in Sociology and Medieval and Celtic Studies. The Celtic studies degree provided insights and education in, archaeology, early Irish literature and history, as well as heritage and the old Irish language. Whereas sociology offered not only a unique way of understanding the world but also how to interpret this other discipline. This undergraduate degree was followed by a master's degree in Society and Space (interdisciplinary Sociology and Spatial Geography), where I gained an appreciation and valuable insights into place, space, spatiality and materiality. During my master's period and doctoral studies, I accompanied Dr Eoin Grogan on many educational archaeological tours of heritage sites throughout the country with international undergraduate students. Throughout my PhD journey I built upon my philosophical and theoretical knowledge with the guidance of my supervisor Dr Eamonn Slater. These understandings altered my perspective and contributed to the unique and challenging theoretical framework and conceptual underpinnings within this thesis. In addition, my work as a tutor and lecturer has provided a varied proficiency in the discipline of sociology, because as Seneca stated, 'while we teach, we learn' (Fantham, 2010).

Chapter 1: Introduction and rationale for the study

Nobel recipient, Seamus Heaney MRIA, once described heritage as 'a point of entry into a common emotional ground of memory and belonging' (1993). Heritage is not merely a thing of the past; it is an ever-present component of contemporary life and also connected to the future. It is a past, present and future dialectic, which transcends time and space. We live amongst the spectres of the past and amidst the heterogenous mounting of artefacts, such as monuments, museums, historic buildings, and heritage sites, in the present (Harrison, 2012). In recent times heritage has been brought to the attention of an audience wider than conventional academics and associated interest groups. One of the most prevalent stories to hit global news in 2020 involved the defacement and the removal of heritage statues around the world, following the Black Lives Matter protests. Whilst some governing bodies opted to remove monuments perceived to be racially, misogynistically, imperialistically and even homophobically discriminatory in their depictions, other monuments were torn down or vandalised by protestors. Arguably, several of these monuments were inappropriate and discriminatory, like the Edward Colston, a renowned slave trader, statue in Bristol, others targeted were not, such as a Gandhi statue and a memorial to victims of the Armenian genocide. Albeit most of these monuments have been in situ for many years without attention ever been drawn to them, this does not make their presence justifiable[1], and the narrative they convey should not be continued into the future. Yet, these are heritage objects, and the social processes and individuals attached to them are connected to society's history. Furthermore, several ethnic conflicts globally have resulted in the decimation and eradiation of heritage

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[1] Here I refer to only the monuments that could be perceived as oppressive or prejudicial in their depictions. Some monuments such as the Gandhi statue provide a positive message of hope.

buildings and objects, because of political and cultural unrest. Evidently heritage is a subject is fraught with social and emotional attachments. In an Irish context heritage has been a contested subject, burdened by political, economic and social conditions. Long before the Black Lives Matters protests, monuments such as Nelson's Pillar in Dublin, subject to similar debates, was ultimately destroyed in March 1966, because of its association to a painful past; cultural domination, economic suppression, and dispossession. Conversely instead of removing monuments/artefacts and focussing on the differences people should embrace the past for 'only by remembering complex, uncomfortable aspects of Britain and Ireland's shared history can we forge a better future' (Higgins, 2021). While opinion is divided on if oppressive monuments should be destroyed or preserved for the process of remembering painful pasts, what is clear is that heritage itself, and the construction of heritage sites, is a contested terrain.

Irish heritage is globally celebrated with some of the biggest and most elaborate festivities occurring in the United States of America. Irish heritage is also celebrated in Ireland, and indeed there is a renewed discovering and celebrating of various aspects of Irish heritage. At one of the more recent gatherings in Chicago President of Ireland Michael D. Higgins stated 'our cultural heritage in all its so many forms is at the very heart of our identity; it is a connection for all Irish people not only to our shared past, but to our creative present and our future full of possibilities' (2014). Contemporaneously, Irish heritage has been the subject of world media attention with the use of Skellig Michael, County Kerry, world heritage site in the Star Wars movie franchise. In addition, heritage has been at the forefront of public attention due to the centenary anniversary of the Easter rising in 2016 and the subsequent foundation of the Irish Free State. Though, heritage is sold and commodified as a tourist product, and is undoubtably a source of immense economic benefit, it is much more than merely a financial resource. Heritage is

a valuable and important part of identity formation for any society, but in countries were liberty or autonomy have been contested, ties to heritage becomes even more crucial to a people's identity. Irish heritage is, was, and will continue to be, intrinsic in how the Ireland is presented to the world.

This thesis aims to demonstrate how the use of interdisciplinary research can provide rich and valuable insights and data. Through the use of sociology, archaeology, spatial geography, heritage and tourism studies the aim of this project is to determine how heritage is presented in Ireland. Archaeology provides physical evidence of the past. Archaeological evidence is presented in artefacts. However, some of the objects presented and those omitted by the political, social and economic forces demonstrate how heritage is manipulated and sometimes skewed to particular perspectives. For example a lady's shoe dated to the tenth/eleventh century found in Glendalough was obscured from the record 'there are few references to women in the annalistic records….women are not mentioned but they're clearly there in large numbers' (Barry, 2020). From a sociological perspective this omission of women from written records shows clear position on gender. Thus, the use of both disciplines provides unique insights into this research. In a comparative manner two case study sites were selected, the first Glendalough was chosen because it was the most visited heritage site in Ireland with over 1.7 million visitors in 2019, and the second Durrow was selected because in the same year it was one of the lesser visited sites with approximately 7,000 visitors (this number is debated later in the thesis). Both sites are presented as sixth century monastic settlements and historically were extremely significant. Key to this research are the theoretical components of space, place and the ideal form. Place heritage is attached to physical objects, where sentimental bonds connect people and place (Gieryn, 2000). Places contain a socially embedded form, and are constructed, interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood and imagined (Soja,

1996). Whereas space does not contain social content. Place, like heritage, is constructed and imagined and the meanings of place can change as place and heritage are fluid and contested. Placemaking is fundamental to this research as it is a key component in how heritage is constructed and presented. For example, if heritage sites are created for consumption, then other aspects of the place become important, like commodities and the gaze. Heritage sites are what Gieryn (2000) refers to as mnemonic places that are specifically designed and constructed to evoke memories, trigger identities and embody histories. Intrinsic to these ideas that place, and heritage are based on material objects containing socially embedded forms, the ideal form is used as a conceptual vehicle to understand how social processes create determinant forms. One of these determinant forms in both sites is the creation of the picturesque, chapter nine discusses in detail how this process occurred in Glendalough and chapter twelve examines the how colonialism created the picturesque landscape of Durrow.

1.1 Aims and objectives

Through the use of new and innovative techniques my thesis aims to contribute to the sociology of heritage, sociology of tourism, and sociology in general, as well as demonstrating how interdisciplinary research can provide richer more inclusive findings and conclusions. The purpose of this research was to ascertain how heritage is presented in different sites, by different social, political and national groups. This research provides an in-depth analysis of heritage is constructed and presented at Glendalough, County Wicklow and Durrow, County Offaly. How heritage is communicated, displayed or conveyed is dependent on a number of influencing factors, such as societal perception, tourism, local and national politics, folklore, environment, and the geographical location. As such, each of these influencing factors have been investigated thoroughly in order to provide a complete representation of the case study sites of Glendalough, County

Wicklow and Durrow, County Offaly. In undertaking this form of in-depth analysis, this research highlights both the individuality of these sites and presents them as case studies for comparison to other heritage sites both nationally and internationally. Furthermore, this research offers a framework that can be used for replicable studies. One of the objectives of this research was therefore to develop a system of analysis that is not only transferable for use in other research projects but also beneficial as an example of inter-disciplinary work.

1.2 Why Glendalough and Durrow

The rationale behind selecting Glendalough and Durrow as case study sites came from initial research and visits to each. They are both important sixth century monastic settlement sites, with a small community residing in the immediate locale, are approximately the same distance from Dublin, and are nationally governed heritage sites. In addition, I felt it necessary to comparatively investigate sites, which in their contemporary configuration, are at opposing ends of the visitor numbers list. While both of these sites are similar in their presentation as early Christian monastic sites, their histories and contemporary appearance, how they are presented and produced are extremely dissimilar. Glendalough is one of Ireland's most popular tourist attractions, with more than a million visitors per year. Whereas Durrow is practically unknown and is not a popular tourist attraction, it has no promotion and as such has a fraction of the numbers visiting. Historically Durrow was a much more significant site in the early Christian period than Glendalough, however, many more of the monastic features have endured at Glendalough today. While Durrow was a landed property during the colonial period, Glendalough was not. Glendalough was, however, regarded as a required destination for tours within the same era by the colonial travelling elite. Durrow although not regarded as a travel destination was subjected to the process of aestheticisation through the construction of the picturesque by its colonial landlords. Consequently, both

sites were impacted upon by colonialism. one of the most striking differentiations between the two is the aesthetic, and how and why these have been constructed. Finally, both heritage sites also contain different ideal forms which will be explored in chapters eight and twelve.

1.2.1 The ideal form as a theoretical framework

Heritage is dependent on objects, artefacts and traditions for its presentation and its continued transmission. While many heritage objects are tangible forms, many derive from processes and are intangible. Place heritage, which is subject matter of this thesis is particularly grounded in physical artefacts that are visible on the surface. Thus, they can be visited and observed, as a heritage experience. Working off Ilyenkov's (1977) extraordinary ambitious philosophy in which he argues the idea that human social activity has determinate 'forms', this research both implicitly and explicitly uses the theoretically framework of the ideal form, which he developed from Marx:

> The ideal is present only where there is an individual performing his activity in forms given to him by the preceding development of humanity. Man is distinguished from animals by the existence of an ideal plane of activity… (Ilyenkov, 1977, p. 202).

Here[2] if Ilyenkov (1977) is following in the footsteps of Marx (2013 (1867)), any activity has to involve a labour process where human labour transforms the substances obtained from nature into useable objects and in doing so giving a conscious form to the organic substances of nature as the following from Marx suggests:

> 'Labour is, in the first place, a process in which both man and nature participates and in which man of his own accord <u>starts, regulates and controls the material reactions between himself and nature</u>. He opposes himself to nature as one of her own forces, setting in motion arms and legs, head and hands, the natural forces of

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[2] It is interesting to note and especially in the forthcoming discussion of the Archaeological ideal form how Ilyenkov refers to the historical dimension in the formulation of the ideal form.

his body in order to <u>appropriate nature's productions in a form adapted to his own wants'</u> (emphasis added) (2013 (1867), p. 120).

Marx in the above understanding of the labour process posits not only a difference between nature and human endeavour, but also while nature provides the material substances, human labour gives a form to these substances by consciously regulating and controlling the appropriation of these material substances from nature. Thus, according to Marx (2013 (1867)), the form is social, and the natural substances are the content. For Ilyenkov (1977) the conscious aspect of giving a social form to the organic contents is best described in the concept of the ideal form, and in doing so Marx's social form becomes the ideal form of Ilyenkov of the labour process:

> 'The ideal is therefore nothing else than the form of things, but existing outside things, namely in man, in the form of his living activity, *the socially determined form of human being's activity'* (Ilyenkov, 1977, p. 189).

Therefore, it is this crucial change in the form of the 'materials of nature' which is the 'form' formation of the ideal form as adopted from Marx:

> Man not only effects a <u>change of form</u> in the <u>materials of nature;</u> he also realizes his own purpose in those materials' (Marx , 2013 (1867), p. 121) (emphasis added).

Consequently, the Ideal aspect of Ilyenkov's formulation captures Marx's idea of how the labourer 'realizes his own purpose in those materials'. And finally, both Marx and Ilyenkov are explicitly referring how the social/ideal form production in the labour process is manifested in use-value product as Marx suggests in the following:

> The product of the process is a use-value, a piece of <u>natural material</u> adapted to human needs by means of a <u>change in its form</u> (Marx , 2013 (1867), p. 121) (emphasis added).

Thus, the natural substances and its social form are to be seen as two aspects of a single entity – a use-value product. Similarly, an ideal form has two contrasting aspects (forms) co-existing in its 'being of existence' – its social form and how that form supervenes on its physical form (Chitty, 2000, p. 25).

Woven throughout this thesis, the ideal[3] form is used as a conceptual vehicle to understand how social processes create these determinant forms. All heritage objects have a physical form or a use value; namely the totality of its physical characteristics, for they 'express' its usefulness in a perceptible way Chitty (2000). The physical form is the object's material constitution and its observable structure. But also, objects contain a value form[4], which is both an economic value and what Chitty refers to as attributive and predicative[5] value (ibid, 2000). The ideal form just like exchange value can only exist through a use-value form and its particular material existence. With artefacts and monuments this value is cultural, societal, communal and even personal, which is embodied within a physical artefact. The attributive and predicative value forms of these things or artefacts are non-physical forms, for Ilyenkov (1977) this serves as a model for the general idea that things can have non-physical forms, or 'ideal forms'. In the case of heritage the value of the embedded social form is represented by a physical monument, which also includes the ideal form 'as the form of an external thing, not as its palpable bodily form, but as the form of another equally palpable bodily thing that it represents (expresses, embodies)' (Ilyenkov, 1977, p. 200). Therefore, the ideal is an objective reality that does not depend on our consciousness, being explicitly aware of it and like the laws of nature that operate in our bodies, the ideal exists outside of the minds of

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[3] 'Ideological products of human activity have no independent lives of their own; they do not develop by themselves, they are developed only as products of the development of the material conditions of humans' lives (Marx, 1976, pp. 36-37).

[4] The value-form of a commodity is purely ideal, it has no material properties, and it bears absolutely no relationship to the material properties of the commodity itself. 'This is a purely universal form, completely indifferent to any sensuously perceptible material of its "incarnation", of its "materialisation". The value-form is absolutely independent of the characteristics of the "natural body" of the commodity in which it "dwells", the form in which it is represented.' (Ilyenkov, 1977, pp. 160-1). Moreover, the value-form is not a myth, it is something that exists only in the minds of people, and when expressed in market-price; rather, it has an objective reality (Levant & Oittinen, 2014). 'This mystical, mysterious reality does not have its own material body [but controls] the fate and movement of all those individual bodies that it inhabits, in which it temporarily "materialises". Including the human body.' (ILyenkov, 2009, p. 161). **Value = ideal and social = use-value**

[5] The terms attributive and predicative were initially used by Geach (1976).

people, although their minds act as a medium that transmits it. Marx in his discussion of a social process reaches the same insightful conclusion as Ilyenkov (ibid, 1977):

> As much, then, as the whole of this movement appears as a <u>social process,</u> and as much as the <u>individual moments of this movement arise from the conscious will and particular purposes of individuals,</u> so does the totality of the process appear as an objective interrelation, which arises spontaneously from nature; arising, it is true, from the mutual influence of conscious individuals on one another, but neither located in their consciousness, nor subsumed under them as a whole. Their own collisions with one another produce an *alien* social power standing above them, produce their mutual interaction as a process and power independent of them (Marx, 1973, pp. 196-7) (emphasis added).

Therefore, the ideal form does not exist in organic nature, because its physical form has not been supervened by a social form – by society working on it through a labour process. But nature that has been cultivated and gardened does possess a social and ideal form as society has directly intervened in its organic forces, as we will discuss in the picturesque. This 'abstract' difference between the social form of artefacts and the organic objects of nature emerges as a very practical problem in Field Archaeology, where the essential task of its excavators is to separate the organic material of the soil from the ideal and social form of the buried artefacts. Within the trenches of an excavation, identification is very much determined by recognising initially the social form of an artefact. In the recent virtual tour of the found artefacts of Glendalough (2020), the curator describes how a tiny ornamental cross was discovered[6]:

> …It was found on excavation by someone who was sieving soil all day long. The person doing the sieving during the archaeological dig was a community volunteer, who was picking out items and asking ''is this something''… and we said 'yes absolutely', ,,, the moment the cross was found'

In the valley of Glendalough, in a bog a lost woman's shoe was found, and the same curator continues:

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[6] In Field Archaeology the labour of rescue is a labour process which unearths physical artefacts and produces new social and ideal forms that can confirm or challenge the overall ideal form of the heritage place being investigated.

It dates to the Tenth or Eleventh century. It's a woman's shoe, and it was described by the specialist (who examined it) as 'being well made, and probably high status, but worn to death'. This may have been someone's only pair of good shoes and they went and lost it in the bog[7] (Barry, 2020).

However, having discovered this bog object and then ascertaining its practical social form of being a shoe, the curator continues to speculate that it may also possess a very significant ideal form beyond being just a shoe:

The important thing about it is there are few references to women in the annalistic records of Glendalough. Women were not mentioned but they're clearly there in large numbers. Archaeology can address that to some extent and look at those kind of things (Barry, 2020).

Moreover, the social form of bog shoe becomes, through the speculation of the curator, of this virtual exhibition of the Glendalough artefacts, an ideal form linking the physical and social artefact to the possible presence of 'large numbers' of women in this monastic location.

Creating the ideal form in an object, be that a physical or non-physical artefact, occurs through complex social processes. In the case of heritage, the ideal as 'forms and relations among material things which… in themselves are not substance, but certain limits of what our sensual perceptions give us through experience' (Ilyenkov, 1977, p. 200). This research purposely investigates all processes, social, political, economic, and ecological, and includes a comprehensive examination of the past, how artefacts are created and uncovered, as the ideal cannot be understood without the historical activity approach (Mareev, 2016).

Chitty suggests that:

For both Marx and Ilyenkov social form is always distinct from the physical form in the sense that things and actions have the social forms that they do only by

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[7] Quotes made by Museum curator Matthew Seaver, online virtual tour of these artefacts can be viewed at (National Museum of Ireland, 2020).

virtue of the system of interaction between humans, nature and other humans of which they are a part: if they were taken out of that system then they would lose their social form. Yet for both, social form supervenes on the physical form (Chitty, 2000, p. 25).

But, for this framework and its attempt to investigate place heritage, not only does the social supervene in the physicality of the artefact but that social form is itself supervened by the ideal – the ideal form.

In order to help us to understand the ideal form, and how it is going to be used in this thesis, the following are two examples of heritage artefacts that have changed the overall ideal forms of a place in which their physical artefacts were located – a Viking coin in Glendalough and the world heritage site of Newgrange. While this thesis does not examine Newgrange as a case study, the significance of this site in Ireland impacts on heritage sites and indeed this thesis examines the processes involved in the reconstruction of Newgrange and how this has influenced all other heritage sites in Ireland.

The Viking coin found in Glendalough uncovered in the mid nineteen seventies:

> …. indicates ordinary people in Glendalough were probably carrying out transactions with single coins and paying for things. …. Which doesn't sound that odd, only that we don't have coinage in the rest of Ireland at the time. Coinage is only being used in certain ecclesiastical sites and Viking towns, really only Dublin …. So that's a significant object and it separates Glendalough out from other places in the countryside (Seaver, 2020).

Therefore, finding a particular artefact on a site may change the overall understanding of place – the discovery of a foreign coin for example on strata identified as the period associated with hermitage could shed a new light on how the site was being impacted by external influences. Or in Marx's terms the coin artefact has the potential to become a particular hue that bathes all the monastic artefacts in its light. Since the materiality of the coin has an inherent human form to it, its discovery cannot be ignored without undermining the scientific basis of the dig. Thus, the coin, although only one particular moment (physical) of a possible multitude of others discovered on the site, on account of

its exotic use-value as a non-hermitage object create a new ideal form for the hermitage, it's very foreignness may even establish the hermitage as having international significance. However, its formulation as an ideal form does not directly physically impact on the remaining monastic artefacts, yet it does put them into a potential different light before its discovery. However, how successful this new ideal form is going to become or not depends on the ensuing debates of the archaeologists, and how the results of their conclusions are presented into the public mindset. Nevertheless, the social form of an artefact is a necessary part of its original production as a use-value, while the ideal form is a 'product' of consumption – its assessment as an artefact by intellectuals.

Newgrange UNESCO World Heritage site is the most acclaimed and treasured of all Ireland's heritage locations, and as such it is an excellent example of how the ideal form can exist and modify. The ideal forms of Newgrange have changed over time from its discovery to existence in a colonial form to its reconstruction into the current physical presentation. Its current ideal form relates to the physical object of Newgrange, where the material complexity cannot be grasped because it is essentially an idealistic abstraction. Newgrange's presentation is a one-sided understanding of its complex many-sidedness ever-changing reality. In chapter three I discuss the (re)construction of Newgrange and the processes involved, ultimately the physical object that is now the monument was moulded around two specific elements, the roof-box and the quartz wall. Prior to the discovery of the roof-box the ideal form of the object was based on its perceivable physical form as a Neolithic passage tomb. Newgrange's use-value, as a tourist attraction and the inclusion on the World heritage list, only increased with the discovery of the roof-box. The idealisation of the object was unfolded further when the archaeologist charged with its reconstruction envisioned a large quartz wall on the exterior of the entrance. The social form is dominated by the aesthetic, and the tour guides narrative of feats of

engineering that modern builders would struggle to achieve, ensures that Newgrange is idealised to all that visit. Yet, this presentation neglects to show the monuments multi-layered and consistent use-value over time, it merely demonstrates one ideal form or one moment in the process of Newgrange's existence. In the context of this research as previously stated I used Newgrange as an example because of its iconic heritage site status in Ireland, the impact of these processes on Newgrange influences how other heritage sites are presented and perceived.

1.3 Heritage the enigma

Chapter two opens up the topic of heritage and discusses the concept in detail on a theoretical and practical level, while considering how it can be influenced by outside forces. The remit of many of the national heritage policies, institutions and organisations is to conserve and preserve. Heritage is much more than conservation, preservation, and excavation, the displaying of, or the restoration of a collection of artefacts and sites, the tangible. It also includes the intangible. Intangible heritage includes any unique practice, representation, expression, knowledge, or skill, as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts, and cultural spaces. Memories, stories, songs, recipes, language, dances, sports, instruments and many other elements which distinguish one society from another (Sullivan, 2016). From a sociological perspective these things are as significant as historic buildings and archaeological discovery sites. In many ways it is the intangible that gives people a sense of belonging and creates or shapes their identity. This sense of belonging and the connection to identity is discussed in relation to this research in chapter eight on Glendalough and chapter eleven on Durrow.

As an activity heritage has a far-reaching effect. Although it can be an element of far-sighted urban and regional planning, at the same time it has been used as the platform for political recognition, a medium for intercultural dialogue, a means of ethical

reflection, and the potential basis for local economic development. It is simultaneously local, national, global and shared. Heritage is an intrinsic part of a nation's, a community's, and a person's identity, and heritage sites are the catalysts for the transmission of a sense of belonging to a place. A place where memory, history and identity converge to instil an atmosphere of connection. Although heritage sites can create and foster a sense of community comradery, they may also become places of conflict and division. This study also provides a detailed understanding how the concept of heritage differs from history.

While heritage and history are oft viewed as similar, in reality how heritage is defined, and what it means is dependent on a number of factors, such as, but not limited to, location, ethnicity, political perspective, socio-economic background and even gender. For many the word heritage is synonymous with history, however, they are distinctly different. History is the written transmission of the past, whereas heritage is the presentation of approved or favoured portions of history. In this way heritage sites are spaces that become places created to promote, remember, teach or reconstruct the past.

The heritage industry is made of several components each are dialectically linked, without one or any of these components there is no heritage industry. These being;
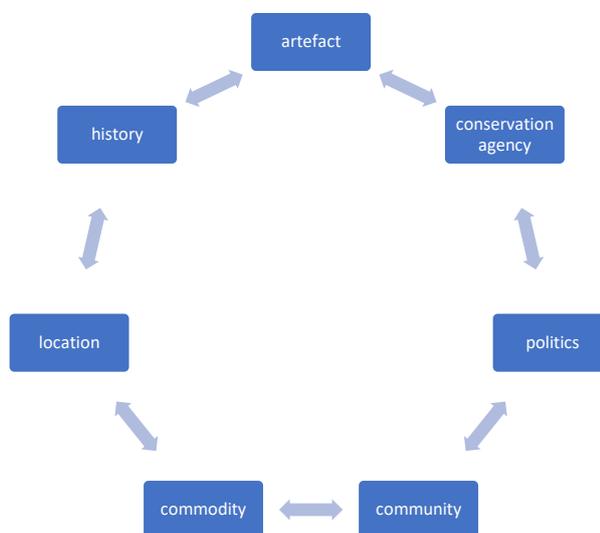
This diagram illustrates how these processes are linked, for example without an artefact, there is no need for a conservation agency, and so on. Essentially, I argue that heritage comprises of a range of diverse processes which are not only interconnected but also constantly changing (fluid).

1.4 The development of archaeology in Ireland

Chapter three discusses the development of archaeology in Ireland and the political processes which shaped how heritage is presented in the country today. Archaeology is defined as 'study of past societies through their material remains and the landscapes they lived in' (Royal Irish Academy, 2016). Archaeology is a fundamental component in heritage and is intrinsic to how many heritage objects and monuments are retrieved and reconstructed. The Irish governmental position situates archaeology as 'the archaeological heritage consists of such material remains (whether in form of sites and monuments or artefacts in the sense of moveable objects) and environmental evidence' (Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands, 1999). How heritage is promoted is a crucial part of Ireland's distinctiveness both nationally and internationally. The 2025 archaeology strategy states that archaeology, and in turn heritage 'enriches our quality of live and well-being by contributing to place-making, helping to create identities, connecting communities, fostering civic engagement, developing societal understanding and contributing to knowledge' (Royal Irish Academy, 2016). In order to understand heritage and its presentation it was necessary to investigate and research how archaeology has developed in Ireland. An understanding of archaeology, and specifically Irish archaeological approaches is crucial to the understanding of how heritage is presented and constructed. From the colonial period, where the focus was on antiquities and the discovery of objects for the elite to hold as possessions, to demonstrate their perceived cultural capital; to the contemporary 'contract' archaeologists, Irish

archaeology practitioners have altered significantly over time. This chapter illustrates how archaeology has transformed from an amateur hobby to a political tool and a method of attracting financial benefits, and on to a professional consultancy discipline in Ireland, where most archaeological excavations are now economically motivated or emerge as a direct result of infrastructural development.

1.5 Discovering the past

Chapter Four is concerned with how heritage objects are retrieved as well as providing an understanding of the associated disciplines and key theoretical concepts. Heritage from a historical sociological perspective is traditionally associated with archaeological discoveries, or at least archaeological artefacts are used as the foundation to reinforce societal constructs of the past. Archaeological and sociological discoveries are fundamentally based on evidence. What is true of the majority of heritage locations is they have been investigated through archaeological excavations in the 'quest for deeply layered linear stratigraphies to reveal the material vestiges of ancient civilizations' (Harrison & Breithoff, 2017, p. 12). Much of the presented heritage is based on the artefactual discoveries. Archaeology has been referred to as the "discipline of the spade" (Olsen et al. 2012, p. 61) and concerned with the distant past. This arguably is based on an assumption that the 'past is both hidden and disconnected physically, chronologically and ontologically from the present' (Harrison & Breithoff, 2017, p. 12), rendering it the job of the archaeologist to make it visible in the present (as discussed by Thomas 2004, 2009, Harrison 2011, Shanks et al. 2004, Edgeworth 2012, 2013). The presumption is that archaeological evidence is solely physical material revealed through excavational processes, yet not all data collected comes from digging the ground. This chapter not only examines the different archaeological approaches but also provides a comprehensive history of the discipline in Ireland. The inclusion of an assessment of archaeological

approaches is not only fundamental because of material evidence uncovered, but also this chapter will draw attention to the links between the subsequent chapters and provides a comprehensive discussion on key theoretical components such as space, place, spatiality and crucially, the ideal form.

1.6 Methodology

Chapter five details how the investigation into heritage was conducted in detail. Beginning with the ontological and epistemological approaches, the chapter moves on to examine methods employed, how the research was conducted and the motivations behind the use of each technique. As heritage is a multifaceted and complex concept, the research methodology required flexibility. Therefore, the research was not fixed from the start, but rather, unfolded over time. Given that the structure changed, an adaptive approach was utilised in order to allow for adjustments to the research process along the way, so as to fit with 'reality' as it emerged from the research process (Hjorth & Bagheri, 2006). Throughout the research process new insights and new techniques of data collection were pursued. In addition to this, an interdisciplinary perspective had to be incorporated into the research as it emerged during the research process. The research could not be answered through reductionist views of reality and reductionist techniques (Costanza, et al., 1993). Due to the complexity of the research subject, I discerned that a mixed methods approach was required, as this offered greater understanding of the processes under examination. Various scholars advocate the value of a mixed methods approach to social research (Bryman, 2008) (Klenke, 2008) (Creswell & Plano, 2007) (Creswell, 2003) (Costanza, et al., 1993) (Bergman, 2008) (Fábregue, et al., 2018). Similarly for O'Carroll and Gray (2010). When qualitative and quantitative data is analysed jointly, unexpected avenues of inquiry can open up as well as instances that might not be revealed if only one method were used. Quantitative methods were used minimally to provide indications to

which route to pursue the research. Bearing this in mind, an iterative analysis approach was employed whereby data collection and analysis were interwoven. Consequently, theory was developed at the same time as data was collected (Klenke, 2008).

Subsequent to analysing the initial quantitative survey data, the next phase of data collection commenced. This qualitative data collection adopted a multi-sited ethnographic method of triangulation. The main methods employed were observation, semi-structured and in-depth interviews and visual representation. Employing a mix system such as this adds rigour and breadth, allowing the research to obtain rich data and increase the validity of the findings. Following research into the governing bodies at each site, initial contact as made with members from each of these authorities and interviews were conducted. The local interviews were primarily drawn from initial information provided by the gatekeeper. These interview participants provided access to other interviewees and information on local stakeholders. In addition, visits to other national heritage sites were conducted and several pedagogic and academic conference events within and beyond the boundaries of heritage were attended, all of which supplemented data collection. Photographic evidence was captured, and research of digital imagery depositories was conducted, with many useful images collected. Gatekeepers at both sites also provided several extremely useful images, many of which are included throughout this thesis.

1.7 Glendalough the monastic settlement

Chapter six introduces the first of the case study sites, Glendalough. The valley in which Glendalough is situated is one of the most spectacular landscapes in Ireland. Amongst the dramatic scenery lies the evocative ruined architecture of the monastic settlement, including the distinctively Irish round tower. The valley's popular historic understanding is that it was founded by St. Kevin, who retreated into the wilderness to be closer to God,

and from this era it grew to be a formidable position of pre-dominance before its later decline. This powerful narrative, appealed to important myths about the nature of early Irish Christianity, as well as to the complex relationship with Irish cultural nationalism (Warren, et al., 2019). This chapter details the historic foundations of the site and situates the site geographically. As a place Glendalough has a long and coloured history, from the earliest inhabitants to the monastic foundations, to its beginnings as a tourist attraction into its contemporary form. In order to establish the physical details of Glendalough each of the core monuments is featured, illustrated and described. This chapter explores Glendalough's historic and archaeological foundations, so as to illustrate how the site developed, and how social, political and economic forces led to its current construction. This historic sociological chapter provides a detailed explanation of Glendalough's structures and the processes involved in its foundation as a monastic site.

1.8 The spatial organisation of Glendalough

Chapter seven illustrates how Glendalough is organised spatially, not only in its physical position of a valley in the Wicklow mountains, but also in its social, governing and transportation configuration. This chapter reveals the spatialities and temporalities of Glendalough and how movement, time and location effect the place. The population in the immediate vicinity of Glendalough is relatively small, with the majority of locals living in the neighbouring villages. Glendalough's management is divided between several governing bodies. Each of these authorities are discussed and their specific areas of authority illustrated. As one of the busiest cul-de-sacs in Ireland the traffic flow problem is one of the most pressing issues in the area. This chapter not only looks at the mechanisms for movement but in addition at the demography of those visiting. Finally, the last section of this chapter discusses with most contested and disputed area in Glendalough, the graveyard. Spatially the graveyard sits central to the site and has been

the site of recent and historic conflicts. While its spatial position is relevant the reasons for the disputes are more complex and this chapter elaborates the reasons.

1.9 The people, social systems, and the politics of Glendalough

In direct relation to how Glendalough is spatially configured, how people negotiate the space is crucial. As a place Glendalough has been shaped by political agendas and conflicting perspectives. Chapter eight explains how Glendalough's heritage site is divided between the sometimes-conflicting authoritative bodies and the local community. Glendalough serves varying purposes to a multitude of people. From locals to tourists to governing authorities to commercial bodies present on site, it is a place of complicated and conflicting relationships. Each of these groups are investigated in this chapter using interview data to ascertain some insight into Glendalough's complexity. Heritage connects people to the past, and is a key element in place-making, provides people with a sense of belonging and contributes to their identity formation (Tilley, 2006; Giddens 2012). This chapter details the conflicts between each of the vested interest groups at Glendalough, as well as detailing the conflicts and relationships between them. With conflicts over governance and authority in the 'traditional' heritage site, local people have essentially removed themselves from these areas. Glendalough has a long and dedicated mining tradition, with the last mine only ceasing operation within the last 50 years; in living memory. Moreover, some of the miners still live in Glendalough and as such many of the local community members have attached themselves to the mining heritage. Some traditions become linked to sites and secure their continuity. In addition, they are also integral elements of emerging socio-historical configurations. This provides groups and individuals with distinct identities and possible new opportunities. In this way they can help fabricate heritage (Bond and Gillam, 1994; Hobsbawm, 1987) yet crucially they become part of heritage. For the local people of Glendalough (re)asserting ways of life

and practices reaffirms their sense of ownership and belonging to place. This reinforces the nexus between place and social action, where human agency and action result in a meaningful construction of place (Giddens, 2012).

1.10 The picturesque lure of Glendalough, aesthetic versus history: A process of aesthetic heritage is constructed

Glendalough is more than merely a heritage site, from the earliest visitor accounts it has lured tourists to its aesthetic beauty. While unquestionably Glendalough is a place of striking beauty. Much of its visual allure to tourists has been constructed from the earliest times. Chapter nine outlines the processes that created the lure of the aesthetic and the political, social and economic systems which impact on the how the visual is constructed. This chapter examines the narrative expressed in both the early guidebooks and the picturesque paintings from the eighteenth century onwards. In the colonial period promoting Glendalough as a tourist site involved a number of processes including the obscuring of objects and people deemed visually unappealing or contradictory to their rhetoric. Essentially, Glendalough was presented as a place where the gentry could escape to the (fabricated and thus safe) wilderness away from the civilised mainland of Britain. Furthermore, this chapter establishes how the practice of 'othering' was conducted in Glendalough and how the local people were dismissed and discriminated against by colonial forces. Conversely, the chapter concludes with the process of (re)constructing Glendalough's image as an Irish Christian site of knowledge and holiness by the new government after the formation of the Free State in the early twentieth century.

1.11 Durrow: a history revealed in its physical forms

Chapter 10 introduces the second case study site of Durrow, County Offaly. Durrow like Glendalough is a sixth century monastic settlement, its foundations are associated with St. Colmcille, one of the most prominent and significant figures of the period. Once a principal Christian monastery, Durrow was one of the most influential sites in the early

Christian period. Like Glendalough, Durrow is a complex site with a history of conflict. This chapter explains the historic and archaeological foundations of the monastic site of Durrow and highlights each remaining heritage artefact. As many of the physical archaeological and historic structures in Durrow have been removed or altered, it was crucial to examine and discuss what these 'missing' features. Heritage is not a liner concept, therefore, the past impacts on the inhabitants both now and into the future. The complex events of the past are integral to the construction of the physical place, the individuals attached to it, and the imaginings of the future. In order to understand the processes involved in the development of Durrow, how its past shapes the present and any potential future plans, a comprehensive synopsis of all influential periods is included in this chapter, detailing how political, social, ecological and economic trends have shaped the place. Hence, this chapter provides a historic context to the site and its inhabitants.

1.12 Durrow: space, people, and authorities

Durrow's configuration is illustrated in chapter 11. In a comparative manner, to the chapters on Glendalough, this chapter not only reveals the spatial layout of the site, but additionally provides an understanding of the local community and the authorities responsible for management of the place. Although Durrow has fewer ruling authorities, and the local people feel they have some autonomy, conflicts nonetheless, have and continue to exist. Unlike Glendalough, Durrow is home to a historic big house, however, the Abbey is not accessible to the public due to an ongoing dispute between the main governing authority and a private lease. Durrow Abbey house is not regarded as part of the heritage site, yet it sits within the boundaries of the site. Yet, the big house was fundamental to the social and political processes which resulted in Durrow's current physical structure. As discussed in previous chapters political processes heavily influence

what narrative or presentation is approved, and /or promoted. Durrow's Abbey house was not only a private property its social form is embedded with colonialism, power and privilege. However, the political narrative, and in turn the perspective of the OPW, has been that the Abbey house is not historically valuable enough to promote, as the building is a reconstruction, due the decimation of the earlier structure in two successive fires. Durrow's current configurations are as complex as the processes that shaped it. Whilst, on the surface it appears that past conflicts have been resolved, Durrow continues to have controversy and contentions attached. In the past Durrow's community were regularly prohibited access to the site and their communities valued heritage artefacts. While these access restrictions are now largely resolved, there remains a continued access issue which relates directly to the site's spatial configurations. This access issue directly impacts on both how the site is promoted, and how the site in presented, which in turn effects the numbers of visitors to the heritage site.

1.13 Hiding the past, the aestheticisation of Durrow Demesne

Durrow over the course of its history has been, like many properties owned by landlords in the colonial period, subject to the process of aestheticisation. Chapter 12 details the processes involved in creating the colonial picturesque in Durrow Demesne. Crosby (1986) notes that British colonists consciously aspired to transform the colonialised territories into images that mirrored the homeland they left behind. In Ireland the Anglo-Irish landlord classes, such as those who owned Durrow, endeavoured to create informal English country gardens on their estates. Slater (2007, p. 12) argues that this process was an 'imperialist expansion of an idealised spatial construct' which involved 'an attempt to physically reconstruct not only the native landscape, but also introduce foreign flora species into this remodelled terrain'. The spatial reconstruction of the landscape in the picturesque did not merely include the introduction of these foreign species, it was an

extensive reconfiguration of the landscape were all signs of native occupation or labour were erased. Aestheticizing the landscape was not only a form of dominating, controlling, delimiting, and subduing the natural world (Bruck, 2013), it also created a nostalgic atmosphere for the Anglo-Irish landlords in Ireland. In the case of Durrow, the process of aestheticisation resulted in the eradication, concealing and the burying of archaeological, cultural and historic objects. This distinction between culture and nature was a particular social process, whereby it acted as a mechanism to differentiate the indigenous population as 'wild' and 'uncivilised' from the sophisticated and civilised colonialists (Olwig, 1993: Cosgrove, 1984). This chapter demonstrates how colonial processes of the past have a direct impact on Durrow's contemporary landscape and the sites' presentation of heritage.

1.14 The interconnective processes that create heritage: the physical, social and ideal forms

Chapter thirteen is the first of two analytical and concluding chapters. This penultimate chapter is concerned with providing conclusions to the research questions through the identification and discussion of the processes involved in heritage presentation at both case study sites. Each of the preceding chapters are addressed in the order they occur within the thesis, but additionally this chapter demonstrates how the chapters tie together in a dialectical manner. Beginning with a discussion on the concept of heritage, the chapter moves on to illustrate and discuss each of the specific processes involved in heritage construction. This chapter also examines and demonstrates how heritage comprises a range of fluid and diverse interconnected processes. Fundamentally, heritage requires a medium for its transmission, and as such this chapter uncovers the complex and philosophical nature of the concept. While traditionally it is the historical and archaeological physical material objects that are presented in heritage sites, heritage

contains an inherent double form, the physical artefact and the social form(s)[8]. All man-made objects contain a socially embedded form, but in the case of heritage objects these social forms can change and even contest with each other. Moreover, whilst physical artefacts have mutable social forms, correspondingly, non-physical 'artefacts' can be ascribed with a physical form. This is achieved through how they are presented as 'thing-like' entities, even though they are intrinsically not, through a process of conceptual reification, the ideal. For example, in Durrow, the pattern day celebration is a parade, the local community gather, walk and pray, and the day culminates in a ritualistic routine of drinking water from the holy well and spanning the high cross. The pattern day is ascribed a 'thing-like' physical form, but it is not an object, yet it is seen as a thing, and the rituals surrounding it frequently change. How heritage is presented at each of the case study sites is dependent on social, political, and economic agendas. In Glendalough the agenda is clearly to promote it as a tourist attraction, in contrast Durrow has no promotion of any kind. Although both case study sites differ in size, visitor numbers and importance they have fundamental similarities in their structures, in that they both adhere to the same authoritative and political systems, as well as having conflicts and connections to the local communities and their sense of identity and belonging.

1.15 Durrow and Glendalough: The social forms, processes, and the presentation of heritage

Chapter fourteen is the final chapter and the second concluding chapter. This final chapter is focussed on the people involved directly and indirectly with heritage sites. It provides conclusions and recommendations about heritage sites, their management and social relationships between the communities and the authorities. Throughout the thesis community is mentioned, crucially what constitutes community is discussed in this

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[8] 'Social relations between people can constitute the things that are incorporated into them as having features which are distinct from their physical properties and yet objective' (Chitty, 2000, p. 17).

section, and more specifically what the term 'local' denotes in the context of these case study areas. History and heritage are intrinsically linked to individual identity, as well as being a foundational component in a shared identity, along with contributing to the sense of belonging for both individuals and society. Knowledge of one's heritage Higgins argues, 'allows us to debunk myths and challenges inaccuracies as well as expose deliberate amnesia or invented versions of the past. It enables us to understand the formation of identity and the significance of diversity, nuance and context' (2014). This chapter discusses how heritage shapes the identities of the people of Durrow and Glendalough. Throughout this final section of the thesis the comparatives and dissimilarities are also discussed. This chapter sums up what the determinants and mediums that are required for the heritage and its presentation are, Finally, one of the most important aspects of this research was the local communities and their involvement in the sites. Local people have a vested interest in their place and their surroundings. Evidently, many possess and can convey knowledge about their place and its history from a unique perspective. One of my key recommendations is for the authorities to work together with members of the local communities to encourage and develop community heritage, in project form, but more importantly on a governing level. Giving local people more autonomy over their heritage and their place instils a sense of pride and accomplishment.

Chapter 2: Heritage, the enigma

'The past is everywhere. All around us lie features which, like ourselves and our thoughts, have more or less recognisable antecedents. Relics, histories, memories suffuse human experience. Each particular trace of the past ultimately perishes, but collectively they are immortal. Whether it's celebrated or rejected, attended to or ignored, the past is omnipresent' (Lowenthal, 2002, p. xv).

Lowenthal (2002) argues heritage is enduring, tied to the past, but due to its construction is also linked to the present and connected to the future. This chapter examines the concept of heritage both in Ireland and globally, and how it is constructed for a variety of purposes, such as tourism, political motivations. As heritage is predominantly associated with material objects it is crucial to understand how this process occurs and discuss the difference between the tangible and the intangible. Heritage and history are frequently confused as being one and the same, when they are intrinsically not, this chapter discusses their distinctions. Heritage is defined as 'property that is or may be inherited; and inheritance' heritage is also valued objects and/or historic buildings and 'cultural traditions that have been passed down from previous generations' as well as 'denoting or relating to things of special architectural, historical, or natural value that are preserved for the nation' (2016). As a definition this is extremely broad, emphasising objects and conservation, namely material or physical artefacts. Additionally, by defining heritage in the material form, buildings and objects is to reify the concept to fit it into contemporary structures of meaning. To reify is a process of making the abstract concrete, this process in terms of theoretical framework of the ideal demonstrates how the ideal is applied practically. A focus on the physical or material, while applicable, neglects to include the intangible, like folklore or language. The definition additionally set 'the nation' in a prominent position, which itself implies local ownership (here local refers to the country in which the site/object is situated. How heritage has been defined has expanded beyond

the old definitions of inheritance, now include virtually everything imaginable, however intangible, and unverifiable (Gillis 1997). Heritage's lure now overshadows other methods of retrieval, such as history, tradition, memory, or myth (Lowenthal 1996). The tangible forms of heritage are obvious historic monuments, buildings, and sites; however, UNESCO's charter also includes what has been described by Ahmad (2006) as the intangible, these being, place, cultural significance, and fabric. Arguably only one of the aforementioned categories specified by Ahmad is in fact intangible, cultural significance. Both place and fabric are tangible or physical properties, in other words things, and intangibility denotes something that is not material or physical in nature, yet when viewed through the lens of the ideal can become 'thing-like'. Moreover, place is both tangible and intangible, while it is in built form it also contains the meanings imputed to it by people. Where space is having an address, place is about living there. Mc Crone (1995) argues that heritage concepts are related to the more recent societal changes connected to colonial and post-colonial experiences. 'Heritage is a thoroughly modern concept belonging to the final quarter of the twentieth century' which according to Mc Crone (ibid, 1995, p. 1-2) has its roots in the restructuring of the world economy. While in part this is true, this hypothesis merely presents heritage as a product of commercialisation, one-dimensional and neglects to include the concept of heritage as a leisure activity. Heritage is constructed for purposes beyond the transmission of historic knowledge when a site is constructed as a tourist attraction the fundamental objective becomes to entice visitors for financial gain. Although from the perspective of the tourist visiting an attraction provides them with a sense of achievement and/or satisfaction.

2.1 Heritage as a leisure activity

Tourism became democratised with the introduction of rail networks in the mid to late nineteenth century. Preceding these and other enhancements to transportation systems

travel was confined to the elite and an indicator of status. Following this the distinction between the status of those who could travel and those who could not, the early elitist tourist industry developed on a class related scale. Perceived status was viewed through the lens of the means and mode of travel, for example first class carriages on trains or air-travel. Crucially, however, available leisure time was the most prevalent factor in early tourism, as in the past only the wealthy could afford to be at leisure or spend long periods of time away from work. In contemporary societies, leisure patterns are considerably more complex than this. The accepted norm is that all have at least some rights to leisure, to be noticeably free from work duties for particular times in the week or the year. In contemporary society leisure time and travel is also influenced by social media. The use of social media is growing at an exponential rate with reportedly 2.85 billion people connected to Facebook as of the first quarter of 2021 (Statista, 2021). It has become an increasing trend to post pictures of holiday destinations, as well as tagging at specific locations. Interestingly, it is not always the destination that is important to these travellers but the awareness of others, frequently they locate themselves or post a photograph at the airport before the traveller even leaves for their holiday destination. The ability to go on holiday, to be obviously not at work, is presumed to be a characteristic of the modern citizen and has become embroiled into people's thinking about health and wellbeing. 'I need a holiday' is in itself a particularly clear reflection of contemporary societal beliefs, where they need to consume time away from work. Increasingly, heritage has become a leisure activity directly connected to tourism. Whilst arguably many tourists do not visit places solely for heritage and are predominantly interested in getting away from it all, many include heritage sites in their holiday itinerary. Moreover, the numbers of heritage tourists have escalated dramatically in recent years, with five out of ten of the top paid attractions and nine out of ten of the top free attractions being heritage related locations

(Failte Ireland, 2019). Emerging out of this mediatisation of heritage sites is another form of tourism, fan tourism. In Ireland several heritage sites have become meccas for fans of cult movies and television series, due to their filming location. Movies such as Star Wars and television series like Games of Thrones (Mc Adam, 2020). Ireland has some of the most picturesque and iconic landscapes globally. The Section 481 state film subsidy which allows tax breaks for international production companies to produce film in the country (Revenue, Irish Tax and Customs, 2019). It is the inclusion of this tax break that contributes significantly in enticing globally successful media companies to Ireland. Fan tourists are enticed to Ireland through the visual construction in the movies and TV series. Comparably heritage sites are also visually constructed to entices visitors. Thus, regardless of whether or not these fan tourists are coming for the fantasy destination, or if the visitors are coming to see Ireland's official heritage, the dominant lure is landscape and the visual. Almost all Ireland's heritage and tourist promotional material is focussed predominantly on the visual and the scenery.

2.2 Heritage as product for tourism

Heritage sites have become commodities for consumption, for a site to be consumable most have attached heritage centres, souvenir shops or other places of consumption. Many of these heritage centres employ visualisation as a tool to entice visitors frequently through the medium of technology (Brett, 1996; Slater, 2003). However, the visual does not always represent the history. The Neolithic passage of tomb of Newgrange is a World heritage site. One of the biggest draws to this site is the light box[9], and its effect on the monument at the winter solstice regardless of the fact that it is a burial chamber, and that's

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[9] The lightbox is a small hole engineered purposefully by the Neolithic builders of Newgrange. It is aligned to the rising sun allowing the light to penetrate the inner chamber of the monument one day per year on the winter solstice 21 December. The creators of the monument were sun worshippers and Newgrange was built as a grave for their ancestors, but also as a demonstration of their status to others, indicated by the size and visibility of the monument.

current configuration is not a true representation of its original structure[10]. Heritage centres are predominately laid out in an efficient and effective manner so as to increase the capacity and the visitor number turnover. In other words, rationalised (Mills, 1976), or in a McDonaldised (Ritzer, 2007) view of efficiency, a system whereby maximum amount of profit can be obtained from the most efficient and cost-effective means. Folk parks and active performance heritage centres, such as Dublinia[11] or Emain Macha[12], promote immersion, where people get to experience what it was like to 'live' in the place or time re-enacted or reconstructed. All of these heritage guises are disneyfied and not completely accurate presentations of the past (Ritzer & Liska, 1997). In addition to these sites, heritage is presented in a different manner in the 'big houses', which were owned by the colonial landlords of the past. During their occupation these landed gentry reportedly ruled and exploited the Irish native population until the foundation of the republic, however, on a tour of these grand houses little of this unpleasant past is presented, as these 'historical un-pleasantries' are obscured so as not to impede the consumption of the heritage product; 'ignorance like distance, protects heritage from harsh scrutiny' (Lowenthal, 1998, p. 135).

Governmental policy has ensured Irish cultural heritage has become commercialised. The published governmental tourism strategy states that 'Ireland's cultural heritage, including the built heritage sector (monuments, historic estates, gardens, national parks, and many other nationally significant protected structures and antiquities) is integral to our tourism offering' (Department of Transport, Tourism and Sport, 2015,

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[10] This debate on how Newgrange was rebuilt is discussed in detail in chapter three on the development of archaeology in Ireland.

[11] Dublinia is a Viking heritage folk park based beside Christchurch Cathedral in Dublin, at the site of Dublin's Viking settlement.

[12] Emain Macha, also known as Navan fort, is an Iron Age ceremonial monument in County Armagh. The site has been reconstructed into a heritage and folk park, where the visitor can not only watch re-enactments of what life may have been like in that period, they can also participate in some activities.

p. 92). Heritage sites are referred to as 'core assets' with an emphasis on 'cultural branding'. These sites are purposely visually attractive and alluring and all the promotion is aimed directly at the tourist industry. A prime example of this form of commercialisation is evident at many key heritage sites, Glendalough for example contains a strategically placed heritage centre at one of the three entrances to the site. However, at each of the other two entrances the visitor is also confronted with opportunities to buy commodified goods, souvenirs, food and drinks or 'unique' paintings of the site. Visually Glendalough's images are constructed in such a way as to lure visitors. It is presented as exotic, picturesque, and the ideal location for solitude and reflection. Daily at the gates of the entrance to the monastic site a musician sits, plays and sells their recordings. This too is a vehicle to transport the visitor back to the scenic and serene Glendalough once they have returned home. At the bridge to the Green Road[13], where the tourist is directed to the 'Deer Stone'[14] stands an artist who paints landscape paintings on site, who you can sit and watch while he creates your 'personal' masterpiece to take home allowing you to visually recall the majestic Glendalough. Although neither of these mechanisms of place consumption are new, in an era of technological advancement these two pieces of the past may help to transport people to a simpler time and return to the goal of the romantic tourist (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Tourism is more than the visitor experience, it is an economic revenue provider, and this is why it is constructed, visualised and sold for consumption.

2.3 Tourism

Duffy (2004:709) contends that valuing cultural distinctiveness has a valid political objective and thanks to tourism, has viable economic potential. Fáilte Ireland's 2017

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[13] The Green Road is the NPWS walking route situated south of the monastic site.
[14] The Deer Stone is discussed in detail in chapter six.

figures indicates 75% of tourists visiting Ireland specified cultural heritage attractions, castles, big houses, monuments and heritage centres, as main purpose for their visit (Research Unit Failte Ireland, 2018). Irrefutably then, Irish heritage is crucial to the country's tourist industry. Since the 1980's a concerted effort has been made in communities across Ireland to develop tourist attractions, including, but not limited to, castles, heritage monuments, historic houses, national parks and heritage gardens. For the majority of these heritage sites, dedicated heritage, interpretative or visitor centres were built. Two immensely successful tourist campaigns promoting Irish cultural heritage are currently running in Ireland; the Wild Atlantic way and Ireland's Ancient East[15] as well as very successful tours run at both the movie and TV series destinations. The routeways for the WAW and IAE are pre-mapped for the visitor with easily accessible information provided on designated places of interest and the ideal locations to experience the scenery are featured. Interestingly, Glendalough is heavily featured in Ireland's Ancient East campaign, notably it is one of the main visuals used by the promotors, whereas Durrow is not included in any of the tourist campaigns.

The very nature of tourism involves imagining, fantasising, or daydreaming and the anticipation of the novel experience, thus, once an image is placed in the visitor's mind it becomes a very powerful motivational tool. In a Foucauldian sense the idea of a constructed visual or powerful 'gaze' (Urry J. , 1990) can be applied to the tourist experience. Urry further argues that this kind of tourist gaze derives from the expectations of visual pleasure and experiences beyond the familiar. These constructed expectations are continuously and 'endlessly reproduced' by mass media and are objectified in tourist imagery (1990). However, Urry's argument attributes the construction of the gaze to the

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[15] The Wild Atlantic Way and Ireland's Ancient East dedicated web pages can be found on the Discover Ireland website (Fáilte Ireland, 2021).

tourists themselves. In reality the production, creation and control of the gaze is executed by powerful authorities in the tourist industry, who have the support and funding of government bodies, and use media and even social media to their advantage. My research argues that as heritage is crucial for Irish tourism it too is created and controlled by these powerful authorities. This from a Foucauldian perspective situates the mass media as ubiquitous in terms of power. For Foucault power is not static for it cannot be obtained and retained, it is 'produced from one moment to the next, at every point, or rather in every relation from one to another' (Foucault, 1980, p. 93). While heritage is constructed and sold its meaning is rarely defined in these constructions. Indeed, the meaning of heritage can be constructed differently which can give rise to conflicts.

2.3 Heritage versus history

Although initially the term heritage will conjure up immediate preconceived impressions of its meaning, heritage as a concept is extremely complex and culturally subjective. It's meaning is often taken as self-evident, yet the word does not so much represent a precise concept, but a vague comprehension of a sentiment. The ambiguity of the meaning of heritage has led authors like Russell to describe the term as 'better understood for its psychological resonance than precise meaning' (Russell, 1997, p. 72). Consequently, there is the potential for a range of alternative ways to relate to, give meaning to, and understand the significance of heritage objects, sites, and practices. However, this range of values of heritage may not be well catered for within traditional western models of heritage and official definitions of heritage. Therefore, differences may give rise to conflict over who has the right to determine access and management of different sites, objects or practices. Harrison argues that 'heritage itself is a dynamic process which involves competition over whose version of the past, and the associated moral and legal rights which flow from this version of the past, will find official representation in the

present' (Harrison, 2010, p. 8). Indeed, in most cases the official, be that at a national or international level, and the local would be thought of as competing forms of heritage. This aspect of competition between the local and the official heritage presentation is crucial to this research project and will be discussed in detail in later chapters using empirical evidence gathered at both Durrow and Glendalough.

For many the word heritage is synonymous with history. In reality how heritage is defined, and what it means is dependent on factors, such as, but not limited to, location, ethnicity, political perspective, socio-economic background, gender and sexuality. A definition of history at its most basic level is the study of the past, and the transmission of that knowledge in the present. Yet, historians frequently criticise how the recreation of the past is represented through reconstructions in the present, in places such as folk parks, museums and heritage sites. These historians have made concerted efforts to distance themselves from what they may characterise as bad history (Harrison, 2010, p. 10). As Lowenthal states 'heritage should not be confused with history. History seeks to convince by truth but succumbs to falsehood. Heritage exaggerates and omits, candidly invents and frankly forgets, and thrives on ignorance and error' (1998, p. 7). The truth Lowenthal (1998) refers to is the historical narrative rather than an investigation of all influential factors and is restricted presentation. If one, concurs with Lowenthal's argument then can any history or heritage be accepted as completely accurate?

The focus of Lowenthal's (1998) argument is that heritage and history are distinct ways of knowing the past. Both however, are culturally constructed, with their respective constructs continually changing over time. Consequently, they have their own individual histories of how the past is retrieved and represented in contemporary society. Although history and heritage are often regarded as indistinguishable from one and other, they are fundamentally different. While heritage may be constructed, people are drawn to

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monuments, artefacts, and sites as these provide a physical link to the accomplishments and the achievements of their ancestors. People are attracted to heritage as it is often characterised as a 'key identity component of a social group' (Bessiere, 1998), and 'as a notion, heritage represents our consciousness of a role outside – or beyond – history' (Balmer & Chen, 2016). Heritage is a unique multifaceted concept as it is inclusive of, the tangible, the intangible and the metaphysical. The narrative at heritage sites however are limited by physical construction, in other words the real location.

Whereas history is an account of the things that happened in the past, heritage is any particular society's preferential treatment of certain objects, monuments, buildings, language and cultures. 'Heritage is not a thing, is not a site, building or other material object…. these things…. are not themselves heritage. Rather, heritage is what goes on at these sites… Heritage, I want to suggest, is a cultural process that engages with the present, and the sites themselves are cultural tools that can facilitate, but are not necessarily vital for, this process' (Smith, 2006, p. 44). The narrative presented at heritage sites is dependent on a variety of conditions and motivations. Some heritage centres will use a construction of the past to promote a contemporary political position. At sites like Skellig Michael[16] the narrative has become embroiled with a fantasy/sci-fi construction and a capitalist agenda at the detriment to the UNESCO world heritage site. Although arguably all that constitutes heritage is backed by history, all history does not pass for the treasure-trove of heritage. In many cases it is the subjectivity of a nation that decides if something can be constituted as heritage, and subsequently be revered as such. Additionally, in many cases a site's 'value' is understood in economic terms, in other words, how much tourist revenue it can produce. That being said, similarly not all

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[16] Skellig Michael is a heritage site on a island off the coast of Kerry in south west Ireland, the site contains the remains of a 6th century monastic settlement (like both Durrow and Glendalough). In recent years the site was used as a film location for the two most recent Star Wars movies.

historical accounts can be believed or are factually accurate as Naipaul (1979) stated 'history keeps changing and is often written by conquerors. History should be written by independent people'. The questions that need to be addressed here is, if it is possible for history to be written independently? Even with the best intentions will some subjectivity or bias not always be included? History therefore should be regarded as the compilation and interpretation of events through the perceptions and sometimes the prejudices of the historian. Unsurprisingly so, students of history should be aware that quite frequently historians contradict each other, often leading to more confusion and controversy, as opposed to clarity and conciliation. As Valery infamously remarked 'history is the most dangerous product ever concocted by the chemistry of intellect. It inebriates nations, saddles them with false memories, keeps their old sores running, torments them when they are not at rest, and induces in them megalomania and the mania of persecution' (1950, p. 137). As mentioned, heritage differs from history and is defined distinctly by UNESCO.

UNESCO correctly defines heritage in two distinct respects, cultural heritage, and natural heritage. Cultural heritage, according to UNESCO's World Heritage Convention (hereafter WHC), are monuments, groups of buildings or sites. While natural heritage, comprises of natural features, geological and physiographical formations, and natural sites, such as the Giant's Causeway, County Antrim. While the WHC convention recognise that heritage has two distinct forms, significantly in its development a realisation emerged that neither can be considered separate. 'The artificiality and impossibility of separating natural and cultural heritage and the recognition of cultural landscapes as demonstrating the dynamic interplay between people and nature over time in specific places' (Cooney, 2007, p. 300). Interestingly, the conferring of World Heritage status has become in itself a way of denoting the symbolic and cultural value of a site or

landscape (Kennedy, 2005). Notably, sites like Newgrange, constructed in the Neolithic period, and the Egyptian Pyramids occupy places on the same list as the Sydney Opera House. [17]

The UNESCO world heritage convention was established to protect the world's cultural and natural heritage, this convention is considered as representing a global acceptance and acknowledgement of the idea that heritage can be held in common (UNESCO, 1972, p. 48). The convention was ratified by 184 state parties who accept the central premise 'parts of the cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole' (UNESCO, 1972). UNESCO convention was established to ensure the identification, conservation, protection, presentation and the transmission of heritage of 'outstanding universal value' to future generations by nomination through state parties and inscription on the list of World Heritage Sites (WHS), world heritage committee (Cooney, 2007, p. 299). As it stands, 192 state parties have committed to the convention, with a list of 1052 sites globally. Ireland is home to three world heritage sites, two man-made or cultural sites the Boyne Valley complex, Skellig Michael[18] and one natural site, the Giants Causeway. While the introduction of such conventions is highly commendable and essential to conservation, there appears to be a notable imbalance in distribution of sites listed. Although Europe contains 46 percent of the sites, Africa accounts for merely nine percent and the Arab Countries only seven percent overall, with just ten countries having

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[17] Undisputedly the Sydney Opera house is a magnificent display of modern architectural design, however, I believe the key term in this statement is 'modern' and should probably occupy a list with a title referring to it as such.

[18] As of April 2017, significant rock fall damage occurred on Skellig Island, although the reports have explicitly stated that the damage was not the result of recent filming (Star Wars) and that the fall were not in areas were tourist 'normally' visit, questions should be asked of these seemingly 'convenient' rock falls. Is there danger to the site if tourist traffic continues to increase and is the economic value greater than the cultural heritage value? While these rock falls were in 'no visitor' areas, is there a danger that the erosion is spreading and therefore dangerous to tourists?

several sites, numbering 20 or more. Whereas, on the other hand, 38 countries with membership to the Convention have no recognised sites at all (Steiner & Frey, 2011, p. 3).

Although not explicitly mentioned the indication here is of political influence or from a sociological perspective western otherness. The distribution and quantity of sites does suggest a certain cultural bias, but there are other apparent political considerations. Vallely has argued that 'the US, whose government saw UNESCO as a stalking horse for Communist and Third World countries to attack the West throughout the 1980s and 1990s, has refused to propose any new heritage sites since 1995. In that year, plans to open a gold mine near Yellowstone Park in Wyoming got the area placed on UNESCO's "world heritage in danger" list. Conservatives in Washington decided that the scheme was an undercover attempt to subvert America's rights to govern itself and to destroy the fabric of US sovereignty'(2008). Additionally, a substantial lobbying industry has grown around the awards; this is due to the fact that World Heritage listings have the potential to significantly increase lucrative tourism revenues to countries with listed sites. Site listing bids are often drawn-out and expensive endeavours, which subsequently put poorer countries at a disadvantage. Does this mean that heritage becomes more economically valuable than history, or does it mean that the sites that make the list are, because they are recognised, more valuable? And what of the sites that don't make it, are they neglected? The WHC reports and monitors several sites every year that are in danger, be that through natural disasters, human interference, or conflict. Currently the number of endangered sites sits at 55 with a large proportion of those situated in areas of human conflicts, such as the Syrian Arab Republic (UNESCO, 2016). In fact, as it stands all the World Heritage listed sites in Syria have been damaged or completely destroyed by the conflict in the country (RT News, 2016). The question that needs to be addressed here

then is, what is the true benefit of an inclusion on a list of protected sites, if in reality the sites evidently cannot be physically protected? One response to this crisis has been to create a database to store 3D visual images of sites in conflict areas through The Million Image Database Project (The Institute for Digital Archaeology, 2017). This database of images, I want to suggest correlates with the trend of visualising the past, but I will discuss this argument in depth later in this chapter. The next section will discuss the criteria for inclusion in the world heritage list.

2.4 World heritage inclusion criteria

In order for a place to be included on the World Heritage List the nominated place must undergo an assessment and adhere to a particular set of criteria. As this research is concerned with heritage, how it is constructed and reified through the ideal form, it is necessary to understand what constitutes a world heritage site.

The criteria for WHC;

(i) to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius[19];

(ii) to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;

(iii) to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living, or which has disappeared;

(iv) to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history[20];

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[19] The assumption here is that heritage sites are created by man.
[20] The focus of the criteria is on the human created element and from who's perspective is it deemed a significant stage in human history, is this again western otherness?

(v) to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;

(vi) to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);

(vii) to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance[21];

(viii) to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;

(ix) to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;

(x) to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation (UNESCO, 2016).

2.5 Heritage in Ireland

Similarly, *The Irish Heritage Act* also provides a detailed and comprehensive definition of heritage. Monuments, archaeological objects, documents and genealogical records,

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[21] Again, the focus is on how the West perceives the aesthetic beauty.

architectural heritage, heritage objects such as art and industrial works, to flora, fauna, wildlife habitats, landscapes, seascapes, wrecks, geology, heritage gardens, parks and inland waterways are covered as aspects to be protected (Government of Ireland, 2018). Evidently the heritage Act includes the tangible, yet the intangible is not mentioned. The intangible includes forms of dress, cuisine, types of shelter, traditional skills and technologies, religious ceremonies, performing arts, and storytelling, and should be considered as an important vehicle for cultural diversity (Lenzerini, 2011). Although Ireland's heritage Act does not include the intangible, there is a special provision for it within the UNESCO convention, which Ireland has ratified. Ireland has an interim national inventory of intangible cultural heritage; however as of March 2020 the list merely consists of three items, Hurling inscribed in 2017, Uilleann Piping added in 2018 and most recently Irish Harping added in 2019 (Government of Ireland, 2020).

Heritage, Lowenthal (2002) contends, is the sense of the past that shapes our personal identity, the historical materials used to define what it means to be Irish, German, French, American. This proposition is strongly related to Mead's theory of the past where he argued that the interaction of the present and the past is integral to the process of identity formation (Mead, 1932). Mead is renowned as one of the most influential, respected and accepted theorists on identity. For Mead (1932) time is a fundamental component in the construction of identity. His assertion was that events and people of the past, including prior versions of oneself, serve as points of comparison in the process of symbolic interaction (Balmer & Hudson, 2013). This argument has been echoed by contemporary scholars who have observed, 'Mead shows us that the self is above all a temporal process' (Flaherty & Fine, 2001), and that we should "reconceptualise human agency as a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past' (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). The Heritage council contends that landscape is a key

element of local cultures, cultural and natural heritage, the consolidation of national and European identity and human well-being (2010, p. 3). The presentation of heritage like history has been swayed by external influences ─ there is a strong relationship between ideas of heritage and the idea of national and community identity. Heritage is so intrinsically linked to Irish identity that the Irish Heritage council asks the reader to 'imagine Ireland with no sense of identity, no beautiful landscapes….and no historic buildings' (2016), as if it were a terrifying proposition. The National Heritage council states that Irish heritage 'differentiates us from other nations, it greatly enhances our quality of life' (2016). Additionally, the Irish heritage council insist that heritage is essential for the future of Ireland, in so far as to imply a subtle suggestion of angst by stating 'as we plan for our future, we need to plan for the future of our heritage also. This will ensure that the best elements of our heritage, which enhance our communities and enrich our lives, will be passed on to our children and to their children in turn. In doing so, we also ensure that our local areas and communities are good places to live and work.' (The Heritage Council, 2015, p. 2). This 'feel good' idea promoted by the heritage council is not new and as a concept is used in marketing regularly. Known as the 'feel good effect' this concept relies on the human need for happiness, which Ng (Ng, 1996, p. 1) contends is 'the main, if not the only of objective life'. It could be argued that the focus of the heritage council is centred on the traditional community structure of middle-class families. Thereby excluding divisions within the national community such as other classes, single people without children and women to name a few.

What becomes apparent through the Irish heritage council's literature is that their main focus, and hence also the focus of the Irish state, is on the physical features and officially deemed heritage sites. These physical sites or the material culture of the country provides tourist revenue and is therefore deemed important to the economy. As O'Dwyer

states 'the material culture of this country has contributed enormously to our image abroad and our own self-image as a nation. That image, in terms of our social, cultural and economic activity and the relationship of this activity with the natural and cultural landscape, is represented by millions of objects in the national collections housed in the growing number of museums and galleries across the country' (The Heritage Council, 2016). Simply stated material culture relates to physical objects that have cultural properties embedded within them through narrative. They are chiefly portable and perceptible by touch and therefore have 'a physical, material existence that is one component of human cultural practice' (Woodward, 2011, p. 14). However, material culture alone neglects to include some of the intangible, folklore, language, and landscape. Heritage gives each place its identity, its character, and its distinctiveness. The Heritage Council takes an integrated approach to heritage, with responsibilities that include both its cultural and natural aspects (The Heritage Council, 2015, p. 2).

2.6 Global constructs of heritage

Globally heritage related events, commemoration ceremonies, historic monuments and heritage sites have become an accepted norm. People want a connection to the past as 'unlike history, heritage links an individual with that which has endured rather than what has expired' (Balmer & Chen, 2016). This connection to the past provides individuals and societies with a sense of belonging and justifies their occupation of place. From the seemingly insignificant to the remarkable can be labelled as heritage 'an assembly mound, a tree planted commemoratively, or a natural thing made even more remarkable by having history or tradition attached to it, in the name of pathos, angst, hubris, melancholia, aesthetic or folly, we human beings monumentalise the world around us. That's how we imprint ourselves on the world, and being in the presence of that history, feeling the temporality, is what attaches us to the historical continuum and makes human existence

bearable' (Newman, 2015, p. 2). Heritage, Lowenthal (1998) contends, clarifies the past and makes the past relevant for contemporary contexts and purposes. Heritage can, in periods of uncertainty, provide an existential anchor and possibly counteract the loss, deficit or even the trauma caused by the past (Amid & Rapport, 2002, p. 87). Or offer stability in times of change (Hewison, 1987), even provide comfort to the older generations, due to the connection to their youth (Holbrook & Schindler, 2003).

What can be described as the disneyification of heritage has been a global trend for many years, Lowenthal describes this as the re-shaping of the world we inherit (2002, p. xv). The introduction of the world heritage list has sparked the interest in heritage across the globe and people now view their past as a universal concern. This connection to the past is important to people in helping them develop a sense of identity. While it is true that countries are concerned with preserving their past, there is also an element of competition and monetary gain in achieving a place on the list and then accordingly receive higher numbers of visitors to the site. This whole process of restoring, preserving, or in some cases rebuilding, the past has made experiencing it less intimate, and has ultimately sanitised and aestheticized heritage. 'The pasts we alter or invent are as prevalent and consequential as those we try to preserve' (Lowenthal, 2002, p. xviii). To sanitise the past monuments are cleaned of the grime and weathering of time as well as any natural growth, such as ivy or moss, so as to make the monument appear clean and untouched by time. A prime example of this sanitising of the past can be seen in monuments such as Newgrange, where the façade has been constructed to create a dramatic visual reception to visitors and Trim Castle, where the twelfth century building has been cleaned to a point that it looks 'new', both in County Meath.

Although Maines et al. refer to what they entitle 'mythological heritage[22]' which they state, are fictitious inventions that offer an "aura of reality" through their contextual relevance, and constitute "part of the consensual basis of truth" in "shared consciousness" (1983), the same sentiment could be attributed to many reconstructed heritage sites. Often these reconstructed heritage sites hark back to a "Golden Age" in which human relations and natural conditions are idealised or romanticised (Lowenthal, 2002; McCracken, 1988). They play on nostalgia and people's imagining of times that were simpler and closer to nature. Any interference with the past, be that tangible objects or the intangible, whether the modifications are designed to preserve, restore, or enhance, consequentially alter the past. As Lowenthal argues 'manipulation makes the past both more and less like the present-less because we set it apart, and more because we put our own stamp on it. Even if we aim to preserve things just as they were, or as we find them, protective and restorative devices mantle the past in the machinery of the present' (Lowenthal, 2002, p. xxiv). I would argue that restoration and preservation sanitises the past, and aestheticizes it for the future, however, I do also note that these are ancient artefacts and there must be some sort of preservation to prevent their demise and deterioration. In reconstructed heritage idealised and romanticised versions of history are explicitly understood to be diversions from or interpretations of the objective past. People may select such constructs because their attributes facilitate the alleviation of present concerns, the escape from present constraints, or the indulgence of a desire for adventure or amusement (Balmer & Hudson, 2013, p. 352).

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[22] Mythical heritage refers to pasts that are fictitious to varying degrees, and which facilitate the projection or escape of consumers into imaginary worlds. 'Mythical heritage is often expressed through fantasy or illusion, especially within communications narratives or in the design of environments' (Maines, et al., 1983) and/or products; a prime example of this is The Leprechaun Museum in Dublin.

In re-telling the past some parts, for various reasons, are expounded and occasionally enhanced, yet others are omitted or over-shadowed (both intentionally and unintentionally) and sometimes the information that has been left out is what reveals the most. Lowenthal argues that this is because 'heritage-mongers feel compelled to cloak [their] wares in historical authenticity. Material relics are scrutinized, memories retrieved, archives examined, monuments restored, re-enactments performed, and historic sites interpreted with painstaking precision. Heritage apes scholarship with factoids and footnotes.... It is all in vain… heritage by its very nature must depart from verifiable truth… to embrace heritage as history, disguising authority as authenticity, cedes it a credence it neither asks nor deserves' (1996, p. 250). Lowenthal's argument is that 'heritage-mongers' require material objects to use as evidence to justify their reading, re-imagining or re-inventing of the past. While material objects are factual evidence of the past, or artefactual history in cell form, it is their interpretation that he questions.

2.7 Heritage in the material and ideal form (thinglike)

Material culture is the study of material objects of the past, objects which have an embedded social form, they are invaluable to the investigation of the past. All man-made objects by their nature, constructed by human hands, contain a social form, be that a use-value or an exchange value. The act of producing in itself embeds the object with human labour. This however is a crude form of materialism that misunderstands the ideal form by purely perceiving it as physiological phenomenon, a 'cerebral neurodynamic process' (Dubrovsky, 1971, p. 189). Levant (2012) argues that from this perspective, the ideal appears as a reflection of the material world produced by the physical brain of an individual[23]. Whereas, Ilyenkov contends that 'the ideal is neither purely mental nor

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[23] 'the process by which the material life-activity of social man [sic] begins to produce not only a material, but also an ideal product, begins to produce the act of idealisation of reality (the process of transforming the "material" into the "ideal"), and then, having arisen, the "ideal" becomes a critical component of the material life-activity of social man, and then begins the opposite process – the

purely physiological, but rather something that exists outside the individual, and confronts her as a 'special reality' with a 'peculiar objectivity' (2012, p. 128) as 'all historically formed and socially legitimised human representations of the actual world ... "things", in the body of which is tangibly represented something other than themselves.' (Ilyenkov, 1977, pp. 153,184,154-5). Human manufactured materials do provide valuable evidence due to their intrinsic composition, where human labour is embodied in its physical construct[24]. This social form is inclusive of the processes that have shaped modern heritage sites and landscapes, as how a place is reconstructed, aestheticized, or preserved provides us with a contemporary reference to the processes, be they political, cultural, social or economic. In other words, reified. As Mc Guire argues, while people create and construct history, they do not do this as individuals acting as they please. People are members of 'social groups whose common consciousness derives from the shared social relations, lived experiences, cultures and ideologies that link them to each other and oppose them to other social groups in the world around them. Their actions are constrained by material conditions and social structures inherited from their past, the products of past human action' (Mc Guire, 1998). However, these constraints never directly or simplistically determine what history or heritage will be, 'because these constraints, whether they be in nature, the economy, social structure, or in culture are, at the same time limiting and enabling' (1998, p. 4). The presentation of heritage like history has been swayed by external influences such as political events, economic cycles and even by climatic events. Heritage has also been continually

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process of the materialisation (objectification, reification, "incarnation") of the ideal' (Ilyenkov, 1977, p. 185).

[24]'Relics of by-gone instruments of labour possess the same importance for the investigation of extinct economical forms of society, as do fossil bones for the determination of extinct species of animals. It is not the articles made, but how they are made, and by what instruments, that enables us to distinguish different economical epochs. Instruments of labour not only supply a standard of the degree of development to which human labour has attained, but they are also indicators of the social conditions under which that labour is carried on' (Marx, 1906).

restructured by cultural fads, changing aesthetic styles, technological advancements and media presentations.

How Ireland's political sentiments have shaped, and moulded heritage is clearly reflected in how the Irish heritage council refer to heritage 'Ireland's heritage coincided with the outward looking era in the 1960s, a time of sustained optimism. Preserving our heritage, was future thinking then, and part of a newfound self-confidence in a still young country (The Heritage Council, 2015, p. 1). Many of these political motivations were based on nationalist opinions and feeling, and while not all Irish heritage is directly attributed to the formation of the Irish nation; all is tainted and touched by the re-imagining or re-invention of the past. Although, it is also necessary to bear in mind that many of the nationalist opinions and feelings were divided and there may be several narratives for each historical/heritage artefact, be that an event, a site, or a monument.

2.8 Politics of heritage

Developed and promoted during the Gaelic revival, the modern Irish state was founded on nationalist ideals. Subsequent to centuries of oppression and laws which stripped the Irish of the native language, customs and land, a growing sentiment for the need for self-government and the revival of Gaelic customs emerged in the late 19th Century. By this time the Irish language had died out except in isolated rural areas; English had become the official and literary language of Ireland. The discovery by philologists, such as John O'Donovan, of how to read Old Irish, in works written prior to 900 AD, and the subsequent translations of ancient Gaelic manuscripts[25], like *The Annals of the Four Masters*, made possible the reading of Ireland's ancient literature. This is when the heroic

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[25] I refer here to written manuscripts, it is generally agreed that both the Irish language and old Irish laws and tales existed in the traditional oral culture from the earliest times and throughout this period, see (Nagy, 1986).

tales caught the imagination of the educated classes[26], and the Gaelic revival commenced. The objectives of the Gaelic revivalists were to revive the Irish language, literature, music, folklore, history, and the arts. Ultimately the goal was to counteract the on-going Anglicisation of Ireland through the re-introduction and the promotion of the Irish language, with the eventual goal of home rule. Much of the literature and documents from this era are biased in favour of the Gaelic revivalist, inflating, exaggerating, and sometimes embellishing the actions of those in the past to promote the use of past ways into the future. This being said much of what was written did come from sources that were strongly backed up with evidence. Inequality and the restrictive regime of the empire served, through famine and emigration, to reduce the Irish population to the lowest in its recorded history by the end of the nineteenth century.

The educated classes were influenced by the reading of the early translated literature. This education in itself provides an indication of the economic status of the individuals involved, as to be well educated in this era in Ireland suggests they must have been wealthy and/or from families positioned in the upper to middle classes in society. Smith identifies nationalism 'as the vehicle of the progressive native bourgeoisies, proletariats and intelligentsias in their struggle against traditional ruler and capitalist colonialist alike' (1978, p. 235). Nevertheless, these were highly influential people who had the ability to have their message heard, setting up several societies and clubs to promote their goal of reviving the Gaelic ways, Young Ireland established the Journal 'The Nation' that published papers from Irish writers like Speranza (pseudonym of Oscar Wilde's mother) celebrated the achievements of Irish literature. From 1833 to 1880 Dublin University published a magazine which often included work from James Clarence

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[26] An indication of the continual Anglisation of Ireland is unwittingly evident in this focus on the written literature and the neglect in the study of the traditional oral culture.

Mangan (Séamus Ó Mangáin), of the Ordnance Survey, who translated Irish poems to English and also employed the Irish style of writing when composing English poetry. Likewise, other renowned writers incorporated aspects of early Irish literature, such as the heroic themes, into their works. However, the emphasis soon shifted to the promotion of the Irish language encouraged by societies like the society for the preservation of the Irish language in 1877, the Gaelic Athletics Association or the G.A.A in 1884 and the Gaelic league or Conradh Na Gaeilge in 1893. Influential figures were keen to highlight the inequality and the suppression of Irish culture, Roger Casement famously stated 'the language that today no Irishman may employ in any public service without fine, or penalty, or loss of some kind, shall, in God's good time, become again as sacred as the Hebrew, as learned as the Greek, as fluent as the Latin, as courteous as the Spanish, as court-like as the French' (Ó Síocháin, 2008). Clubs such as the G.A.A provided an indiscriminate (not class or economic based) service to all people interested in playing 'national' sports, like hurling and Gaelic football, thus providing many with a social and community-based activities for the first time in decades.

Understandably, Irish identity became intertwined with nationalism. As nationalism is such an intrinsic part of this projected Irish identity, it is hence useful to have an overview of what the term nationalism means/implies. Nationalism has been defined by many scholars in many ways. A large body of literature exists that relates to heritage and nationalism, some of the most renowned work has come from Hobsbawm (1994), Anderson (2006) and Trevor-Roper (1992). For Anderson (2006) nationalism is a deep psychological concept of camaraderie and belonging. However, Lowenthal (1996) argues that heritage is not innate or primordial, and that it must be taught to people. Nora and Kritzman (1998) draws a distinction between an elite, institutionalised memory preserved in the archives, and the memory of ordinary people, unrecorded, and ingrained

in the unspoken traditions and habits of everyday life (1998). For Smith there are three definitions, the first is designated as 'nation building' which he contends is as much to do with state-building as national unification. The second is concerned with the broad set of processes which form a national consciousness and create solidarity 'nationalism here is equated with national sentiment' (1978, p. 234) a definition, Smith argues, that is favoured by historians and social psychologists. Finally, Smith's third definition, which he describes as the most specific, confines the term nationalism to an ideological movement where 'the analyst aims to account for the rise, course and effects of ideological movements aiming at autonomy and identity among-certain units of population, defined by at least a minority of its members as worthy of the status of 'nationhood'. Such population units feature ideally a number of traits which mark them off from their neighbours. These usually include a common territory, one or more common elements of culture, a sense of solidarity and an absence of kinship ties' (1978, p. 234).

Kedourie argues that nationalism is based on the doctrine that 'humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self - government' (1961, p. 9). Whereas Hobsbawm argues that nationalism comes from invented traditions 'traditions which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented' (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2000, p. 1). Gellner similarly points out that ''nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it *invents* nations where they do not exist' (1965, p. 169), Anderson contends that nationalism stems from an imagined community by stating 'it is imagined as a *community,* because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this

fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings' (Anderson, 2006, p. 7). Nationalism as a political rhetoric has been intrinsic not only how Irish heritage has been sold and promoted, but also in choosing which sites or artefacts are preserved and protected. Thus, sites that were viewed as connected to the nationalistic doctrine were prioritised and promoted.

2.9 Conclusion

Heritage as a concept is complex and influenced by a multitude of external forces. Heritage has it foundations in history, yet it is not history. History differs from heritage in that it is the telling or the studying of the past, however, like heritage it is constructed, as de Saint-Priest (1842) stated 'the history…...it was written by the victors', demonstrating its fragility. Without doubt heritage too is a social construct, it is the product of political, economic, ecological, and social factors. That being said, certain heritage sites can have global acceptance through the fulfilment of a strict set of criteria determined by organisations such as UNESCO. The advantage of inclusion in the UNESCO world heritage charter can result in a less politicised presentation at the sites. Heritage is a complex and subjective concept. Within the discipline of sociology, the interdependency between individuals, society and its institutions are examined. Heritage, politics, and tourism are prime examples of these institutions. How society perceives their heritage is dependent on a number of factors. While heritage is the transmission of accepted beliefs of what came before, it is socially and politically constructed. Ireland's heritage has been subject to several political orientations, from the colonial to the nationalist perspective, to the contemporary consumer focus. It therefore stands to reason that the presentation of heritage has been altered over time to correspond with these changes, thus heritage is not a definitive concept but one that has and will continue to be

altered to suit the agendas of those in authority. Tourism and heritage are interconnected, in that many countries sell their heritage as the principal visitation draw, Ireland is no different in this regard with two highly successful media campaigns running currently. Ireland has and will continue to be presented to the consumer/tourist as a place of aesthetic beauty, and media will persist in selling the 'gaze', as the visual is about presenting an idealised, picturesque, and unique landscape. Control or the showcasing of the visual is in the hands of those in power and authority, this control enhances power for these authorities, as the presentation of the 'gaze' is delivered from their perspective. Heritage is linked to material artefacts, and these are given various ideal forms, however, these the retrieval and uncovering of many of these objects arises through archaeological discoveries. The next chapter examines and discusses how archaeology has developed in Ireland and the processes involved in the past and its current configuration.

Chapter 3: The development of archaeology in Ireland

Archaeology has and continues to be an essential mechanism in uncovering the past. Fundamentally the central premise of archaeology is to document and explain the origins and development of human culture through material artefacts. These physical structures or material remains constructed by people hold clues to societal structures of the past. The Irish archaeological story began with the emergence of the antiquarian tradition and has continually developed over the centuries into the current "scientific" form of archaeology. In order to understand modern archaeology, and its role in uncovering the cultural history of Ireland it is necessary to trace its progression through time. Beginning with the antiquarian tradition, which in the case of Ireland was conducted through a colonial lens, antiquities became prized personal possessions of the elite minority. Although ancient artefacts were much prized in the early antiquarian tradition, the mistreatment of the monuments and artefacts is still much maligned. Subsequent to antiquarians came modern archaeology and the work of the Ordnance survey office. This was followed by a very different approach motivated by the agenda of the new Irish republic and the politics of republicanism. From its inception archaeology has modified to suit societal demands and swayed by political discourse. In its contemporary form its major concerns relate to tourism and rescue operations. Archaeology today is a profit orientated consultancy business. Much of the excavational and survey work is centred on the construction industry, whether it be for roads or buildings. Many artefacts are removed, recorded, and stored or in some cases reburied beneath the newly built structure. This chapter provides an overview of the development, institutional and societal influences on archaeology. Heritage and archaeology are intrinsically linked.

3.1 The antiquarians

The antiquarian tradition began in Dublin at the beginning of the seventeenth century by Anglo-Irish historian's Ussher[27] and Ware, based on the work of William Camden and the Elizabethans. Through contact with native Irish scholars, who could interpret old Irish chronicles and the mythical Celtic history of Ireland's origins, these men commenced a study of Ireland's dying native tradition (Eogan & Herity, 1989, p. 4). Subsequent to the flight of the earls in 1607 (Smith, 1996) and the Franciscans, the native Irish tradition of Annal writing was on the verge of extinction. Ware employed an interpreter to assist him in translating these Irish chronicles, tales and Annals, to commit authoritative versions to paper before they vanished forever (Walter, 2009 (1739)). The next significant antiquarian endeavour undertaken took the form of '*The history of the survey of Ireland*' between 1656 and 1658, commonly known as the Down survey, conducted on orders by Oliver Cromwell, the colonial head of state for Ireland. This was the first ever detailed land survey, on a national scale, conducted anywhere in the world. The Down Survey sought to survey, and map the entire land of Ireland, in order to inform an ambitious project of social engineering for the massive transfer of land from Irish Catholics to English Protestants (Trinity College Dublin, 2016). Evidently, some of the earliest antiquarian activities were conducted to serve the agenda of the colonial occupiers of Ireland. Although Dublin Philosophical[28] Society continued the collaborative work between the new and the native antiquarian traditions these accounts[29] were produced from a particular position that viewed Ireland as 'infertile ground for the growth of new learning' (Hoppen, 1964, p. 109). Colonialist saw Ireland as a place of lower educational

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[27] Ussher was the Archbishop of Armagh and famously produced *Annales Veteris Testamenti* in 1650 in which he identified the date of creation as 4004BC, based on the Hebrew Bible (Rowley-Conwy, 2007, p. 6).

[28] Founded in 1683 and culturally tied to the Royal society in London, as well as the University of Oxford.

[29] Several antiquarians wrote about individual counties, and thus displayed an appreciation of the value of the earlier historic accounts and the inclusion of the native perspective.

value and asserted 'that some medieval natural philosophers, especially the alchemists and mathematicians, were more advanced than' those of the current era (ibid, 1964, p. 109).

With time the antiquarian studies in Ireland progressed and in 1699 Edward Lhuyd, a curator from Oxford undertook the first large scale investigation into languages, antiquities and natural history of Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Separate specific investigations, on the geology, history, botany, antiquities and folklore were conducted throughout the country. Unfortunately, the majority of the original notebooks have not survived; however, there are a number of the researchers' drawings and letters extant, available through the British Museum. Amongst these antiquarian notebooks, drawings, and descriptions of several of Ireland's monuments, such as Newgrange, Monsterboice and Clonmacnoise survive. Herity argues that these notebooks contained the most detailed documentation of a cross-section of Ireland's monuments, unequalled until the Ordnance Survey works in the 1820s (1989, p. 5). Lhyud was reportedly the first 'scholar' to enter the great passage tomb of Newgrange (Mc Guinness, 1996). Arguably the most significant archaeological monument in Ireland, and one of the oldest globally, his colonial-based assessment of a Roman coin found near the top of the mound was unsurprisingly prejudiced.

> 'The rude carving at the entry and in the cave seems to denote it a barbarous monument, So, the coin proving it ancienter than any invasion of the Ostmans or Danes; and the carving and rude sculpture, barbarous; it should follow, that it was some place of sacrifice or burial of the ancient Irish' (Lhuyd, 1712).

The antiquarian tradition continued into the eighteenth century with the release of a number of publications by Anglo-Irish scholars and the foundation of the Physico-Historical Society (Herries Davies, 2010). This society's self-defined principal purpose was to survey 'Ireland's ancient and present state….and record the antiquities, natural

history, geography, economy, and society of each of Ireland's counties' (Magennis, 2002, p. 199). The results of the research, collected by the society, were intended to be distributed in printed form throughout Ireland, Britain, and Europe. The society produced a wealth of publications up until its conclusion in the mid-eighteenth. In addition to results from the Irish coinage research, were the mineral waters and the properties of Lough Neagh published in 1750s (Magennis, 2002, p. 200). However, it was only the wealthy elite classes who could access these papers, ordinary Irish Catholics were still prohibited from seeking popish education in Ireland until 1782, under the Education Act of 1695 (Crowley, 2000).

In the late eighteenth century, a 'new romantic spirit brought a surge of interest in the past' (Eogan & Herity, 1989, p. 6). The most significant work came from Vallancey between 1770-1804 (Nevin, 1993). Vallancey's main objective was to publish writings of earlier antiquarians, however as the volumes progressed the contributions were made by Vallancey himself, inclusive of his interests in Arabic (Eogan & Herity, 1989). Vallancey believed that all European nations descended from Japhet and was an enthusiastic supporter of the Indo-European concept that all languages descended from the biblical 'original language' (Lennon, 2006). In 1772 the Royal Dublin Society (RDS) founded a committee on Antiquities with Vallancey, the Dean of Aghaboe, and Ledwich[30], holding the position of joint secretary. Ledwich openly opposed Vallancey's views on the ancient Irish, he viewed the early Irish as barbarous, that they had originated in Scandinavia, and that the English colonialization had brought civilisation to Ireland (Lunney, 2004). The society employed various means of collecting data, including advertising in European newspapers seeking manuscripts that had been taken abroad by

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[30] Ledwich published Antiquities of Ireland, which was later discredited because its information was inaccurate (Lunney, 2004).

clerics, soldiers or noblemen after the Williamite Wars or during the penal times, and sent out a survey in a quest for antiquarian information (Eogan & Herity, 1989, p. 6).

Within this period some of the most important and worthwhile research was carried out under the patronage of William Burton Conyngham, the Lord of the Treasury at Dublin Castle, a man of economic means due to an extensive inheritance. He devoted a substantial amount of his finances to antiquarian research and employed two artists, Angelo Bigari and Gabriel Beranger, to describe and draw Wexford and the West of Ireland, as well as detailed drawings of Glendalough (Geoghegan & Lunney, 2006). All Bigari's drawings were published in 1791; although Beranger's drawings were not published, they were used in later publications by Petrie and Vallancey. In addition to Burton's contributions another antiquarian, who also worked at Dublin Castle, Cooper published a collection of drawings of ringforts, churches and towers, castles and megalithic tombs, several of these drawings were copies of original works by Vallancey and others (Eogan & Herity, 1989).

This era of antiquarianism has sparked debate among scholars, Ballantyne believes the work of antiquarians represented an imperial vision of antiquity and was neglectful of the Irish people, as it was conducted by the British elite (2001). This form of antiquarian study is what Trigger defines as 'colonial archaeology' which he contends 'served to denigrate native societies and peoples by trying to demonstrate that they had been static in prehistoric times and lacked the initiative to develop on their own' (1984). Ballantyne concurs by distancing Vallancey and other antiquarians from any Irish tradition. 'In this sense we can understand the work of Celticists such as Vallancey as part of a project of settler self-fashioning, where antiquarianism and ethnology were central in attempts of local settler elites to mark themselves off from their metropolitan counterparts through an engagement with 'indigenous' tradition: an engagement, however, that was profoundly

embedded in the structures of inequality engendered by colonial domination' (2001, p. 37). Lennon disagrees with Ballantyne's claim and maintains that although there may have been an imperialistic perspective in Vallancey and other antiquarian's work, their work directly borrowed from Irish scholars and attempted to modernise and translate a centuries-old tradition (2008). Ballantyne argument is echoed in the work of Harvey 'the British domination of Ireland was mirrored by their parallel domination over representation and interpretation of ancient heritage' (2001, p. 335).

The debate surrounding Newgrange is demonstrative of this perspective of colonial domination and reconstruction. Various antiquarians and amateur archaeologists ascribed Newgrange to non-Irish origins, as the Irish could never have constructed something as complex. In 1699 Lhuyd described Newgrange as 'plainly barbaric' 'a place of sacrifice used by the 'old Irish' and 'too rude for polite people' like the Romans (Mc Guinness, 1996). This reflected the contemporary terrain of cultural power relations in Ireland. Pownall (1773) associated it with ancient Egyptian builders or at least Phoenician (Eriksen, 2008). The basis for his argument came from a flat stone discovered at the entrance to the monument which contained an Ogham inscription. He determined through a linguistic comparison, like Vallancey, that the Ogham inscription originated from the Phoenician script (Roling, 2019). Pownall presented the monument as a previous failed attempt at bringing civilisation to Ireland, he was using this as a justification for the 'improvement' and the wider British colonial project in Ireland.

In 1782 the Royal Irish Academy (R.I.A) was founded and continued in the earlier antiquarian tradition. The academy donated several artefacts, for their security, to the Trinity College Museum, to which the majority of the academy's scholars were connected (RIA, 2020). The academy played a crucial role in the development of scientific scholarship and actively pursued avenues to acquire ancient artefacts and manuscripts, of

which the former eventually formed the nucleus of the archaeological collection of the National Museum of Ireland, which opened its doors in 1890 (NMI, 2020). In 1823 the Ordnance Survey of Ireland (OSI) was set up to provide a more scientific approach to the study of Ireland's cultural landscape (OSI, 2020). The organisation included esteemed scholars such as Petrie, O'Curry and O'Donovan who combined archaeological evidence with topographical information and the study of early Irish manuscripts. The work from these scholars would completely marginalise the earlier tradition of antiquarian speculation (Waddell, 2000, p. 1). For antiquarians in Ireland and Britain the dating of artefacts was achieved through ancient history or ethnology. The use of ancient history and ethnology in Ireland was perceived as the obvious systems of analysis, as the country was unique due to its wealth of ancient manuscripts.

In the context of this study, it is crucial to understand the evolution of the discipline of archaeology, and how it was shaped by societal structures, an example of this lies in how the aging of artefacts was determined. The ancient history dating system in Ireland had two strands the first was based on documentary evidence and linguistic history based on philology. Through this system O'Curry dated the now acknowledge mythological tale of the battle of Moytura, where the Tuatha Dé Danann were victorious over the Firbolg, to 189BC and the arrival of the Milesians to 1694BC (Herity, 2010). O'Curry was a Catholic Irish language specialist and a fervent supporter of Catholic emancipation[31], therefore it was unsurprising that he promoted the use of linguistics for dating. The second strand came from chronologies calculated from the bible (Levy, 2005). Whereas, ethnology employed a comparative of philology and anatomy, mainly craniology, examining the language and the physical attributes of the races. 'Ethnology examined the

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[31] O' Curry composed a poem for Daniel O'Connell, Gaelic revivalist and supporter of catholic emancipation, to celebrate his election to the British parliament (Delaney, 2007).

histories of human racial groups 'from the remote times' (Prichard 1848a:302) and sought to establish the inter-relationships between the various groups' (Rowley-Conwy, 2007). In a society where Christianity was a determining factor and the belief in the bible was an accurate measure of time, the use of biblical references was taken for granted. Therefore, ethnologists did accept and add to the biblical chronology, nevertheless, eventually all of these dating systems would be rejected and the three-age system would become widely recognised and undisputed. The use of the three-age system has become standard practice in modern archaeology, so much so that it is immensely difficult for contemporary archaeologists to conceive the distant past outside of the structure of this model (ibid, 2007).

Thomsen in 1819 revolutionised the discipline of archaeology through the introduction of the three-age system. He defined the three-age system through a method of chronological order, where observations of several artefacts were discovered together in closed finds were recorded and analysed (Heizer, 1964). In this way, he was the first to establish an evidence-based division of prehistory into distinct periods. His influential hypothesis was published in German and Danish in the 1830s, and then followed in English in 1848. Thomsen's system was widely accepted in Scandinavian countries however it was completely shunned by scholars in both Britain and Ireland for forty years. Irish scholars considered their system of dating, through a combination of physical evidence and the analysis of native manuscript sources, as an acceptable methodology. This is illustrated by O'Curry's endeavours to equate various prehistoric implements, objects and weapon finds to similar referred to in early Irish literature. The method is also evident in Petrie's innovative and carefully considered studies of the antiquities on the hill of Tara and of round towers. Stokes stated in his biography of Petrie 'the monument verifies the history, and the history identifies the monument, and both become mutually

illustrative' (1868, p. 95). One of the main reasons for the scepticism of the three-age system in Ireland emerged from the apparently contemporaneous use of stone, copper and bronze. So, when drainage operations in the early 1840s, on the River Shannon at Keelogue, near Portumna, Co. Galway, were said to have uncovered a quantity of stone axes that were stratified some 30cm below a layer of gravel containing bronze weapons, the claim for the discovery of stone and bronze 'relics of very different and distinct periods' prompted considerable controversy (Waddell, 2000, p. 2). Although rejected by Irish scholars the very claim itself was noteworthy, as here we find an early instance of the use of the stratigraphic method that is still the basis of archaeological excavation, and an early appreciation of its use is significant (Waddell, 2000, p. 2).

Thomsen's idea was developed by Worsaae, another distinguished Danish archaeologist, who addressed the R.I.A on two occasions during his visit to Ireland in 1846. While addressing the academy he firmly positioned the Irish megalithic tombs and the 'stone structures called Cromlechs, Druidical altars, etc.', within the Stone age period. Waddell maintains that 'this evolutionary model of successive ages offered a new framework for studying the material remains of the past, one that provided chronological depth and enshrined the principle of the progressive typological development of tools and weapons'(2000, p. 1). Armed with this new and more "scientific" model of dating the physical objects of the past, archaeology in Ireland move out of the antiquarian system.

3.2 The beginning of modern archaeology and the Ordnance Survey of Ireland (OSI)

The first systemic survey of Irish archaeology began in the 1830s when the OSI commenced a methodical programme of recording architectural remains and field monuments throughout the country (OSI, 2020). Waddell contends that although Brian Friel's depiction in *Translations* portrayed the programme as a 'blunt colonial instrument', the survey itself was conducted diligently and sympathetically in

documenting the cultural landscape (2000, p. 1). Petrie who has often been called 'the father of Irish archaeology' was employed in the Topographical Department of the OSI where he recruited Irish language scholars O' Donovan and O'Curry, to research the place names, history and topography of Ireland (Walsh, 2012). The purpose of the Irish Ordnance Survey was to provide a set of detailed and authoritative maps on which a new land valuation could be based. The trigonometrical survey began in 1824, under the supervision and direction of Colby, in Mountjoy House situated in the Phoenix Park in Dublin, where it remains to this day (OSI, 2020).

Arguably the greatest aid to field Irish archaeology arrived in the production of the first edition series of maps, published by the OSI, which were to the scale of 6 inches to the statute mile for the whole island from 1824 to 1846 (Hewitt, 2011). These maps were supplemented by a collection of town plans on a larger scale. This series of maps and plans, as well as being a work of art in their own right, has become one of the most valuable archaeological resources due to their depiction of the landscape, including antiquities and field monuments, just prior to the extensive reorganization of settlements and field boundaries following the Great Famine of 1845–1848 (Andrews, 2002). In addition they also captured the Irish landscape before it was dissected by the railways and by the intensification of the road network construction. Conversely, the most valuable contribution these maps and plans provide to field archaeologist is the representation of many earthworks, which became especially prone to destruction as a result of the rail and road construction processes, such as changes in field boundaries (Eogan & Herity, 1989). This national cartographic coverage was also supplemented to a great extent during the 1930s by the growth in aerial photography (OSI, 2020). Through aerial photography a Birdseye view of the landscape revealed many previously undiscovered archaeological sites, which appear like scars on the land. In dry periods these underground aspects of

monuments and artefact are much more visible and pronounced. Undoubtedly, many current maps are constructed through complex and expensive system using aerial photography. However, this method is relatively new and has only become widely available and extensively used in field archaeology since the latter half of the twentieth century. In addition to mapping the country the OSI documented place names throughout the country (OSI, 2020). Many of the old Irish and Latin names had been anglicised, and in some cases completely altered[32], as was the practice with colonialism, through analysis and translation of old documents they were able to identify hundreds of sites mentioned in old texts, as well as determining the pronunciation and derivation of place names in the field and subsequently collecting and recording each name in a name-book. Within this period 2400 place names were collected and recorded in civil parishes and some suitable suggestions for English translations were placed for each name on the maps (Andrews, 2002).

From the perspective of this research the OSI is a relevant body because of the mapping and uncovering of place names. Some of the scholars contributed to the historical knowledge of the case study sites such as George Petrie on Glendalough. Petrie was the director of the OSI in this era, he has been acclaimed as the father of Irish Archaeology (Walsh, 2012). Eogan contends that Petrie's 'clear-minded approach and his respect for Baconian logic helped to bring Irish antiquarianism from the extremes of the romantic phase into harmony with the more logical and scientific spirit of nineteenth century science' (1989, p. 8). His work on monastic architecture contained not only original essays on round towers, but also included works on 'our ancient stone churches and other

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[32] Nash (1999) and Withers (2000) have demonstrated just how politicised the naming of places in the landscape can be. It seems that this situation was already recognized by the British Government in the nineteenth century, when, in 1842, through direct involvement of the Prime Minister, the historical department of the OSI was closed down, leaving John O'Donovan without a job or power-base (Sheehy, 1980, p. 20).

ecclesiastical buildings, of contemporaneous age with the round towers' (1970:1845, p. v), including a body of work on Glendalough (Mc Guinness, 2009). Petrie's most valuable work on Round towers, built between the fifth and the thirteenth centuries, he surmised were meant to serve as belfries to Christian churches, and were used as keeps, places of strength or refuge for the inhabitants in times of danger, in which the sacred utensils, books, relics, and other valuables were deposited (Walsh, 2012). Petrie also suggested that the towers most probably used as watchtowers and beacons when occasions required. These conclusions regarding the Christian origins of round towers are now generally accepted by archaeologists and antiquarians. Finally, he considered that the majority of the small churches were generally contemporaneous with the introduction of Christianity into Ireland (Eogan & Herity, 1989).

Many of Petrie's works benefitted through his collaborations with O'Donovan and O'Curry, who brought their expertise on manuscripts and language. Substantiated by this work with these men, Petrie strengthened his arguments with the use of ancient historical sources. He stated that his conclusions were supported by 'careful examination…..while our ancient records[33], and every other probable source of information, have been searched for facts or notices as might contribute to throw light upon their history' (1970:1845, p. 2). His innovative and detailed compositions 'brought order and logic to a subject that had long excited antiquarian attention' (Eogan & Herity, 1989, p. 9). Subsequent to a life devoted to Irish antiquities and archaeology, Petrie deduced several theories about the origins of artefacts and monuments in Ireland. Unlike most of his predecessors he attributed the construction of these ancient monuments[34] to the native Irish, so much so

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[33] Thus, encasing the actual real artefacts.
[34] Deane maintained that the great cashels of the west and south, like those of Dún Aonghasa on Inishmore, and the passage tombs of Newgrange, Knowth and Dowth, were the result of work by Greek colonists who settled in Ireland and the southern part of England at a very remote period (Harvey, 2003).

that he referred to these Anglo-Irish interpretations as 'puerile, and scarcely deserv[ing] of serious notice' (1833, p. 306). For Petrie Newgrange was no 'rude nor barbarous mound' but should have been hailed as 'the Pyramid of Ireland' (Ibid, 1833, p.306). Like O'Curry and O'Donovan his colleagues and contemporaries Petrie believed that it was a matter of the nation's honour that Newgrange and other archaeological monuments which portrayed indisputable evidence of a great and glorious 'golden age' of Ireland's past should be attributed to the Irish of the past (Harvey, 2003, p. 480). Although Petrie is referring to an ancient monument his comment is firmly situated in the political present, of the time, and focussed on the future as 'ancient monuments are produced for the future' (Holtorf, 2001, pp. 211-15). Monuments were built by people of the past, but their interpretation is situated in the present, as are the decisions about which ideal forms they have ascribed to them. This Harvey contends appears 'to be at the forefront of such cultural production; potent memory factories, whose output consists of mediated memories that herald what is to come. Possessing the integrity of the deep past and legitimacy of widely acknowledged symbolic capital, the negotiation of meaning at ancient monuments is cast upon a background of contemporary cultural production and machinations of a dynamic and contested identity politics' (2003, p. 476). However, for the purposes of this research Petrie's landscape artistry provided sketches and watercolours of Glendalough's picturesque landscape as well as many pictures of physical archaeological artefacts and their relevance is discussed in detail within the chapter on the aesthetics of Glendalough.

3.3 Political influences on archaeology

Archaeology became ever more embroiled in politics into the nineteenth century with key figures attached to the Gaelic league. The Gaelic league's premise was to encourage the use of the Irish language in order to counteract the ongoing Anglicisation of the country which Hyde referred to as 'the necessity for de-Anglicising' (1894, p. 117). It contained

a circle of literary men and artists who promoted the Gaelic revival. Additionally, within this era archaeology began to be considered as a profession of expertise. One of the Gaelic league's associates, Coffey, has been hailed as the 'first professional archaeologist' (Eogan & Herity, 1989, p. 12) a sentiment echoed by Waddell who states that 'he deserves to be remembered as Ireland's first archaeologist of international stature' (2000, p. 3). In his study on Newgrange, like many of his contemporaries, he ascertained that the spiral design on the rocks originated from the eastern Mediterranean in approximately 1600 BC 'Ireland during the Bronze Age was not isolated but stood in direct communication with the continent. Aegean and Scandinavian influences can be detected in the great tumuli of the Newgrange group, and Iberian influence is discernible in some of the later types of bronze implements' (Coffey, 1913). Through Coffey's various publications he demonstrated a 'breadth of scholarship and an appreciation of the significance of typological evolution and of the chronological importance of associated finds' (Waddell, 2000, p. 3).

Irish archaeology became much more "scientific" in the early twentieth century when the three-age system was finally accepted as an accurate dating model (Waddell, 2000, p. 3). This framework has been further modified since and is still widely used today. Irish archaeology received a breath of new life with the arrival of Macalister in 1909, when he was appointed chair of Celtic Archaeology at UCD, where he taught until 1943. Fresh from his work as the director of the Palestine Exploration Fund, he brought an innovative method of investigation to the Irish archaeological field. Waddell maintains that from this authoritative position Macalister 'became the dominant force in Irish archaeology for several decades' (Waddell, 2000, p. 4). Macalister exercised an interdisciplinary approach using anthropological and historical interpretations, which was reflective of the earlier

work of Wood-Martin[35] (Brennan, 1973). Macalister may have been regarded as the foremost archaeologist of the day 'no one has done more for archaeology in Ireland than 'Mac' (as he was affectionately called)' (Evans, 1951). Yet, he was not the choice of the newly formed Irish free state for the director of the National Museum of Ireland. Even though Macalister was a member of the 'The Society of Irish Tradition' (Stephens, 1999), the director position was awarded to Adolf Mahr.

Appointed as the director of the National Museum in 1934, Adolf Mahr was an Austrian Celtic archaeologist and an official member of the Nazi party (History Ireland, 2018). Reputedly employed in this position by De Valera because of his international reputation, despite the fact he was not an Irish citizen. Carew (2018, p. 31) contends that purportedly no other candidates were considered for the position and the Estyn Evan's claimed that there were several 'excellent applicants for the post from Britain' (1996, p. 217). Mahr was also not British, an essential implicit prerequisite for employment in the newly formed Irish Free State. De Valera made an unspoken policy to seek out international expertise for positions such as this. He enthusiastically embraced the fact that a Danish expert was secured for the Quaternary Research Committee and backed the acquisition of a Scandinavian scholar for the establishment of the Folklore Commission (Carew, 2018).

3.4 Archaeology towards and in the New Republic

Irish archaeology, like archaeology in many other countries, has been highly politicized and has been written in and for the present. Frequently scholars link these archaeological

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[35] Wood-Martin carried out a number of archaeological excavations on monuments such as Carrowkeel, and Deerpark, Co. Sligo, he also wrote the history of Sligo county and town, in three volumes, which tell the story of the area from ancient times to the contemporary in the late 19th century, in this he included many now acknowledged mythological tales.

cultures to social structures in modernity and use them to justify nationalistic agendas (Cooney, 1996). This form of politicisation is not new, although several scholars link the re-writing of Ireland's archaeological and historical story to the Gaelic revival in the Nineteenth century (Kiberd, 1979), and setting up of the Irish republic in the early twentieth century. This position neglects to include the earlier forms under colonialism. Grahame Clark maintains that a slow-down of activity occurred in Irish archaeology, after an initial burst of work after the post-independent period, reflecting the political nature of archaeology and its involvement in establishing national identity (2014). The following quote from Macalister sums up the sentiment of the era;

> 'In these tempestuous days of ours, the young Free State of Ireland trims her argosy, and sets forth in courage and aspiration to voyage over the uncharted seas of the future. Four thousand years ago her people guided the first faltering steps of the folk of the North on the way to civilisation. Twelve hundred years ago they shepherded a war-broken Europe upon the way of learning and the way of life. May she prove worthy of her ancient past; may she find that once more she has a mission to a bewildered, rudderless world: and may God be her speed in its fulfilment' (Macalister, 1928, p. 357).

The 1930s marked a significant period of work in archaeology. Trigger contends that Irish archaeology had the characteristics of nationalist archaeology[36], like Clark, he questions why the country had little interest in prehistoric archaeology[37].

Nationalism has been defined in many ways by many theorists. Two of the most prominent authors on the subject of nationalism are Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm. Anderson argues that nationalism is a cultural artefact and not a self-conscious political ideology; he also maintains that it emerged in the eighteenth century due to an amalgamation of distinct connected historical forces (Anderson, 2006). For

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[36] Nationalist archaeology "has stimulated asking questions about local cultural configurations and ethnicity that evolutionary and colonially oriented archaeologists did not consider worthwhile…. and has encouraged the misinterpretation of archaeological data for political purposes" (Trigger, 1995, p. 212).

[37] Prehistoric archaeology contributed little to the nationalist agenda, where the narrative firmly placed Ireland's roots to the time of Christianity, the golden age of saints and scholars devoid of the invading colonialists influences. In other words, Ireland was depicted as an ideological utopia, holy and educated, the opposite of the historic colonial narrative.

Anderson the rise of print capitalism and the access to print in vernacular languages spurred on the invention of 'Imagined communities'. Nationalism developed from the connections of commonality in language. Although Anderson's approach has exposed some of the myths surrounding nationalism that suppose the process of nation is fundamentally 'primordial', he has come under a number of criticisms. Like Anderson, Hobsbawm has written extensively on the subject of nationalism. Hobsbawm does not consider nationalism as an ancient tradition, but rather emerging as a product of modernity, socio-economic and political forces in the nineteenth century (E.J.Hobsbawn, 1994). Unlike Anderson, Hobsbawm does not associate nationalism with language. Through nationalism, the concept of patriotism developed, termed by Hobsbawm as a false consciousness. Patriotism and nationalism have been utilised to promote political agendas.

The role of nationalism in Irish archaeology has been explicitly recognised as an important and relevant topic of research and debate. It is clear that nationalism has had a major influence on the way in which antiquarianism and archaeology have developed in Ireland (Cooney, 2015, p. 146). Trigger has identified the existence of a number of traditions within the discipline of archaeology, namely nationalist and imperialist archaeologies. These are ideal types; however, many archaeological traditions contain elements of more than one (Trigger, 1984, pp. 358,368). He contends that 'most archaeological traditions are probably nationalistic in orientation' and that nationalist archaeology 'is probably strongest amongst people who feel politically threatened, insecure or deprived of their collective rights' (Trigger, 1984, p. 358). Trigger has also drawn attention to the connections of this form of archaeology to history and that it 'tends to draw attention to the more recent past….to the political and cultural achievements of ancient civilisation or other forms of complex societies' (1984, pp. 358,360).

One of the fundamental features of nationalism is that it utilises certain episodes from the past to legitimise the state's existence both nationally and internationally (Coakley, 2010). Irish nationalists had to do two things in the early use of archaeology (Hutchinson, 2003), philology and history. Firstly, justify an independent Ireland to the rest of the world through historical precedent. Secondly, form a true national identity through a system where the inhabitants of Ireland identified and prided themselves on having an entirely unique and separate nationality and culture from any other nation (Tolbert, 2013). This nationalistic sentiment is evident in Macalister's work at the time, in which he states;

> 'In speaking of the antiquities of the period, it will be unnecessary to make more than passing allusions to those remains which are English in all but geographical situation. Such subjects are cross-legged effigies, pavements tiles, Plantagenet coins, arms and armour are a branch of English archaeology and even their extension to Ireland is much more a matter of English than Irish interest' (1928, p. 356).

It is along this premise that Irish archaeology can be classified as belonging to this nationalist tradition (Cooney, 2015). Cooney further contends that there are several reasons for this assertion. To begin with as the character of contemporary archaeology is 'categorised as predominately pragmatic and non-theoretical, issues such as nationalism and the political dimensions of archaeological practice are not in general seen as particularly relevant by archaeologists' (2015, p. 146). However, it is also apparent that nationalism did not influence archaeology in isolation because contemporary intellectual thought and research methods have evolved over time, as has the concept of nationalism itself, evident within the antiquarian era.

Additionally, nationalism in Ireland is composed of two unique strands, firstly, the widely recognised Irish nationalism, and secondly, Unionist nationalism. Unionist nationalism is however more often regarded as tradition rather than nationalism, or as Anderson (2006) would term an imagined community containing as much supporting symbolism and authenticity as the more widely recognised Irish nationalism. Todd therefore contends

that although the establishment of the Irish state as an independent entity from Britain was the driving force of Irish nationalism, the foundations of unionism in Northern Ireland in the 1920s was a legitimate demonstration of their right to self-determination and political recognition within the country (Todd, 1990). For Trigger, archaeology has played a pivotal role in providing a sense of belonging to minorities in nation states. He does however argue 'the intellectual strategies of incorporation have been labelled nationalist' (1992) and this is where the line between nationalism and colonialism becomes blurred. Symbolic representation can occur as the tangible or the intangible, however, it was the tangible monuments that were the initial focus of the new republic, as physical structures were seen as providing adequate proof of a unique and separate ancient Irish identity.

In 1930 the state enacted the National Monuments Act which states 'the expression "*national monument*" means a monument or the remains of a monument, the preservation of which is a matter of national importance by reason of the historical, architectural, traditional, artistic or archaeological interest attaching thereto'(The Office of the Attorney General, 1930). Additionally, this Act provided for the preservation, guardianship and the acquisition of monuments, restricted the exportation of archaeological artefacts and gave the requirements for the licensing of excavations. Cooney asserts that 'artefacts and monuments, particularly those of a sacred or religious nature, become icons, visual and ever-present reminders to reinforce or invent links with the past, which is of such importance in sustaining a sense of national identity' (2015). Armed with this new vested interest in the artefacts and monuments of Ireland, archaeology was entrusted with the task of investigating all and any links to the ancient Irish past.

A new era of archaeological studies commenced in the 1930s and was marked by a series of field surveys and a number of significant excavations performed to a modern standard

(Eogan & Herity, 1989). Within this period the Harvard scholars Hencken and Movius came to Ireland with the intention of excavating several sites (Carew, 2018). O'Sullivan et al. contend that 'the expedition was strongly welcomed by the Irish Free State and broadly welcomed by Irish archaeologists for their large-scale systematic excavations and publishing experience and is commonly seen as having a transformative influence on the development of Irish archaeology'(2010, p. 3). The Harvard scholars' contributions brought about 'major, long-standing and very significant transformations to Irish archaeology'(O'Sullivan, et al., 2010, p. 3). A Government Special Employment Scheme initiated in 1934 provided significant amounts of state expenditure on excavation, this investment led to 26 such excavations being undertaken over the following four years alone. From 1945 onwards a dramatic increase of large-scale excavations and field surveys occurred, under the auspices of the OSI (O'Sullivan, et al., 2008). Additionally, since 1950 the OPW has conducted and published county surveys in both Belfast and Dublin. Of these advancements Eogan maintains that 'the publication of these surveys and of corpus studies of museum objects will bring prehistoric studies in Ireland on to a new plane and facilitate and broaden the scope of future synthesis of our prehistory'(1989, p. 14).

With the formation of the new Irish Free State the focus of Irish archaeology was firmly embedded in the early Christian and prehistoric periods before the coming of the Scandinavian and the Anglo-Norman invaders (Parkinson, et al., 2016). It is entirely understandable that this focus was placed on areas of pre-colonial Ireland in order to establish a feeling of security within a newly founded state (Orser Jr, 2016). Ireland's independence from Britain came after 800 years of occupation and domination and thus making Ireland from 1922 onwards essentially a new country. For a new state finding its way among the global community of nations in the troubled early years of the twentieth

century, it was inevitable that it would wish to emphasise its own unique cultural identity, free from the impact of the aforementioned invaders and colonisers (Kumar & Scanlon, 2019). By 1930 archaeology had developed into a self-consciously scientific professional discipline (O'Sullivan, et al., 2010, p. 3). Principally the discipline was led by university academics. Subsequent to the Harvard mission, archaeological excavations in Ireland began to develop a special focus on the medieval period. In 1956 trial excavations were undertaken at Ireland's most renowned prehistoric site, Newgrange, funded by An Bord Fáilte (Irish tourist board). Newgrange and the tombs in the Boyne Valley complex are one of only two world heritage sites in Ireland (Dept. Envirnoment, Heritage and Local Government, 2020), and therefore from a tourism perspective are extremely valuable draws to the country. Thus, the tourist board's interest in the Boyne Valley's great passage tombs is unsurprising Glyn Daniel has referred to 'one of the glories of Ireland— ancient or modern' (1964, p. 12), and today Newgrange remains one of the biggest visitor attractions in Ireland. Ultimately, these excavations at Newgrange were to attract tourists, however, the reconstruction of Newgrange has been described as a monstrosity. The work commenced in 1962, and in 1963 the most significant discovery was made, the roof box, which channels the mid-winter sun (winter Solstice on the 21st of December annually) into the back of the chamber, although he did not physically witness the illumination until 1969 (Stout, 2004, p. 44). Ultimately it is this unique feature that has made Newgrange the most alluring site for tourists in Ireland. This is evident in the Newgrange Solstice lottery where 50 names are drawn each year to witness the phenomenon, in 2015 the entries amounted to 30,475 (Newgrange.com, 2016).

How Newgrange was reconstructed has been the topic of debate for many years. Subsequent to O'Kelly's deconstruction of the site during excavations he determined that a concrete dome should be erected to protect the monument for the future (O'Kelly &

O'Kelly, 1982). While arguably his intentions were admirable, the insertion of concrete into the monument itself set out a course of artificial reconstruction (Marshall, 2004). Additionally, O'Kelly also concluded that the thick layer of quartz stones he had discovered, spreading out in front of the tomb kerbstones for a distance of approximately 7m, represented the remains of a collapsed wall. Thus, he recommended that a quartz facade be added to the tomb. However, as the quartz wall was deemed too unstable to support the weight of the cairn on its own, a 4m high, reinforced steel and concrete wall had to be erected behind it (O'Kelly & O'Kelly, 1982). The quartz stones were then embedded into the concrete creating a dramatic white glistening introduction for future visitors. The addition of the concrete wall and the quartz façade has come under a large amount of criticism (Stout & Stout, 2008). Eogan asserts that the vertical wall of quartz could not have been constructed without concrete, a technique unavailable to the tomb's original architects. So when Professor Eogan discovered a similar quartz layer at Knowth, he allowed the pieces to remain as found, as a layer of white carpeting on the ground (2003). Knowth is no less impressive than Newgrange and in some respects more impressive than the more famous site, with building materials sourced from places such as County Antrim and County Wicklow (May, 2003). The fundamental difference in the archaeological work at both sites is evidenced immediately in their reconstructions. Eogan's reconstruction of the Knowth is comparatively less dramatic and more sympathetic to the constraints of the Neolithic architects and their successors, than O'Kelly's work at Newgrange (Cooney, 2015). Arguably the excavational work at Knowth occurred later in the twentieth century than O'Kelly's work at Newgrange when the political and economic agendas had begun to alter. However, it is evident that the influence or direction of the principal archaeologist on both sites had a major impact on their reconstructions.

While many institutions and their remits have remained static since the foundation of the Irish state, over the more recent decades different approach to archaeological investigation has been pursued by scholars. An acceptance emerged that some of contributions by the British colonialists and Scandinavian invaders were positive, and that they have contributed to Ireland's culture and historical development. In the 1970s Dublin Corporation approved a plan to build Civic Offices on a site at Wood Quay despite expert warnings about its archaeological importance (Waddell, 2000). There a Norse settlement site was uncovered, through archaeological excavations. The Viking remains unearthed were among the most important found anywhere in Europe, as they provided clear evidence of the settler's contribution to trade and the origins Dublin's urban development. In September 1978 approximately '20,000 people marched in Dublin to protest against the building of Civic Offices at Wood Quay and what they saw as the destruction of their Viking heritage'(RTÉ, 2016). The Wood Quay protests showed that the Irish people were not only willing to accept these contributions but also were willing to defend the site as part of the country's heritage. Although this protest was held more than 40 years ago it is apparent that this discourse to protect Irish heritage, in whatever guise, is now the predominate principle. This principle is reflected in what is the mandate of the government;

> 'The importance we place on our sense of identity and culture is reflected in how we respect, care for and celebrate our heritage. How we commemorate the people, and events of our past, as well as the cultural heritage that has been left to us, can be varied and complex. It is often rooted in traditions that may have changed over time — but commemoration is still important to us today.'(The National Monuments Service of the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, 2013).

In 1973 Ireland gained membership to the European Economic Community (EEC), latterly the European Union (EU), an event which had an unanticipated yet significant impact on Irish archaeological research (O'Sullivan & Harney, 2008). Initially the EEC

began providing grants for farm improvements. During the course of these improvements many farmers discovered items and sites of archaeological significance and as a direct result full excavations on a number of sites were conducted prior to their removal (The Heritage Council, 1999). In the latter half of the 1980s the EU structural funds were reformed, this resulted in increased capital expenditure on regional development and infrastructure. 'These provided financial support for a number of important large-scale infrastructural projects, such as cross-country gas pipelines and road-building schemes' (O'Sullivan, et al., 2010).

The funds were of particular benefit to the Republic of Ireland in during the 1990s and into the early 2000s (Ronayne, 2008). As opposed to the earlier 'farm improvement schemes, which were generally limited to a single archaeological site, the scale of these projects was unprecedented, opening up vast swathes of countryside or built-up areas' (O'Sullivan, et al., 2010, p. 5). Although the quantity of excavations increased during this period the scale of sites were restricted to the parameters of the proposed road or gas pipeline routes (Stanley, 2017). These restrictions meant that even at the most archaeologically significant sites that large portions of the sites remained unexcavated and as a result physical evidence from the surrounding areas could not be attained.

With this increased momentum in infrastructural and regional development the number of excavations escalated and demand for archaeologist grew, from this demand emerged the first 'contract archaeologists'. As Ronayne contends 'most archaeologists are now employed by private companies on temporary, short-term contracts' (2008, p. 115). The privatisation of the profession is not new or unique to Ireland (McGuire and Walker, 1999; Cumberpatch and Blinkhorn, 2001; Everill, 2007). Privatisation occurred in other countries in tandem with an increasing corporate control of universities as well as bureaucratic pressure on academics to orient teaching to meet the needs of industry

(Waddell, 2006; Everill, 2007; Ronayne 2008). In Ireland the majority of the projects were developer funded archaeological excavations and were licensed under strict EU legislative regulations. Ireland adopted the EU regulations as stipulated in European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage or the 'Valetta Convention' in 1997 (Raftery & Halpin, 1999). The adoption of Valetta had a major impact on archaeology in Ireland. Whilst licensing of archaeological excavations was standard practice these new regulations set out uniform codes of practice and standardised the Irish licensing process. It also established conduct agreements with the commercial sector and state agencies such the Departments of the Environment, Heritage, the National Roads Authority, and local government bodies by the latter half of the 1990s (O'Sullivan, et al., 2010, p. 5).

During the 'Celtic Tiger' period from the late 1990s to mid-2000s major residential, commercial, and infrastructural projects occurred in the Republic of Ireland. A code of Practice was agreed with the National Roads Authority (NRA) in 2000, marking a radical departure from previous strategies of archaeological assessment (Stanley, 2017). This new code set out a range of required new techniques, such as geophysical survey, in addition to more comprehensive line testing along with 'monitoring along the proposed road take and agreed to actively seek out and fully preserve by record all known and previously unknown archaeological sites'(O'Sullivan, et al., 2010, p. 6). However, despite all of these new regulations, controversy still emerged over the loss of valuable heritage sites.

In 2006, an unpredicted number of excavations occurred in Ireland which according to Database of Irish Excavation reports amounted to 2214, in that year alone. When this figure is compared to subsequent years there is evidence of a dramatic decline, culminating in just 151 being carried out in 2015 (Wordwell, 2016). One of the most controversial excavations occurred along the route of the M3 motorway, which was proposed and ultimately went through the Gabhra Valley at Tara. Prior to the construction

of the motorway several renowned scholars from the fields of archaeology, history and heritage expressed their frustration and said of the proposed plans 'if Tara is a symbol of our national and cultural identity, this roadway will stand as a permanent monument to a loss of direction, meaning and identity'(Bhreathnach, et al., 2004). The governmental response attempted to reassure people that the site was being excavated and developed with the upmost care and that the motorway was essential for the growth of rural areas in Ireland, as it would potentially attract business and be useful for the increasing demand of commuter services.

From an archaeology perspective, the motorway allowed archaeologist access to many under and non-researched significant ancient historical sites, which without the infrastructural development funding would never have occurred. However, one of the country's most well-respected archaeologist, George Eogan, did publicly condemn the process by stating 'I am horrified...it is a disastrous situation. I had known this site, I was here firstly many, many years ago, and it was a reasonably well-preserved site. But now, part of it has now been completely and absolutely destroyed. And what is happening here is one of the greatest shameful acts of cultural vandalism that took part in any part of Europe' (Murphy, 2012).

3.5 Conclusion

Archaeology is the discipline of uncovering the past through the excavation and discovery of the material remains of the past. These material artefacts are the foundational anchors of the heritage industry and provide an insight into the structures and events of the societies which came before. From the perspective of the ideal form material objects are key to the contemporary construction of heritage, where even seemingly insignificant things can become embroiled in narrative and embedded with social forms. This chapter examined how the discipline of archaeology developed in Ireland from the colonial

antiquarian tradition through to the newly formed Republic and on into its contemporary structure. Archaeology has through its existence in Ireland been impacted upon by political agendas and influences. For this research it was crucial to demonstrate that archaeology is key to heritage, and how it is more than merely a method of retrieving material remains of the past, but also how it is swayed by external forces. Heritage requires artefacts to demonstrate in a visual and physical sense that the past existed, but also as a method of promotion. Heritage and archaeology are more than just linked they are dependent on one and other. Evidently contemporary archaeology in Ireland has become intrinsically linked to economic and development structures. Many would argue that the archaeological excavations, and the ensuing numerous significant discoveries, since the 1980s, would not have occurred if the EU development funds were not made available to the country. However, this economic attachment is not new as evinced by the excavation and reconstruction of sites like Newgrange, where arguably the primary governmental focus was on the desirability to the tourist industry. It is entirely understandable from the archaeologist's standpoint that these investments only serve to create opportunities to investigate Irish history and heritage. It could then be argued that as a direct consequence of how archaeology in Ireland operates, it has lost a fundamental piece of foundational philosophy. This being said, although archaeology as a discipline is rooted in the discovery and the preservation of the past, it operates in present and is therefore confined to the planning processes as they currently exist.

Chapter 4: Discovering the past, archaeological approaches

Heritage as a concept is not disciplinarily specific. In order to understand how heritage is constructed it is crucial to investigate the major influencing fields of sociology and archaeology. In this chapter I address heritage from the archaeological perspective, as well as discussing the theoretical area of space and place and how this connects to the ideal form. Archaeology has several different theoretical approaches. From the cultural historical to landscape perspectives, an overview of each of these perspectives and their social forms with their specific trajectories to uncover the past, is provided here. Archaeology in Ireland is a well-established discipline which reaches back to the antiquarian era. It spans from the colonial period to the contemporary era. As a discipline archaeology has altered over time, it has been influenced by politics, social, economic systems as well as ecological conditions, and these alterations are clearly evident in the Irish context. From a sociological perspective how archaeologists view space and place and how society has impacted on the landscape is crucial to understanding the landscape. This perspective provides the background for understanding contemporary heritage sites alongside how they are constructed and presented for consumption. For Glendalough the landscape and what is visually apparent provides a rich tapestry for investigation. Whereas, in the case of Durrow the lack of archaeology objects on the landscape offers a significant comparative. An understanding the key approaches taken by archaeologists is vital for a comprehension of how heritage is constructed.

4.1 Archaeological approaches

Currently there are four major theoretical archaeological approaches, with cultural history being the oldest and most established of these (Trigger 1992). The central goal of cultural history is to describe the distribution of archaeological discoveries in time and space and

categorize them into archaeological cultures (Mc Guire, 1998). Cultural historical archaeologists group sites into distinct cultures in order to determine their geographic spread and time span. Working from this premise they then begin to reconstruct interactions and the transmission of knowledge between these cultural groups. This idea of relationships between cultures was first explored and expanded upon by Vere Gordon Childe. Childe stated,

> 'we find certain types of remains — pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites and house forms — constantly reoccurring together. Such a complex of associated traits we shall term a 'cultural group' or just a 'culture'. We assume that such a complex is the material expression of what today would be called a 'people' (1929, pp. v-vi).

The implication has been that the material gathered from archaeology is primary; speaking for itself, that the acquisition of more information is the primary goal, and that limitations in the data prevents reconstruction of many aspects of life in the past (Cooney, 1995). Therefore, the internal view of the discipline has developed as an "objective" presentation of a fractured past. A positivist scientific theory developed in the United States during the mid-1960's stressed the scientific explanations of cultural change. Through an incorporation of a variety of approaches this positivist perspective, which includes processualists (Redman, 1991) and Darwinian selectionists (Boone & Smith, 1998), advocates a complex adaptive system (Gumerman & Gell-Mann, 1994). In this empirical tradition, the influence of processual archaeology has been primarily in the area of data analysis. Various strands of post-processual archaeology have been largely grouped together with processual archaeology as 'new archaeology', or else have been ignored. Mc Guire contends that 'all positivists share the notion that through scientific methods archaeologists can come to an objective knowledge of the world' (1998). During the 1980's a post-modernist theory began to develop in England. This theory argued that the archaeological record could be interpreted in many ways, like a text, and that objective

knowledge was thus impossible (Hodder & Preucel, 1996). The focus of this approach has been on critiquing our interpretations of the world. Finally, in Europe and the United States feminist archaeology has emerged. This framework places gender as central to the discipline (Gilchrist, 1994). Feminist scholars such as Wylie have contemporaneously contributed to this debate demonstrating that this approach is still relevant (Wylie, 2007).

4.2 Processual archaeology

Beginning in 1958, Wiley and Philips proposed that with the rigorous use of scientific methods it was possible to go beyond the limits of the archaeological record and make innovative discoveries and interpreted how the people who used the artefacts lived (1958). Colin Renfrew, a proponent of the new processual archaeology, observed that it focuses attention on 'the underlying historical processes which are at the root of change' (1987, p. 6). Archaeology, he noted 'has learnt to speak with greater authority and accuracy about the ecology of past societies, their technology, their economic basis and their social organization. Now it is beginning to interest itself in the ideology of early communities: their religions, the way they expressed rank, status and group identity' (1987, p. 6). The theoretical framework of processual archaeology is embedded in cultural evolutionism, and thus, the majority of processual archaeologists are cultural evolutionists. Practitioners of this form of archaeology believe they can understand past cultural systems through the remains left behind.

Processual archaeology had three central tenets; firstly, archaeology is a science and should be treated as such. Traditionally archaeology had been seen as a branch of history (or in North America a sub-branch of Anthropology), with an explicate focus on the past, where data was gathered to set chronologies and to collect site specific assemblages. The new or processual archaeologists argued that archaeology should be focussed on explanation, as defined by logical positivism, as opposed to explication.

Scientific explanations would demand that archaeologists focus on dynamic systems; an approach called systems theory (similar to structural functionalism in sociology), in order to discern the complex factors driving cultural change and explain how people adapt to the environmental factors[38] that drive cultural change[39]. Secondly, for processualists a focus on culture process was crucial. Processualists argued that historical archaeology, in collecting and logging artefacts, merely presented a snapshot of phases of occupation and did not provide a full representation of the reality. However, by focusing on the complex interrelation between cultural and environmental factors, that contribute to archaeological and cultural change over time, processual archaeologists were able to generate a more flexible and realistic understanding of the past. Thirdly, processualists advocated that an expressly theoretical approach was necessary. The theoretical goals of processual archaeology produced a number of methodological changes in how archaeology was and continues to be practiced, resulting in a strong focus on survey, the integration of a wide range of new types of data, and on the replacement of the individual archaeologist for archaeological teams of experts, who represent a number of fields that can contribute to the explanation of the past.

Leslie White's theory that culture can be defined as the exosomatic[40] means of environmental adaptations for humans as fundamental for processual archaeologists (1959, p. 8). This means that they study cultural adaptation to environmental changes, rather than the bodily adaptation over time. Similar to naturalism, where reality exhausted by nature, exosomatic adaption deems that culture is determined by environmental

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[38] Environmental factors such as weather, drought, flooding, soil types and climate. These factors determine where people can live, what food sources can be grown or produced and what kind of structures they can build for habitation or other cultural activities.

[39] These environmental changes can be assessed through the use of Palaeo-environmental studies, where soil and pollen samples are taken and analysed (O'Carroll, et al., 2015).

[40] Leslie White argued that culture can be defined as the exosomatic, outside of the body, means of environmental adaption for humans (1949).

constraints. The environmental adaptation focus is based on cultural ecology and multi-linear evolution ideas from anthropologists, like Julian Steward. With exosomatic adaptation, culture is determined by environmental constraints. As a result, processual archaeologists contend that cultural change occurs within a predictable framework and therefore seek to understand it by the analysis of its components. Furthermore, as this framework is predictable, then science is the key to unlocking how those components interacted with the entire culture. To processual archaeologists, cultural changes are driven by evolutionary processes within cultural development. These adaptations are relative to the environment and therefore not only understandable, but also scientifically predictable, once the interactions between the processes are identified. When this system is implemented correctly one should be able to reconstruct these cultural processes. It is from this interactional analysis of process that produced the name, processual archaeology. Like any research method or theoretical framework critiques are inevitable.

4.3 Critiques of processual archaeology

Almost as soon as processual archaeology began, critiques emerged, these critiques initiated a theoretical movement that later became known as post-processualism. These post-processualist critics considered processualism as having several weaknesses, such as environmental determinism, where the physical environment predisposes human social development towards particular trajectories. The critics also argued that processualism failed to consider factors such as ethnicity, gender, social relations, or identity, while also discounting the influence of human agency and questioned the objectivity of interpretation. It also neglects to address how society can and has, altered and manipulated their natural environment. Additionally, a number of post-processualists pointed out that the system was flawed due to the fact that from a processualists perspective cultures were homeostatic, with cultural change only resulting from external stimuli (similar problem

occurs in functionalism). This critique is evident in Chippindale's address to Cambridge University

> 'The sharper students of the current generation reasonably regard the New Archaeology in its pristine form as a period piece, as strange an artefact of that remote era as the Paris *évènements* or Woodstock. They have some cause: the then-radical insistence that nothing valuable had been written in archaeology before 1960 matched the hippie belief that anyone over 30 was too ancient to be intelligent, and the optimism that *anything* could be recovered from the archaeological record if only you searched hard enough was the archaeological version of the hope that the Pentagon could be levitated if only enough people had sufficient faith' (1987).

4.4 Functional archaeology

From a sociological perspective, functionalism is the interpretation of each part of society in terms of how it contributes to the stability of the society as a whole. Although, functionalist archaeology is often presumed to have preceded the processual method, both were employed, at least incipiently, within the same era and were often used together (Trigger, 2006). This kind of functional archaeological[41] system of analysis is founded on a sociological theoretical framework which is aimed at objectively identifying relationships between variables in cultural systems (Hodder & Preucel, 1996). Durkheim (1938) compared society to an organism, where each component had a unique role, yet each of these interrelated parts could not function without the body as a whole, meaning that the organism is the sum of its parts[42]. Similarly, functionalist archaeology considers cultural systems of societies in the past to be interrelated, in addition to being regarded as organisms they are also viewed as part of the environment. In other words, within this functionalist system man and nature cannot be separated. 'The whole purpose of utilising the systems approach is to emphasise man-environment interrelations, while at the same

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[41] Sometimes referred to as functional processual archaeology.
[42] This theory from Durkheim was very popular in the US.

time admitting that many fundamental changes in man's environment are produced by man himself' (Renfrew, 1972, pp. 19-20).

As with all systems of social inquiry, there are critiques, and functionalist archaeology is no different in this regard. Radcliffe-Brown (1952, p. 181) challenged the organic system analogy by highlighting how an animal does not change its form during its lifetime, whereas, a society, can in its history, alter its organisational form. In addition to this critique, it has been argued that this functionalist/systems approach assumes that there is a homeostatic equilibrium in society. Further only external factors can alter this, be that environmental changes (extreme weather), international trade (including the introduction of new flora and fauna) or migration (increase or decrease in populations). Man like nature is unpredictable and subject to change, people are not pre-programmed robots, changes are not necessarily due to external factors. 'An approach is offered in which culture is not reduced to normative ideas about the proper ways of doing things but is viewed as the system of the total extrasomatic means of adaptation' (Binford, 1972, p. 205). Finally, equating human society to mathematical statistics and predictable formula, as functionalism essentially does, neglects to consider the unpredictability of man, nor does it show an understanding of some aspects of human behaviour.

4.5 Post-processual archaeology

Post-processual archaeology (also referred to as interpretative archaeology) has been categorised as a branch of archaeological theory which emphasises subjectivity in interpretations. Consisting of 'very diverse strands of thought coalesced into a loose cluster of traditions' (Johnson, 2010, p. 101), post-processual archaeology embraces a wide variety of theoretical perspectives, such as structuralism and neo-Marxism. Initiated by pioneers like Ian Hodder, Christopher Tilley, Peter Ucko and Daniel Millar in the Britain in the late 1970s and early 1980s, cite their influences as postmodernism, Marxist

anthropology, and similar developments in socio-cultural anthropology. It also began to be adopted in the United States within the same period. American archaeologists viewed post-processualism as an accompaniment to processualism, whereas post-processual archaeology in Britain originated primarily from the reaction and critiques of processual archaeology. Britain's post-processual archaeologists primarily objected to the overemphasis of materialist interpretations of the past, as well as the aforementioned other critiques. Although popular in Britain and America post-processual archaeology made little impact on archaeological thought in other parts of the world.

4.6 Landscape archaeology

The origins of landscape archaeology can be found in antiquarianism however, it was O.G.S Crawford, during his long-term office as archaeological officer for the Ordnance Survey, who can be accredited with its modern development. Crawford's innovative combination of field archaeology, aerial photography and mapping aided in recording and understand the landscape. His distinction between what he referred to as Celtic fields and later Saxon Medieval field systems, laid the foundations for modern archaeological interpretation on a landscape scale (Bowden 2001 p. 29, Gardiner et al. 2012 p. 3). Archaeologist such as Crawford, Beresford, Hoskins and their contemporaries proposed that archaeology was not merely buried in the ground, but also all around in relict or still extant features on the landscape (Gardiner, 2011). For Tom Williamson archaeological research at a landscape scale:

> 'is distinguished, not so much by a coherent body of applied technique or theory, but by subject-matter. In essence, landscape archaeologists are concerned with explaining how what we see today came to look the way it does, and with interpreting the spatial patterns and structures created in the past in terms of social and economic behaviour. In particular, landscape archaeology is characterised by an interest in scales of analysis wider than that of the 'site': it focuses on the broader matrices of settlement patterns, field systems, territories and communications. Lastly, its tools tend, for the most part, to be non-destructive – aerial photography, earthwork surveys and field walking' (1998, p. 1).

As a concept the term landscape archaeology was first used in a book title in 1974 by Aston and Rowley as a replacement phrase for total archaeology. Aston and Rowley, university educated geographers, brought an interdisciplinary perspective to the subject. Fleming contends that 'landscape archaeology is interested in a huge, diverse range of sources beginning with an assemblage of flint tools found during surface survey and finishing with geometric plans of eighteenth-century gardens' (Fleming, 2006, p. 267). A large body of research and publications has been produced from the 1970s up to the early years of this century. Within this body of literature lies a legacy of immensely practical field guides to analytical techniques of observing, interpreting, and recording landscape features that are not overburdened with theoretical concepts. Additionally, this form of analysis was also economically more viable than physical excavations. They were however, at the forefront of innovation, an example which can be observed in the integration of new archaeology agendas of spatial analysis achieved through the adoption of geographical knowledge. These spatial analysis techniques challenged the previously dominant invasion and migration paradigm to explain landscape development in the early Middle-Ages. This placed a greater emphasis on studying the origins of the modern historic landscape and that of the largely anonymous ordinary lives of those who inhabited the villages, fields, and farmsteads (Rippon, 2009, pp. 233-234). There also began a development of new landscape-scale research agendas within the period, which combined traditional survey with aerial photo analysis, field-walking and paleo-environmental analysis (ibid, 2009, p. 232).

Landscape archaeologists interpret land as palimpsest, where buried and well-preserved remains of settlement activity endure to the present through marked layer upon layer of incremental changes, which has also been described as the scar tissue of earlier inscriptions. Landscape generally refers to both natural environments and environments

constructed by human beings. Natural landscapes are considered to be environments that have not been altered by human intervention in any shape or form. Whereas, cultural landscapes, on the other hand, are environments that have been altered in some by people, this can include temporary structures and places, such as temporary habitation sites. Branton's states that:

> 'the landscapes in landscape archaeology may be as small as a single household or garden or as large as an empire'…...although resource exploitation, class, and power are frequent topics of landscape archaeology, landscape approaches are concerned with spatial, not necessarily ecological or economic, relationships. While similar to settlement archaeology and ecological archaeology, landscape approaches model places and spaces as dynamic participants in past behaviour, not merely setting (affecting human action), or artefact (affected by human action)' (2009, p. 53).

The term landscape can refer to the meanings and alterations people make on their surroundings. Branton contends that landscape archaeology is an ideal framework for modelling the ways people in the past conceptualised, organised and manipulated their environments, and the ways that those places have shaped their occupants' behaviours and identities. This specific form of archaeology is concerned with both the natural, and the environments constructed by people, as well as places that are purely symbolic. The term space has frequently been used in place of cultural landscape to describe the landscapes that are 'produced or mediated by human behaviour to elicit certain behaviours' (Delle, 1998). Archaeologist, such as Delle, have proposed that space is comprised of three key components namely the material, social and cognitive.

4.7 A space or a place

A space, I would argue, is a location which has no social connection to people, whereas, a place is somewhere that has been created or imagined by human experiences. Place therefore can only exist when space is filled with social meanings and objectives, places are where people can satisfy social or biological needs. For Foucault the history of places can be traced to 'the Middle Ages there was a hierarchic ensemble of places: sacred places and profane places: protected places and open, exposed places' (1984, p. 46). Place, in

the words of Jacobsen, is a 'context-specific, meaning-rich concept' in addition he maintains that 'as a person lives life, one's narrative begins to etch meanings on a particular space, causing it to become a place' (2012). Tuan (1977) contends that a place does not consist of observable boundaries and is besides a visible expression of a specific time period, such as, heritage sites, monuments etc. Similarly, Seamon and Sowers argue 'so space and place are dialectically structured in human environmental experience, since our understanding of space is related to the places we inhibit, which in turn derive meaning from their spatial context' (2008, p. 44). For scholars such as Massey (1994), Agnew (1987), Martin (2003) place is socially constructed, managed and operated through the interaction between people, groups, institutionalised land uses, political and economic decisions, as well as the language of representation. Therefore, studies on place should be viewed through an interdisciplinary lens, as according to Saar and Palang (2009) current research is constrained by discipline specific limitations. For Harvey, the creation of society is the creation and recreation of space, and these restructuring activities are evident on the physical geography of place (1989). This physical geography of place is one piece in this puzzle that is heritage, but there are many other elements such as archaeological features and social and the ecological processes influencing and shaping these places. In the context of this research how the landscape has been influenced and shaped by these processes is discussed in depth in later case study chapters.

4.8 Thirdspace

Place and space are generally considered in a dualistic arrangement. However, in a similar argument to Delle, Lefebvre (1991) and Soja (1996) challenge this binary notion and argues there is a 'thirdspace', a hybridised space. Foucault similarly maintained this twofold system insufficiently explained spatial organisation, of the simultaneously real and imagined 'other spaces' (*des espaces autres*), where people live, where individual

biographies are performed, where social relationships are made and maintained, and where history is made (1984). Lefebvre (1996), argued that space is understood as physical and social landscape embedded with everyday place-bound meanings and social practices which emerge through processes operating on varying spatial and temporal levels. For both Lefebvre (1996) and Soja (1996) three different classifications exist, perceived space, conceived space and the thirdspace. Perceived space is inclusive of both the emotional and behavioural bubbles in which people's bodies are invisibly encased. Additionally, this classification includes the complex spatial organization of practices that shape social spaces in households, buildings, neighbourhoods, villages, cities, regions, nations, the world economy and global geopolitics. Whereas conceived space refers to our comprehended knowledge of spaces, this understanding is however primarily produced by discourses of power and authority, as well as the ideologies constructed by professional planners, engineers, or researchers. Whilst the 'thirdspace', Soja (1996) contends, is the space where all three classifications of space converge, it is where subjectivity, objectivity, the abstract and the concrete meet. The third space simultaneously encompasses the space of users in everyday life, in addition to, cognitive space, as well as the space influenced by wider social, economic, and political processes.

4.9 The ideal form

Reflecting on this interpretation, in relation to heritage sites, a comparison can be draw between this 'thirdspace' and what Marx refers to as the ideal form. Heritage sites and archaeological finds are mainly focussed on the physical remnants of the past. Each of these objects/structures contain a social embedded form, an ideal. 'Ideality is a kind of stamp impressed on the substance of nature by social human life activity, a form of the functioning of the physical thing in the process of this activity. So all the things involved in the social process acquire a new "form of existence" that is not included in their

physical nature and differs from it completely, their ideal form' (Ilyenkov, 1977, p. 86).

Here the term 'form' refers to the perceptible outer expression, or appearance of the inner content, as opposed to a shape superimposed on a matter which is indifferent to it (Chitty, 2000). Objects convey meaning; however, an object can have different meanings for different people[43], the ideal form of an object is therefore unfixed and fluid depending on the social relations. The ideal is an object but also simultaneously a non-physical feature of social activities, as well as being the product of social activities, meaning although it is thing-like it is not necessarily corporeally palpable. The ideal then is at once a form of things and activity, and in order to grasp an understanding of the ideal neither of these can be viewed in isolation[44]. In any study involving people, or as described by Marx (1845)"real individuals" an awareness that humans are not automatons, but beings with consciousness, must be observed. Thus, all activity, whether completely understood or not, is always conscious. In the simplest of terms, the ideal form is a 'representation of social consciousness' (ILyenkov, 2009, p. 266).

Returning to Delle's (1998) hypothesis, material space then is any space created by people through physical means, space created through human labour or design. Whereas social space dictates a person's relationship with others and the material space. In that social space an approach is developed through how a person uses their material space to interact

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[43] 'The ideal form is a form of the thing, but outside this thing, in man as a form of his dynamic life activity, as goals and needs. Or conversely, it is a form of man's dynamic life activity, but outside man, as a form of the thing created by him. 'Ideality' itself exists only in the constant alternation of these two forms of its 'external embodiment' without coinciding with either of them taken separately. It exists only through the unceasing process in which the form of activity transforms itself into the form of the thing, and conversely – the form of the thing into the form of activity (of social man of course)' (Ilyenkov, 1977, p. 98).

[44] 'As soon as it is fixed as the 'form of a thing' it begins to tease the theoretician with its 'un-thinglikeness', its 'functional' character, and appears only as a form of 'pure activity', as *actus purus*. On the other hand, as soon as one attempts to fix it 'as such', purified of all the traces of material palpable corporeality, it turns out that this attempt is fundamentally doomed to failure, for after such a subtraction there will be nothing but a transparent emptiness, a formless vacuum' (Ilyenkov, 1977, p. 87).

with others and navigate through their world. Delle's third component of space is cognitive space; how people comprehend their material and social space. Cognitive space is the place where people understand the world around them and negotiate their paths through it by identifying appropriate ways of conducting themselves in the many different environments, they may occupy (1998, p. 38). For Branton landscapes are bounded spaces where human behaviours occur, they do not merely refer to scale but to the nature and the content of the bounded space. Critically it is the interrelationship between places and the human behaviours that occur within them, which shape landscapes, that interest scholars from multiple disciplines. The term landscape with the controversial perspectives it has attracted over time intense debates which emphasis the deeply interwoven relationship between people, societies and the environment and has come to the conclusion that to study of any of these factors separately is too weak and is comparable to an analysis within a vacuum. Although landscape archaeology and post-processual archaeology have been frequently cited as following indistinguishable trajectories, theorist from the latter have criticised the former for being over-empirical. These critiques assert that the discipline has become sterile, 'in that it deals inadequately with the people of the past, and it is also too preoccupied with vision-privileging and Cartesian approaches' (Fleming, 2006). They have argued that it is therefore necessary for the discipline to 'go beyond the evidence' through development of more experimental approaches, such as archaeologies of inhabitation. However, Fleming asserts that this critique is misguided by noting that it rejects the long- accepted modes of fieldwork and is ultimately an annexation of Cosgrove's rhetoric[45]. He further contends that post-processual archaeology has included

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[45] Cosgrove's 'perspective locates the subject outside the landscape and stresses the unchanging objectivity of what is observed therein' and scientific geography is the apotheosis of the outsider's view of the world. It embodies in formal rules the perspective of one who can consider spatial organisation the objective outcome of objective processes, and who can separate himself literally and theoretically from the object of study. It is the opposite of the insider's experience, of one engaged in making and living in a landscape (Cosgrove 1984, 33). Of Cosgrove's rhetoric, Fleming declares 'Cosgrove's rhetoric

the development of phenomenological approaches 'to past landscapes and the writing of hyper-interpretative texts' (Fleming, 2006, p. 1) and this phenomenological fieldwork has produced some questionable results.

For some archaeologists there is no clear distinction between the social and physical environment (Evans, 2003). 'The recognition of the relationship between human societies and the world around them makes the study of the two one and the same' (Gkiasta, 2008, p. 1). Landscapes can have different meanings for different people, where some archaeological studies focus on economy, linking it to the geometry of the landscape and its environmental properties, others concentrate on the individualised and symbolic experience; while some are concerned with the patterns of stability, others focus on the patterns of change, some seek to distinguish convergences within systems, others endeavour to identify the divergences from patterns, while time and space may also be investigated in totally distinct ways and on a variety of scales. The term landscape is not merely confined to the archaeology, disciplines such as geography, sociology, history, natural sciences and anthropology frequently employ the term in their literature. As these are all very distinct fields of study, how landscape is presented in each is diverse yet, there are some aspects that are comparably similar.

4.10 Landscape

'In a landscape are the trace elements of a sensibility, a set of sometimes contradictory dispositions towards pasts-in-presents. Matters of property, ownership and access are at the core, and conditioned by how the is perceived and experienced, whether by owner, worker, or visitor. The land, its buildings and artefacts are immediately connected with events, stories

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was essentially a ground-breaking exercise, clearing the way for him to write about the deep historical and ideological roots of the concept of landscape. To convert his powerful advocacy of this perspective into a critique of conventional landscape archaeology is surely perverse. The practice of landscape archaeology has no serious connection with smug aristocrats gazing over landed property, dogs and womenfolk from within gilded picture-frames, or with control freaks surveying the earth's surface from some kind of academic Panopticon. To trade on the genesis of the concept of 'landscape' in order somehow to associate the craft of landscape archaeology with patrician, proprietorial attitudes, with a vision-privileging, post-Enlightenment, patriarchal, gendered 'gaze', is to indulge in caricature (2006, p. 272).

and histories, folklore and even aesthetic of engagement: the picturesque' (Shanks, 2012, p. 11).

Deriving from the old German word 'landschaft', meaning a small piece of cultivated land, the word landscape emerged. The term landscape was popularised in the 16th century through its connection to the fashionable Dutch style of painting rural scenery. By the 18th century the word became associated with landscaped gardens, which became an essential feature of the newly burgeoning great estates. These manicured and anesthetised gardens offered vantage points for the observation of a sequence of vistas delivered from an idealised and culturally specific perspective. In contemporary academia the word landscape has become a favoured, yet highly charged term across several disciplines. 'The historical study of landscape is concerned with the origins and evolution over time, with incremental changes and continuities through the centuries to the present-day place which we know' (Duffy, 2007, p. 16).

Broadly speaking there are two main theories in all landscape studies, the material approach, which views landscape as an object, and the more subjective approach, which is concerned with how the landscapes are perceived and represented. The material approach has its origins in history, archaeology, and geography, where the early concern was to collect and classify tangible data on the landscape and the region. This data has been delivered through several means, such as topographical maps, monument and artefact catalogues and historical records. For these material landscape scholars this data provided a vehicle to understand the evolution 'or the making of the landscape through time' (Duffy, 2007, p. 17) and to 'describe and account for the ensemble of physical and human forms as they appear in the field or on the topographical map' (Cosgrove, 2003, p. 251).

How landscape is perceived by an individual can be the result of purposeful external construction, conceptualisation or ideational, affecting how a person engages, extracts meaning from or imagines specific landscapes. This form of landscape construction is clearly evident in the Irish context from the earliest picturesque paintings of Edmund Burke to the accounts in early travel logs, on into the Gaelic revival's depiction of specific sites and culminating in the contemporary re-envisioning of the country for tourism. Bender asserts that engagement with landscape is always historically particular and 'imbricated in social relations and deeply political' (Bender, 2002).

4.11 Sociology and landscapes

Landscape sociology aims to show both the geo-ecological phenomenon and the socio-cultural constructions. Since the birth of sociology, the concept of landscape has been mentioned, founding fathers such as Marx, Durkheim and Weber all had something to say about nature and society. This area of sociology focuses on the interaction between society and the environment on a landscape scale, while also concentrating on the protection and improvement of natural and urban landscapes. For landscape sociologists, landscape is not neutral but constructed and it is from this theoretical position research is possible. In order to understand the social practices that have contributed to how contemporary landscape is influenced by the past, and how it might be altered in the future, landscape sociologists study these processes in a dialectic manner. Landscape is 'process rather than object' (Crouch, 2013, p. 1), similarly Knudsen et al. contend it is 'multifaceted, at once an object, an idea, a representation and an experience' (2013, p. 1). The sociology of landscape is frequently divided into three aspects, the social/cultural, the natural, and the perceptual or the aesthetic, all of which interweave and interact with each other. Talen et.al maintain that landscape sociology is a never-ending cycle where 'social aspects define landscape and landscape defines identity' (2018). From a sociological perspective,

landscape, could be viewed as is a vernacular scene and the product of everyday practices. Greider argues that landscape is subjective and 'carries multiple symbolic meanings that emanate from the values by which people define themselves'…..landscapes are symbolic environments created by human acts of conferring meaning to nature and the environment, of giving the environment definition and form a particular angle of vision through a special filter of values and beliefs' (1994, p. 1). Landscape is a multidimensional entity, encompassing physical, visual, ecological, archaeological, or past, social and constructed. Occasionally, the natural physical existence of landscape is secondary to the constructed and human shaped manifestation. Although understanding the theoretical approaches to archaeology is important, the fundamental objective of the discipline is the retrieval and discovery of physical artefacts.

4.12 Excavation, digging up the past

While it is crucial to this research to understand the various approaches to archaeology, and how they differ, it is also important to acknowledge that all the approaches have a fundamental core method of investigation, excavation. Essentially, archaeology is perceived by non-archaeologists as a discipline which derives all of its evidence from excavating the earth in order to uncover material artefacts of the past. Although commercial archaeology[46] regularly excavate sites, academic archaeology may lean towards the less invasive methods of deciphering the past. Rather than desiring to dig every site they know about, the majority of archaeologists work within a conservation ethic that has emerged in the past few decades (Carmichael et al. 2003, 41). For landscape

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[46] By commercial archaeology I refer to any archaeological investigation which is financed for reasons other than academic knowledge or the conservation of archaeologically significant places or artefacts. In other words, archaeological endeavours which are carried out for construction of buildings, infrastructure or utilities. Commercial archaeology is generally conducted on sites where the artefactual and material remains are reburied, or removed and in the majority of cases these sites are built over. Nilsson suggests, this is a kind of institutionalized 'clearing of the ground' ritual that society carries out prior to development taking place, and thus a part of the construction of modernity' (2011, p.26).

archaeologists' alternative methods of investigation may use a geophysical survey, an earthwork survey, aerial photography, or historical documentation and thus it may not be necessary to carry out excavation. For Edgeworth, a good landscape archaeologist should be able to walk the landscape and be able to tell a great deal about it (2011, p. 44). However, excavation is considered a core skill and it is therefore, 'necessary for an archaeologist to gain some experience and mastery of it in order to 'be' an archaeologist. Something of the essence of archaeology really is bound up with excavation, and not just in terms of its image in popular culture' (ibid, 2011, p. 45). Excavation is an intrusive and landscape scarring method of investigation. It is a costly and destructive research tool, destroying the object of its research forever (Renfrew & Bahn, 1996). Scholars query whether research excavation can be morally justified because of the inherently destructive nature of excavation. Over the last number of years there has been a shift to excavation only as a rescue or salvage process, where the archaeology would otherwise face destruction. However, Renfrew and Bahn (1996, p. 97) contend that excavation 'retains its central role in fieldwork because it yields the most reliable evidence archaeologists are interested in'. In addition, Carmichael et al. (2003, p. 32) affirm that 'excavation is the means by which we access the past' and that it is the most basic, defining aspect of archaeology.

4.13 Conclusion

Heritage is a multifaceted concept that spans across several disciplines, it is tied to the past and is presented in the present. In order to discover the past and its physical artefacts, archaeologists excavate sites. Archaeology is acknowledged as the scientific study of the past. Since its inception its theoretical frameworks and perspectives have altered dramatically, from its early incarnation of antiquarianism to the much more dialectical landscape method of retrieval and analysis. Landscape archaeology ties into geographical studies, as well as anthropological and sociological concepts about the formation and

structures of society, both contemporaneously and of the past. Heritage sites and monuments are focally presented places, where the emphasis is placed on the physical material objects of the past. Thus, archaeological is a crucial component in the retrieval of artefacts and the re-imagining of structure of the past for display. However, there is a significant disconnect between archaeological interpretations about places and heritage tourism presentations, in that they are static, chronologically minimalist, and poor interpretative 'snapshots' of the past based on cultural history. Within the area of landscape archaeological the terminology for cultural landscapes is frequently used interchangeably with space and place. Spaces and places are different things, from a sociological perspective a space can exist without human interaction, whereas a place cannot. Heritage sites are places, even the most re-constructed or re-imagined of these sites has a socially embedded form, whether historically accurate or not. In the context of this research understanding both the theoretical approaches and how artefacts are retrieved provides an insight into how heritage sites and physical objects from the past are perceived through the lens of archaeology. Reflecting on these perceptions gives an understanding of how both my case study sites of Durrow and Glendalough were and are shaped but also why different objects were viewed as valuable or not.

Chapter 5: Methodology

This methodology chapter begins by providing the reader with a guide to how the research was conducted, it also illustrates the variety of methods chosen to investigate the research problem. Therefore, this methodology section guides the reader through the process of the research and the provides a rationale for choosing particular data collection or field work methods, the systems of data analysis, and discusses any methodological complications that may have arisen during the course of the project. In other words, the methodology section of this research project will provide the reader with an explanation as to how the research developed from inception to completion. Within the discipline of sociology, and the social sciences in general, the methodology section should provide the reader with ample information on the methods employed by the researcher so as to provide other researchers with sufficient knowledge on how to adopt or replicate the research methods. This methodology chapter begins with a brief examination of the specific paradigm underpinning the research. It examines how the research was designed and executed and elucidates how the research design shaped and informed the knowledge gathering process. Through a systematic account of the research process itself, this chapter explains how specific paradigmatic approaches profoundly shape and inform how social scientists formulate methodologies and view and interpret the social world. In particular, the chapter illuminates how the specific approach used provided an analytic handle on the research and helped develop an abstract theoretical account[47] of how heritage is presented.

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[47] An abstract theory is a system of describing a theory without specifying a structure, this allowed the research to develop organically. With reference here to the theoretical framework of the ideal form this system was necessary as the ideal is an abstract concept which requires evidence and time to unfold.

The data collection and analysis methods in this research project were predominantly qualitative, however, some quantitative methods were also employed, therefore deeming it a mixed methods study (Creswell, 2003). Schutt (2006) contends, that qualitative methods are more concerned with capturing 'naturally occurring' data and provide a deeper understanding of social phenomenon than would be obtained from a purely quantitative methodology. Qualitative methods aim to capture social life as experienced by participants, this therefore gives voice to respondents and in turn uncovers the sequences by which meanings are established. Thus, the goal of the researcher must be to capture how social actors construct social reality and grasp the subjective meanings people give to that reality in a systematic way in order to reduce over-generalisations and support logical reasoning (Bryman, 2001; Schutt, 2006). When devising the research methodology, a conscious decision was made to use the methods that suited the research questions but would also provide the study with the greatest flexibility, hence the use of mixed methods. Initially I determined that qualitative methods would be appropriate, as qualitative research methods 'are designed to capture social life as participants experience it rather than in categories predetermined by the researcher' (Schutt, 2009, p. 17). However, during the course of the fieldwork, due to much cogitation, it became clear that the research questions and objectives were much more complex than initially presumed, and it was deemed necessary to include some quantitative methodological approaches, as Silverman notes 'it is not a choice between polar opposites that face us, but a decision about balance and intellectual breadth and rigour. Where used intelligently and appropriately, there is no reason why quantification has to be shunned' (1985, p. 17). Similarly, Marvasti states 'methods are tools for research, and one need not be committed to them anymore than is necessary' (2004, p. 9). This quantitative data provided the

research with valuable insights into the perspectives of visitors to the sites and informed areas of further research, as well as indicating topics for discussion in later interviews.

The fieldwork for this project took three distinct phases at for each site.

- Beginning with participant observation the fieldwork for this project was varied and comprehensive. The observational period comprised of several stages over a lengthy period of time at the two separate field study sites.

- As part of this project's data collection method surveys of visitors at both fieldwork sites were conducted. The survey aimed to include participants who were varied and diverse in age, gender, socio-economic status, and nationality, comprising of local, national, and international visitors.

- Interviews with heritage professionals and politicians were conducted with representatives of relevant government and official bodies, as well as with current and past political representatives of the field locations. These interviews were carried out concurrently with interviews of local historians, and community members. Throughout the data collection phase, the researcher was mindful of and ensured that there was no gender bias.

Ethnographic fieldwork (Three years)	
observation	tours/archival research/photographs

surveys/visitor book data	
3 years of visitor book data (containing name, place and comment)	50 in person surveys (20 questions)

interviews (20 at both case study sites)	
authorities	community
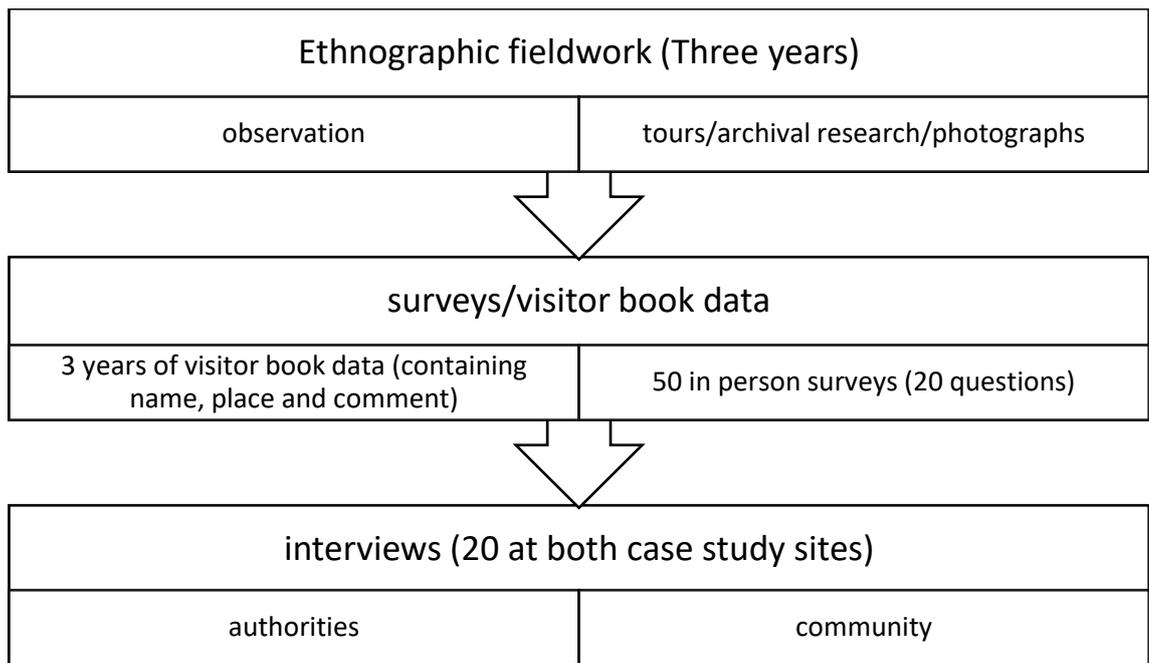
5.1 The purpose

The purpose of this study is to ascertain how heritage is presented at my case study sites of Durrow and Glendalough, by different social, political, and national groups. How heritage is communicated, displayed, or conveyed is dependent on a number of influencing factors, such as tourism, local and national politics, folklore and the environment, to name a few. As such, each of these influencing factors has been investigated thoroughly in order to provide a complete representation of the case study sites. The benefit of qualitative research is in providing in-depth analysis of particular case studies in different contexts, adding to the body of literature, while also providing comparisons for other case studies. In undertaking this form of in-depth analysis, the purpose of this study is to highlight these sites individualities, but also to use them as examples for replicable studies in other heritage sites. Literature and research exists relating to conducting replicability in qualitative research (Aguinis & Solarino, 2019; Ancyk, et al., 2019; Freese & Peterson, 2017; Bryman, 2008; LeCompte & Goetz, 1982). Although replication in qualitative research is difficult as 'freezing' a social setting and circumstances is impossible, scholars suggest several strategies which allow for follow

on researchers to replicate the original study, one being that they adopt a similar social role (Bryman, 2008; LeCompte & Goetz, 1982). Aguinis and Solarino (2019) that replication can be attained on three levels, these being, exact, empirical, and conceptual. This research is extremely important, as are the specific case study locations of Durrow and Glendalough, because a study of this kind has not been successfully undertaken through an interdisciplinary perspective. A core objective of this research is to develop a system of analysis and a methodological approach, that is not only transferable for use in other research projects but also beneficial as an example of interdisciplinary work.

5.2 Ontological and epistemological position

Whilst methodologies can be best described as complex frameworks used to investigate and analyse the logic, the potentialities, and limitations of particular research (Grix, 2002) have a significant impact on research methods and forms of data analysis when planning and executing a strategy for research. It is therefore a fundamental starting point of all research to take into consideration a researcher's ontological position, as it may affect the whole research process, thus, impacting on what and how a researcher decides to study the social world (Maykutt & Morehouse,1994; Grix, 2002). Setting out this interrelationship is crucial as it shapes the questions asked as well as the methods of data analysis. In determining the approach taken in this study it was recognised that it is based on a particular belief in the nature of human beings and the social world. The methods and concepts used are all social constructions and outcomes of specific social practices. Epistemology provides a philosophical grounding for establishing what kinds of knowledge are possible, what can be known, and criteria for deciding how knowledge can be judged as being both adequate and legitimate (Crotty, 1998). For Hetherington (2019) epistemology is a study of how people or systems of people know things and how they think they know things. It is thus concerned with the nature of knowledge, what

constitutes valid knowledge, what can be known and who can be a knower. The interpretive nature of heritage discussed, calls for reflection here as this influences the epistemological decisions. Whilst each epistemological position is in reality complex, each has basic characteristics that are generally accepted, and these are sufficient to demonstrate which approaches fit within the overall context of this study. For the purpose of this discussion the main epistemological stances are:

- Objectivism – proposes that there is a meaningful reality, independent of conscious thought. The intrinsic meaning of any object is therefore seen to be value-free, and its true meaning can be uncovered if researched appropriately (Bryman, 2008).

- Constructionism – opposes objectivism, holding instead that 'there is no meaning without a mind. Meaning is not discovered but constructed'... 'different people may construct meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon (ibid, 2008).

- Subjectivism – meaning is 'imposed' on an object through a 'subjective act essentially independent of the object itself'. This is opposed to constructionism which views meaning as the product of an 'interplay' between the object and the mind that considers it (ibid, 2008).

While these stances cannot be completely understood in such black and white terms, each epistemological position determines the type of knowledge claims that are available to a researcher and how data can and should be thought about, collected, and analysed. Furthermore, subsequent to the in-depth discussion of the concept of heritage in the preceding chapter on the ambiguities in the definition of and very nature of the concept, the 'epistemological fragility' of history (Jenkins 1991) may equally apply to heritage. This section discusses the different philosophical approaches to research in order to locate

the concept of heritage within the design of the overall methodology. In addition, an explanation of the constructivist epistemological perspective adopted and how these ideas influence the design of this research is included.

> Constructivism 'a social science perspective that addresses how realities are made. This perspective assumes that people, including researchers, construct the realities in which they participate. Constructivist inquiry starts with the experience and asks how members construct it. To the best of their ability, constructivists enter the phenomenon, gain multiple views of it, and locate it in its web of connections and constraints. Constructivists acknowledge that their interpretation of the studied phenomenon is itself a construction' (Charmaz 2006:189).

A constructivist epistemology presupposes that truth and meaning attached to heritage do not exist externally, its meaning is constructed and not discovered (Gray, 2004, p. 17). In other words, heritage is part of our social reality and cannot be considered separate from it.

Similarly to the epistemological stance of the researcher, the ontological[48] position of the research is imperative, and accordingly how this affects the epistemological approach is crucial. Researchers differ in their understanding of reality and in the techniques to capture reality. For interpretivists and constructionists studying the social phenomena requires an understanding of the social world people have constructed and how they reproduce it through their continuing activities (Blaikie, 2007).

> Interpretivists in the social sciences believe that reality is socially constructed and that therefore the goal of social scientists is to understand what meanings people give to reality, not to determine how reality works apart from these interpretations. This philosophy rejects the positivist belief that there is a concrete, objective reality that scientific methods help us to understand (Lynch & Bogen, 1997); instead, interpretivists believe that scientists construct an image of reality based on their own preferences and prejudices and their interactions with others … [Developing on the interpretivist approach, the] … constructivist paradigm extends interpretivist philosophy by emphasizing the importance of exploring how different stakeholders in a social setting construct their beliefs (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, pp. 44-45). It gives particular attention to the different goals of researchers and other participants in a research setting and seeks to develop a consensus among participants about how to understand the focus of the inquiry (Schutt, 2004, pp. 75-6).

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[48] Ontological refers to what we think we know, our interpretation of our world. In sociological terms this refers to our understanding of society (May, 2001).

Whereas, juxtaposed to the interpretivists stance positivists believe that 'there is an objective reality that exists apart from the perceptions of those who observe it, and that the goal of science is to better understand this reality' (Schutt, 2004, p. 72); while post-positivism

> is a philosophy of reality that is closely related to positivism. Postpositivists believe that there is an external, objective reality, but they are sensitive to the complexity of this reality and to the limitations and biases of the scientists who study it (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, pp. 109-111), (Schutt, 2004, p. 73).

Fundamentally, positivists and postpositivists are objectivists because objectivism is an,

> ontological position that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings have an existence that is independent of social actors. It implies that social phenomena and the categories that we use in everyday discourse have an existence that is independent or separate from actors (Bryman, 2008, p. 13).

The ontological position of the researcher affects the execution of their research; deductive reasoning is encouraged by objectivism, where the aim of the research is testing a hypothesis by establishing a relationship between the variables. In this way, an objectivist begins with a hypothesis, developed through theory, and sets out to prove it in the field (Chambliss & Schutt, 2016). In stark contrast, subjectivists (those who adhere to constructivist or interpretivist perspectives) employ an inductive method of reasoning, where the researcher begins by collecting data in the field and then uses this data to develop a theory. In this kind of research, the inductive researcher starts at the bottom and works up, whereas deductive research begins at the top and works down (Schutt, 2009, pp. 45-46). However, as my research includes both inductive and deductive strategies, an approach which incorporated both subjectivist and objectivist views was required. In other words, a mixed method approach was crucial in tackling the complexity of the issue under investigation. For the purpose of this research, I discerned that a critical realism position was the appropriate ontological approach to employ. Critical realism provides the researcher with an appropriate ontological position, allowing them to cross the

paradigmatic boundaries of objectivist and subjectivist approaches (Barry 1999 p.11; McEvoy and Richards 2006 p.69–70; Fletcher p.182):

> The critical realist agrees that our knowledge of reality is a result of social conditioning and thus cannot be understood independently of the social actors involved in the knowledge derivation process. However, it takes issue with the belief that the reality is a product of this knowledge derivation process. The critical realist asserts that "real objects are subject to value laden observation"; the reality and the value-laden observation of reality operate in two different dimensions, one intransitive and relatively enduring and the other transitive and changing. (Dobson, 2005, p. 606).

Critical realism takes the view that the 'social world is reproduced and transformed in daily life' (Bhaskar, 1989, p. 4), it additionally, 'holds that there is more to "what is" than "what is known," … [but] at the same time, however … [understands that] human perception typically affects what we can know of "what is"' (Kitch, 2000, p. 168). Therefore, the essential premise of critical realism is that while things may be real (where they can exist independently of our knowledge of them) they can only be known to us through the ever-mutating lens of culture, history, and practice (Carolan, 2005, p. 10), while continually being mindful that knowledge can be flawed and changing (Dunlap & Marshall, 2007, p. 335). Although social objects cannot be studied in the same way as natural objects, they can be scientifically studied through critical realism (Bhaskar, 1979, pp. 26-7). As an alternative to positivism, critical realism pays particular attention to cause laws as constant conjunctions (Bhaskar, 1978).

In essence, a critical realist ontology combines both objectivism and subjectivist views of reality, as such this research is guided by this philosophy.

> Critical realists distinguish between three different ontological domains or modes of reality (Bhaskar, 1978; Delorme, 1999). These being: the empirical (those aspects of reality that can be experienced directly or indirectly); the actual (those aspects of reality that occur, but may not necessarily be experienced); and the real or "deep" structures and mechanisms that generate phenomena … These causal mechanisms cannot be apprehended directly as they are not open to observation, but they can be inferred through a combination of empirical investigation and theory construction. For critical realists, the ultimate goal of research is not to identify generalizable laws (positivism) or to identify the lived experience or beliefs of social actors (interpretivism); it is to develop deeper levels of explanation and understanding. From a critical realist perspective there are two main problems with positivistic methodologies. Initially, the focus is exclusively on observable events and fail to take full account of the extent to which these observations are

influenced by prior theoretical frameworks (Olsen, 2002). Subsequently, the focus shifts to relationships between various elements of a social system in isolation. These are treated as if they are "cut off" from external influences in a closed system and fail to take account of the interactions between mechanisms and the contexts in which they occur (Collier, 1994; McEvoy and Richards 2006 p.69-7).

Through the use of this critical realist ontological perspective, where deductive and inductive approaches work in unison with each other, my research began by reviewing theory (a deductive approach). I then entered the field to collect empirical data. I subsequently used the initial data to decide upon what theorical perspectives were required to be included within my research to explain findings (an inductive approach), but also then if newly introduced theory highlighted avenues that seemed important to investigate then data was collected and/or analysed in relation to the new idea that emerged from the theory (deductive again). I repeated this process until no new insight was gained on the phenomena being explored.

In addition, throughout this study an overall focus on dialectic[49] processes have been involved. Critical realism moves beyond the liner cause and effect understanding of reality and instead explores dialectic relations it thus provided a model to guide my research (Moore, 2017). This critical realist approach has been successfully aligned with grounded theory in recent times (Kempter & Parry, 2011, 2014; Lee, 2016; Oliver, 2012) as this perspective adheres to the existence of one reality that is open, fluid, and shaped by people construct meaning (interpret) in it (Timonen, et al., 2018). The critical realist approach additionally ties with the interdisciplinary perspective of this research as,

> [t]he argument of critical realism goes beyond disciplinary boundaries. It postulates that structures, mechanisms, processes, fields, and other intransitive objects of scientific knowledge (epistemology) are fundamentally distinct from, and irreducible to the actual patterns of events they represent (Bhaskar, 2010).

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[49] 'Dialectics does not consider fixed artefacts, formations and objects, the entire complex of both the material world of things and that of ideas….to be something original and autonomous. It does not accept them in their ready-made form but subjects them to investigation in which the reified forms of the objective and ideal worlds dissolve, [and] lose their fixed natural character' (Kosík, 1976).

5.3 Appropriateness of research design

Before commencing the fieldwork for this research, I ascertained that as heritage is comprised of multifaceted and complex processes, as such my data collection methods were varied and flexible. In order to include all aspects of influence on my chosen case study areas, I began my field work by conducting participant observation. Through participant observation, I had the ability to determine what aspects were contemporaneously relevant to the sites, but also begin to develop an understanding of their development. As a sociologist, my interest is predominately in people, whether on a micro or macro level, and how political trends, cultural trends, economic fluctuations, or even environmental changes affect the local communities, as well as society in general. Fieldwork will uncover expected outcomes, but a researcher should always be prepared for unexpected events, therefore it was with this expectation that I deemed it appropriate that my data collection methods required flexibility.

5.3(a) A complex design for a complex inquiry

Whilst research designs provide a framework for the collection and analysis of data, the choice of research design adopted reflects decisions made by the researcher, in terms of the priority given to a range of dimensions. In this case, particular attention had to be given to how the methods 'fit' with the research aims and objectives. As Glaser (2001) explains, deciding what methods to use must be guided by the needs of the research. Correspondingly, Wisham (2006) argues that the selected methods and the phenomenon under investigation must have a 'fit' between them, and when a researcher chooses a method, it should be one they enjoy and can engage with, so that the product of the research is reliable and credible, which in turn allows the researcher to convince others of the justification of their methods (in Jones and Allony, 2011, p.95). It is this resolve which guided the research methods in this study. As this research is concerned with

understanding all influencing factors at a heritage site it was therefore necessary to develop a flexible and multi-dimensional system for gathering and analysing data. Although the data collection methods were prominently qualitative, quantitative methods were also utilised, for example survey data and visitor number recorders. Qualitative writing involves revealing and expanding the story, gradually and thoroughly, so as a can writer make sense of not only their data, but also the experience as a whole. The process is interactive, meaning that the researcher tries to untangle and make reflexive sense of their own presence and role in the research. The complexity of the study is evident in the writing which becomes like a train of thought within which the voices of the participants, as well as the researcher become interwoven. So, 'unlike quantitative work that can carry its meaning in its tables and summaries, qualitative work carries its meaning in its entire text…. its meaning is in the reading' (Richardson & St.Pierre, 2005, pp. 959-960). It is at this point that the voice and personality of the researcher as a writer, not alone becomes a major ingredient of the written study, but also is required for the meaning to become clear (Holliday, 2007, p. 122).

While a quantitative approach is sometimes seen as the 'gold standard' in research (Silverman, 2001, p. 26), gold standard in this research however, should be understood as what approach best fits the research, and the strength of a qualitative research approach is that it can fit around the research being carried out (Denzin and Lincoln 1998 p. 9). In addition, although frequently a criticism made in opposition to the use of qualitative research, is that it is the enemy of positivist science, because bias and opinion (subject understanding) affects research (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998 p. 7; Schutt, 2004 p. 72, 2006 p. 40), this issue can be resolved when the researcher recognises their subjectivity and in turn makes that transparent to the reader.

Furthermore, whilst quantitative techniques are often portrayed as unbiased and thus more valid than qualitative ones this is not necessarily true: First, quantitative approaches standardise information (Silverman, 2001, p. 31), but also, within quantitative research the scholar will choose who to include in studies, as well as how to present the standardised information about them. Additionally, even within surveys themselves the order of the questions can influence how the questions are answered (Schutt, 2004, p. 244). Nevertheless, the concern here is not to uncover flaws in quantitative approaches, but rather, to highlight why a predominantly qualitative approach was the best fit for my research to understand why people interact, or not, with heritage sites and the associated objects.

5.4 Setting and participants

Data collection for this study occurred at two case study locations, Glendalough, County Wicklow and Durrow, County Offaly. Although both sites have similar foundations, there has been a distinctive difference in their development throughout history. Interestingly both sites on paper have a comparatively similar level of historic significance, however Glendalough receives vastly higher numbers of visitors, funding and official promotion. My field study sites although similar in early development, archaeological and historical significance are distinctly dissimilar today. Both case study sites are acclaimed for their sixth century monastic settlement sites, but also have evidence of continual human habitation from very early periods through to today. While the historic value of these sites was, and remains the focus of the tourist industry, their value to contemporary society, both local and national, is an important aspect of this research. Therefore, it was vital to first establish who from the local community was involved in anything to do with the site, but it was equally as important to also discover and obtain information from those who were not involved. As these sites are under state ownership and run by national bodies it

was likewise essential to find and interview key figures from these agencies. In the case of Durrow management of the site is transferred from the OPW to the local community for two weeks annually in August, to allow the caretaker to take holidays.

5.5 Sampling

The data collection phase of this research project begun by establishing a research orientated relationship with a key figure from the heritage sector and a local historian who could provide me with access to the sites at both Durrow and Glendalough. A gatekeeper provided me initial access to participants related to the sites, and through participant observation access to site visitors was achieved. Ethnographic fieldwork typically begins by the researcher gaining access to the site and those associated with it through a gatekeeper 'an individual who is a member of or has insider status with the cultural group. This gatekeeper is the initial contact for the researcher and leads the researcher to other informants' (Creswell, 1998) (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995).

The rationale behind conducting an observational period of study was to recruit other participants. A purposive sampling technique was utilised, this allowed access to individuals who were uniquely knowledgeable about the cultural arena being investigated. This form of sampling also provided the study with participants who are willing to talk and were also representative of a range of points of view. Additionally, I sourced participants through snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is conducted by firstly discovering and obtaining information from an initial informant, which then subsequently leads to the identification of other informants. This kind of sampling is 'useful for hard to reach or hard to identify populations for which there is no sampling frame, but the members of which are somewhat interconnected' (Schutt, 2009, p. 174). Surprisingly, several of the politicians provided access to many individuals that otherwise would have been impossible or extremely difficult to contact.

5.6 Instrumentation

5.6.1 Ethnography

Ethnography is the study of cultural groups and while others may argue that cultural groups in their purest form would only include the people within the community or those who originated from the case study sites, this study also includes those who have been influenced, or have influence on the sites in question. Although the former part of the previous sentence is true in traditional ethnographic fieldwork, where the term 'cultural' binds the group through social traditions, common patterns of belief and behaviours, more than biology or geography (O'Leary, 2010, p. 116), my case study sites are, to varying degrees, tourist attractions and preserved heritage sites, in addition to community settlements. Ethnographic research is a useful tool to begin a study of a fieldwork site, it allows the research to get a 'feel' for the place, but also in turn allows the cultural group to become accustomed to the researcher's presence and begin building a rapport. According to Creswell (1998) an ethnographer should be aware that they bring a strong cultural lens to their study, however he further argues that this lens can be adjusted and moderated during fieldwork through their cultural observations and questions in the field.

5.6.2 Observation

Although I was somewhat familiar with the heritage sites I had chosen as case study sites, I understood that my knowledge of these sites was coming from a standardised historical and commercial viewpoint and not from any sociological insights. Therefore, I determined that as a researcher I must approach this research as a blank canvas and paint the picture as I studied the areas on site. Subsequent to an extensive review of literature and an analysis of existing information, from several disciplines such as history, archaeology, heritage, geography and sociology, I embarked on my field work and empirical data collection. I ascertained that participant observation was the most appropriate method to obtain access to the field study sites, begin to develop an

understanding of the case study areas, and uncover possible knowledgeable contacts. Participant observation as a method of data collection requires that the researcher develops a sustained relationship with people while they go about their daily activities (Schutt, 2009, p. 315). During the participant observation, I recorded data in a field journal, this aspect of the data collection was conducted over several months. I watched how visitors interacted with the heritage objects, and how these places were consumed, as well as how access aided or restricted the visitor experience and how guides or historians narrated the information related to each site. In addition, I observed how the local communities interacted with each site or not. Participant observation allowed me to open up the areas of inquiry and collect a wider range of data, while reducing the problem of reactivity. This method of inquiry enabled me to gain an intuitive understanding of the participants and in turn allowed me to develop further questions relating to the research. Participant observation in itself can lead to techniques in addressing problems that may develop and assist in finding solutions before any face-to-face interviews were conducted. This form of initial contact allowed me to build a rapport with the employees and the local community and learn while in situ. It also provided me with the knowledge to understand the routine actions and underestimated social calculations that happen below the level of conscious thought and avoid missing information that may not be mentioned in interviews. Throughout the observational period, I built upon my knowledge and begin to source participants for face-to-face interviews.

Participant observation does have its disadvantages and as a researcher, I was mindful that in some cases my presence on site may have altered people's behaviour. To combat this concern, I developed a varying system of observation, whereby on some occasion I openly disclosed my identity and my intentions, and on other occasions I discretely

observed the everyday actions of visitors to the sites. Therefore, the roles I undertook during this observational period switched from covert observer to complete observer to a participant observer depending on the situation and the data I wished to recover. Although covert observation is sometimes considered as ethically challenging, I do not believe that any ethical issues were encountered at any stage in during this data collection phase were immediately addressed. All the covert observation was all conducted in public places and participants were not actively engaged with nor did the research involve any vulnerable persons. As a covert observer, I did not intrude or question any of the people I observed, all data was collected in the form of field notes written subsequent to any fieldwork. The periods of complete observation differed as on these occasions I informed either the management or local community members of my presence on site and reassured them of my intentions.

5.6.4 Covert observer

Over the period of the covert observation, I began to uncover a sense of important categories with regards to both the people and activities at each site, and gradually from this I began to develop a theory that accounted for my observations (Bogdewic, 1999, pp. 54-56). As taking notes, or systematically checking different areas of the site, may have attracted attention, or interfered with social processes occurring on site, I decided to merely observe and blend in with the crowd or surroundings. This manor of observation, Schutt maintains, can provide a unique perspective, or can deliver unusual observations of people from field study settings (2009, p. 324). At all times during this phase of observation I evaluated my actions in the settings, and frequently recalled the purpose of my observations. In this way, I was continuously aware of how my presence could affect the actions of others and my own interpretations (Schutt, 2009). Subsequent to several

interviews and trips to several other heritage sites across the country, I returned to Glendalough heritage centre as a covert observer. On this occasion I entered the site as any other visitor would and made notes on the experience. The visits to the other heritage sites provided the research with a greater perspective on heritage presentation and I deemed it appropriate to return to Glendalough as this insight provided the research with a new understanding of structures, the unspoken power dynamic, bias, and the differing forms of interpretation.

5.6.5 Complete observer

A complete observer is a role where the researcher does not participate in group activities but who's identity is revealed to those, they observe (Schutt, 2009, p. 323). This non-interactive research role was accomplished through walking, watching, and observing visitors to the site, my presence and my identity was disclosed and approved of by the management of the sites. For example, at Glendalough when I arrived, I introduced myself to the manager of the heritage centre and fully disclosed my intentions to merely watch the visitors, buses and observe from a distance, further stating that I would not approach or speak to anyone on those visits. I counted buses arriving, I watched in which direction the visitors entered the site, I counted how many entered the heritage centre, and I photographed the site taking note of any signage. On a several separate occasions, I informed the management of my intention to count all visitors, with the aid of clicker counters. As, in my early observations I noted that the majority of visitors did not enter the heritage centre, and this is the only official means of recording visitor numbers. This visitor number counting turned out to be more challenging than first envisaged as the visitors entered the site from several different entrances. After observations, failed attempts and some advice from one of my key informants, I determined the best and most accurate place to position myself for this portion of the data collection. However,

subsequent to beginning these recordings, I was informed during my interview with the Wicklow heritage officer that the National Parks and Wildlife service, along with Wicklow County Council installed permanent visitor counters at several locations on site. On request this data was provided by the aforementioned authorities. Notably the OPW management did not install any permanent visitor counters in their area and continued to collect visitor numbers based on paid entry into the heritage centre. Observation at the Durrow site differed dramatically, as firstly the visitor numbers were significantly lower rendering the opportunity to blend in more difficult, and secondly as the site is considerably smaller the visitor's stays were much briefer. Additionally, the Durrow site had the advantage of a permanent visitor counter on the gate, and one management authority, therefore less time investigating visitor numbers was necessary. Some of the key observations I made over this period were the importance of the caretaker and the community involvement at the Durrow site.

5.6.6 Participant observer

Participant observation De Walt and De Walt contend 'is a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions and events of a group of people' as a means of 'learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines' (2011). As a participant observer, all data was gathered through developing and sustaining relationships with people going about their normal activities, with both the consent and the knowledge of all those present. However, as both field study sites are places visited by tourists, to varying degrees, it was not always possible to build relationships with these visitors. The sustained relationships I refer to are those that I formed with local community members and heritage staff. This form of research is ethically advantageous as it allows the participants to choose what they wish to share with the researcher and what information or attitudes they wish to keep to hidden. Additionally, it also allows the

researcher to decline involvement in any activities that they deem inappropriate or dangerous without the fear of exposing their identity. Participant observation is beneficial as a research method as it allows the researcher to become an accepted participant in the setting (De Walt & De Walt, 2011).

On one occasion at the Durrow field site, I was approached by visitors enquiring about information on the location. I immediately informed these visitors of my role and openly discussed my intentions. The visitors subsequently asked for my assistance and to share some of my knowledge on the site, to which I gladly agreed. In this instance my role alternated from complete observer to participant observer to tour guide. This variation in roles assisted in my data collection, as it enabled me to produce a range of perspectives on the gathered data and allowed a level of interaction with the visitors which opened up some new avenues of enquiry as well as providing alternative results.

Over the course of the entire field work phase of this research I decided that in order to gain a broader perspective it would be necessary to visit a number of other heritage sites throughout the country. In addition to visiting these sites on several occasions, I attended as a supervisor with the centre for cultural and heritage on field trips with students on the undergraduate degree course. Not only did these heritage sites provide the research with additional observational data on the visit experience at many different sites, it also enabled me to vary my role, from visitor, to tour guide, to teacher and back to student. Moreover, the voluntary employment role with centre provided access to several key academics in the field, of which some have been interviewed, thus again granting the project with further expert data.

5.6.7 Field notes

Written notes according to Emerson et. al, are the primary means of recording participant observation data, these notes may not be physically 'written', other forms of recording

are possible such as brief notes and photography (1995). With this in mind, throughout the course of the observational period, detailed field notes were recorded, as according to DeWalt and DeWalt 'observations are not data unless they are recorded in some fashion for further analysis' (2011). The transcription of these notes occurred in two phases, the first phase was conducted on site, in the form of brief notes, or 'jottings' (Schutt, 2009, p. 332), and photographs, the second phase came in the form of detailed record of the day's events in a completed document on the same day as the fieldwork occurred, so as not to rely on memory since 'it is unwise to trust memory; notes should be written as soon as possible' (Seligman, 1951, p. 45). Photographs taken during the fieldwork phase were not only a means of keeping a visual record, but they were also additionally used for visual analysis. As a social scientist, and a university teacher, I believe that fieldwork should play to the strengths of the researcher, and as such this project includes many visual aspects this is owing to the fact that I learn and remember visually. Furthermore, Taylor et al. (2015, p. 83) argue that as photographs are less intrusive than tape recorders 'there are situations and setting in which observers can use recording devices without dramatically altering the research'. Additionally, notes were taking on phone conversations relating to the field sites and chance encounters over the observational period, so as to provide a comprehensive account of this phase of investigation (Taylor, et al., 2015).

To begin with all of the brief notes were made out of sight of any visitors or participants, however, as the fieldwork progressed, I began to feel that some of the participants felt more comfortable when I took notes in their presence. It is as Jackson contends, a delicate process to negotiate 'a number of people of ethnographers…. found that taking notes in front of participants was uncomfortable and objectifying. However, others found that participants were insulted when notes were not taken' (Jackson, 1990). These brief notes

were expanded upon to include more detailed descriptions, observations, explanations, interpretations, context of conversations participated, and ideas that required further research. Participant observation is an iterative process, where a researcher develops a tacit of understanding of meanings, the context and events. Bearing this in mind, during this period of my research I read and reread my field notes, searching for things that I found surprising, I did not fully understand, or information that I felt was incomplete and required further investigation. I am aware that these field notes are passing through my particular lens and all interactions are specific to my observations, as Emerson et al. (1995, p. 66) note how the writer of field notes is creating 'a version of the world', even at the point of writing fieldnotes note. This bias has therefore been both acknowledged and considered, in that I was consciously mindful of personal and theoretical biases and how they could surface in the writing.

5.6.8 Survey data

Subsequent to the observational and interview data collection periods of my fieldwork, I began a preliminary analysis of this gathered data. From this initial analysis, I discovered gaps in my data and therefore determined that I required additional data to achieve data saturation. The saturation point is a term taken from the physical sciences which represents the moment during the analysis when no new insights are given by additional sources of data or where the same theme is reoccurring, like when a sponge can absorb no more water. In qualitative research, Bowen contends that saturation point is reached when there is enough data to ensure the research questions can be answered thoroughly (2008, p. 5). To complete my data collection, I ascertained that further investigation through visitor surveys was required to fill any gaps within my empirical evidence. Like interview data, survey data can provide specific information through predetermined questions. The surveys comprised of twenty questions, of which five where yes/no

answers, seven were multiple choice and three were scaled responses and with the remainder consisting of written responses.

When constructing a questionnaire for a survey there are a number of factors that needed to be taken into consideration, such as why the visitor had chosen this specific site, did it met expectations, and would they return, to name a few. Additionally, it was necessary to take into consideration practicalities such as where was the ideal position to situate myself, what permissions were required, and the time of year. In deciding time of year, I determined that survey collection at each site would occur in the mid-season, thus ensuring the results were not skewed by high or low volumes of visitors.

Surveys at Durrow

A pilot distribution was conducted on a group of tourists at Durrow who provided their email addresses, and out of these ten surveys distributed, I had only three returned. Although, the return number was low, this in itself provided a useful guide and from this I discerned that all future surveys would be conducted in person. These initial returns demonstrated whether any changes to the structure of the survey was required, such as, did the survey require more or less questions. After spending an extended period of time at the site I concluded that visitor numbers throughout the period were very low, this insufficiency in numbers unfortunately meant that it was not possible to achieve the number of survey returns required to make any conclusive statements. Therefore, I determined that it was necessary to find another source of data on tourist visitors. The local community have been providing a book, over the past number of years, for visitors to sign. As a data source the books provided the research with a rich source of information including numbers of visitors, where they had originated from and any comments they made in regard to the site. Although the numbers signed did not in any way reflect the

numbers of visitors cited by the heritage officer's counter, it did provide some interesting data for analysis.

<center>An alternative plan to surveys, Durrow visitor book data</center>

During the course of the fieldwork the local management at Durrow, provided me with copies of three years of the visitor books. Although an unlikely source of data this additional information has provided interesting results. I decided to treat the visitor books like survey responses and imputed the data, firstly into an excel spreadsheet, noting the place of origin of the visitor, the date of the visit, and any comments they left.

Name → date of visit → Place of residence → Comment
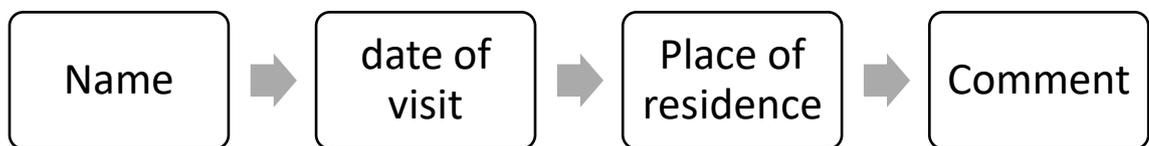
Although initially it may have appeared that these books gave minimal data, it firstly provided a comparative source to the counter data of visitor numbers. It also showed that the majority of visitors attended on the 9th of June (Pattern Day), and although the place of residence was spread across the globe, many of the comments indicated they were returning locals. Finally, it was the comments they provided the most interesting data mostly expressing how the visitors felt using words such as peace and beauty.

<center>Surveys at Glendalough</center>

Taking all of the aforementioned aspects into consideration the Glendalough questionnaire was constructed and contained a total of twenty questions. Included on the questionnaire were multiple choice answers, scale responses and some questions which required a brief written response. My intention for these surveys although longer than the Durrow visitor book data was to ensure a comparative could be drawn between the two. Before commencing the in-person survey collection phase, I deliberated determined that a total of 50 surveys would provide the research with an adequate sample number. As I

am aware that people are deterred by long surveys, this questionnaire was constructed so as to take up the minimum time from the respondents as possible. Therefore, while conducting the survey at the Glendalough fieldwork site, I had the ability to inform participants that it would require a maximum of five minutes of their time, this I believe led to a greater number completing the form and fulfilling my target number in one day as opposed to my initial schedule of two days on site. Surveys at Glendalough were administered in person at the primary entrance to the field study site, as face-to-face social interactions between researcher and respondent (Schutt, 2009). This form of survey design yields a higher rate of return than any other form of survey data collection, it provides the research with accurate responses, it allows flexibility as responses can be verified at the time of gathering. Although, this form of data collection is flexible, I was mindful not to deviate from the structured questionnaire, so as to ensure rigor. The data from the surveys was imputed into an excel spreadsheet, coded, and subsequently analysed through this software. Through the use of the excel programme I constructed charts, graphs and tables to represent the responses received. These visual representations of the collected data were beneficial in the analysis of data, providing some unexpected insights, and some unanticipated areas of inquiry. Although this data was extremely useful, it was used merely as a guide to the further research, and as indicators for interview questions. Survey questions included;

- How many times have you been in Glendalough?
- What attracted you to Glendalough?
- Where do you live?
- How did you find out about Glendalough?
- Did you learn anything of the history of the site?
- Did you visit the heritage centre?
- Likes/ dislikes
- In one word can you sum up your experience of Glendalough.

visitor's reason for visiting Glendalough
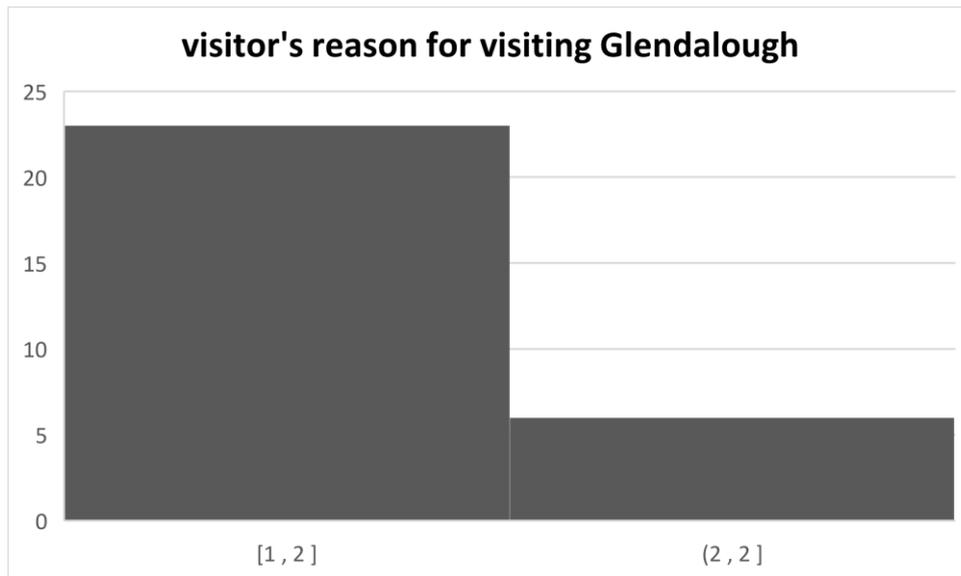
Reasons for visiting Glendalough, Scenery versus Heritage (Mc Adam 2021)

5.7 Interviews

Interviews have become ubiquitous in contemporary everyday life, people are interviewed for jobs, by journalists or medical professionals daily, thus the format, how to do it and what to do are familiar to the majority with society.

> As Gobo contends 'If the 'interview society' is still the dominant societal model, the recent sudden increase of ethnography can be explained with the hypothesis that we are entering a[n] observation society, a society in which observing (as interviewing) has become a fundamental activity, and watching and scrutinizing are becoming important cogitative modes alongside the others, like listening, feeling, hearing and eavesdropping, typical of the 'interview society' (2016).

Generally interviewing is carried out to elicit further information on a subject than is available through participant observation or survey data alone. Although, it was methodological intention to conduct interviews from the offset of this research, during the course of the fieldwork it became apparent that interview data would be crucial for the attainment of comprehensive data collection. Interviews were conducted with local community members, historians, local stakeholders, and were semi-structured in nature. Semi-structured interviews unfold in a conversational manner, although a list of predetermined themes or questions will be used as a general guide (Edwards & Holland, 2013, p. 29). All interviews began with what Schutt refers to as a grand tour question, 'a broad question at the start of an interview that seeks to engage the respondent in the topic

of interest' (2009, p. 341). This approach allows for both the researcher and the participant to relax, open up the conversation, and build a rapport (Schutt, 2009, p. 297). All over these interviews were in-depth and informal in structure. In-depth or intensive interviewing involves open-ended questioning in which the interviewer seeks to information on the respondents' feelings, experiences, and perceptions, in other words a 'conversation with a purpose' (Burgess, 1984, p. 102). Open-ended questions have two distinct advantages as they permitted this research with the means to gather data from multiple interviews, which will be comparable but additionally allow for flexibility and diversity of responses. Semi-structured interviews also allow interviewees to talk from their own perspective, using their own frame of reference, as well as ideas and meanings that are familiar to them (Edwards & Holland, 2013, p. 30), thus providing specific and unique data for the research. The duration of these interviews was approximately one hour in length, however, some the interviews extended over the hour. Any extension to the allotted time was guided by the respondent's wishes to continue, which in turn provided the respondent with the ability to make an autonomous decision over their level of participation.

5.8 In-depth interviewing

Subsequent to extensive participant observation, I determined that some of my informants held significantly more rich and invaluable information, and in order to obtain access to this rich tapestry of material in-depth interviewing of the subject was necessary. The foundations of in-depth interviewing come from the notion that they delve into the subject's deeper self and produce more authentic data, as Johnson contends,

> In-depth interviewing begins with common-sense perceptions, explanations and understandings of some lived cultural experience….and aims to explore the contextual boundaries of that experience or perception, to uncover what is usually hidden from the ordinary view or reflection or to penetrate to more reflective understandings about the nature of that experience (Johnson, 2002, p. 106).

Although initially the intention was that all interviews would be conducted in a semi-structured manner, official representatives, such as the heritage officer, requested a list of predetermined questions in advance of our meetings. The predetermined questions were based on the research questions. These interviews were therefore conducted in a more structured manner, however, over the course of these interviews I was able to procure more information from the participants through the use of additional linking and probing questions. Including these probing and linking questions allowed me to move the interview technique back into a more flexible semi-structured format. While the information received from the predetermined and pre-submitted questions provided useful data, it was the unscripted responses that yielded the most. Armed with this new data, I implemented the iterative approach to the analysis and adjusted my research accordingly. It was my intention to use MAXQDA software in the final stage of interview transcript analysis, unfortunately due to the global covid pandemic and the Irish government restrictions, access to the University and this software was extremely limited. Consequently, I was forced to reconsider this method and scrap the progress I had made. I determined that the only other method available was colour coded thematic investigation on paper. Although labour intensive, this form of analysis allowed for a closer relationship to the data, where as a researcher I found common themes and key predetermined terminology. In total twenty separate interviews were conducted with local community members, local historians and stakeholders, hermitage visitors, national and local politicians, as well as members of staff from governing authorities and the heritage industry.

5.9 Data Processing and Analysis

5.9.1 Thematic analysis of interviews

From the offset of this research the empirical data was viewed through inductive grounded theory. Grounded theory was employed because it is a 'theory that was derived from data,

systematically gathered and analysed through the research process. In this method data collection, analysis, and eventual theory stand in close relationship to one and another' (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 12). An adaptive approach was utilised so that the research process was adjusted along the way to fit with the 'reality' as it emerged during the research process (Hjorth & Bagheri, 2006, p. 74). In this way, as the research unfolded new insights and new methods of data collection were pursued, additionally, the research had to incorporate an interdisciplinary perspective as it emerged through the research process that reductionist views of reality and reductionist techniques (Costanza, et al., 1993, p. 545) could not answer the research question. Furthermore, the research called for a mixed methods approach to be used because this offered greater understanding of the processes being examined. O'Carroll and Gray (2010) maintain that, where qualitative and quantitative data is analysed together it can open up avenues of inquiry that might not be revealed when only one method was used. Moreover, an iterative analysis process was utilised, whereby data collection and data analysis were interwoven in such a way that theory was being developed at the same time as data was being collected (Klenke, 2008, p. 67).

The iterative approach to research has a main philosophy that promotes flexibility and ongoing change to meet the needs of the research design, data requirements, and analysis methods in response to new information as it is collected. The researcher is required to work systematically between the research design and the initial data collection, adjustment can be made to the purposive sampling frame, followed by further data collection with another cycle of evaluation against the sampling frame, and further sampling adjustment and data collection as required (Bassett, 2010, p. 504). From the time that data collection commenced, I began to analyse it in a cyclical way which repeatedly saw new data sources being added and analysed and based on that analysis

new data being added again and analysed again, and so on. This iterative process of data collection and analysis helped to produce rich data which contributed in answering the research question (Bassett, 2010, p. 504).

5.9.2 Coding

With grounded theory and the iterative process involved the analysis of the data and coding of themes was in constant state of revision and fluidity. As such all the data was treated as potential indicators of concepts and these indicators were constantly compared across the two case study sites to see which concepts, they best fit with (Bryman, 2008, p. 542). Throughout the analytical processing period many indicators were examined comparatively, these were given codes, consequently naming them as indicators of a class of events of behavioural actions (Strauss, 1987). Phase one of the coding or the initial coding phase (Charmaz, 2006), was very detailed with several codes per page of the interview scripts, thus providing the initial impression of the data.

5.10 Beyond the image, visual sociology

As this research is multifaceted in nature, the data collection methodology was required to be complex and multifaceted, in order to provide a complete account of all factors involved in presentation of these heritage sites. Taking this into account subsequent to the predetermined and aforementioned fieldwork, I determined that an additional layer of data collection was required, photographs, postcards and paintings, both contemporary and historic. A record of the social world has been created in photographs for almost 200 years, long before the invention of the camera however people recorded images of the visual through painting and drawing. The included photographs are not merely used for illustrative purposes, but as additional investigative mediums within the research (Ball & Smith, 1998, p. 2). Photographs were used to examine the lived environment in cultural, material, and spatial terms. These images from the past and the present create the

possibility of 'observing' the social world through the visual and interpreting the resulting images as 'text' (Schutt, 2009, p. 384). When interpreting a photograph of a painting a researcher must be sensitive to the way in which the creator of the image constructs the reality that it depicts, as Newbury remarked 'images cannot be simply taken of the world, but have to be made within it' (2005, p. 1). As a visual tool photographs provide a means to 'transport readers into the lives and culture's [of others]' (Kornblum, 2008, p. 29). In understanding nonverbal culture, they are an informative source of data (Holm, 2010, p. 326) as well as the physical environment, spatially and materially. In addition to bearing witness to the processes of nature that occur within particular environmental contexts, photographs are also useful for bringing nature into the data collecting process, thus enabling the researcher to present any changes visually.

For this research project contemporary photographs were taken during fieldwork, as well as procured from local community members. Whereas historic photographs, paintings and drawings were obtained from various libraries, historians and local community members. Fortunately, the Glendalough Heritage Forum held photographic exhibitions in their community centre over the last couple of years, from the Lawrence and Valentine collections in the National Library, as well as paintings of Glendalough from the 18th and 19th centuries. Access to these images was not only permitted but actively encouraged, thus saving the project additional data collection time. Moreover, these photographic illustrations not only provided physical data but also contributed to an understanding of the local people's perspective and impressions of the site, through an evaluation of the 'chosen' images. Therefore, it was deemed necessary to investigate if there were any images of the site excluded from the exhibitions and if so discover if there were any particular reasons why they were not included. Old photographs and paintings of Durrow were unfortunately very difficult to uncover, this is most probably due to the fact that the

house was destroyed by fire on two separate occasions, on one of those occasions the area were the owners stored all of the valuables including paintings and photographs were lost. However, with the help of the Offaly history society I secured some photographs, in addition the UCD archives also provided a small number of early photographs. With the advent of the covid pandemic all physical access to repositories, such as the National Library were restricted to online only, any plans of returning to investigate the library's catalogue had to be dismissed.

Photographic or illustrated representations of place in visual sociology are as important as the words from interviews or surveys. At heritage sites (this also includes images of the place), it is sometimes as much to do with the visual or the aesthetic as the history or promotion, that inspires, invites, repeals, allures or even comforts the visitor, 'visual images can be powerful and seductive in their own right' (Rose, 2001, p. 10). Rose further argues that the visual although is at least part dependant on the audience, as different people will see different things, it offers an alternative way of seeing social issues, the visual is embedded in a wider cultural context, is a powerful medium worthy of investigation and is constructive of reality rather than being descriptive of it (2001, p. 64). Many books and articles contain images merely to illustrate the text or jazz up the written word, this process trivialises the visual, which in itself essentially dismisses the importance of the images. In visual sociology the illustrations tell their own story. The use of photographs and images is not new, renowned scholars such as Mead[50], Goffman[51], Denzin and Urry have employed the method in their works. Therefore, to neglect to

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[50] 'we are attempting a new method of stating the intangible relationship among different types of culturally standardised behaviour by placing side by side mutually relevant photographs….by the use of photographs, the wholeness of each piece of behaviour can be preserved' (Bateson & Mead, 1942).
[51] Goffman used photographs in his landmark sociological study Gender Advertisements (1979) to show how gender roles and expectations are reflected in magazine advertisements.

include the visual in the methodology would have excluded a crucial process in uncovering how heritage sites are presented.

5.11 Analysing the Inventory

As this study has interdisciplinary elements part of the data collection derives from the content analysis of archaeological reports and inventories such as Grogan and Kilfeather (1997), McDermott, et al. (2010,2012,2013,2014), Colles (1870), O'Sullivan (2009) and Harney (2011). Content analysis as a methodology is unobtrusive, objective, and a systematic technique to analyse message characteristics (Neuendorf, 2002). These reports and inventories were systematically scrutinised for any mention of the field study sites, this included analysing not only the artefactual finds but also the language used by the archaeologists and any references to possible societal structures, as well as noting what was left out of the reports. Sometimes what is missing from the literature is as informative as what has been included. Part and parcel with this content analysis must come an understanding of the physical terrain, therefore any reference to the landscape was investigated through a variety of additional processes as aforementioned earlier in this chapter.

5.12 Conclusion

As data collection was conducted in several forms, these being field work notes (during participant observation), interview transcripts and survey data. Through making contact and building a relationship with a gatekeeper, further contacts arose. The gatekeeper provided the names of several people who had influence, authority or knowledge of the site, key informants, all of which were contacted soon after for interviews. The initial observation period yielded surprising information and some important contacts. All informants were provided with verbal and written information on the study, in addition all interview participants were asked to sign a consent form. Before the commencement

of any field work, I applied and was granted ethical approval from the University's ethics board. As these sites are managed by government bodies and national heritage agencies, namely The Office of Public Works, Offaly and Wicklow County councils, I sought and received permission to carry out the research on both sites.

Through this multifaceted methodology for data collection, the project was provided with a considerable quantity of rich and varied data for analysis. As with any research in social science conclusions can only be achieved when data levels reach the saturation point, or the point where little new information is yielded from the investigation (Schutt, 2009). It was at this stage that all fieldwork ceased, and the research moved to the analytical phase of the project.

Reflections

Over the course of this project, I was met with several unexpected obstacles and complications, all of which I faced head on, derived a solution to or re-evaluated the overall importance to the research. This being said, the positives outweighed the negatives and this unique, extremely challenging and complicated methodology, required my flexibility.

The observational period at both sites became far more crucial to the research then I have originally envisioned. Throughout this time I built up fieldnotes and visual representations. Although my fieldwork plan was clearly set out in my ethical approval submission, I did not realise how important some of my techniques and methods of data collection would become. The collection of images were initially to serve as memory aids

when I could not write my fieldnotes[52], but these images revealed much more to the research and became part of my crucial visual analysis.

During the ethnographical phase I created my surveys basing my questions on observations made, these were to first to ascertain if my assumptions were correct, but also to provide the research with other unanticipated avenues of investigation. The responses from both the surveys and the visitor book data provided potential directions to further my research. Here again the visual became a focal point, the responses from the majority of the respondents indicated that the aesthetic was of great importance to both sites. The surveys were then used to create some of the interview questions.

The interview process, whilst it had some minor disruptions, generally went better than expected. I contacted all participants prior to meeting them in person and sent a plain language statement explaining what my research was about and how their data would be used and stored. All interviews were organised around the participants schedule and in places they felt comfortable. Although my intention was for interviews to last one hour many (at the request of the participant) lasted far longer. The semi-structured interview technique worked to my advantage in that it made the participants feel at ease and allowed them flexibility to expand answers beyond my expectations. At no stage were any participants uncomfortable or unwilling to provide responses, in fact on some occasions answers were possibly too frank. My respondents ranged from politicians who were used to speaking about policy and governing structures, however several of these people were also local community members and business owners and it was their personal connections to the heritage sites that provided the most interesting data. Similarly, the interviews with

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[52] At no time were any persons photographed without their knowledge, and no photographs of any participants are included in the thesis. The participants all signed consent forms which included a section on recording both oral and photographic data.

members of the governing authorities were quite formal, yet still friendly and open, but their interests were all in the management of the heritage sites. In contrast the interviews with local community members differed, they came from a very different position, whether they were involved in the sites or not, their connection to their heritage was intrinsically linked to their identity and sense of belonging. All of these interviews not only provided rich and varied data, but they also gave the research contrasts and comparatives to work with in the analysis. Nevertheless, having this level of variety and contrasts made the analysis even more complicated.

In 2020 the world experienced the worst pandemic in one hundred years since the Spanish flu. Ireland like most other countries was put in 'lockdown' for the majority of the year. This had a huge impact on my research, as I no longer had access to physical libraries, such as the National Library, and very limited access to the University's facilities. I was limited also to what technology I could avail of from at home, in that, I no longer could access any University based software programmes. However, it was the travel restrictions, and the closure of my field study sites that had the greatest impact. It was my hope to return to both sites and take additional specifically focussed photographs to include in chapters. These barriers were coupled with access restrictions to my participants, some follow up interviews could not be conducted, however, on reflection these extra interviews were not essential to the data. Nevertheless, I believe that the lack of visitors to predominately Glendalough would have been an interesting comparative to examine, but, unfortunately for research purposes and due to medical safety precautions, the opportunity was legally off limits.

Prelude and explanation of the next six chapters

The following six chapters are purposefully laid out to provide an understanding of each site individually, but also to demonstrate the comparison between the two. Beginning with the history and archaeology of each site, chapter six on Glendalough and chapter ten on Durrow, provide an understanding of the foundations and an inventory of the artefactual remains. In order to effectively use the theoretical framework of the ideal form it is necessary to include a detailed description of the physical artefacts, as well as including their archaeological interpretations. Following these chapters are three comparative spatial chapters. Chapters seven, eight and eleven provide the not only the geographical positions and landscape constructions of Glendalough and Durrow respectively, additionally, they detail how each site is organised in terms of governing bodies. These chapters demonstrate how political and social systems contribute to the physical construction of place. It was crucial to this research to map out the physical, political and social systems of each site in a clear, descriptive and visual manner to provide a picture of each site individually and yet comparatively.

As the visual analysis of both sites is vital to the dialectical understanding and the ideal form, chapters nine on Glendalough and chapter twelve on Durrow detail how the picturesque influenced the construction of each place. These chapters are fundamental in explaining the contemporary forms of both of these heritage sites. While the creation of the aesthetic varied in forms at both sites, the use of picturesque with its sublime and beautiful landscape creation through travel guides, paintings and pictures in Glendalough and the picturesque garden with the clearing of the demesne of Durrow, both were the result of political agendas. These chapters detail the influence of colonialism, and nationalism on each site.

Chapter 6: Glendalough, the monastic settlement

The first of the case study sites, Glendalough, is examined in detail in this chapter. Beginning with the physical structure of the site, how it came to be through natural forces, along with the flora and fauna, as well as revealing the geographical location of Glendalough. The chapter moves on to the archaeological evidence of human occupation in the area, including a discussion of how commodities were crafted, with the associated production processes and their impacts on the environment, and traded. Thereafter, as the main focus of visitor promotion is aimed at the Christian monastic heritage, this chapter discusses Saint Kevin, the purported founder of the monastery, and the historic political connections with the site. Crucially, how the monastic settlement developed, the history and the archaeological artefacts are then described and illustrated with photographs, drawings and 3D images. Contemporaneously, the monastic settlement at Glendalough entices significant numbers of tourists to the area each year. Reportedly 79,810 tourists visited Glendalough's heritage centre in 2014 (The Office of Public Works, 2015), yet this number is not representative of the total number of visitors to Glendalough itself. It is estimated that some 1.7 million people visited the site in 2019 alone. Yet, at present, no means of calculating the precise number of visitors to the site exists and the figures that are available only account for visitors who paid into the heritage centre's exhibit. From initial observations, it becomes apparent that the majority of visitors do not engage with the heritage centre and enter the monastic site independently. This explains why the current figures could be misrepresentative of the actual visitor numbers. As the monastic settlement site at Glendalough has become the focus of the Irish tourist industry for the

area, this section of the chapter concentrates on providing a comprehensive history of the 'Monastic City'[53].

6.1 The geography

Glendalough is situated in County Wicklow, a county which deservedly holds the title 'the garden of Ireland'. This small county is geographically positioned on the east coast of Ireland and within its boundaries lie some of the most aesthetically pleasing scenery in the country. The landscape of Wicklow is diverse, ranging from uninhabited glens to urban centres, rolling hills to cold deep mountain lakes and densely forested areas to open landscaped estates with serene waterfalls. All result in a magnetic draw for visitors from the earliest times to the contemporary era. Wicklow's physical splendour represents the contemporary manifestation of the impact of ice on the landscape during the last ice age. Beginning approximately 73,000[54] years BP[55], the Fenitian or Midlandian Glaciation period of intense cold persisted for about 63,000 years (Pellicer, et al., 2012). During this time indigenous ice sheets formed in Ireland and shaped her physical presence (Warren, 1993) or as Mallory asserts this period 'is responsible for many of the so-called 'timeless' elements of the Irish landscape' (2015, p. 29). Oft presumed that the majority of northern Europe was devoid of life and covered permanently in ice and snow during this period, scientific evidence reveals this was not the case. For long periods of time during the Fenitian Glaciation virtually the entirety of Ireland was covered in ice. In Frank Mitchell's work he indicates that approximately 20,000 years ago Ireland's ice cover was at its pinnacle, where the thickness of the ice exceeded 1,000 metre. During other prolonged periods substantial areas, particularly in the south, were free of ice and higher

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[53] The title 'monastic city' is not the author's label but comes from the signage erected on site.
[54] Mallory provides a timeline for the Midlandian glaciation period from c. 80,000—10,000 years ago (2015, p. 29).
[55] All BP (before present) dates given are given in 14C radiocarbon years.

temperatures caused ice to retreat from warmer low-lying areas and maritime regions (Mitchell, 1990, pp. 247-8).

Fauna evidence, in the form of animal bones, concludes that several species were present within this period, including the brown bear *Ursus arctos*, the wolf *Canis lupus*, Irish giant red deer *Megaloceros giganteus* and the hare *Lepus timidus* (Mitchell, 1986, p. 44). Flora evidence for the period has been discovered through scientific analysis, such as grasses, mugwort, and sorrel. This was followed by an increase in plant production from 11750 BP with deposits of juniper and crowberry as well as birches. The Holene period, where many bush species such as Juniper, birch and hazel peaked between 9750 BP to 9000 BP and trees such as Oak, Elm and Pine developed. The domestic woodland for the next 2,000 years comprised of these species with open ground species found at higher altitudes. In general, the data matches Birks' hypothesis of tree spreading in the archipelago (Birks, 1989). From approximately 7,000 BP, Alder scrub invaded resulting in a decline in other species. Particularly Pine, although thought of as tolerant to most conditions, is a poor competitor. Pine declined considerably from its peak at 6,200 BP for the next 1,000 years and from then on its presence was largely marginal.

Whilst the presence of Mesolithic hunter gatherers is evident in Ireland at this time, as yet no evidence of their presence has been discovered in the Wicklow Uplands, which Stout attributes to natural erosion (1994, p. 4). The Elm decline is observable in Glendalough at around 5,000 BP which corresponds with decline elsewhere. Evidence abounds that the Elm has never been a major species in the area, unlike the midlands, and neither does it appear to have been followed by the human intervention of the Neolithic period typical of the more fertile areas of the island.

Periods of ebb and flow of ice at the end of the glaciation period shaped the Irish landscape, and rather than being a period of stagnation it was in fact a time of immense

change biologically and physically. These advances and retreats of the ice sheets acted like a sandpaper moulding, contouring, and scarring the country's landscape. With the eventual retreat of ice approximately 10,000 years ago a new Ireland emerged revealing glacial features such as Drumlins, vast boulders, and deep valleys. Gurrin points out that that 'heavy clays, which would subsequently develop into vast bogs, had been deposited throughout much of the central regions and sandy eskers, built up by flowing melt-waters, snaked and meandered across many parts of the country' (2006, p. 3). Wicklow like many other parts of Ireland has obvious glacial features; the great granite mountains were eroded, abraded, and lowered into the smooth peaks of today by the ebbing glaciers. The Wicklow hills although not particularly high are some of the most distinctive and recognised features of the Irish topographical uplands. Not only were the mountains shaped, but curved deep valleys and glens were sculpted from the drainage flow of glacial waters. A prime example of one of these deep U-shaped valleys is Glendalough.

Glendalough lies in the centre of a spectacular glaciated valley, from which its name *Gleann Dá Loch* derives, the valley of the two lakes. Its dramatic scenery has enticed sightseers and pilgrims for centuries, but it is the monastic settlement site which predominantly draws the attention of contemporary visitors. In the early fifth century Christianity began to reach Ireland from western Britain and Gaul, the Irish church, however, was moulded into a monastic form rather than a diocesan form linked to Scotland and Wales (Mitchell, 1986, p. 159). From the fifth century onwards, the Christian church grew and thrived in Ireland and in the sixth century, Glendalough was founded by St. Kevin. The monastic settlement grew and flourished until its destruction by the Normans in 1398.

6.2 St. Kevin

Figure 1 St. Kevin (Theophilia, 2018)

Although no contemporaneous material relating to St. Kevin survives there does exist two valuable documents, written at a later date. The first in Latin, his *vita* (life) (Plummer, 1910) and the second in Irish, *Betha Caimgin* (Life of St. Kevin) From these manuscripts some information has been gleaned about St. Kevin's or *Coemgen* connections to Glendalough and the Irish Christian church organisation (Plummer, 2015, p. 125). However, while both of these sources may hold some information it must be noted that both were written centuries after St. Kevin's life, Maddox argues 'scholars have observed that the Irish lives, as they exist today, are often accounts that have been reworked and added to over a period of time'. Further 'Betha Caimgin most likely dates to the twelfth century…...like the Irish lives, the Latin is a compilation work, with its first recension c.800[56]…the Latin text as it appears now can most likely be dated to the twelfth to thirteenth century' (Maddox, 2011, p. 11). Throughout the literature Kevin is portrayed as a determined man of great simplicity, who had a particular affinity with nature.

Of nobility St. Kevin was the son of *Coemell* and *Coemlog* of the Dál Messin Corb, the proto-historical dynasty of Laigin, who ruled Leinster (MacShamhráin, 2005, p. 337). Like many descriptions of Christian saints' lives Kevin's birth was unusual[57]. He

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[56] MacShamhráin, 'Church and polity', P.6.

[57] As a side note in early Irish literature this theme of an unusual birth was also attributed to the great heroes such as *Cú Chulainn*, McCone has argued 'there are undeniable thematic and compositional affinities between medieval Irish sagas and saints' lives' (2000, p. 179).

is said to have been born without the usual pains of labour and was hence named *Coemgen* meaning *beautiful shining birth* in 498AD. As with other hagiographical accounts, St. Kevin's life contains tales of many remarkable events. The first transpired at his baptism when an angel is said to have appeared and insisted that he should be named Kevin, in Latin *pulcher-genitus* or the fair begotten. According to the seventeenth century antiquarian Archbishop James Ussher's account of *vitae Coemgeni scriptor memorat*, Kevin was educated by St. Petroc of Cornwall[58] from the age of seven, living with the monks until he was twelve (Ussher, 1687). Under St. Eonaghan he studied for the priesthood and was tutored initially by St. Petroc, who arrived in Leinster in 492AD. Kevin was later tutored in Kilnamanagh, County Wicklow, by his uncle, St Eugenius, a man educated in Rosnat and who later became the bishop of Ardstraw.

Subsequent to Kevin's ordination he is said to have gone to live as a hermit in a cave. Known now as St. Kevin's bed, at Glendalough, a remote and austere setting 'to withdraw from the world and live a life of prayer in solitude' (Manning, 2015, p. 128). Even though he was led by an angel, his journey to this cave was an arduous barefoot pilgrimage through rough terrain in skins with bare provisions[59]. It has been claimed that Kevin carved out the cave from the rock with his own hands. While Manning states that 'it was in fact largely chiselled out of the rock, probably with Iron tools' (2005, p. 113), the archaeological evidence suggests that the cave predates the period significantly. St. Kevin's cave is recorded in the archaeological inventory as a Bronze Age tomb (Hemp, 1937), however Grogan maintains that the evidence indicates that is was the possible entrance to a Bronze Age mine (Grogan & Kilfeather, 1997, p. 140).

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[58] See Jankulak (2000) who provides a comprehensive historical account of the life of St Petroc.
[59] Although this pilgrimage route is not precise pilgrims continue to follow a similar path, which is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

The consensus for many years held that the settlement site of Glendalough began at the upper lake and subsequently relocated to the lower lake. No evidence survives of this early period, and like the longevity of Kevin's life[60] the tales are dubious at best. This belief primarily arose from the various written sources of the lives of St. Kevin. The Latin life of St. Kevin relates how an angel of God appeared to St Kevin and instructed him, on behalf of God, to move from the shores of the upper lake to the lower valley and to develop the settlement in the new location. The tale recounts St. Kevin reluctance to make this move. The angel reassured him saying 'if you, with your monks, go to that place indicated, many sons of light shall be always in it; and after your time, the monks shall have sufficiency of earthly possessions, and many thousands of happy souls shall arise with you, from that place, to the kingdom of Heaven' (O'Hanlon, 1875, pp. 52-53).

Enmeshed in the stories of Kevin are numerous tales of miracles, many of which involve animals, inspiring comparisons with St. Francis of Assisi. Due to this reported love for and connection to animals he was dubbed the St. Francis of Ireland. St. Kevin is always depicted as a hermit who lived a life of solitude, a familiar trait associated with monks who aimed to be closer to God. After a long life dedicated to God, St. Kevin's death is reported in the Annals of Ulster as 618AD[61] (MacAirt & MacNiociall, 2000), however, these documents were not written contemporaneously and although possible, it is doubtful that Kevin lived over 120 years. Etchingham has argued 'the historical reality of St. Kevin….and of the foundation of Glendalough is altogether obscure, as are the origins of most Irish churches' and it is not until the second half of the seventh century that any relatively reliable evidence relating to the history of Glendalough was produced (2011, p. 23).

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[60] He reported lived to the age of 120 years, dying in 621AD.
[61] AU618.3 Caemgen of Glenn Dá Locha, and bishop Comgall, and bishop Eógan of Ráithe Síthe, rested.

On reading the Latin life of St. Kevin one is provided with an opportunity to 'glimpse St. Kevin's, and by extension, Glendalough's, perceived ability to provide refuge to those in need' (Maddox, 2011, p. 11). It is therefore understandable that the site became so attractive to settlers, pilgrims, visitors, and animals alike. In 540 AD the disciples of St. Kevin began to arrive, and the settlement site soon grew to include a cathedral, six churches and a round tower, becoming one of Europe's most important monastic sites within the period. For the next 600 years Glendalough flourished and is heavily referred to in the Irish Annals in connection with the deaths of abbots and various raids. However, throughout Glendalough's growth and lifespan it was highly politicised and allied to several influential political and financial dynasties. MacShamhráin contends that elite families influenced Glendalough by bringing it to the heart of the political rivalries of the north Leinster aristocratic dynasties (1996). Before the eighth century, as its wealth and population expanded, Glendalough attracted the rulers of Uí Dúnlainge, and its expansion at the lower lake in the eighth century was facilitated by the dynasty of Uí Máil, their influence is evident in the succession of abbots connected to the dynasty (MacShamhráin, 2005).

This politicisation is additionally evident as the burial ground of Leinster kings, Reefert or *ríogh-fheart* (meaning royal cemetery), situated within the site and recorded as the most sacred location in the settlement. 'Many kings and chiefs among the kings of Erin, and of Britain, chose to be buried in Glendalough for the love of God and Coemgen' (Price, 1940, p. 266). It is apparent that the inclusion of this burial site was of great political significance to the monastic settlement; however, it was equally as important to the royal families who buried their dead kings in the site. Doherty contends that hagiographies written between the tenth and twelfth centuries emphasise the importance of a Christian burial in Roman soil and through the importation of soil from Rome, elites

had the ability to be laid to rest in Ireland beneath Roman soil (1984, p. 99). According to the Lives of St. Kevin the introduction of Roman soil, by Kevin himself, provided Glendalough with the ability to attract high status burials:

> 'Cóemgen went to the court of Rome and brought back with him the wondrous earth.......
> Cóemgen brought with him the earth of Rome, to place it triumphantly in his cemeteries......one of the four havens for cleansing souls' (Plummer, 1997, p. 139).

Glendalough is referred to in the text as 'a gracious Rome, city of the angels' this elevation of status, due to its content of Roman soil, made Glendalough comparable to Rome. This Roman comparison coupled with its political connections set Glendalough as a rival to Clonmacnoise as the leading monastic settlement in Ireland from the ninth century onwards.

Glendalough thrived as a monastery, 'especially after the early tenth century, and had its heyday in the twelfth'(Grogan 2020). After the Irish church reforms[62] Glendalough seems to have been extensively rebuilt around the time of the Synod of Ráith Bressail (AD 1111) when it was chosen as an episcopal centre instead of Dublin. Nevertheless, its remote setting and the rise of a more powerful diocese in Dublin led to its gradual impoverishment and decline. A positive indication of its twelfth century zenith is associated with Laurence O'Toole, abbot from 1153–62 and later the charismatic archbishop of Dublin, who constructed the beautiful St Saviour's Friary church (c. AD 1155) on the eastern edge of the monastic complex. By the thirteenth century the abbacy and lands of Glendalough had been granted to the archbishop of Dublin.

It is conceivable that at both Armagh (Ó'Carragín, 2003, p. 140) and Glendalough (Harney, 2006) the original ecclesiastical burial site was focused on an earlier ferta, which

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[62] When a parochial and diocesan system was finally adopted to replace the traditional monastic model of the Irish Church.

was subsequently superseded by the construction of the later Christian cathedral (O'Sullivan, et al., 2010). Lynn and Mc Dowell have hypothesised that the presence of a ring ditch, the name of the early church, the fifth or sixth century date of the burials in Armagh (1988, pp. 59-60), all indicate that the pagan ferta was possibly consecrated for clerical use in the early years of Christianity in Ireland. Similarly, Corlett and Medlycott suggest that the re-use of a pagan ferta for the 'Reefert' at Glendalough, deriving from 'Riogh-Fheart' (2000, p. 161) indicates a possible pre-Christian connection. These propositions from Corlett, Lynn and Medlycott for the re-use or adaptation of existing tradition is entirely plausible as this course of action was not unusual in the early Christian period in Ireland 'it was Christianity itself that changed, as it did in most places to which it came, adapting to the customs of the hosts' (Lehane, 2005, p. 51).

From a sociological perspective both traditional customs and the new Christian belief systems could be viewed as social constructs Raymond Boudon asserts, people connect to tradition as 'it has always been that way' (1992). In order to make the new religion acceptable to the people within the era adaptations were made to make Christianity as similar as possible to the existing beliefs. Early Christians were highly flexible and focussed heavily on similarities and continuity between the old and the new ways. Burial system could have been viewed as the ideal means to encourage conversion. Mc Cormack identifies how burials were conducted as a transitional methodology for this connection to the existing customs, 'the transition between the two eras. The inhumed male may have been a Christian who still wanted to be buried with his ancestors' (1994, pp. 27-28). However, the impact of Christianity on secular rituals was limited. Pagan rituals and customs, such as the inauguration of kings survived several centuries after Christianity became the dominant belief system.

An informative example of adaptation of existing tradition is evident in the Latin life of St. Kevin where the saint encounters 'a most frightful creature' (Ó'Riain-Raedel, 2011) each night at the lake. The tale further relates how St. Kevin drove the monster from the lake. This tale of a saint expelling a monster from a lake is not unique in hagiographical tales. What is interesting and informative, however, is the inclusion of the renowned Irish mythological heroic figure of Finn Mac Cumaill to the story, who is said to have prophesised Kevin's victory over the beast.

> 'Finn Mac Cumaill prophesied likewise, that Cóemgen would overcome the horrible monster in the lesser lake..... that was destroying everyone and drive it into the other lake. Therefore, men and cattle, and all kinds of sick folk come to be healed and cured in the water of the lesser lake in honour of God and of Cóemgen' (Ó'Riain-Raedel, 2011).

By including Finn Mac Cumaill in St. Kevin's hagiography, the early Christian church was provided with a link to the earlier tradition, rooting the transition more firmly in the existing society and its traditions.

6.3 The history and archaeology

The origin of Irish ecclesiastical settlements, their structure and organisation, as well as classification (town, city etc) has been the subject of an ongoing debate among academics for many years, Etchingham eloquently puts it, the topic has sparked the spilling of 'much ink' (2011, p. 24). My intention is to avoid entry to the debate yet provide some of the arguments. Repeatedly scholars equate the origins of Irish ecclesiastical settlements as hermitages and 'religious cells set apart from the world, where monks could devote themselves to contemplative life' (Bradley, 2008, p. 326), Etchingham however contends that 'this 'myth of origins', as we may call it, is essentially a convention or cliché of that branch of medieval literature we call hagiography, of saints' 'lives'' (Etchingham, 2011, pp. 22-23). Although this enduring debate has significance in understanding the structure of early ecclesiastical settlements in Ireland, it does nonetheless slightly obscure the

fundamental objective. I would question whether the focus of this debate should be on 'labelling' historical settlement patterns/structures through the use of contemporary appellations. Conceivably, an acceptance that modern societal formations do not entirely mirror those of the past, may be a route to an agreement in this particular debate. Nevertheless, worthy, constructive, and authoritative conclusions have been deduced on the lives of people in monastic settlements such as Glendalough.

Originating at Díseart Cóemgin during the sixth century (Stout, 1989, p. 130) the monastic settlement at Glendalough expanded eastwards where a group of ecclesiastical buildings grew to be considered a 'monastic city' (Henry, 1965, p. 85). At its pinnacle, immediately prior to the Norman invasion, Glendalough consisted of Temple na Skellig, St. Kevin's Cell, Reefert, the burial ground of Leinster kings, St. Kevin's bed, the round tower, the Cathedral, St. Kieran's Church, our Lady's Church, Trinity Church, St. Saviour's Priory and the Priest's house (Grogan & Kilfeather, 1997, p. 138). All of these aforementioned buildings are visible today and provide us with an indication of the nature and extent of the buildings present at the site during the medieval period. The sheer number of ecclesiastical buildings suggests that a large population required catering for. Ó'Carragáin argues that St. Kevin's house/church must have had a dual function; that of reliquary and domestic (Ó Carragáin, 2011, p. 64). It is Ó Carragáin's assertion that the double-vaulted nature of St. Kevin's, among others, seems to have been manipulated by the builders in an attempt to render the space usable. This particular building has been dated to within a few decades of 1100 AD and relates to a period where Glendalough had attained a degree of prominence within ecclesiastical Ireland.

Glendalough's population is believed to have been made up originally of monks who followed the teachings of St. Kevin. Indeed 'many abbots are listed in the annals from the seventh to the eleventh century' and indeed beyond (Grogan & Kilfeather, 1997,

p. 138) (Mac Shamhráin, 1989) and the remains of hut platforms have long been recorded at the upper lake. Hemp and Gresham (1938, p. 280) record 70-80 sites in only a small section of the area surrounding the upper lake. Although seclusion was seen as a vital component of a monk's life, it was believed that isolation would bring the devotee closer to God, Glendalough was however not as secluded as it has been depicted. Archaeological evidence reveals an extensive road and track-way system; these access routes not only provided a means of conveying population but also an avenue for trade provisions. It is apparent that Glendalough would have catered for a population greater than its own immediate surroundings would have sustained. Stout argues that West Wicklow had a considerable population whose 'communities were linked to Glendalough by the paved way known as St. Kevin's Road' (1989, p. 129)

6.4 The monastic core; the surviving visible physical structures

Undoubtedly, the central area of the monastic complex was the site of the most important and sacred structures. The contemporary core is filled with in archaeological terms modern headstones from c 1790 to the late twentieth century, however this was the location of an extensive monastic cemetery from the medieval period. Evidence of early graves were discovered in this area including approximately 400 early grave slabs, many of which have inscribed crosses, in addition to many bullauns[63]. The majority of these grave slabs have been moved indoors for preservation[64], however some also remain in situ[65]. Prior to c. AD 800 all of the buildings were made of timber and thatch; thus, no visible remnants remain, these include churches, workshops, houses, barns, kitchen etc.

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[63] Bullauns are 'generally small boulders with deep hemispherical bowls cut in the upper surface and associated exclusively with monastic sites in Ireland. While their specific purpose in unknown it may be that they were used as mortars for grinding cereal for communion bread, or to contain holy water' (Grogan, 2020).
[64] Some are in the visitor's centre and others within St. Kevin's kitchen.
[65] Some remain in the cathedral and others immediately north of Kevin's kitchen.

Figure 2 : Aerial photograph of Glendalough's monastic core

Figure 3 : The monastic core (dotted line represents the possible outline of the termon or inner sanctum (Warren, et al., 2019)

This area was seen as the pinnacle of the monastery, it extends north from the gateway to the south in a U-shaped pattern. This very elaborate and strong 12th century gateway would suggest that the surrounding vallum was reasonably formidable, probably an earth and stone bank. Measuring 130m E-W by 125m N-S the inner encloser was surrounded

by an outer enclosure which may have occupied the area defined by the Glandassan and Glenealo Rivers extending westwards towards St Mary's Church (Grogan, 2020). Thus, St. Kevin's kitchen in the southwest would not have been enclosed within the inner sanctum.

6.5 The gateway
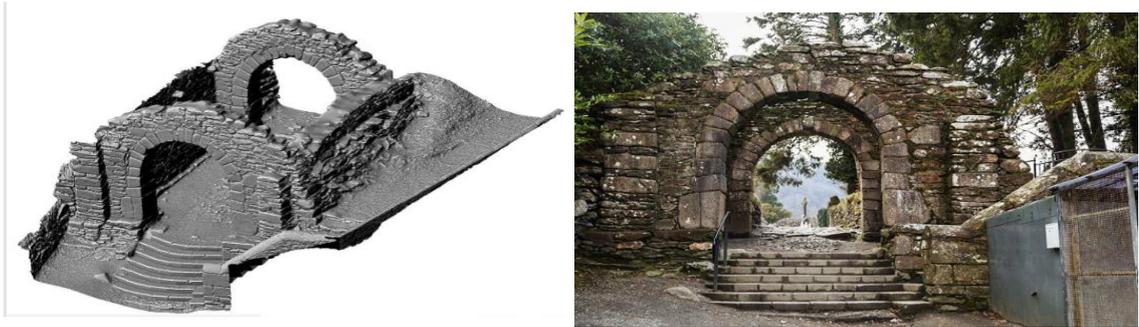
Figure 4 3D image of the gatehouse (The Discovery programme, 2020) and photograph of the gatehouse (Mc Adam, 2019).

As an entrance the monastic gateway is a striking feature comprising of two semi-circular arches of the pre-Norman masonry gatehouse. Unusually the structure has an antae, a feature normally associated with churches and is the only example of a monastic gatehouse in Ireland (Corlett, 2019, p. 14). This impressive 12th century entranceway includes a large upright stone slab featuring an incised cross (The Discovery programme, 2020), immediately emphasising to visitors that they are within an ecclesiastical area.

6.5.1 The Round Tower

The most prominent and aesthetically dominant physical structure in the monastic core is unquestionably the round tower. Dating from the Eleventh/Twelfth century[66] and located in the northwest corner of the enclosure, it stands 30.5m in height with a round headed doorway over 3m above ground level (Manning, 2016, p. 3). The round tower remains largely unchanged since its construction, with the exception of the conical roof which required reconstruction when the tower was struck by lightning in 1876, however, the

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[66] C.1050-1100 AD

original materials were used in this process. Materials used in the construction of the tower, such as the slate were not local and imported, demonstrating an impressive ability in logistics and wealth. With a granite surround door entrance (Kerr, 2011), the internal structure of the tower contains six floors, accessed by wooden ladders, with small windows at the top four levels.

Figure 5 Round tower during reconstruction 1876 (National Library of Ireland, 1876) and round tower (Mc Adam, 2020)

Round towers[67] were bell towers used to call the monks to prayer[68]. The top floor contained a window on each compass point and provided a birds-eye view of the monastery and the surrounding areas and was also used as a lookout post. In an era where the majority of buildings were constructed from wood and thatch, it is reasonable to surmise that the towers were also used as storehouses for valuable and flammable objects such as vestments and manuscripts. Additionally, Petrie maintained that the towers also

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[67] The Irish name for round tower was Cloigtheach directly translated as bell house.
[68] The bell was rung every four hours to call the labouring monks to pray. Glendalough is the only round tower to have a suspended bell mechanism (Kerr, 2011, p. 45).

functioned as a place of refuge during times when the monastery was under attack[69] (1845 (2016)). As a final function O'Keeffe has argued that the towers may have been high status royal chapels in a later period (2004). Glendalough's round tower has been painted and photographed from the earliest times and continues to be an aesthetic focal point.

6.5.2 The Cathedral

Figure 6 3D image of Cathedral (The Discovery programme, 2020) and Cathedral (Mc Adam, 2020)

Most of the archaeological information on the cathedral comes from Manning's studies. He maintains that it functioned as a cathedral until AD 1214[70], and is the earliest of all the surviving structures in the monastic core (Manning, 2015). Although the building is now a ruin, much of its structure and footprint remains, evidence of multi-period alterations and additions are present. From the earliest cyclopean masonry[71] of the nave walls, to the reconstructive work in the 1870s the cathedral has undergone many changes in its existence (Grogan, 2020).

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[69] The doors on round towers were purposefully erected at height as an additional security measure, however, according to Grogan the doors were placed high as would also' lessen the weakening of the structure if it had a ground floor door' (2020).
[70] This is when the diocese of Glendalough was incorporated into Dublin.
[71] Cyclopean refers to early masonry work using very large stone blocks with little stone-working and no mortar.

6.5.3 The Priest's house

Figure 7 The Priest's house (Corlett, 2019)

Southwest of the Cathedral sits the priest's house, so named in modernity as this is possibly the site of the burial place of the clergy. Much of this small shrine chapel is a poorly reconstructed representation, with the exception of the lower original wall parts, what may have been the site of the burial place of the monastery's founder[72] (Grogan, 2020). In the reconstruction several original features were mislocated, such as the unusual arch setting, or damaged tympanum, an often-triangular image[73],on the exterior door lintel.

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[72] 'This combination of a shrine and chapel is an indication of the 'cult of relics' in early medieval Ireland; other examples include 'Temple Ciaran at Clonmacnoise' (Grogan, 2020).
[73] Depicting a seated figure, possibly an abbot, flanked on the left by a bishop and on the right by a cleric with a hand bell (Grogan, 2020).

6.5.4 The High Cross (St. Kevin's cross also known as the wishing cross)
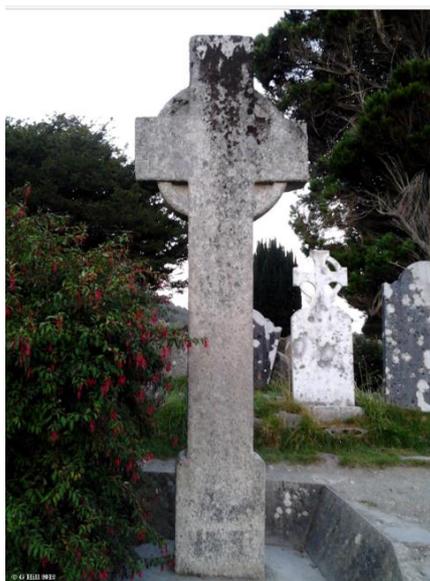
Figure 8 The wishing Cross/ High cross of Glendalough (Mc Adam, 2019)

Glendalough's high cross is undecorated, it stands at 3.35m tall and has a cross arm span of 1.17m. Although the cross is carved from granite like many of the other Irish high crosses the absence of decoration makes dating extremely difficult, however Grogan maintains that it most probably dates to the twelfth century as it is similar in structure to Fassaroe Crosses 'these generally have imperforate rings and representations of the crucifixion. These are dated to the twelfth century and may have been associated with the Irish Church reforms of that period' (2020). A tradition of spanning the cross is associated with Glendalough's high cross[74], where it is said that if a person can wrap their arms around the cross and touch fingers, that all their wishes will be granted.

6.5.5 St. Kevin's Kitchen

The only stone-roofed building in Glendalough to survive, it incorporates a croft between the barrelled vaulted ceiling and the roof (The Discovery programme, 2020). Also known as Kevin's church the building boasts a small round tower (belfry)[75], which as likened to

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[74] Spanning the cross is also associated with the other field study site of Durrow.
[75] St. Kevin's kitchen is one of only three churches in Ireland with the round tower like belfry, Trinity church also in Glendalough and Temple Finghin, Clonmacnoise.

a chimney, hence the name Kevin's kitchen. Built in and around 1100AD the small rectangular church, with a steep stone tiled roof (nave measuring c. 7m by 4.5m) had a chancel and sacristy added at a later date[76] to the east.
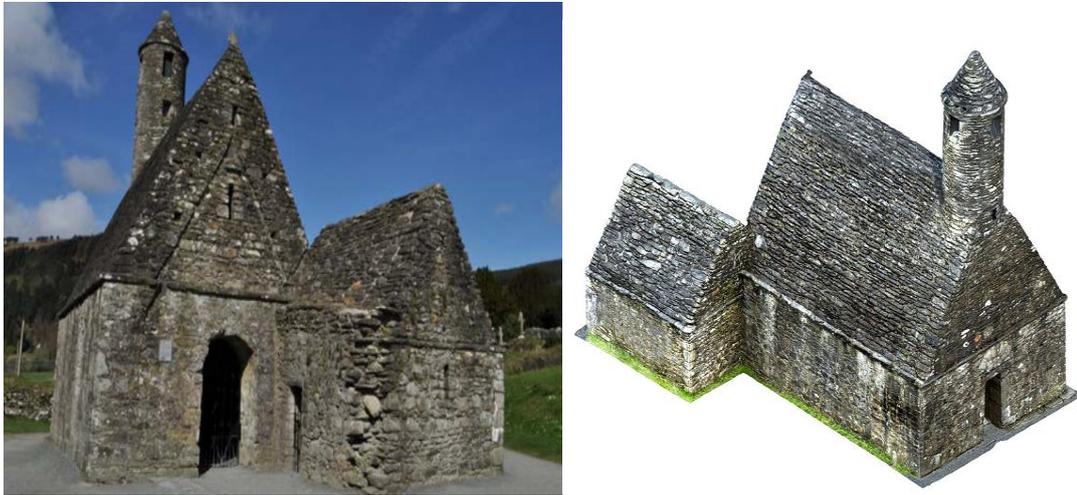
Figure 9 St. Kevin's Church (Mc Adam, 2019) and 3D image of St. Kevin's church (The Discovery programme, 2020)

A trapezoidal door similar to the Cathedral to the west of the building has a flat lintel with inclined jambs and to the east is a small window (Grogan, 2020). The high vaulted barrel ceiling originally housed an upper wooden floor beneath it, lit by a small window at the eastern end. This floor has long since disappeared, the purpose for the floor is unclear but was possibly used as a living quarter of a monk. In addition to this another chamber was present within the roof space above the vault. It is lit by a small window at the east end. Again, the purpose of this space is unclear, although it most probably functioned as safe storage space for precious manuscripts and relics. Due to the fact its only means of access would have been by a very tall ladder and a small hole in the vaulted ceiling (Corlett, 2019).

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[76] Added possibly in the 12th century (Grogan, 2020).

6.6.6 St. Mary's Church

Figure 10 St. Mary's also known as the nun's chapel (Mc Adam, 2018)

Situated less than 100m west from the main monastery St. Mary's Church has an estimated construction date of 1100AD. The building is situated outside of the main enclosure as it was used by women and nuns[77], it was originally built as a single cell church, but a North door and chancel were added in the 12th century. Corlett contends the church was built in memory of Dorborgaill who died in Glendalough in 1098 subsequent to joining the nunnery. She was the mother of king of Munster Muirchertach Ua Briain (2019, p. 21). At the eastern end of the chancel a crude modern alter which has been constructed using subcircular bullaun stone sits on a rectangular pile of stones. Within the enclosed space surrounding the church lies the graveyard, where two decorated cross-slabs in the chancel and a number of rude crosses and cross-slabs. The ruins of St. Mary's are situated on private property and is not accessible to the general public, therefore even as a ruin, as it was in its contemporary form, this building remains a second-class monument. Not only was this building personified it was also gendered.

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[77] It is important to note the gender division of the early Christian church, although Irish society was prominently patriarchal at this time, it was however much more egalitarian than the monastic community, as evinced through the Early Irish law texts (Kelly, 2009).

Situated on the far side of the Glenealo river, along the green road, south of Kevin's kitchen sits the deer stone. It sits among a pile of stones and can be identified by a bowl shape basin. Like the alter in St. Mary's church this is a Bullaun stone[78],however, this stone has a particular uniqueness, as attached to it is an infamous folklore tale.

Figure 11 The Deerstone, Glendalough (Mc Adam, 2020)

Within the Lives of Kevin lies the tale "there was a shortness of milk in Glendalough at that time. Kevin saw a doe and her fawn, and commanded her to half her milk and lactage to his foster-child … But a wolf came to the doe and killed her fawn. Then Kevin wrought a great miracle. He commanded the wild wolf to take the place of the fawn with the doe. In the hollow stone … the doe would leave every day enough of her milk and lactage to satisfy the child" (Plummer, 1997). Corlett argues that this tale bears striking similarity

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[78] Glendalough is home to several bullaun stones, one at the gatehouse in the carpark entrance to the site, another on the trackway to St. Kevin kitchen, and another in the wall of the cathedral to mention a few.

to the bible myth of Romulus and Remus and their rearing by a wolf, this again is a purposeful comparison, like Reefert, to Rome.

6.5.8 St. Kevin's well

Figure 12 St. Kevin's Well, Glendalough (Mc Adam, 2020)

As with monastic sites throughout Ireland a holy well is present at Glendalough. Situated SW of the main enclosure along the green road, St. Kevin's well is one of the lesser visited areas by general tourists. The well most probably dates to before the monastic settlement, it is a small circular ground hole accessed by four small steps downward. Glendalough's pattern day occurs on the 3rd of June and as part of the tradition the well is visited by pilgrims.

6.6 Trade and craft

While evidence indicates that Glendalough was a thriving pilgrimage site for devoted/devout Christians, the extent of the road and track way network would suggest a use which exceeded mere pilgrimage. Transport is an integral requirement for trade, without roads traders would not have the ability to transport their goods. To assess the importance of trade to the settlement at Glendalough one must consider the evidence for production on site. Firstly, the number of Crosses and cross slabs within the cemeteries and in particular the Reefert Church '*ríogh-fheart* the burial place of Kings' (Grogan & Kilfeather, 1997, p. 142) constructed from Mica-schist, granite and shale indicate local

production. Mica-schist is produced when solidifying Magma cooks the surrounding rock, transforming the shales and mudstone into mica-schist. A clear geological divide is evident in the valley, running north-south across the western edge of the Upper Lake (National Parks and Wildlife service, 2014). As such the propensity to see Granite, Mica-schist and Shale utilised in the production of many of the monuments in Glendalough is indicative of local active crafts people.

Secondly the discovery of charcoal and charcoal production sites provides valuable evidence for local production. Charcoal is essential for iron smelting, as other forms of fuel do not obtain the constant and sustained heat required for this manufacturing process. Glendalough yields evidence of smelting and charcoal production at sites within the valley. A 'charcoal layer first encountered by Dr. Barry was further excavated in cuttings' (Manning, 1983/84, p. 344). This charcoal layer was found to be over 4m in diameter and 30cm thick at the centre. It was at a depth of 45 to 60cm (ibid) with three pits dug into the 'boulder clay directly beneath'. Manning further maintains that these pits were used for smelting. The overlay of this dark layer varied across its diameter yet, parts of it contained 'shards of green glazed thirteenth century jugs' (1983/84, p. 346) (Grogan & Kilfeather, 1997). This provides a clear indication that during the thirteenth century there was a degree of industrial activity involving charcoal production and smelting at Glendalough. The process of charcoal production at Glendalough has been reviewed by Kenny (2010) and by Downey and O'Sullivan (2009) stating that there are two primary forms of production, pit kilns and mound kilns (Warren, et al., 2012). In a pit kiln wood is stocked in a cut pit where it is sealed and fired, as opposed to a mound kiln where wood is stacked on the surface and sealed (Warren, et al., 2012, p. 86), Kenny, O'Sullivan and Downey are in agreement that mound kilns were more efficient and produced a higher

quality of charcoal and are associated with iron-working (Downey and O'Sullivan 2009; Kenny 2010).

As Iron and metal working facilities are evident in Glendalough, it is therefore reasonable to assume that quantities of church metalwork were present on site. The enduring assumption has been that the purpose of Viking raids was for the procurement of these church metal works. Arriving from the coast at Arklow in 836 AD, the Vikings attacked Glendalough. Their forces marched over twenty miles through hostile and difficult terrain up through the valley of the Avonmore, and attacked the settlement unexpectedly from the south-east, burning half the monastery (MacShamhráin, 2005, p. 337). While it is thought that initial raids were purely for plunder, Etchingham has argued that due to allegiances with Irish factions later raids are much more politically motivated. Additionally, it appears that the targets for the raiders was not metal work but to carry off human captives[79]. Both MacShamhráin and Etchingham (2011, p. 211) concur that although scholars have argued, and people believe, that the Viking impact on Ireland, in general, was shattering it was not the case for Glendalough. 'For Glendalough, …. The Age of the Norsemen seems to have brought no discernible change' (MacShamhráin, 1996, p. 77). Archaeological evidence dates the construction of the round tower to the 10th or 11th century. O'Keeffe asserts that the ecclesiastical monuments, round towers, emerged in the tenth century with their commonality increasing in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (2004, p. 72). These dates are significantly later than any Viking invasion. This evidence categorically disputes the oft mentioned purpose for the building of the towers, protection of the monasteries and monks from the Vikings. Annalistic evidence also indicates that while Viking raids on Glendalough are recorded, the majority

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[79] Etchingham maintains that 'the annals do give details of what Vikings took from church settlements in the course of their raiding, it is clear they aimed to carry off human captives, who might be ransomed or sold as slaves' (2011, p. 215).

of raids were in fact executed by opposing Irish ruling families and were for the purpose of political domination.

6.7 Palynology

Additional scientific evidence relating to the activities in Glendalough has been obtained through the use of pollen sampling and analysis. Samples are gathered by drilling down through the earth and collecting samples of soil at specific intervals. The depth of the soil will directly relate to a period in time, based on radiocarbon dating systems. Pollen is generally dispersed into the air from vegetation; these pollen grains are known to accumulate in waterlogged areas such as lakes, ditches and peat bogs. 'As the outer surface of a pollen grain or exine is highly durable, pollen can be preserved in sediments for long periods so can be used for identification' (Mitchell & O'Carroll, 2015, p. 211). Like our DNA pollen grains are unique to each species and can be identified under microscopic examination. 'Each grain is different in structure and shape, therefore by identifying the amount and variety of pollen grains at each level in the past, the population and types of vegetation that existed in any given area can be reconstructed' (Moore, et al., 1991). When samples are collected and microscopically analysed scientists create a pollen diagram, which graphically expresses the frequency of the different types of pollen over time. Radiocarbon dating of organic samples from the core can then be used to provide a chronological framework for the data (Mitchell & O'Carroll, 2015, pp. 211-212).

Pollen analysis has provided evidence of tree clearances in the seventh century (Mitchell, et al., 2018). There does not appear to be an alteration or increase in grass or cereal pollen, it is therefore reasonable to propose, from the evidence of charcoal production, that these clearances did not occur for agricultural production. As there are few sources for Glendalough within this period, but it is highly likely that after the

founding of the monastery there was a population decline. On the other hand, the pollen data does not provide information on economic linkages with the rest of Leinster for the importation of agricultural produce.

Stout argues that an increase in agricultural productivity is associated with this foundational period of ecclesiastical settlements; mainly due to improvements in dairying practices and technology (Stout, 1997, p. 132). Mitchell contends that ploughing technology and iron shares came to Ireland from Roman Britain in the early Christian period 'the principle of mounting a vertical iron knife or *coulter* in the frame of the plough…..was well known in Roman Britain, and from there must have spread to Ireland, because we now know that there were contacts between the two' (Mitchell, 1986, p. 153). Yet, Kelly and Brady argue that the *coulter* was a later innovation from the tenth century and that neither the *mouldboard* nor the wheeled plough were known before the twelfth century (Kelly, 1997) (Brady, 1992). For Ryan new settlement systems and social organisation, including Christian institutions, may have been significant in the development of Medieval Irish farming. Interestingly Stout also suggests that an economic dichotomy within the Saints lives *Vitaes,* which associate the miracles of youth with pastoral activities, and the miracles of adulthood with tillage, reflects the ecclesiastical dietary bias to vegetarianism (1997, pp. 129-130).

The introduction of the horizontal water mill in the seventh century (Long, 1994, pp. 171-172) provided technological advancements in the area of milling. Archaeological excavations have uncovered three granite millstones from Glendalough, indicating the importance of the settlement as a milling centre. The remit of monasteries was not to personally profit from work, but these trades would have had the potential do add value and would have been a significant source of wealth creation (Long, 1994). The Annals of

Tigernach record the mill of Glendalough, along with the bridge, as being swept away in a great flood[80].[81]

The foundation of the Parish of St. Kevin in the city of Dublin, after c. 940 AD, provides a link to a possible Parish market (Edwards, 1996, p. 105). The Scandinavian Urnes style on the twelfth century market cross illustrates the monastery's connection to commercial trade markets (Long, 1994). These linkages highlight that the monastery's relationship to the Vikings is contrary to the perception that Vikings only raided the *Civitas* of Glendalough. Although raids are well documented and did occur, in all the recorded instances of raiding, five were carried out by the Vikings as opposed to six by Irish (Long, 1994, p. 174).

At its pinnacle Glendalough settlement did not merely contain churches and monastic cells but also guesthouses, workshops, an infirmary, farm buildings and houses. The majority of the surviving buildings date from the tenth through to the twelfth centuries. In 1111 at the Synod of Rath Breasail, Glendalough was designated one of two dioceses of the province of North Leinster (MacShamhráin, 2005, p. 337). Later it achieved the status of priory (Grogan & Kilfeather, 1997, p. 138). This suggests a school was present and indicates not only the presence of scholars but an external recognition of such. According to Barrow (Glendalough and St Kevin, 1974: 57)

> 'it was a centre of religion and learning from Kevin's time down to the Norman invasion but the only surviving manuscripts thought to have been produced there are the Drummond missal ... and two pages from a Latin textbook in the British Museum'.

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[80]AT1177. A mighty outbreak of water, for greatness resembling a mountain, went through the midst of Glendalough, carried away the bridge and mill of the town and left some of its fish amid the town. (Mac Niociall, 2010).

[81] Storm flooding remained a regular problem until the early nineteenth century, when reportedly the Irish Mining company conducted water drainage works to resolve the issue (Lewis, 1837).

Evidence for craftsmanship abounds in the Crosses and cross-slab scattered throughout the complex. Harney has argued that the form and style of the Medieval crosses and cross slabs at Glendalough indicate a presence and a development in style from between the seventh and eleventh century at Glendalough (2011, pp. 113-117). Indeed, one of the cross slabs against the inner North wall of the Chancel of the Cathedral bore the inscription 'OR DO MUIRCHERTACH U CHATALA (N) OCUS DO GUTNODAR' (Grogan & Kilfeather, 1997, p. 144), thereby placing the grave slab in the twelfth century (O' Donovan, 1856: M1151.14). Further to these and at its pinnacle it has been argued that with its elevated status after the Synod of Rathbreasil, Glendalough seems to have enjoyed a golden period (Ó Floinn, 2011, pp. 101-103). Evidence for this exists in the 'Market cross'. Now situated in the visitors centre it has been moved a number of times in its history. Yet it's ornate 'crucifixion figure on the E face and patterns of zoomorphic interlace on the S and N sides' (Grogan & Kilfeather, 1997, p. 138) render it rare among contemporary sculptures (Ó Floinn, 2011, p. 98). Ó Floinn has linked it to the 'Speaking crucifix' of Dublin and furnished it with an importance within the history of Glendalough (2011, pp. 99-102).

Within this period St. Kevin's bed is described in the Latin life of St. Laurence O' Toole. Genealogically linked to the Uí Muiredaig dynasty, he held the position of Abbot for Glendalough, later became archbishop of Dublin from 1162 until his death in 1180[82] and became the first Irish man to be canonised in 1225 (Manning, 2005, p. 110). His hagiography was written shortly after his canonisation and stated that he frequented St. Kevin's bed, at times for forty-day periods (Plummer, 1919, pp. 141-2).

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[82] AFM1180.1 Lorcan O'Toole, i.e. Lawrence, Archbishop of Leinster and Legate of Ireland, suffered martyrdom in England.

The dioceses of Dublin and Glendalough were united in 1214, and soon after the religious and cultural status of Glendalough began to fall into decline. In 1398[83], English forces sacked and destroyed the settlement, however even in ruins the monastic site continued to be used as a local place of worship and pilgrimage. There are accounts right up to the 18th and 19th centuries which provide descriptions of 'riotous assembly' annually on the 3rd of June, the Feast of St. Kevin. The early Christian church organisation was aware that their only chance of prosperity in the country was not only to orientate their belief systems to the native structures but also to ally themselves with the political elites. It is unsurprising that references exist which connect church festivities and political organisations. The Irish life of St. Kevin references an *óenach*[84] for the Leinster men; Etchingham maintains that the inclusion of the term Leinster men, was for political purposes to glorify the province and its political elite (Etchingham, 2011, p. 44).

This chapter's objective was to demonstrate and illustrate not only how Glendalough developed as a monastic settlement but also its historic foundations. As a heritage site little of this historic information is imparted to the tourists, demonstrating how heritage and history are not the same. Glendalough is a site of complex and diverse history. It has and continues to be a site of national significance; a place of archaeological expedition. From its inception Glendalough has been a site of political contention, and has accommodated many agendas, from Christianity to nationalism. It's without doubt one of the most visited heritage sites in Ireland, although a large proportion of visitors are not there to explore the monastic history. So as to provide both an informative understanding of Glendalough as a place and to describe the physical material artefacts this chapter

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[83] AFM1398.7 Gleann da loch was burned by the English.
[84] Óenach in this context refers to feasting and hospitality, the word over the centuries has become synonymous with economic trade fairs however, this translation Etchingham has argued is 'unjustified' (2011, p. 44).

located, illustrated and explained each in detail. Physical artefacts are fundamental to the ideal form; thus, each archaeological remnant is included as it is crucial to the understanding of Glendalough as a heritage site. Nevertheless, many of the monastic structures that remain on site have had at least some reconstruction, in order to enhance the visitor's experience. Glendalough is a place of immense beauty and is aesthetically alluring, predominantly due to the geographical and natural features.

Chapter 7: The spatial organisation of Glendalough

If as hypothesised heritage is a complex and diverse concept, the process of conducting research on the subject should be equally as intricate and multifaceted. This chapter also focusses on the first of the two case study locations, Glendalough. As discussed in the previous chapter Glendalough lays in the centre of a spectacular glaciated valley, from which its name derives, *Gleann Dá Loch*, the valley of the two lakes. Geographical it is situated centrally within the Wicklow National Park which includes areas of National Forest. Its spectacular scenery has lured sightseers and tourists for centuries, and within this valley lies the remains of the renowned and celebrated monastic settlement and its associated heritage site. The monastic ruins lie the heart of the valley offering a juxtaposition to the contemporary small village of Glendalough. However, the monastic settlement, although arguably the most dominant, is not the only place of heritage interest, the entire valley is dotted with both mining sites, more contemporaneous features, as well as other recognised archaeological artefacts, in addition to natural heritage. This chapter is concerned with the movement of people to, from and around Glendalough, thus it was necessary to illustrate and map all of the access routes in the area. Spatiality as a concept is discussed to provide an understanding of how space, time and the movement of people affects Glendalough as a place. The first part of this chapter is set out in sections highlighting the diverse categories of visitors and residents of Glendalough, from the locals to tourists, and how these groups can be divided up into further subgroupings. With the use of the fieldwork data the second part of the chapter focusses on the different governing bodies in Glendalough and illustrates their areas of authority. Finally, the last section of the chapter examines the areas of conflict in Glendalough and discusses how these spaces are negotiated using data obtained from interviews.

7.1 Spatialities and temporality (flow and Time)

Spatiality as a concept comprises 'a dialectical relationship between how we sense space and how space affects our senses' (Slater, 2006, p. 148). Therefore, in order to provide an understanding of spatiality this section will concentrate on how the space is sensed and arranged in Glendalough. As this is a site of multiple functions it is thus crucial to arrange the users into categories, along with positioning which areas they are interested in, it is necessary to outline who has authoritative control over each area. Spatial configuration in Glendalough has a discernible effect on the social, political, ecological and economic systems of the place.

Historically Glendalough has had people and traffic flow in and out of the area from before records began, evinced by the archaeological inventory. The earliest travellers most probably arrived by foot, most probably along the archaeologically discovered and documented ancient roadway system. With time, societal formation, and transportation advancements, how people flowed in and out of Glendalough altered. Roads capable of transporting horse, then horse-drawn carriages, followed by motorised vehicles were built. These access routes have gone largely unaltered[85], in number and route, for hundreds of years. A local historian commented,

> "People have been coming to Glendalough since immemorial. Now at the moment there is a big difficulty getting access" (Jane).

Bearing this in mind and how flow would have increased with population expansion it is interesting to look at Glendalough spatially as a means of assessing how society interact with it as a heritage site.

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[85] Changes to the physical make up the roads have altered in that they are tarmacked; traffic markings and signposting have been upgraded may times over this period.

How people flow in, out and around the site is unusual, some of these flows are humanly devised, however Glendalough's geographical position itself affects these flows, or in some respects the obstruction of the flows. A site that just so happens to sit at the base of a steep valley, with only two road access channels and belonging to a society that has no intention of increasing these physical road networks, Glendalough is spatially unique in many ways. With space inevitably comes elements of order and chaos, coincidental occurrences and even happenstance. Massey tells us 'There is always an element of chaos in space. It is a chaos which results from those happenstance juxtapositions…the often-paradoxical character of geographical configurations, in which precisely a number of distinct trajectories interweave, and, sometimes, intersect' (1999, p. 284). I have divided these flows into social and political[86] use systems in order to map the area spatially. Additionally, while distance is measured in kilometres in the physical sense, many of the maps and literature pertaining to visiting Glendalough is focussed on time as a distance measurement. 'The anxiety of our era has to do fundamentally with space' (Foucault, 1967). Since the local community are permanently resident at the site, I concluded this as the ideal starting point.

7.2 The locals
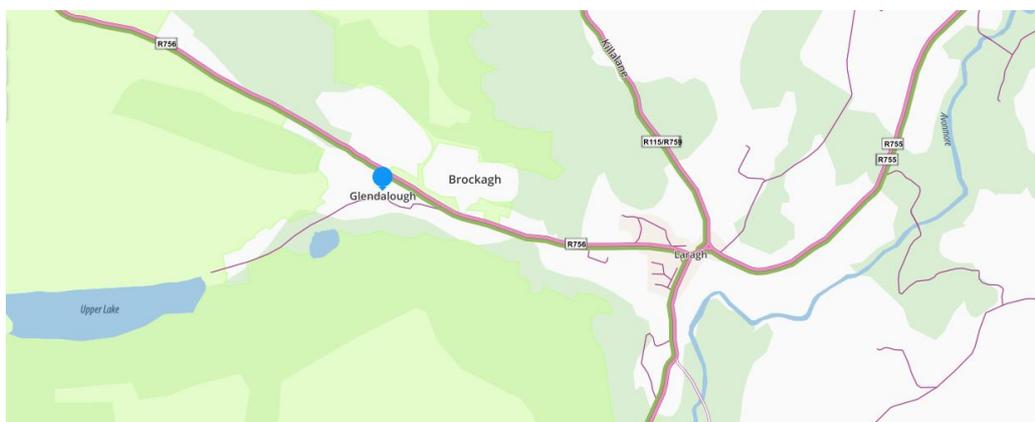
Figure 13 Map of Glendalough (Googlemaps, 2021)

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[86] By political here I refer to the authorities that govern Glendalough, for example The OPW.

Glendalough's village is small, consisting of approximately sixteen homes, one hotel, a gift shop, some craft stalls at the monastery gates and several food outlets in the upper lake car park. The village of Laragh is 2.1 kms to the East or approximately 4 minutes driving on an empty relatively straight minor national road. The people who live in Laragh also regard themselves as Glendalough locals. All amenities, such as shops, petrol stations, functioning churches, community halls and the GAA club are situated in Laragh. A Glendalough village local therefore must travel out of their residency to avail of these essential services. With few businesses in the area, it can be assumed that the majority of the local population do not work in the immediate area and must consequently travel elsewhere to engage in their employment. Within the interview data it became apparent that many of the locals avoid the heritage site and village area at peak times of the day and year

> "it's almost impossible to come here on Sundays" (Jane)

with another stating,

> "People are making decisions not to come up when there are tourists around" (Catherine).

Thus, from this it can be postulated that flow during peak times includes very few of the local population. While the locals make up a small portion of those moving in, around and out of the site, it is those who come as visitors to the site that are responsible for the majority of flow of movement.

7.3 Types of visitors, the flow(ees)

Various estimates for visitor numbers are available for Glendalough. Some are based on gate counters and others on data recorded by the heritage centre. The OPW have released their data for 2018 with a verifiable 76,562 ticketed and 732,824 counter visitors recorded as present at the Glendalough Visitor Centre & Monument (Office of Public Works, 2019). These figures contrast with the numbers put forward by the County Council (1.3

million), the NPWS service who from counter data claim it to be 1.7 million, and the local politician who maintains,

"We have over 1 million visitors per year" (John),

and a Heritage council employee who also states the numbers at 1.7 million. Given how Glendalough as a site is spatially organised it is unsurprising that there is inconsistency in the figures. The site's spatial organisation makes attaining a completely accurate visitor number almost impossible, with numerous entrances and routes and several governing authorities estimates vary. What is possible to ascertain is the types of visitors (flowees) who reach Glendalough, and how they get to the site (flows).

7.3.1 The hikers (hiking route maps)
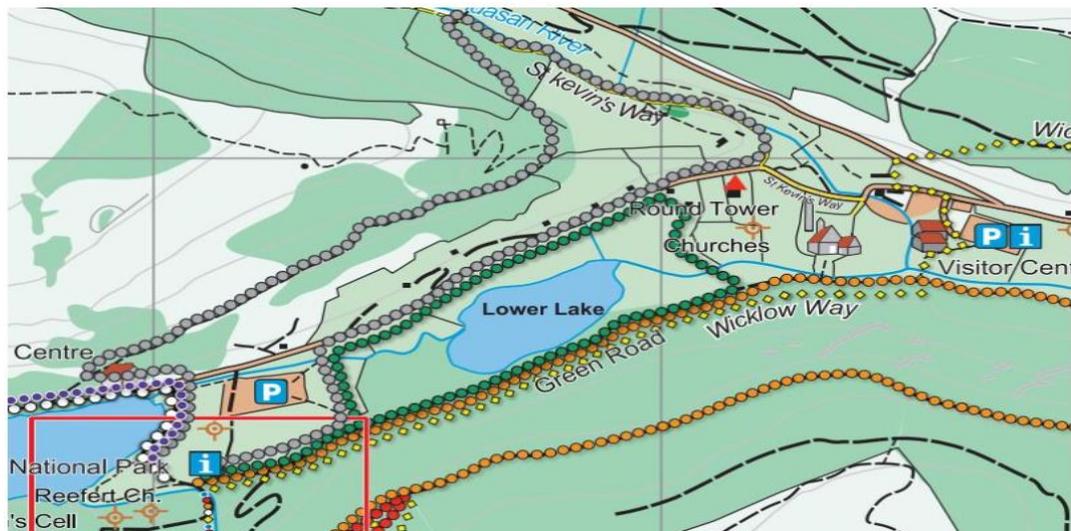
Figure 14 Walking trails around Glendalough (National Parks and Wildlife Service , 2019)

As Glendalough functions on several spatial levels the types of visitors to the site are reflective of its the complexity. Besides early rising local community members, ordinarily the first arrivals to the valley are hillwalkers intent on a full day walking over them multiple trackways throughout the area. Inclement weather in Ireland can inhibit this leisure activity especially during the winter months generally off limits to hikers. One local community member stated the season begins,

Hikers have a clear agenda, they are not there to take in the monastic/heritage site or the history of the place, they are going to walk. Many walking treks are mapped, and sign posted throughout the valley, and for a lot of the hikers Glendalough is a starting point or even more simply a place to park before they spend the day hill-walking. Hikers will have little to no interaction with staff, tourists, or the local community on their visit. As a group they are almost completely disconnected to the other flowees. Yet, at the busiest times of the day and year they are confronted with congestion along the main access routes, paths, tracks, and roads (flows).

7.3.2 The pilgrims
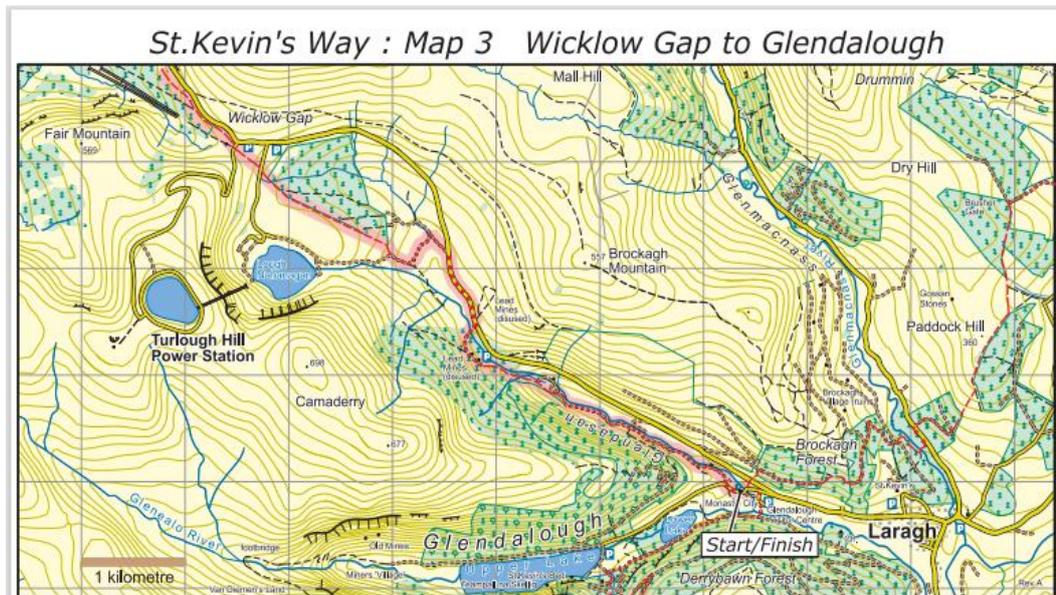
Figure 15: Pilgrimage route map, Glendalough (Brokagh Resource Centre, 2020)

Pilgrims have been flocking to Glendalough since the earliest of times along an ancient road and trackway system uncovered by archaeological survey. Seclusion was seen as a vital component of a monk's life, where it was believed that isolation would bring the devotee closer to God. Glendalough was however, not as secluded as has been depicted. Archaeological evidence reveals an extensive road and track-way system; these access

routes not only provided means of travel for the pilgrims of the era but also a route to convey the population, as well as an avenue for trade provisions. Conleth Manning's work points to an example of this at Glendalough. North of the Green Road an examination revealed 'traces of an ancient road' (1983/84, p. 346). Measuring 2.5 to 3m in width, the road uncovered which Manning asserts 'though the dating of the ancient road is uncertain it is possible that it was built to connect the twelfth century St. Saviour's Priory with the rest of the settlement' (1983/84, pp. 346-7). The road consisted of a generally level track measuring 3m across (ESB, 1972, p. 37) (Grogan & Kilfeather, 1997, p. 139). One particular section of the road runs from the top of the Wicklow gap in a SE direction as far as Glendasan valley at a total distance of c.2350m it has a bank 1.5m in width and 0.5m in height (Grogan & Kilfeather, 1997, p. 139). Its irregular surface at times with boulders left in situ giving an indication that this was a foot path for pilgrims and that the journey along it was most probably have been part of a ritual.

Contemporaneously many of these tracks and roads are still used for pilgrimages to Glendalough. Two of the most popular of these routes begin at Hollywood and Valleymouth respectively, converging at Ballinagee Bridge[87] towards the Wicklow Gap, spanning a distance of approximately 30kms. Pilgrimages are journeys embarked upon by religious or spiritual people, to demonstrate their devotion, do penance for their sins or to feel closer to God, and nature. Pilgrim flagstones are dotted along this journey and traditionally the walker will stop and pray at each of these sites. Whilst some of the religious visitors do make the pilgrimage and walk to their sacred destination, the majority arrive by bus, bike or car.

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[87] where they join the old trackway

Some pilgrims do stay in the area, some for a night or two; others for extended periods. Two separate hermitages are situated within the valley, one a large self-contained former An Oige hostel, with five apartments on the main road towards Laragh, and the second consists of six small cottages that can be hired out and lies at the centre of Glendalough itself.

> "Glendalough well part of it is the beauty of the place like it is surrounded by beautiful scenery so going there is going to be more special than other places, going there is very religious now and you're reminded of beauty…the stars, our nature…and it reminds me of God" (Mary).

Although Glendalough has its foundations in Christianity representatives from the Tearmann Spirituality Centre, say they welcome pilgrims of all faiths,

> "Whatever your background, wherever you come from, or even whatever faith background you come from, you are welcome here, it's ok with us what faith you come from because we're talking spirituality and spirituality unites all people" (Joe).

This contrasts with a visitor to the Hermitage centre at the other side of the village where it appears to be a much more Christianity based retreat place she stated

> "I feel it is God's place, a holy place…. I went there for one reason really just to connect to God and to read and go for walks and appreciate nature and to go to mass, I prayed everyday" (Catherine).

While both of these centres see Glendalough as a spiritual place, how they use the space varies. Those visiting the hermitage centre are largely left to themselves and can choose to join in group activities or not, participating is optional. In contrast how the spirituality centre utilise the place differs, they employ a daily schedule of sessions which are centrally focussed on the Glendalough site. Some of their events are inclusive of the local community. Generally, they conduct a completely separate daily existence. When speaking of local involvement, a representative of the centre stated

"They join on Good Friday and also lots of them join us on stations of the cross and follow along the green road, we had a good few locals" (the Green Road runs parallel to the main road at the rear of the heritage site) (Patricia).

The majority are day-trippers who come to pray to St. Kevin, look at the churches and artefacts and feel closer to God like the monks and pilgrims of the past.

7.3.3 The sight seers /day-trippers…motorised tourists
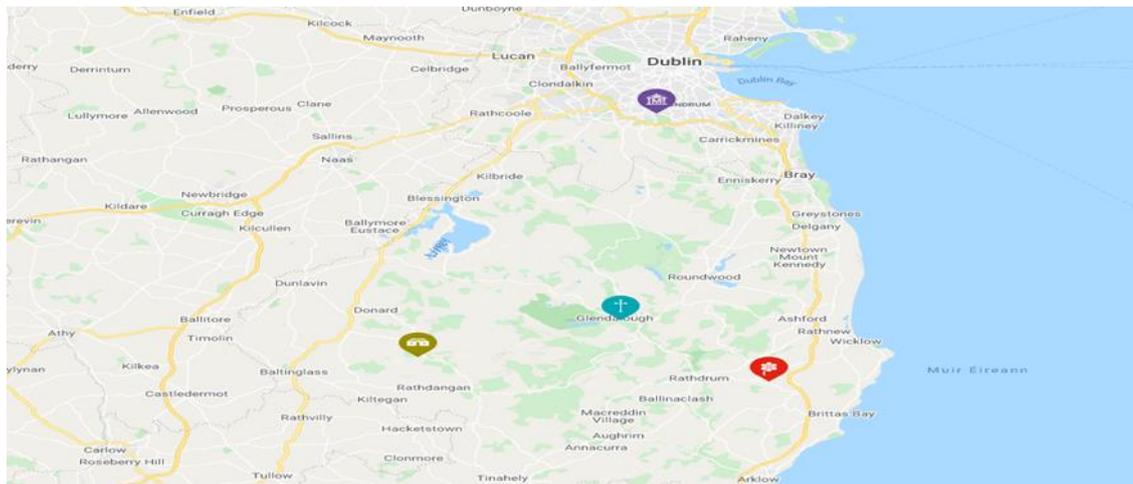
Figure 16: Road map of Dublin and Wicklow (Googlemaps, 2021)

These are by far the largest and most consistent and diverse of the visitor groups. Generally, they arrive by car at any-time of day, as they are the least constricted by time and distance. Some are coming to picnic and play, others are there to take a walk around the site, maybe looking at the heritage site. Bearing in mind Glendalough's geographical position, they are almost without exception motorised tourists. A car or a motorbike is no longer regarded a luxury item in contemporary society. Advances in mechanical technologies over the past decades have made cars more reliable and safer, as well as making journeys more comfortable, affordable, and quicker. Spatially then places become closer as the time to travel the same distance decreases, Marc Augé refers to this as the shrinking of the planet (1995). As such connectivity between places and people have increased motorised vehicle use has become entrenched in our everyday life. So much so that people no longer think about how they will make the journey or how far it is spatially,

but rather how long temporally it will take to make the trip. Slater explains the motorised vehicle has 'become an extension of our senses to the extent that we feel through the body of the car' (2006, p. 149). So much so, Dant argues we 'are adding wheels to our anatomy' and contends that driving has become so engrained and an 'embodied skill' in our everyday lives that it is now 'a taken for granted way of moving through space' (2004, pp. 72-73).

7.3.4 The heritage centre visitors and the tour groups (heritage monuments map)

These visitors come to Glendalough to visit the monastic settlement and heritage centre, as well as the listed national monuments. It can be assumed that those who pay into the heritage centre are there to see, have interest in and want to learn the heritage of Glendalough. With 76,562 ticketed (Office of Public Works, 2019) visitors to the centre, it is the only clear number available of all the groups coming to Glendalough. These flowees arrive by car or bus and enter the site through the first entrance to the heritage centre. On foot they enter the building and partake in the exhibit, which according to the OPW includes 'an interesting exhibition and an audio-visual show' (2019). The exhibit includes the 17-minute video presentation and is estimated to take approximately 30 to 40 minutes. As an optional extra visitors can pay to be brought on a guided tour of the monastic settlement site, therefore these flowees move from the centre to the settlement site, and back to their bus or car, with the majority of them going no further than the OPW controlled area.

7.3.5 Tour guide groups

Guided tours of the monastic settlement site are provided to visitors by the heritage centre and some who visit the centre will avail of these '30 to 40 minutes' historic tours. One retired OPW tour guide said regarding the timeframe of tours,

> "you have about 40 to 45 minutes" (Dave).

The time constraints of the guided tours increase speed of the spatial flow within the graveyard, and when this particular guide stated

> "and in the summer it's very, very busy and you have to get through it you don't have time to do anymore" (Dave).

This indicates that the volume of flowees is markedly greater in the summer than at other times of the year confirmed again by this statement,

> "the turnaround is so quick, you're doing one after another, after another, it would go so you couldn't stretch it any further, you're under time constraint" (Dave).

Therefore, with increased numbers how people flow in and out of the monastic site is similar to the road, it is hindered by traffic, yet another flow stopper. It is not just the numbers of visitors that interrupt the flow, sometimes the local community demonstrate their sense of ownership on the site

> "there was one day I went to the cathedral and people were getting married in there with no permission…. a big wedding with 7 bridesmaids and there I am trying to do my work, big wedding on with no permission" (Dave).

In addition to the specifically employed tour guides for the OPW, several of the bus companies have their own tour guides who bring groups through the site. Bearing in mind that the flow is already at what appears to be capacity, these additional groups increase footfall and in turn increase the disruption to the flow within the monastic complex.

It seems apparent that the majority of monastic heritage centre visitors are interested in the historic information provided, in the centre, by the guides, through exploring the site, or all of the above. Nevertheless, what should be remembered, is that a good portion of those ticketed into the centre may only have been there as a part of a bus tour where Glendalough is merely a designated stopping point along a pre-planned routeway.

7.3.6 The bus tours/ students (40mins to 2 hours)

At present, over 10 different tour companies advertise pre-routed bus tours to Glendalough. Most include Glendalough as a major stop before continuing to other sites in Ireland. One of these multiple destination tours describes the stop off at the heritage site 'arrive at the famous heritage site of Glendalough; a glacial valley and medieval monastic settlement which played an important role in the religious and cultural history of Europe'(Wild Rover Tours, 2019). That one sentence is the entire content of information on Glendalough's heritage provided by the tour company. As well as bringing flowees to the site in buses some of these tour operators provide guided tours of the monastic site and some book their passengers for tours through the heritage centre. This essentially confines the flow to specific areas within the site. One tour company states that the participant will be able to join a 30-minute guide tour of the monastic city, with folklore and legendary tales, followed by some time at 'the stunning upper lake' where there will be time to 'fully appreciate the beauty and the area's natural wonders' (ibid, 2019). Thus, suggesting that the aesthetic value of the site supersedes the heritage. Jorgensen contends that tour operators hold a powerful position as professional experts controlling much of what is gazed upon by the tourist and 'is able to mediate much of the tourist' encounter with the place they visit' (2003, p. 154).

Arriving in numbers each day, a continual stream of buses arrives in the summer months. To put the quantity in perspective, one day in the summer of 2019 during participant observation at the site 10 separate buses arrived in a 30-minute period. One local businessman spoke about the bus tours

> "from a tourist perspective, especially from a coach operator's perspective, they get the worst dealing with Glendalough than anybody, because they are only there for half an hour or forty minutes and then it's, in and out, and good luck and they don't even know if you are there for the

heritage, you are there for the location that Glendalough offers, you don't experience none of it, because it is that rushed" (Michael).

Some of these students/bus tourists are not given a guided tour but merely left to make their own way around the site and return to the bus. They join the walkers along the paths yet are separate within their groups. As flowees they increase the walking traffic to which a local historian and part-time guide said

"I go on a Saturday or a Sunday when there are buses, so many people around that you won't be able to walk…. along the Green Road sometimes there are young students from around the world and they are walking five or six abreast and it is almost impossible to get past them" (Bob).

because of this disruption to flow the same local commented

"they are usually talking loud and I think you know what I leave them to it and I'II come back later" (Jane).

7.3.7 The mining heritage visitors

Mining heritage visitors are not solely concerned with the valley of Glendalough as it is only part of the established trail.

"I think for locals maybe the mining heritage is more understandable because it is more recent because they know people who are still alive who worked there, because their grandfather's worked there, it's probably because there is more connection to the actual place and maybe they don't want to understand the archaeology of the monastic settlement or the rest of Glendalough" (Michael).

What became apparent during interviews with local community members was how the mining heritage gave them a connection to the place. Flowees of mining heritage will generally completely bypass the monastic site. They do not view Glendalough as the single draw to the area. Their 'Miner's way' trail also includes the two-valley running parallel, namely Glendasan and Glenmalure Valleys.

Figure 17: Mining Trail Map (Miner's Way Committee, 2019)

Of all the groups that flow into Glendalough the mining heritage flowees spend the least amount of time within the traditional heritage site. The way-marked trail runs for approximately 19km where it 'takes in the remains of old mining workings, processing plants and touches upon the rich mining heritage of the area' (Miner's Way Committee, 2019). Instead of accessing the traditional heritage site, it circumvents it on a jagged, yet linear path, thus creating its own flow separate to the others. Miner's way trail lies entirely within the NPWS domain and possibly comes in contact with NMS artefacts along the way. As it stands Wicklow County Council are the only authoritative body who recognise the mining heritage structures[88].

7.4 The spatial segregation of Glendalough

Glendalough heritage site sits at the base of the valley, walled by the high Wicklow mountains. A river cuts the valley in half and the steep valley walls are covered in forest.

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[88] 'In accordance with Section 12 of the National Monuments (Amendment) Act (1994), it has recorded a number of protected structures: buildings that are considered to be of special interest from an architectural, historical, archaeological, artistic, cultural, scientific, social, and/or technical point of view. These are listed in the Council's Record of Protected Structures (RPS), the provision for which is set out in Part IV of the Planning Development Act 2000 and are thus afforded some protection in statutory law' (Schwartz & Critchley, 2012).

While on a national level Glendalough is treated as a single place, how it is segregated is determined by its separate governances. The heritage site itself is divided into separate areas spatially. The monastic settlement site has a further division in the graveyard, and the national park of Wicklow, including the mountains and the mining sites. It is further partitioned through the forests and woods, the car parks, roads, and public access areas, and finally the local community settlement and business areas. Therefore, Glendalough cannot be viewed as a single site, it is a complex multifaceted place which encompasses the social, political, historical, ecological, the spiritual, and the economic. Glendalough should therefore be viewed as a multi-layered entity which is organised spatially through bureaucratic divisions.

7.4.1 The Authorities, their responsibilities and spatial positioning

Matching the spatial divisions of Glendalough is its compartmentalised governance. Glendalough has several institutions tasked with managing, protecting, developing, and promoting the site. These are the National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS), the Office of Public Works (OPW), Coillte, Department of Arts, Heritage, Regional, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, The National Monuments Service and Wicklow County Council. Each of these authorities has a different approach and remit, some wish to promote the heritage of the place, others focus on the conservation and others on the natural environment.
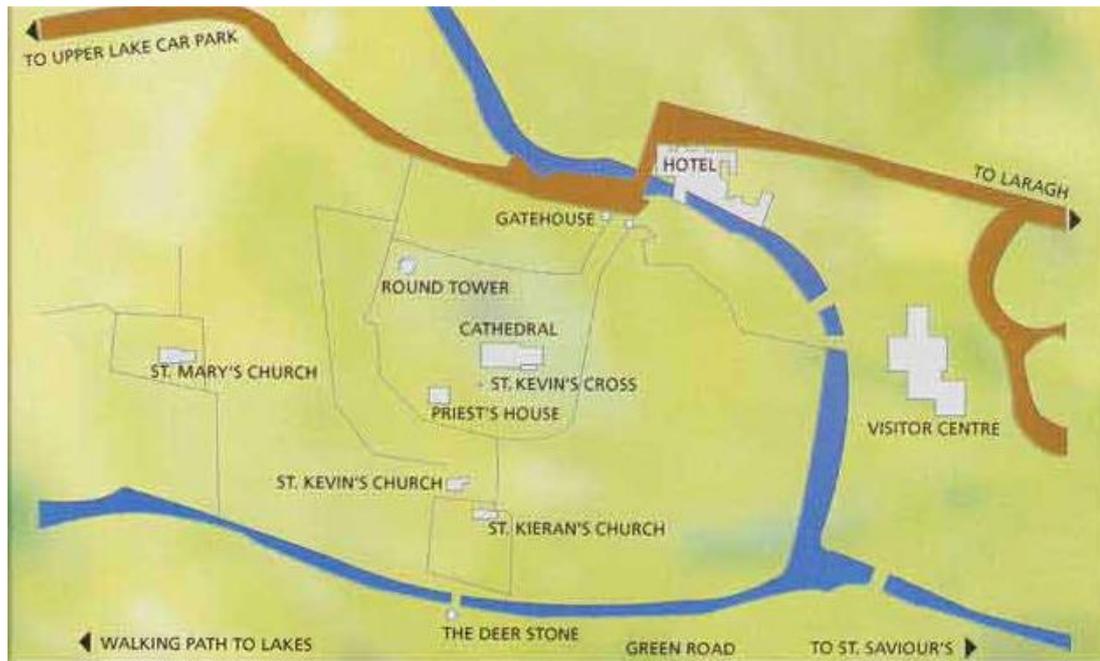
Figure 18: OPW management area (The office of Public Works, 2019)

The Office of Public Works was founded in 1831, by the Act of parliament: an Act for the extension and promotion of public works in Ireland. Previous to this Act the role had been carried out by the office of the Surveyor general (1670-1763), the commissioners and overseers of Barracks Board and board of works (1700-1823), Public Works loans and commissioners (1817-1831), and the directors of inland navigation (1729-1831) (Office of Public Works, 2019). Under legislation enacted in 1882 and 1892 the OPW was given the authority for preserving Ireland's National Monuments[89]. A senior management representative of the OPW said of their role

> "first and foremost the OPW as set down in legislation in respect to monuments is to protect, but the core mission in relation to state heritage is preserve and conserve" (Simon).

At present the organisation is responsible for the care of 780 heritage sites in Ireland, including national monuments, historic parks, gardens, and buildings, including the

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[89] Note the organisation and the Acts it received authority from are within the British occupational era in Ireland.

Glendalough Monastic Settlement (Office of Public Works, 2019). Of these 780 approximately

"70 sites within it are presented formally for visitors" (Simon, OPW senior management).

The OPW is ultimately answerable to the Minister for public expenditure and reform. As an organisation the role of the OPW is a 'central and unique role in developing, using, maintaining, preserving and celebrating Ireland's rich tapestry of public buildings and structures, which together represent a critical aspect of national heritage, and that serve to uphold and promote Irish identity, culture and civic pride' (The Office of Public Works, 2017). With regards to Glendalough the OPW are responsible for the heritage centre, its car park, the monastic settlement site, including the historic graveyard, the round tower and all structures within the walls. The heritage centre at the site provides an overview of the history of Glendalough and monastic settlement in Ireland. Tours of the site are conducted through the centre by employees of the OPW.

7.4.3 The national monuments service (archaeology)
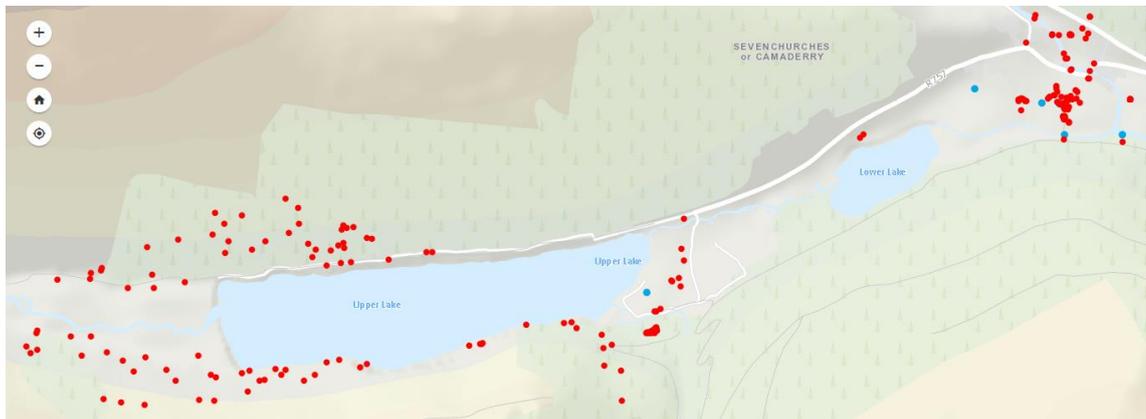
Figure 19:National Monuments in the Glendalough area, each dot shows the location of a recognised monument (National Monuments Service, 2020)

The National Monuments Service (NMS) as part of the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht is responsible for the protection and restoration of all Ireland's national monuments. Glendalough falls into the category of unique archaeology and as such the

NMS is responsible for all the archaeological artefacts, each dot on figure 19 represents a listed monument. NMS role is to preserve, protect and promote Ireland's unique archaeological heritage. As experts in the field the NMS advise the Minister for Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht on legislative and policy issues relating to archaeological heritage.

In Glendalough the NMS is responsible for the care of number of national monuments such as the high cross and the round tower in the monastic enclosure but also other monuments like the ringfort at the upper lake or the numerous charcoal making sites in the forested areas along the upper lake. They are charged with the protection and promotion of all archaeologically significant archaeological artefacts. As an authority in Glendalough, they are not spatially confined to one area. Their archaeological features are located throughout the area and fall within the designated areas of other governing bodies. Where designated national monuments exist within areas assigned to other governing bodies, NMS authority trumps all others with regards to these artefacts.

7.4.4 National parks and wildlife

The National Parks and Wildlife Service is part of the Heritage Division of the Department of Arts, Heritage, Regional, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and is therefore answerable to the Irish government. The role of the NPWS is, first and foremost, to secure and conserve 'a representative range of ecosystems to maintain and enhance populations of flora and fauna in Ireland' (National Parks and Wildlife Service , 2019). They are also responsible for designating and advising on the protection of habitats and the identification of species for nature conservation (Natural Heritage Areas (NHA), Special Areas of Conservation (SAC) and Special Protection Areas (SPA) including consultation with all interested parties. As an organisation they are in charge of making 'the necessary

arrangements for the implementation of National and EU legislation and policies for

nature conservation and biodiversity including the EU Habitats and Birds Directives, and
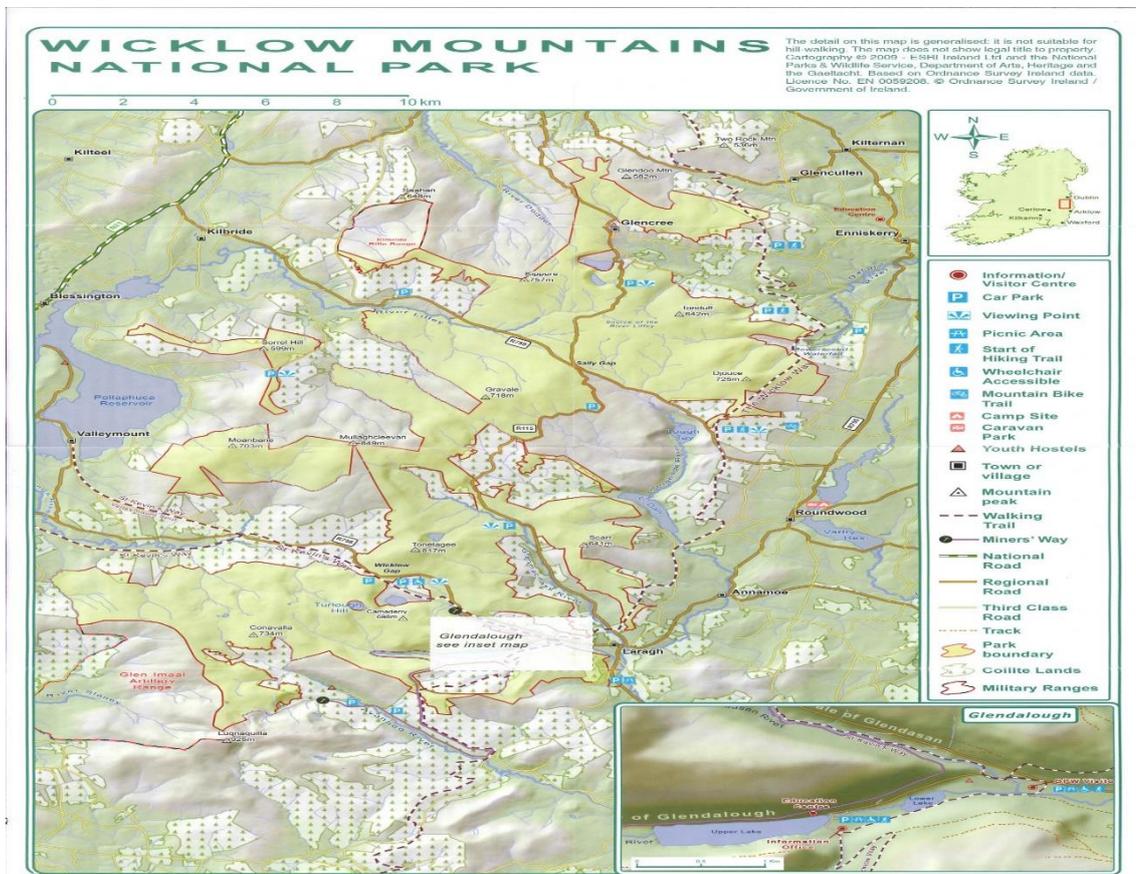
Figure 20: National Parks and Wildlife area of management, Wicklow (National Parks and Wildlife Service , 2019)

natural heritage and biodiversity issues through varies methods of education. for the

ratification and implementation of the range of international Conventions and

Agreements relating to the natural heritage' (ibid, 2019). On a spatial level all of

Glendalough valley falls into the Wicklow National Park. However, in relation to the site

itself their role is to maintain and protect the state-owned National Park, including the

nature reserves and the mining heritage of the site. They also promote awareness of the

7.4.5 County council (including heritage officer)

The Wicklow County council's (WCC) areas of jurisdiction lie in the car parks at the

upper lake, all the roads which access the site, including the national roads connecting the

area to the rest of the county, all the paths in the village and the new section of the graveyard,

"Glendalough is a complex place, there is lots of different ownership" (Maria, heritage officer).

The heritage officer employed by WCC works with other agencies to try to have some cohesion at the site. Along with the NPWS, the heritage officer was instrumental in assisting the local community to organise and signpost the mining heritage trails and points of interest. In addition to this much collaborative work has been done in researching and data collection on the mining heritage within the wider Glendalough/Glendasan area. With so many separate organisations declaring their authority over a relatively small area it is no wonder that friction and disputes occur.

7.5 The flows (Roads, paths, and car parks)

One road comes from Laragh to the East and another from the North over the Wicklow mountains through Glenassan. These two roads converge at a crossroad the entrance to Glendalough Village. The village is a cul-de-sac with a single road facilitating entry and exit to both the village and the heritage site. In the past the road continued all the way down to the Glendalough mines, however this road is now gated, with only NPWS traffic and those on bikes or foot permitted entry. This road went only to the mines and did not connect to any other route, thus, while longer it was still a cul-de-sac. Speaking of the upper end of the village and site an archaeologist from the heritage council stated

"there were another two car parks of the upper lake at different periods and there was[sic] two hotels…there's a container there now that used to lead to a road there was a hotel there, it's now used as a mountain rescue station post, and the other side were the waterfall is there was a hotel right up there, it's completely gone…..there was a road that went right up that way" (Bob).

All of these vehicle access routes are now either completely gone or gated to prevent access. While the restrictions, removal of road and access to Glendalough were implemented to control traffic and protect the national heritage site, the closure of these

routes disrupted flow within the place. Arguably however, as these changes were made in the past, before escalation in motorised vehicle use, it is clear that the visitors adapted, and the type of flows altered. To cater for that adaptation, at the heritage centre and at the end of the main access road lie three separate car parks.

Encircling the site are a series of paths and tracks, the majority of which are designated walking tracks for visitors. Most are mapped in one form or other, OPW paths to bring the flow of day-trippers/heritage tourist through the monastic site. NPWS tracks through the valley, up into the hills, along the lake or into the forest to visit the natural heritage, and mining heritage trails which are well sign posted and mapped, or simply county council access paths to car parks. Glendalough site can be entered by several access points as one local remarked

> "there are so many access points" (Michael)

the majority of these are interlinked paths and tracks.

These interwoven roads, paths and tracks encircle and crisscross throughout the valley and the surrounding hills. On a map these paths and roads make the site appear like a spider's web of lines. At certain times of the year these routeways will become hives of activity, where a constant stream of traffic will flow through (both motorised and footfall). Visually this could be compared to blood running through veins, making these spaces appear alive with movement. With over a million visitors to Glendalough each year the flow of traffic could be estimated at eight to ten thousand visitors a day in peak season. It is unsurprising that there are severe traffic flow issues, bearing in mind the limited access and Cul-de-Sac configuration of the space.

7.5.1 Traffic problems (flow stoppers)

According to locals, politicians, officials and visitors, the single most pressing and challenging issue surrounding Glendalough's flow is traffic. With two roads converging into one at the neck of the site, this road ends in a cul-de-sac at the far end of the village at the upper lake where a locked gate prevents traffic going further. Glendalough is

> "the busiest cul-de-sac in Ireland" (John)

Another community member stated on a solution,

> "it's not an easy one to fix, the fact that it is a dead end that everyone goes into and has to come out of…adds to the complication" (Bob)

While a local businessman commented

> "traffic is the single biggest issue that is killing Glendalough and it is killing Glendalough's visitor experience" (Michael)

With another adding,

> "traffic and parking is a huge issue" (John).

The frustration of the residents can be seen in Bob's comment that,

> "Saturday and Sunday and they could be over an hour trying to get a place to park…. or 3 hours just trying to get out of the car park, you know people just block the road and bugger off" (Bob).

When speaking the Heritage Officer too concurred that the main obstruction to flow is the traffic,

> "traffic is a nightmare" adding later "the big problem is traffic and how it is managed and the whole permeability of the site, well there is the fact that is also a Cul-de-Sac as well" (Maria).

Traffic flows in Glendalough are provided with two options, either to park in a car park or turn around and leave from the same direction they entered. The first car park, just after the entrance crossroads, belongs to the OPW, the second is central to the village and belongs to the privately owned Glendalough Hotel. The third is operated by the County Council at the terminus of the main road. The spaces in these car parks are limited; at

peak times the capacity is insufficient to meet the traffic requirements. In addition to the lack of spaces the physical configuration of the road at the intersection between the Wicklow gap and the Laragh Road makes turning for buses extremely difficult. Daily buses get stuck at this location completely closing off the road.

> "buses can't come round there and sometimes they get stuck in the middle of the road and it blocks all traffic in both directions, sometimes even cars can find it difficult to get round it, when buses are trying to get back up the road it is very tight" (Michael).

Thus, road blockages occur predominantly at the bottleneck entrance to the village.

Numerous solutions have been put forward and some have been trialled, but as it stands no resolutions have been made. One local resident suggested

> "they can take the car parks out of there and put in a turning circle for park and ride and stop all the traffic congestion" (Michael).

A local historian and member of the heritage forum confirmed this as an idea that they are actively considering

> "they would makes changes on the road when you are coming in from Roundwood and put an interchange in place at the shop at Laragh…. this as a pick up site" (Jane).

Other options are also being discussed

> "widening the road at the entrance to the village so then there is greater access to the visitor's centre"(Jane).

This option she maintains was

> "the only one the local community agreed upon…. widening the entrance…so you can get a bus around" (Jane).

Whereas the County Council believe that returning to the previous system of park and ride would be much more beneficial to the local community

> "because I think the village of Laragh has to be linked…. it's the place where most people live….they did have something in the GAA pitch at Laragh…there was a bus company, you park there and you hop on the bus…or there is a walk from Laragh along the Green road up to the lake" (Maria).

A local Glendalough businessman suggested the solution to the problems of flow and traffic is to extend the visitor's carpark into the field then

> "force everyone into the visitor's centre, you tell them all the information from there, they disseminate wherever they want to go from there, but you could provide different modes of transport to the lake" (Michael).

This particular individual's motivations for the suggestion are probably rooted in an economic return as his business lies in close proximity to the visitor's centre. Traffic always has and will continue to reach Glendalough whether or not it is disrupted. Once the visitors arrive at the destination, they will enter the site through one of the entrances, of which a large proportion will enter the monastic settlement site. Besides the traffic flow issues one of the contentious space within the heritage site itself and the one which causes the most conflict, according to the interview data, is the graveyard.

7.6 The graveyard

Figure 21: The graveyard of Glendalough

Situated centrally within the valley lies the Glendalough graveyard cited as one of the most important graveyards in Ireland, it is more than a thousand years old and contains more than two thousand gravestones[90]. It is not only spatially centred it lies at the heart

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[90] This number comes from a gravestone survey conducted by the Glendalough heritage forum in 2015.

of all the social, political and authorities' interests. A resting place, yet a site of contention. Although it is a designated national monument, the graveyard itself is still an active burial site for local people and therefore sits firmly in a temporal juxtaposition between the ancient and the contemporary. Nevertheless, this consistency of use makes the graveyard of great importance to the local community. It provides a sense of belonging and connection to place and ancestors. Glendalough's cemetery sits as a place of contradictions and contestation with many bodies both local and national claiming authority and ownership over the site. It is officially part of the heritage site of Glendalough, but is protected and preserved by the OPW, as it contains several archaeological artefacts of significance it also comes under the authority of the National Monuments service.

 In addition to these two institutions, as the graveyard still operates as a contemporary burial site it is also managed by Wicklow County Council. Finally, the local community feel it is their place to maintain as it contains their immediate and distant relatives. This sentiment is clear as one local resident affirms

> "the locals have family members in the graveyard" (Michael).

Another respondent elaborated on his personal connection

> "as you go up on the flat path passed the path that brings you to the round tower, you will see four headstones re-done up they are all ancestors of mine…….and down past the round tower that's where my father buried my grandparents…. you'll see them they are all shot blasted and tided up" (John).

While another said,

> "there is a local woman who visits the graveyard because her husband died last year and she is very immobile and the access to the graveyard is terrible" (Daisy).

During an interview with an OPW employee they commented on this distain the locals appear to have with the graveyard authorities

"the local people did things…they would just come and say mass in there without permission" (Dave).

Elaborating he explained further that

"there was one day I went into the cathedral and people were getting married in there with no permission, they put me out when I was in the middle of doing my work, they wouldn't let me in, they had no permission to be there, and it was a big wedding with seven bridesmaids" (Dave).

One clear example of the contestation over ownership of the graveyard occurred when the local community members attempted to clean up the site

"the new graveyard is County Council and the old graveyard is National Monuments…..too many authorities and nobody is looking after anything" (Brian).

Another community member spoke of this clean up

"some of the locals went up to do it five years ago without permission and they called the guards" (Joe)

And a local politician also recalls

"we had locals arrested for cleaning up the graveyard" he further comments "we were doing a clean-up of the graveyard because it was gone wild…..it is never maintained…the stuff from the graves were thrown in the corner and they tried to clean that out" (Michael).

In the end a local stakeholder, who was also involved in attempting to clean up the graveyard stated

"sometimes you have to create confrontation…. in order to get somewhere" (Joe).

The result of this 'clean up' action was indeed conflict with one of the authorities calling the police, but was the action of the locals about maintenance or was it about regaining some sense of ownership over their place? The response from the OPW could also have been viewed as a push back against this possible attempted demonstration of authority. Referring to the 'rubbish' removal one local stated

"they had taken most of it (the local clean up group), the council had provided a skip, the locals were filling the skip, the guards arrived, stopped work, the OPW then sent archaeologists to go through the skip" (Michael).

However, under the OPW regulations their central mandate is to protect and conserve, so the response of 'going through the bin' is within their conventions.

The graveyard is a liminal space, a space between the 'what was', 'what is' and the 'what's next', a place in transition, a threshold[91]. As a liminal space it is what Latour (2005) referred to as 'betwixt and between', the 'here and there', like being stood in a doorway, a place where life and death converge. It is the one section of the Glendalough heritage complex that has all and none claiming authority at the same time, a contested terrain. Almost all of the governing bodies appear to have some sort of authority over the space, yet when the local community requested to carry out maintenance all denied ownership. It was only after conflict occurred that the locals were informed of the hierarchical structures involved

"as a result we found out that the local authority (County Council) actually own it, but the OPW manage it, and the National historic monuments decides what happens" (Joe).

It is a hybridised space getting its specificity not from a 'long internalised history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, articulated, together at a particular locus' (Massey, 1991).

Spatially Glendalough is configured in several ways. Some of these configurations are geographical features such as mountains, streams and trees. Other spatial divisions are intangible and socially constructed, such as politically authoritarian divisions, societal conditions and beliefs. In order to understand how Glendalough contemporaneously

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[91] Liminality has been used to describe political and cultural changes. Liminal periods in time cause disruption to hierarchies and traditional structures to become uncertain, as well as throwing doubt onto future outcomes (Thomassen, 2009). However, with respect to the graveyard the space is liminal because it is both temporally juxta positioned as well as through its ownership.

functions it was not only crucial in this chapter to highlight, explain and visually illustrate the physical spatial divisions, but also examine and discuss the constructed social and political divisions. As a heritage site alone Glendalough is versatile, comprising a diverse range of functions. Its space is contested, divided, and explored. While the ebb and flow of traffic, motorised, pedestrian or pedal driven, impacts the site on many levels, without the visitors would Glendalough still hold its wonderment? The purpose of this chapter was to spatially situate Glendalough both in terms of its physical presence and in a social context. Understanding Glendalough's spatiality is fundamental in illustrating how as a place it operates, and situates how the people, social systems and politics fit. As people are crucial to the construction of Glendalough as a heritage site the next chapter details the types of social, political influences on the site, and how it connects to the ideal form.

Chapter 8: The people, social systems, the politics and the ideal forms of Glendalough

Glendalough is primarily known as a tourist destination, promoted separately by several different tourist campaigns. Fáilte Ireland rank Glendalough third in the top ten 'free to enter' Irish attractions publishing a visitor number figure of 732,824 (Carroll, 2020). Whereas the OPW ticketed number falls at 76,562[92] (OPW, 2019). Ireland's Ancient East campaign, and other large- and small-scale promotions also bring visitors to the site. Fáilte Ireland's figure is not representative of the actual number of tourists visiting Glendalough, counters on the gates indicate a much higher number estimated at approximately 1.3 million visitors annually. The disparity between numbers is fundamentally due to the spatial formation of the site[93], and how the site is divided up between different managing authorities. However, Glendalough is also a place of permanent residence for many people. The population of Glendalough is relatively small, but as the majority of the local community live in Laragh that is unsurprising. The Central statistics Office, hereafter CSO, figures from the last census in 2016 reveal that just under 350 people are permanent residents[94]. For the small community living at Glendalough the sheer number of annual visitors appears to disrupt their day to day lives, based on the data gathered in interviews. Disruption and conflict in Glendalough, from the perspectives of both the locals and the authorities, are some of the overarching themes which emerged during the course of the interviews, with other key themes uncovered including marginalisation and the development of local heritage. This empirically based chapter explores the tourists who visit the area, the relationship the local people have with their

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[92] This number comes from the amount of people who paid into the Glendalough heritage centre.
[93] As previously discussed, Glendalough structurally has several alternative entrances and to get an accurate visitor number would be extremely difficult.
[94] A good estimation of the population of Glendalough and Laragh therefore is approximately 400 based on the census data and the number of homes in Glendalough village.

place, as well as the authorities that manage the heritage site. Crucially, the theory of the ideal form is explicitly discussed, and illustrative examples are used to elucidate an understanding of how the concept is applicable to the heritage of Glendalough.

8.1 The visitors

People have been coming to visit Glendalough for centuries[95] and will continue to have a significant presence at the popular destination. A representative of the OPW national management commented

> "Glendalough always got visitors from at least the 18 hundreds on if not before" further remarking that "what is going on in Glendalough , there are two things happening down there the visits to the monastic site and its associated visitor centre and they number about 80,000 per year and really the centre I wouldn't say it's not completely at capacity, but what it does it does well, that number is fairly consistent for the past number of years and then of course the other thing that is happening with it, is of course its hinterland of which a very substantial part is run by the NPWS" (Simon).

Tourism emerged as a theme in the interviews, and it became apparent the local community felt a sense of disconnect from the people who come to visit Glendalough. As one local respondent commented,

> "you know people are coming to the valley to do things and people who live in the valley, they live here in a very separate way" (Jane).

When speaking about this another local respondent, who has lived her entire life in the life in the area[96], stated

> "it's not theirs, they feel separate…. they don't mix with the tourists…. they're not even trying to make money, so there's nothing even economical for them…anywhere else the locals would have gift shops and restaurants…but not here, there's not really any, and the hotel is starting to fall apart" (Daisy).

While another spoke of the local people's dread of peak season and times,

> "oh no here we go another summer, and it's the same on Sundays" (Jane).

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[95] Tourism is discussed in detail in the chapter on aesthetics.
[96] This respondent's family moved to Glendalough just before she was born, she feels this is her home yet believes she will never be accepted as 'local' but only a 'blow in' and this 'blow in' or pseudo local perspective is explored later in this chapter.

A common consensus across the interviews is a perspective of how invasive the visitors are to the area

"every Sunday as well as most of the summer you have no peace" (Dave).

From the perspective of the local community, it seems that at certain times of the day as well as the year, namely low season and times of there are few visitors, that the site returns to them. They feel in the quiet periods that it is their place again as some locals state

"we always go up on Christmas day" (Alan)

and,

"early in day mid-week when it's not too busy" (Jane)

and another

"it's fine like on a Sunday morning" (John)

while another revealed that she goes to the site

"early in the morning and late evening" (Daisy).

Locals sense of belonging means that they generally care about their place and that any intrusion or violation of that place is met with offense and concern. As they appear to have little autonomy over their surroundings it is unsurprising that the heritage officer commented,

"the visitor's experience is poorly managed…. some of the headstones are lying on the ground and people are walking over them" (Maria).

Similarly, a local stakeholder remarked

"the big problem here is the local community can't get involved in the place…they have been taken over by these people" (Joe).

One respondent voiced her opinion saying that the general attitude of the local residents is that they feel the site doesn't belong to them that the tourist have taken over and they are separate from both the place and the visitors saying they feel

"they shouldn't be there, they don't mix with the tourists at all…they're not even trying to make money, so there's not even an economic gain for them…anywhere else the locals would have gift

shops and restaurants and everything open, but not here, there are not really any restaurants and the one hotel" (Daisy).

While another who spoke about the number of visitors to the area seemed concerned about the environment

"damage that people trampling across the hillside will do" (Jane).

Paradoxically, the locals actively promote the mining heritage trails, as mentioned in the previous chapter, which traverse the valley landscape, and subsequently encourage visitors to hike across the hillsides.

8.2 The tourist experience

While the local community feel imposed upon by tourists some did voice concerns about how visitors experience Glendalough. A local businessman remarked

"as a stranger you arrive in Glendalough and you are told nothing, so you are coming because the guidebook has told you that Glendalough is the place to come to, but when you arrive there you are not given any direction after that, unless you go to the visitor's centre and then you are given the monastic tour. Full stop. Nothing about the whole landscape, and nothing about the whole aspect. It isn't dealt with, or the option isn't given to you. So, we don't promote Glendalough even within the services we do have up there or the potential" (Michael).

This sentiment was echoed by other locals

"it's too sanitised, the audio-visual is about early Christian monasteries, it's not about Glendalough" (John).

Locals' sense of belonging means that they generally care about their place and that any intrusion or violation of that place is met with offence and concern however, as they appear to have little autonomy over their surroundings it is unsurprising that the heritage officer commented,

"the visitor's experience is poorly managed…. some of the headstones are lying on the ground and people are walking over them" (Maria).

A local politician responded when asked about the services provided by the authorities that the NPWS offer a good free level of interpretative information signs on site and that the OPW area was lacking in this regard

> "I would say that is why the numbers are down…. I think it should be a national policy" (John).

One participant who has been living in the area for a number of years believes that some of the locals are land-blocking to prevent any further development in the area he spoke of a local businessman

> "he put in a planning application for another hotel and conference centre about 15 years ago, he got it, he did that so no one else could get it, he tied up the land" (Bob).

Further to this assertion the site lacks information and other services, one local businessman stated,

> "we are not giving the wider experience that Glendalough has to offer, so we are not trying to keep them there longer than they are" (John).

he believes the day-trip buses are to blame for this issue, and that if the tourists were staying in the area longer there may be more interaction and interest from the locals

> "we aren't providing the right type of service that most visitors look for, our domestic visitors are mostly Dublin based so they can take the family out for the day. Glendalough is relatively cheap to go to, it's only the cost of the car park, but equally we aren't giving them the stories that Glendalough has to offer either" (Michael).

Although generally the local community appear to have little interaction or interest in the visitors to the site, some local businesspeople believe they are constrained from making improvements due to their geographical proximity to Dublin. With regards to visitor's staying in the area a local businessman commented

> "there is no long-term stay…. you know people come and stay for an hour or two and then they go, it's kind of ruined by the proximately to Dublin, it's a day trip, you're in and out in an hour and off to Kilkenny on those bus trips….they just don't spend any-time here". Glendalough is "massively under-developed" (Bob).

8.3 'Real' versus pseudo local

Community in Glendalough is a complex concept. During the course of the interviews a theme that emerged was how people living in the area perceive their status, whether they are real locals or blow ins. Although one of my respondents is regarded as at the forefront of knowledge of local history, this participant freely admits to the 'blow-in' status she is regarded as by the 'real' locals within the community. In her own words,

> "I'm a blow-in, I've been living here most of my life and during my time here I have become involved in various history groups…. because people who are living and working locally…don't always have time to look around and appreciate where they are" (Jane)

Jane's sense of loyalty to Glendalough is not unusual 'blow-ins' often develop a strong attachment, an 'elective belonging', to the place into which they have moved (Savage et al 2005: 29). The fact that she has involved herself in several different groups in her mind is because,

> "it's a wonderful place to live, I am so lucky" (Jane).

Jane is not alone in this labouring for the community is which she is considered a blow-in. Two more respondents share both her status and her dedication to the place they have adopted as home. Daisy confirms the hypothesis that blow ins are much more likely to work for the locality then those who regard themselves as 'true' locals

> "there is very much a big divide between the locals and the people who do things in the valley".

Bob after he worked in the area as an archaeologist remarked

> "I live here but I'm not considered a local, I'm a blow in, the locals are not easy people to communicate with, you know the local locals".

Daisy another long-term resident added

> "there's a group of these local locals and everybody else is this kind of idea of a blow in, suppose it's the same in every small town in Ireland".

Daisy reinforces the proposition that 'blow in' or pseudo locals are more likely to involve themselves with community project commenting

> "if anyone was actually trying to do anything or if anything starts up, you know if anyone tries to do anything to the place it's us" she expands this further by claiming "look at the Glendalough Heritage Forum there won't ever be a local local on the Glendalough Heritage Forum".

When asked to define the term 'local local' Daisy responded

> "I mean by local local, somebody who has had the last four generations born and bred in Glendalough".

This respondent goes further commenting on the lack of connection these local locals apparently feel towards the heritage site

> "they don't really interact with it, it's just a monument to them….if they had half the chance I think they might even just tear down the walls".

When questioned as to why 'local local' people feel a disconnect one respondent replied,

> " it's like everything else if you are inside it you just don't see it" (Bob).

One respondent went as far as to say in respect of the physical access[97] to the graveyard for a particular disabled 'real' local

> "you know it is a National monument and there is little that can be done about access but if she had her way she would have the stones pulled out and it paved" (Daisy).

Bearing in mind this sentiment of dissociation from the heritage site, another theme that emerged during the course of the interviews was the conflict between the locals and the authorities that manage the various stranded of Glendalough.

8.4 Locals versus Authorities

It appears that some of the reservations the local community have to the tourists stems from disjointedness of the relationships with some of the governing bodies of Glendalough. An evident division between the locals and the authorities providing information for their visitors. The local people also seemed to distinguish between 'their'

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[97] The graveyard is inaccessible for wheelchair users, this is unavoidable as a construction would interfere with the archaeological integrity of the site.

visitors, or people known to community members personally, and all the other Glendalough visitors. This is clearly illustrated in responses given by a local historian

> "when any of my friends come here from anywhere around the world, or I have found when friends (locals) have visitors coming over and staying they ask me would you mind meeting them and bringing them around Glendalough and give them a tour of the whole area" (historian) she further added "I try give them as good of an experience as I can. I always leave them with you know what we didn't get a look at that this time, maybe next time…just so they'll come back again" (Jane).

This sentiment of disconnection is echoed by another resident who stated

> "if you interviewed everyone who lives here I wouldn't even think half of them would have been through the doors of the visitors centre, they just aren't interested" (Daisy).

Yet another local remarked with regard to the OPW management at the site

> "lots of people have difficult with them" (Bob).

A common theme across the interview data emerged that it seems there was one particular individual that the locals had issues with one local commented that was

> "local management issues" adding that this individual "doesn't want any more visitor's to Glendalough" (Michael).

While another observed that this person had,

> "upset a lot of people" and "is at odds with a lot of the visitors who come through the doors…. doesn't connect with the local people….if you go to other visitor centres anywhere it's a much more welcoming experience" (Daisy).

A local stakeholder also asserted that

> "it's just a lack of management…. there's no respect and no sense of care, it's about preserving rather than protecting"

when pressed further this respondent also added that the worst to deal with of all the authorities in the area was

> "the OPW because they are trying to put blocks on us" (Brian).

However, a representative of the OPW replied when asked about the community's involvement in their heritage sites,

> "we don't actively try stand against communities, but there is I suppose a real thing particularly where we've got effectively a visitor or tourist business with large numbers of people and it has to be managed fairly robustly and it has to be controlled, we can't allow people to run over the

monument at its detriment' when pushed to further elaborate the response was 'I suppose that doesn't lend itself to community relationships' (OPW).

One local political representative remarked,

"as a politician I would be disappointed in how Glendalough is presented to the public and that would come from a number of complex issues, the number of state bodies that operate in the valley" (John).

he elaborated on his point regarding the presentation of heritage at Glendalough with

"when you speak about heritage and the heritage aspect of it, I've done the tour twice and God I will **never**[98] do it again". It became apparent that it wasn't just the tour 'presentation' that he found problematic it was the clearly evident division between the services "it's all too sanitised, the audio-visual is about early Christian monasteries, it's not about wildlife services…there is no interaction with the National parks….so as a visitor…I arrive at a destination and then I am told 'we can only give you information on the following here and you must go somewhere else for the information on the other' I think it is absolute madness"(Michael).

When asked if they had any local community involvement in any of the pilgrimage activities a local stakeholder said,

"we don't really…if you're a local you might join us for some of the celebrations like our 25 year anniversary celebrations, but not for the retreats" the priest also remarked on their separation from the local community "the parishes are different they are separate from us, we would never undermine the parish priest…or tread on his territory, this is about people from outside, not the locals".

Speaking about living in Glendalough one local resident commented

"it's like everything else if you are inside it, you just don't see it, funny though when you come in from the outside and you look at all, well it's incredible, but when you are looking at it every-day you stop seeing it" (Bob).

This statement supports the premise that the locals don't feel connected to the heritage site and are unconcerned with promoting the area to visitors. When asked about the relationship between the different authorities and the local community a member of the Glendalough forum commented,

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[98] Emphasis added to demonstrate the forcefulness of the comment.

"there is a lack of cohesion" adding later "the site has so many authorities…you have the national parks, then you have the OPW, and then the County Council, then you have Coillte, and the National monuments, we have been trying to get them all together" (Jane).

Another local stakeholder also asserted

"the local community have no connection to these official bodies and thus the sites".

This is not a one-sided problem, employees of the site have felt disregarded by the local community,

"I didn't really like the locals myself, I found them, it felt like they thought they owned you…they were about ownership of us and it's because they live there and I'm only a civil servant" (Tour guide, Dave).

When asked if there had been any attempt to include the local community in heritage sites the OPW representative stated that the OPW as an organisation had in the past tried to roll out a community involvement initiative without success

"the community involvement initiative, so we put out a thing in the media trying to encourage people to tell us how they wanted to get involved with sites, in particular we would have looked at thing that we were constrained from doing because we didn't have enough resources….for example a lot of those seasonal sites we could not afford a guide throughout the year….the people could come in and do a bit of voluntary guiding" (Simon).

Further questioning the success of this he responded with,

"it was a bit of a struggle, we had 100 formal responses, we looked at what they were proposing, we recognised that they were not really at the races so we did a paper exercise that cut that to about 30 and we gave them a day at Farmleigh, we were trying to teach them and mentor them around things like guiding, health and safety practices. …of those 30 most looked and said it was too much work" (Simon).

In response to this assertion, he was encouraged to elaborate and asked if this was enough to show volunteers that their position would be more than just showing people around he replied

"there's a real discipline in this even that volunteer guiding thing could probably go to the extent of getting a Tulsa worker or FAS worker, you can't guarantee that someone who is volunteering will be there every day and to be honest I think those initiatives struggle to take off, having said

that a number of those initiatives have made it to the operational stages and still have them today in a number of places"(Simon).

Contestation evidently occurs for both the locals and the authorities across Glendalough. This issue is magnified in the liminal emotive space that is the graveyard.

8.4 In that liminal space

Although one local politician stated that the graveyard situation was accepted to be beyond their control

"extension of the graveyard was ruled out because of archaeology, that's the way it is" (John),

how the local people are connected to the cemetery site still appears to be a bone of contention. In reference to the graveyard incident[99] where the employees of the heritage centre called the Garda on the local community members, an OPW on site employee stated

"yeah that's right they were interfering with the monuments." (Dave).

Similarly a local resident commented on this incident stating that the locals,

"they brought a JCB into the graveyard" (Daisy).

While another elaborated on this by saying

"they went through the National park field knocked down fences to get in with the JCB" (Bob).

When asked what the purpose of the JCB as the participant responded

"they were going to start pulling out trees and bushes" (Bob).

Whereas this incident had been clearly downplayed by some of the locals involved when one remarked that

"one time we wanted to try and do the graveyard because it was just full of briars and we tried for five years to get access to it, to do some cleaning up of the monuments" (Brian).

It emerged in the course of the interviews that an agreement had been struck with the local authorities and the local community with the help of the Glendalough Heritage

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[99] This incident is detailed in the previous chapter on the spatial organisations of the site.

Forum[100] (GHF) regards the graveyard, and some allowances for a clean-up had been made. It was a recent agreement and at the time of the final interview the locals were set to start working on the site the next day. One local stakeholder emphasised the importance of the GHF

> "it kind of broke the barriers moving us in a position now that we can go down tomorrow (under supervision) and tidy up, cut the rhododendrons and things that are growing wild" (Brian).

When asked what kind of upkeep is normally provided in the graveyard the same stakeholder asserted

> "there is a team of three working down there every day and they are restricted to working one metre from the path" (Brian). He further added that "what we will have to do when we've done this clean-up is to insist on a plan of some kind, a conservation plan, nobody has come up and said to these people you must keep this place safe and sound. We are on the edge of this now and we will eventually discuss with the management how to manage this place, how to look after this place, cut the grass, look after the vegetation, we want to be respected, we're not going to damage anything, it's a sacred place and we know that" (Brian).

It seems that it isn't just the local community that causes conflict for the OPW employees, traffic and parking are an increasingly contentious issue, as well as hillwalkers with one employee stating

> "the walkers are another nuisance" (Dave).

When asked to elaborate he exclaimed,

> "they come down at 10 o'clock on a Sunday morning and take all the car park spaces, so you know people turn up and all the car park spaces are gone and the car park was built for people coming to the visitor's centre not all the walkers, they have just taken over"(Dave).

Although this disassociation from the 'traditional' heritage site was evident in the interview data, the local people's connection to 'their' heritage also emerged as a theme. Of all the authorities in the area the only one the local community appear to have trust in is the NPWS and this stems from their assistance in the mining heritage project. Overwhelmingly throughout the interviews this sentiment was reiterated

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[100] The Glendalough heritage forum is made up of representatives from each of the managing authorities, members of the archaeological team from UCD and local community members.

"the National Parks have been so helpful involving themselves in the Glendalough mining project" (Jane).

8.5 The locals and 'their' mining heritage

Throughout the course of the interviews a very clear theme arose, how the local community feel connected to the mining heritage. Transpiring initially through implied statements, with some directed questioning the participants spoke openly about their passion for the mining heritage. The heritage officer asserted

> "that's their heritage…. we have been working with a group there doing different things, they did a DVD and a whole recording of stories….because it hadn't been researched, all about what happened with the mines and we did a certain amount of genealogy…we try and have events and we have signs up" (Maria).

Another local commented on his involvement with the mining heritage

> "I got involved in the mining heritage to try and let people know because nobody knew about the mining heritage in Glendalough" (Michael).

There is a clear emotive connection to the mining heritage, a sense of 'this belongs to us and we must protect it'. One local commented disparagingly about the visitors, thus demonstrating their passion for the mining heritage but additionally demonstrating the distain for the 'traditional' heritage visitors and authorities.

> "they were trampling across it every-day of the week and they had no understanding of what they were trampling on, and that's why, and the fact that some of the miners are still alive was another aspect of it, that we needed to get it recorded" (Michael).

In addition, the heritage officer explained the difficulties in getting any local community involvement or presence at heritage events apart from the mining "there have been a couple of exhibitions….and then the mining project was more of a community based one because you know trying to get local people to come to events and participate in talks is extremely difficult". Where the 'real' locals appeared to keep the blow-ins slightly at arm's reach, they have not only welcomed but actively sought out others from mining communities both from neighbouring communities and from much further afield. The heritage officer said of this

"that group have been linking with Glenmalure and hoping to do stuff together" (Maria).

This connection was also mentioned by another local,

'the Glendalough mining heritage project are involved in another similar project with a group in Wales and another down in Waterford" she further added that the NPWS "help with funding to do research, and it is with that research we were able to get signage done showing the various locations" (Jane).

A local politician also commented on the interest of the community on the mining heritage project

"the mining heritage people are pushing it" (Alan).

When asked was he aware of any collaborative work with other groups he replied

"they are part of the bigger one because you have Avoca, and Ballyknocken as well" (John).

On further questioning however he did not feel that the mining project was as important to the area as other aspects

"Glendalough was put on the map because of the monastic settlement it's a marvellous place to see" (John).

8.6 Marginalised in 'their' own space

Locals feel a disconnection from all other heritage and tourist attractions in the area. This results in feelings of marginalisation from the local people. Their reluctance to collaborate in organised events or tourist promotion is a clear indication of purposeful detachment. As a point of interest, it appears that similarly to the locals, marginalised communities have begun to congregate at Glendalough at low season times,

"Christmas day all the non-nationals go up there and congregate, Philopenas, Eastern Europeans, Indian's, Chinese…we go for a bit of a walk around and that's the main cohort other than the local's, there's be no other Irish, other than the locals" (Andrew).

A feeling of marginalisation by the local community is a running theme throughout the interviews Bringing the mining heritage more to the forefront, as Schwartz and Critchley argue, these sites are intrinsic to the community's sense of belonging and identity, consequently, allow the locals to feel less discounted, giving them a sense of ownership

and pride. With reference to this inclusion and how sharing their heritage was important, one local remarked,

> "heritage is the past and it is the future. It's about recognising that rich heritage we have and making sure it goes on for the future, and the future generations can enjoy and be aware of the past" (Jane).

This sentiment is reiterated by another local who felt their mining heritage needed an audience. Their objective was to have a place to go to remember this past,

> "not many of the miners left now….but we have all the audio kept and stored, the idea was to try and create a centre for ourselves so we could tell the mining history of Glendalough" (Michael).

Feeling marginalised was still however clear when he went on further to add

> "but sure listen it's competing with the OPW and NPWS, but we should all be in one location" (Michael).

With due respect to the local community their sense of exclusion from the main heritage site may not be unfounded, an employee of the OPW remarked

> "I didn't really like a lot of the locals myself, it felt like they thought they owned you…. they were about ownership of us and it's because they live there and I'm just a civil servant that they think they can speak to anyway they want, and you got in trouble if you say anything to them" (Dave).

When asked did he think that any compromise could be made with the local community he replied,

> "The manager has to preserve the tradition that's one of the parts of his job" (Dave).

A representative of the OPW executive elaborated on this issue

> "we don't actively try stand against communities but there is a real thing where we've got effectively a visitor or tourism business with large numbers of people and it has to managed fairly robustly and has to be controlled, we can't allow people to run over the monument at its detriment and I suppose that doesn't lend itself to community relationships" (Simon).

Effectively the response from the OPW confirms their policy to preserve and conserve the heritage site they are intrusted to manage. While it is clear their agenda is to safeguard the monument, the question was asked if the OPW are concerned primarily with

protecting and conserving the site from visitors, and seemingly locals, at times, who is it being preserved for?

> "I think that's kind of a very direct way of looking at things, they aren't black and white statements, they're never quite that, there are shades of grey, but I do at the same time think it is true that they are not natural bedfellows (tourists and heritage sites). In any sense there is a tension in that relationship, from our point of view, and we've said this publicly many times, if there's ever a conflict between the conservation and protection of a site and the generation of tourism, the former will over power all the time, have to do what acts all say, that being said we do recognise that at one time it used to be called heritage awareness, it was part of our one-time secondary missions if you like when I started working in the opw many years ago become much more explicitly about the tourism business the domestic tourism market and then the foreign tourists so I just point out does it become about citizens enjoying their own heritage and become a damaging tourism activity…. the principle is in so far as we can we make heritage available and open it up to people to view and see, we also want to do this invisibly or as discretely as possible. We will try and manage that impact in a way that might not always be obvious so we don't have an unfettered one come all approach…. not actually just putting a glass around something and tell people they can't go in there." (Simon)

Glendalough is a place of tension and conflict between the local community, the tourism and the authorities that govern the site. With a multitude of opposing voices, all looking in one way or another to promote Glendalough's heritage and natural resources, it is unsurprising that there is contestation. The locals feel a sense of belonging to the mining heritage as it is one area, they have some control or input into. Tourism longevity has constructed Glendalough as a transient place, where all authority over the traditional heritage has been assigned to several relevant bodies. Locals feel marginalised and have lost their connection to 'their' place. In order to understand how and why these issues have emerged and why heritage is presented in the manner it is in Glendalough it is necessary to view some of the process through the lens of the ideal form.

8.7 The socially constructed ideal form of Glendalough as a hermitage

Glendalough is home to two modern hermitages whose function appears to be to attempt to revive the original ideal form of experience that created Glendalough as a holy place

to begin with. As previously discussed, St. Kevin reportedly arrived in Glendalough as a pilgrim and subsequently established a hermitage and monastery. According to the manager of one of these hermitage's, Glendalough evokes a feeling of spirituality in pilgrims and emits a spiritual energy beyond the physical entities associated with other places of hermitage, both in natural and societal made, of the valley in the following:

> "….some people might look at the round tower as a building built for a function. I think the people that built it had a sense of the energy and maybe that energy was strong in the particular spot and maybe it was collected energy from different directions, maybe there's something there, maybe it's a conductor, maybe that was the place you could stand, and you could feel that energy, you know like an energy conductor? I'm saying it's an idea, but there is definitely something more to those buildings than just functional. This place is unique because it also has the place they call the desert; you know at the upper lake?"

As such, the physical forms of the monastery's functional buildings possess an ideal form. This particular ideal form construct, has a long history, stretching back to ancient forms of religion, where a physical place is reputed to have a spiritual energy experienced by hermits who could feel that energy. Hermits such as St. Kevin purposely sought out these energy filled places of solitude within pristine nature. These were often associated and identified as deserts[101], therefore the desert characteristic of Glendalough, both in the past and the present, are essentially ones associated with idealistic spirituality. This can manifest as a feeling or experience of place as expressed about Glendalough by a local stakeholder:

> "…..I think people need something to nourish their spirits, coming here not only provides for your body, but it's also provides for your spirit, there's something here, and being here makes you understand indefinable, something beyond, something about this place. This is a natural place, a beautiful place, but there is something beyond…. I often refer to Seamus Heaney in his 'here and now place', the familiar. It is an awareness of something that you can't nail down, it's a transparent place, between this world and the other world, within place yet free from place, it's hard to put this is words…it is an experience" (Joe).

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[101] Deserts in this context does not necessarily refer to sand plans and or places devoid of vegetation.

Nonetheless, the apparent ideal form of spirituality[102] of the desert of Glendalough is not completely divorced from reality, it possesses some actual physical characteristics of the place, those of colour:

> "….and the light in the darkness, I mean the landscape of this valley has light and darkness, some people say I don't' like Glendalough it's too dark, but that's a very important part of the spiritual journey[103]" (Joe).

Consequently, the ideal form is never completely separate from the physical artefact[104]. It is conceptually embracing; in that it can highlight specific aspects of an artefact or place referred to while evading other physical characteristics. As such, here, this particular idealisation of Glendalough, it is the colour that is referring to, the contrast between the light and the darkness, and how that creates contrasting moods. Nevertheless, this spiritual ideal formulation of the physicality of Glendalough places emphasis on an individual experience of the lone hermit, so that the necessary condition for such a spiritual experience is to be alone in the valley. A visiting modern 'hermit/pilgrim' described Glendalough as:

> "celestial, calm, there's an air there, a calmness, there you can walk the highway, there is serenity. I don't know but there's a physical bodily response to being there….it feels like coming home, the place you belong, the place that isn't touched by the madness of the outside world[105](Mary)".

However, this particular spiritual ideal form can only be experienced at certain times of the day, when the collective masses of tourists are not present:

> Glendalough is incredible to go for a walk at 7 o'clock in the morning or 9 o'clock at night, it's just unique…. I suppose there is that kind of mysticism it's so quiet, it's peaceful, it's incredibly

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[102] One individual described the ideal form of spirituality as: "my own county over there in the west, County Clare, spirituality can be experienced in people, in places, but it is difficult to define, you can experience it, but since it is indefinable in nature it's hard to figure out, it's not something you can touch, it is more in your brain but more than your intelligence, more than rationality, it is something deeper, something inside us, an inner connection"(Joe).
[103] This idea of the light and darkness contrasting directly connects to the sublime and the picturesque discussed in detail in the next chapter.
[104] Here the artefact is the landscape itself
[105] This idea of Glendalough being an isolated place features in the discussions in the next chapter.

peaceful, it is a place apart…I grew up in a town and this is just a completely different pace of life" (Bob).

Intrinsically, such an immersion into the natural environment has to be done with the presence of as few people as possible. In light of the visitor numbers to Glendalough it is not an easy feat to share the spiritual desert with hordes of wandering tourists. A local historian highlights the difficulties experienced by local walkers with the wandering student visitors in what Slater (1993) refers to as a contested terrain:

> "when the buses arrive there are so many people that you can't walk around. There are groups of people who are interested in coming and walking around but they come early in the morning and late in the evening. At times there are so many people walking the Green Road, sometimes there are students from around the world and they walk 5 or 6 abreast, making it almost impossible to get past them, they usually talk very loud too. So I usually just leave and come back when they are all gone" (Jane).

It is not just the social form of the hermitage that is socially constructed ideal form at Glendalough, how guided tours within the monastic enclosure are also idealised.

8.8 The guided tour into the heritage of monastic city: the 'historical' ideal form

The historical ideal form of Glendalough is presented through the narratives of the heritage centre's tour guides. This ideal form is very much determined by historical data that has been accumulated from 'facts' emerging out of historical texts. Therefore, the historical ideal form in this case is very much controlled by the institutional dictums of the OPW. A tour guide, employed by the OPW, explained how he was trained in guiding people around the monastic enclosure. However, when asked was he ever provide with a script he responded by stating:

> "No, but when I got there, I went out and watched and listened to the guides that were already working there, they give out a lot of information, then some of the information I read in the literature in the centre, so from that I made my own tour. The one thing you can't do is making anything up because you are an official guide, it has to be based in fact, you can't make up lies, you can't tell stories, like I wasn't allowed to take people to the cross and get them to put their

arms around it and tell them to make a wish. That's just made-up stuff. For us, we had to say for example 'we believe St. Kevin was born etc' there's no proof that he ever even existed" (Dave).

Proof here refers to what is written in written texts. Interestingly, that this tour guide references that cross activity, this is an artefact of folklore in the graveyard with no apparent history to it, it is not included in the OPW official tour narrative. Consequently, its significance as an ideal form is given to this landscape artefact by past generations of the local community. This conscious elimination of the local community's contribution from the narration of the guided tours has not gone unnoticed by the local community. Doubt relating to St. Kevin is evident from the perspective of the historical ideal form formulation. In that, stories of the saint are somewhat regarded as folklore more than historic fact. Although, the historical tour narrative appears to be locked into an 'iron cage' of prescribed subject matter, the guides have developed strategies that change the narrative of this historical ideal form. In the following one guide admits to tailoring his presentations to the groups he is guiding. Here, he consequently leaves out the historic facts of violent inter-monastery conflicts:

> "some fundamentalist Christians can't believe, that most of the fights that happened in Ireland within that early Christian era were between monasteries or that St. Laurence O'Toole's father was murdered by an opposing monastery…. I have a bit of craic with that and say Laurence O'Toole was celibate like his father and grandfather before him…laughing" (Dave).

Nevertheless, the presence of these diverse and often contradictory ideal forms within the valley of Glendalough, such as spirituality, historical and even aesthetics, can be 'celebrated' within the mindset of one individual and her understanding of this complex place:

> "….tell you what makes Glendalough special, I like walking around here, I get an enormous sense of the past. I can feel and imagine those who came before me whether they be pilgrims, clergy, or miners. I just get a sense of the past and that is very personal, it's not something everyone would feel. Then there is the feeling of peace, and I also get a great sense of tranquillity and spirituality,

I feel it's a twofold thing, no a threefold because of the beauty too. You can stand at the upper lake and at Glendalough and you can see a different scene each day of the year" (Jane).

Yet, all of these diverse ideal forms that inhibit Glendalough exist because of the physical presence of the artefactual objects that can be 'idealised' in various ways. One endeavour which engages with the materiality of the valley of the two lakes is archaeology.

8.8 The archaeological forms of the material and the ideal and its institutional 'iron cage' version of the OPW

It is apparent from interview data and cited literature, that the defining and essential function of the OPW within Glendalough is to preserve and conserve the monuments associated with the monastic settlement. For this to occur however, those OPW protected monuments require identification, and in some cases to be discovered. It is the discipline (science) of archaeology that performs the initial work for state the authority. Yet, as previously discussed archaeological investigations have unearthed more than just ecclesiastical remnants:

"….that is assuming that there is a part that is most crucial to preserve, and preserving again is another thing. I don't really know the answer, I suppose the ecclesiastical settlement is a key story, but everything has been set in motion for that. That is the story that is preserved. Personally, I don't think one historical section should preserved more than another. What is preserved and promoted in Glendalough needs to be broadened out, so we can hear the full narrative of the place, it is so much more than just the monastery. You know we have archaeological finds of Viking coins, buckles and stuff turning up in the next field to the round tower? So, we know there was a lot going on in the seventh, eighth and nineth centuries. There was a lot of settlement in the area, there is evidence of trade and craft and some industry, I think that is very interesting. At the same time there was mining activity, charcoal burning and industrial activity, so I would just like to see the story broadened" (Maria).

These non-ecclesiastical artefacts, discovered and identified by various archaeological digs and given their ideal forms by that discipline this suggests that the heritage of Glendalough requires expansion to include other 'layers' of settlement. The ideal form of heritage in Glendalough is a combination of all these diverse ideal forms that inhibit the valley. Occurring through the differing forms of consciousness and how those informed

travellers physically engage with the environment of the valley. As the heritage officer for the area related:

> "heritage is wide and encompassing, it is the landscape, what is called the natural landscape, although it has been altered over the centuries, it is how it has been shaped, so the different layers, from the ecology to how human settlement has changed and altered it, but also how the processes of industry and the structure built upon it impact on landscape. It's the full landscape and all of its layers. Of course we have intangible things like our stories and folklore, but again these are all linked back to the landscape, it is the bedrock for everything that sits on top and below it" (Maria).

Glendalough is the culmination of a myriad of social, political and natural processes that work in unison but also conflict. To gain an understanding of these processes this chapter provided a detailed account of each social relationship to the site, including the locals, the tourists, and the authorities and their employees. It was crucial to explore how each of these groups experience Glendalough and elaborate on the conflicts between the locals, the 'pseudo' locals, the tourists and the governing bodies. Undoubtedly it is a site of contestation and struggles, yet it continues to be viewed upon by locals, visitors and authorities as a place of beauty, tranquillity and heritage. Meaning what Glendalough means and how it is viewed varies depending on who's viewpoint is presented. Thus, from the perspective of the ideal form, heritage in Glendalough represents a combination of the diverse ideal forms of the valley. This chapter provides a clear explanation through the use of examples of how the ideal form occurs in several ways in Glendalough. Beginning as a hermitage or pilgrimage site this ideal form of spirituality continues to the present where the natural environment has become interwoven with the spiritual place of peace and a perceived unseen energy. The historical ideal form is delivered through the tour guides and is determined by the historical written data derived historical texts. Whereas, the archaeological ideal form is determined by physical material artefacts, however, it has become enmeshed in the institutional 'iron cage' version of the OPW's narrative. As such, the contestation of Glendalough not only resides in the social, political

and ecological systems, it additionally competes in the ideal form. Yet, one fundamental area of interest requires more consideration, the aesthetic. As mentioned, Glendalough is a place of immense natural scenic beauty, but some of the perceived natural beauty could be viewed as a constructed, the next chapter focussed on the picturesque and all the associated processes that have shaped the idealised visualisation of Glendalough.

9.0 Chapter: The picturesque lure of Glendalough, aesthetic versus history: A process of aesthetic heritage is constructed

'It is not just that "places" serve to remind us of the stories associated with them; in certain respects, the places only exist (in the sense that they can be identified by name) because they have stories associated with them. But once they have acquired this story-based existence, the landscape itself acquires the power of "telling the story"' (Leach, 1984:358).

Glendalough is situated in centre of a spectacular glaciated valley, from which its name derives, *Gleann Dá Loch*, the valley of the two lakes. Its breath-taking scenery has lured sightseers and tourists for centuries, but it is the monastic settlement site which national heritage campaigns predominantly focus on to draw the attention of the contemporary visitors. Although those with authority and vested interests in heritage would take comfort in the notion that Glendalough predominantly draws its visitors from the heritage tourist sector, evidently this is not the case. While many do visit the site to avail of the heritage centre and its information, the narrative from those who visit, those who live there, and the physical numbers provides an insight into Glendalough's draw. From the earliest form of tourist promotion; painting, to, tourist guidebooks, to photographs and postcards, to today's aerial video, and internet global promotions, Glendalough has featured in the predominantly constructed visual allure for centuries. This chapter explains the use of imagery for tourist promotion and political agenda driven motivations and economic gain. Tourism is about the consumption of places, for pleasure, for notoriety or escapism, to encounter experiences that differ from everyday life, a considerable part of that experience is in focalisation "that experience is to gaze upon or view a set of different scenes, of landscapes….which are out of the ordinary" (Urry, 1990). For Urry one of the most common varieties of the tourist gaze is the elite "romantic gaze," which demands privacy, seeks a spiritual experience, was informed by nineteenth-century painting, led to landscapes being perceived as pastorally "heritagescapes" (Cormack, 1976). This

enduring perspective of landscape gaze continues to be reflected in idealised landscapes on postcards, and internet media driven visually led campaigns where all signs of modern settlement, such as utility poles and factory chimneys, are airbrushed out. In direct opposition is the mass-cultural "collective gaze," which requires the presence of other tourists to create an intensive atmosphere, such as the video viewing room in the heritage centre at Glendalough or in places such as the National heritage park[106] (Urry, 1990, p. 104; Urry, 1992, p. 173).

9.1 A place of holy wonderment

In the early fifth century Christianity began to reach Ireland from Western Britain and Gaul, the Irish church, however, was moulded into a monastic form rather than a diocesan form linked to Scotland and Wales. From the fifth century onwards, the Christian church grew and thrived in Ireland and in the sixth century, Glendalough was reputedly founded by St. Kevin, the monastic settlement area grew and flourished until its destruction by the Normans in 1398 (Doherty, et al., 2011). Glendalough has a long and varied history of tourism. Arguably, the earliest visitors to the valley arrived as early Christian pilgrims, although archaeological evidence exists to show that the site was settled from a much earlier pre-Christian period[107]. These earlier settlers would have been more permanent residents of the area and may not have travelled or lived anywhere else over their lives. While, trade was a feature of that earlier period, travel for any other purpose rarely occurred. Whereas travel in the Christian period was frequent and not always for the purpose of trade, as evinced in the archaeological inventory[108]. Pilgrimages were seen as a fundamental duty to God for early Christian monks. The tradition of pilgrimage came

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[106] A place where you can 'stay and play like its 200BC' and be fully immersed in life long ago (The Irish National Heritage Park, 2021).
[107] See chapter 6 on archaeology and history of Glendalough
[108] Throughout Ireland archaeological inventories have been taken of all known discovered artefacts and some of these artefacts reflect travel for pilgrimage. These surveys are usually divided into a manageable county level volumes.

directly from the Roman church[109] and was not only a rite of passage but also arduous expedition to test the devotion of the faithful. Pilgrimages were not treks for sightseeing or holidays but trials to demonstrate the pilgrim's devotion to their God. Yet, McCannell suggests that these pilgrims are comparable to the modern-day tourists due to their structural similarities (1976). Likewise, scholars such as Badone and Roseman (2004) Timothy and Olsen (2006) and Stausberg (2011) all concur with McCannell's argument.

9.2 The beginning of the tour

Almost as soon as written records began, adventurers, explorers and researchers have documented their experiences and created records of their travels. These travellers' accounts are numerous; and whilst highly subjective they do provide valuable insights and information on various locations. These traveller's accounts are an invaluable source material as they are written both near the place and at the time with which they refer to. Travel guides contain information on virtually all aspects of human activity and can be used to investigate the contemporary perspectives on the natural, social, economic, political, architectural, topographical, and ecclesiastical and even contain references to music. Travel accounts come in a multitude of guises from travel logs or diaries written at the end of each day, to correspondences friends and family, to newspaper and magazine article and indeed purposefully written travel guides. A wealth of documentation relating to Ireland exists spanning from the earliest Greek and Roman traditions to the contemporary form of online travel blogs.

One of the first travellers to extensively document Ireland was Giraldus Cambrensis; Gerald of Wales. Subsequent to the Norman invasion of Ireland he made two journeys to

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[109] Tales of voyages and travel occur in the early Irish literature known as Echtrae (approximately 7th century), which relate to pre-Christian heroes journeys, and Immram (from approximately the 8th century onwards) which tell of sea journeys and pilgrimages, such as the Voyage of St Brendan (Wooding & O'Meara, 2002).

the country, staying for extended periods between 1183 and 1186. Cambrensis' works were central in creating long lasting negative stereotypes of Ireland and especially the Irish people.

> 'This is a people of forest dwellers, and inhospitable; people living off beasts like beasts; a people that still adhere to the most primitive ways of pastoral living. For as humanity progresses from the forest to the arable fields, and towards village life and civil society, this people is too lazy for agriculture and is heedless of material comfort; and they positively dislike the rules and legalities of civil intercourse; thus they have been unable and unwilling to abandon their traditional life of forest and pasture' (Cambrensis, 1982).

Travel guides, tourism and the lure of the aesthetic

The tourist phenomenon is not new at Glendalough and historic evidence of tourist activities at the site is abundant. With the age of enlightenment in the eighteenth century came an advancement in rational and scientific thought. The latter half of the same century brought immense economic growth in Ireland[110]. Those in the ascendancy classes' greatest concern was to demonstrate and exhibit the triumphs and splendours of Dublin. Many therein turned to aesthetics and the study of antiquities. Subsequently two academic societies were established, The Royal Dublin Society (RDS) and The Royal Irish Academy (RIA), to manage and ensure good scientific practices. In 1801 Robert Fraser was commissioned by the RDS to conduct a statistical survey of County Wicklow. As part of this survey Glendalough and its monuments were included and their importance highlighted. Once again Glendalough became a site of pilgrimage, but this time the pilgrims arrived in the form of the gentry who were more interested in the aesthetic, the picturesque landscape and the romanticised ruins of the valley (Kavanagh, 2003). For Urry tourists are a type of contemporary pilgrims, and those interested in heritage like the

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[110] It must be noted that it was only the English landlord classes and high-ranking individuals who profited from this economic boom, the native Irish people were very poor and living on subsistence farming, owning no land or property.

antiquarian gentry of this aforementioned era were 'seeking authenticity in other 'times' and other 'places' away from the person's everyday life' (1990, p. 8). These early tourists McCannell argues represent an embodiment of a quest for authenticity, this quest is a modern version of the universal human concern with the sacred (1976).

Several tourist guide books exist from the 18th century onwards. One such book written by a French man records the local people celebrating the pattern day dancing and amusing themselves at the site, while also seeking penance and cures for their ailments. He recounts;

> 'pushed my arm through the hole in the stone. I rubbed my back against the rock which cures the troubles of the back, and my head against another, thus ensuring my health for the remainder of my journey. I even tried to embrace the pillar[111] (supposedly to make sure of your wife) but I cannot tell with what result. As to the Saint's bed, I thought there was little danger of my dying from that malady against which it insures[112], and therefore I did not climb' (De Layocnaye 1796).

Written and illustrative evidence of visitor's interested in antiquities, as well as those with a desire to explore the 'wild' beauty of the valley, Glendalough exists from the 1770's.

With the advent of widespread industrialisation in the nineteenth century came legislative changes in working hours providing people with more leisure time[113] (Carville, 2003), and thus more travel time for those with capital to pursue their interests in places like Glendalough. This wave of interest brought with it esteemed and renowned people such as Edward Wakefield in 1809, Sir Walter Scott in 1825, John Barrow in 1835, Bartlett, Kohl and O'Malley Irwin, followed by the Carter-Halls in the 1840s, and Sir William Wilde in 1873. Each of these visitors produced a personal written interpretation of Glendalough and its allure as a romantic, mystical and spiritual place, with a

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[111] He uses the word pillar although it is clear that he is referring to the high cross in the graveyard, as it is the cross that people span to make sure the person marries.
[112] Expectant mothers would climb to St. Kevin's bed in the belief that if they lay down in it, they would not die in childbirth.
[113] Until the nineteenth century being able to travel, particularly for non-work reasons, was only available to a narrow elite and was itself a mark of status (Urry & Larsen, 2011).

picturesque landscape. Essentially these books became the earliest tour guides to the area and were responsible for enticing further visitors to Glendalough.

As time passed travelogues became increasingly concerned with presenting the reader with a means to escape, get away from the harsh day to day realities. Travel within this period was a signifier of status, a democratisation of travel, insofar as the destination and manner of one's visit demonstrated a distinction in class (Urry & Larsen, 2011). In the early 1840s the Carter-Hall's wrote,

> Those who require relaxation from labour, or may be advised to seek health under the influence of a mild climate, or search for sources of novel and rational amusement, or draw from a change of scene a stimulus to wholesome excitement, or covert acquaintance with the charms of nature, or wish to study a people full of original character—cannot project an excursion to any part of Europe that will afford a more ample recompense (1842).

As noted by Slater, this ideological construction of Ireland presented Ireland as a place of escape, to engage with the exotic peoples and the wild and beautiful scenery (2007). Strikingly, the blatant disregard towards the reality of the abject poverty of Irish people tells of a blinkered ignorant at best, arrogant at worst, perspective of these colonial writers. As such, 'the Halls seem to be evading the economic reality of mass poverty by encouraging their travelogue readers to see Ireland as a landscape picture' (Slater, 2003, p. 233). The depiction of the native people within some of these travelogues are not always favourable, some of the references are at best disparaging. For example, the aforementioned Carter-Halls remarked 'before we leave Glendalough, we must offer a few additional remarks concerning the "guides." For ourselves, we confess a strong desire to sink the whole tribe, male and female, into the deepest pit of the deep lake. They are amusing enough to those who would study human character, and care little for the character of the scene' (1842, p. 231). While in Barrow's guidebook he quotes an Irish guide called George Winder remarking 'an awful number more would come, if it wasn't for the terrible bad things that are told of my countrymen just now, which makes you

Englishmen think they'd be surely be murdered it they come over here' (1836). Undoubtably the local people have become aware of these articulations over the years, however, the current attitudes revolving around visitors appears to be based on their intrusion and the perceived disruptions they cause (as discussed in previous chapters).

Contemporary locals are aware of Glendalough's long history as a tourist attraction one such local stated,

> "there were four hotels there at one stage, there was a little one in the middle of the village across from where the Glendalough hotel, it was called Kavanagh's Temperance Hotel, no alcohol was served…no license it was for Methodists…there were more hotels and a stage coach house, the traveller numbers at the time would have been much smaller but it was a longer distance then, you had to stay, it was too far on the road back" (Bob).

In addition to these written accounts, a multitude of visual representations including paintings, photographs and postcards which depict the presence of visitors to the area. One local remarked,

> "if look back on the history of Glendalough and look at tourism in Ireland, people have been coming to Glendalough as tourists since records began, in the 17th century, during the early Christian period as pilgrims, people have been going to Glendalough since time began really, and the locals have been providing for them, people have been taking advantage if you like" (Jane).

9.3 Pretty as a picture, the aesthetic beauty of Glendalough

In 1779 the Huguenot artist Gabriel Beranger and the Italian painter and architect Angelo Maria Bigari arrived in Glendalough with instructions from the RDA to record the site for prosperity. Over a period of time, whilst staying in Derrybawn house, they produced

a collection of drawings, all of which were set to a volume and presented to the RDA.
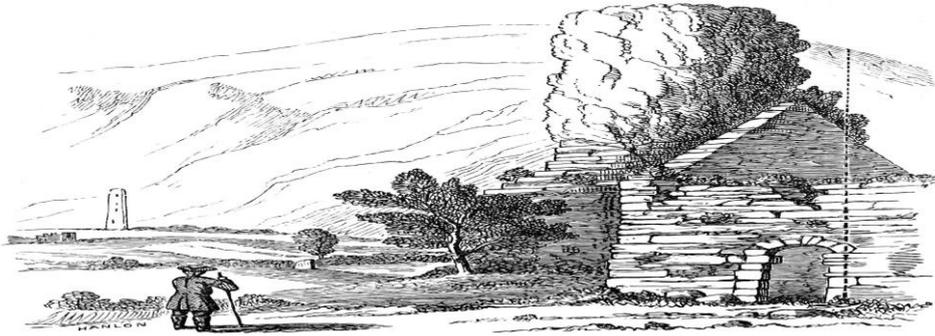
Figure 22: Beranger's drawing of the round tower and Trinity church, Glendalough (Wilde, 2015)

These commissioned drawings were composed from an antiquarian perspective and were regarded as educational tools. In this early period antiquarians were generally amateur collectors of antiquities and enthusiasts of the past who recorded historic and archaeological finds before history or archaeology were developed as modern disciplines (British Library, 2020). Beranger and Bigari's sketches were followed by detailed 'archaeological' drawings composed by Petrie[114].

Petrie's archaeological drawings were purposely aestheticized, both the landscape and the ruins were highlighted. While many of Petrie's drawings of particular monuments at Glendalough were accurately sketched in detail, his landscape sketches were less likely to include all details and main features were omitted. Figures 27 and 28 depict the entrance to Glendalough and St. Kevin's Kitchen, neither include the graveyard which lay beside them. The objective in the removal of the graveyard in the images was to aestheticize the image, possibly because a graveyard reminds those who gaze upon the image of the harsh realities of life. Throughout this body of work focussed on Glendalough, what is strikingly apparent is how much Petrie emphasises the landscape in a picturesque technique. This is unsurprising as Petrie was educated at the drawing school of the Dublin society, and as an artist his particular area of expertise was in landscape

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[114] See archaeological chapter discussing Petrie's contribution to Irish antiquities.

painting (Royal Irish Academy, 2020). As was in keeping with the trend of the sublime of the era Petrie's landscape sketches depicted the dark mountains surrounding the light valley of Glendalough as the dominant feature. The ruins in these paintings were secondary to the landscape and choked by ivy and obscured by nature. As with much of the sublime landscape paintings of the era the depiction of Glendalough by Petrie was purposely intent on presenting the place as a wilderness, which coincided with the narrative of the travelogues to promote the idea of escapism.

Figure 23: Petrie's Sketches of the Cathedral and St. Kevin's Kitchen, Glendalough (Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland)

While some of these antiquarian images purported to depict Glendalough's archaeological features illustratively, subsequent landscape paintings focussed on capturing the artist's impressions of the place. Artistic impression includes perspective, and contemporary trends, the Glendalough landscape paintings are reflective of these practices. Within this period the most prolific approach to landscape painting was a technique using light and shade, the sublime and the beautiful, a contrasting light within the genre of the picturesque.

Returning briefly to the travelogue of the Carter-Halls,

> 'Wicklow is the garden of Ireland; its prominent feature is, indeed, sublimity— wild grandeur, healthful and refreshing; but among its high and bleak mountains there are numerous rich and fertile valleys, luxuriantly wooded and with the most romantic rivers running through them, forming in their course, an endless variety of cataracts. Its natural graces are enhanced in value, because they are invariably encountered after the eye and mind have been wearied from gazing upon the rude and uncultivated districts, covered with peat, upon the scanty herbage of which the small sheep can scarcely find pasture. … Usually, the work of nature has been improved by the skill of Art, and it is impossible to imagine a scene more sublime and beautiful than the one of these ravines of which there are so many' (Carter Hall & Carter Hall, 1842).

Figure 24: Petrie's Sketch of Glendalough (Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland)

This passage was created to be purposely descriptive; the Carter-Halls paint a verbal picture of the landscape surrounding Glendalough. The use of the terms 'high and bleak mountains' with the contrasting 'rich and fertile valleys' emphasises the light and shade, typical of the eras painting technique of the sublime. Slater contends that the sentence 'syntax is sequenced around the word 'after', and this syntactical structure of the passage is not only imitating a viewing process, but also a downward glance' he further argues that it is as if the Carter-Halls 'placed' the readers in the 'position of a commanding

vantage point' so as to allow the reader to gaze upon a wide sweep of the landscape (2003, p. 233). Here the writers construct a virtual viewing point through text, which in turn created an imaginary space in the imagination of the reader, effectively painting a picture in the reader's mind (Barrell, 1972). The objective of painting an idealised alluring picture for the audience was to promote the place for tourists, in a way that was purposely directed at a particular class of cohort.

9.4 A sophisticated wilderness; the sublime

The sublime which partly overlaps with the picturesque[115] contributes to the aestheticisation of historical artefacts. Whereas the picturesque was focussed on removing all elements of human occupation and labour, the sublime emphasises physical material remains and structures. In addition to providing the physical remnants of the past the ruin 'creates the present form of the past' (Simmel, 1911 (1959), p. 265). For Simmel architecture (ruin) is an extension of the human soul, in a spiritual sense he sees the ruin in the same conflict as humans, between upward striving and being cast downwards, people are connected to these physical remains (ibid, 1911). Sociologically these ruins contain a socially embedded form, they are a product of human labour, and the inclusion of ruins in the visual, demonstrated man's ability to tame the wildness of nature. From a Kantian perspective the sublime is afforded a humanising role, and thus reveals our difference from nature (1790 (1987)). Brett contends that the landscape in the sublime required hints of man as 'wild scenery that could not be 'improved' and did not show the hand of man, was usually thought to be too savage' (1996, p. 42), but these scenes could be staged, and purposeful viewpoints embedded. The sublime enabled wildness to be

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[115] This concept is discussed in depth in chapter on the aestheticisation of Durrow.

incorporated into the picturesque. Historic features were made focal points, through a judicious blending of nature and art thus, 'ruins were admired because they showed the modification of one by the other (Brett, 1996, p. 42). In the animated words of Otway,

> "I would rather ponder on such a spot as this at Glendalough, surrounded as it is with mighty mountains, dark winding glens; all its lakes, streams, rocks……Ruins that testify of alters, and of a priesthood over thrown – a workshop made desolate – a people scattered and peeled, where the long continuous shadow of the lofty and slender round tower moves slowly from morn to eve over wasted churches, scattered yew trees, and ancient of days, how many suns have run their diurnal and annual course since these holy men had descended to their graves" (1849).

In presenting the past as mysterious and awesome, human actions are seen as part of nature. Although Ireland was presented to the potential visitor as a wilderness, this was only in the sense that it was an accessible and civilised constructed wildness. As wild scenery that could not be 'improved' and did not show the hand of man was usually thought too savage, the concept of the sublime enabled wildness to be incorporated into the picturesque' (Brett, 1996, p. 42). Likewise, the earlier travelogue writer Wakefield paints a picture of the sublime landscape with his words,

> 'the venerable remains of the seven churches just began to appear; beyond them stood a round tower ninety-five feet in height, and still further on a mountain of no great elevation, but raised its head considerably above the tower. On the left of it the mountain's opening afforded a view of a lake, but being unadorned with wood, it makes a less picturesque appearance. Still to the left is seen another line of mountains, but not of such magnitude as to entitle them to the epithets of awful of terrific. The deep silence, however, which prevails here, the unexpected sight of ruins, the majestic tower, and the mountains rising behind its objects which if isolated might create very little interest, produce, when grouped into one landscape, a very striking effect' (1812).

Interestingly, not only are Wakefield's words here focussed on the picturesque, but also the sublime. While the description at first paints a verbal illustration of the landscape, the emphasise lies predominantly on highlighting the ruins, in a place so wild and remote he declares his amazement at the ruins before him saying they behold a 'very striking effect'. The sublime artistic impression of Glendalough shows the contrast between the light and the darkness, just as Wakefield's words 'awful of terrific' demonstrate this contrast. In

these painting the eye is drawn to the light, and it is implied through the contrast, a rivalry between light and shade, wild and sophisticated, good and evil.

Figure 25: The Pattern of the seven churches on the festival of St' Kevin in the valley of Glendalough (Peacock, 1813 Oil on canvas, 137cm x 86 cm. Belfast: Ulster Museum. Image © Ulster Museum)

Peacock's pattern painting depicts the community involved in a wide range of activities all of which take place amidst the imposing scenery of the Wicklow Mountains[116]. In the distance a round tower presides over the disorderly scene, its dominance in the landscape exaggerated by the artist for added effect (Boland, 2013, p. 1). As with all sublime images there lies a dark backdrop the rolling, threatening clouds against the glacial valley casts a

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[116] Crofton-Croker's contemporaneous account of the pattern from a travelogue states 'after a walk of about seven Irish miles ... we gained the brow of a mountain and beheld the lake .. one spot on its shore, swarming with people, appeared from our elevated situation, to be a dark mass surrounded by moving specks, which continuously merged into it ... we turned towards the banks of the lake, where whiskey, porter, bread and salmon were sold in booths or tents resembling a gipsy encampment, and formed by, means of poles or branches meeting at angles ... the tents are generally so crowded that the dancers have scarcely room for their performance: for twenty or thirty men and women are often huddled together in each, and the circulation of porter and whiskey amongst the various groups is soon evident in its effects' (1824, p. 280).

suitably dramatic lighting effects over the scene. At the base of the tower sits a dark ramshackle temporary campsite for the native attendees, several other tents are also depicted, all of which are in the shade, again they sit in the sublime.

Figure 26: shows the native tents in the dark and shaded areas of the painting

The panoramic capturing of the vista in the classical picturesque emphasises the scenery insofar as all other elements become seemingly inconsequential. Peacock's picturesque image of the pattern at Glendalough includes various groupings of animated figures, all of whom represent a variety of narratives for the audience to engage with. To the left side of the foreground groups of people are visible in a tent engaging in dancing and general revelry associated with festivals of this sort. To the rear of this tented area a group of well-dressed women are being assisted from a carriage by a soldier in bright red regimental jacket. While another group on horseback is encircled by a crowd of some traditional musicians. Others appear interested in stalls selling commodities such as hats, toys, cakes and hardware. People can be seen hurriedly crossing the stream in the distance, possibly attempting to flee the violent crowd that are engaging in a large brawl under the shadow of the looming round tower (Boland, 2013). I would argue that this picture is a visual example of 'othering', where the natives are visually presented as distinctly different to the coloniser audience, exotic and as 'other'. In a sociological context othering is a discriminative process, it perpetuates prejudice and justifies one groups dominance over another, for Bauman (1993) otherness is central to the way societies establish identity categories.

Across the image over a hundred figures are featured; some singing, dancing and enjoying the celebrations associated with the day, while others are capitalising on the commercial aspect of the Pattern by trading their wares and produce (Boland, 2013). While all walks of Irish life are presented, from blind beggars and itinerant musicians to regimental officers and elite spectators on horseback, the contrasting light between the natives in the shade and the elite spectators and officers, in the light, is visually apparent. Not only is Peacock demonstrating the dominant features of the landscape he is not so subtly emphasising the colonists domination and power over the native. Solkin contends that a fundamental dialectic lies in how 19th century artists and audiences used everyday imagery (2008). For example, the dominant upper and middle classes, colonialists in the case of Ireland, could assert dominance over the lower classes, or the poor Irish natives, by commissioning artworks that depict characters in a pejoratively stereotyped manner, in order to justify their position to their peers (Boland, 2013). This depiction of the Irish natives was a 'Eurocentric' and 'imperial view of colonised peoples, whose social lives and cultures were similarly seen as anti-progressive and the antithesis of modern civilisation (Mc Govern, 2003, p. 86). I want to suggest here, that from Foucauldian perspective the elite utilised everyday paintings as a means to assert power (Foucault, 2019). The paintings were used by these elite to survey and reinforce their biased discourse, although some of this may have been from an unconscious inherited prejudice (Solkin, 2008). The biased discourse of the Irish peasant was based on a series of British clichés which 'constructed the stereotype of Paddy as an idiotic…. peasant who tended to be dirty, awkward and alcoholic[117]' (Dochy, 2018). Presenting the natives as poor,

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[117] The stereotype is analysed in further detail in Edward Hirsch, "The Imaginary Irish Peasant", *PMLA*, 10 (5) (October 1991), pp. 1116-1133. To Hirsh, this was mainly a British invention, but a different perspective is given by the revisionist historian Sheridan Gilley, in "English Attitudes to the Irish in England, 1780-1900", in Colin Holmes, ed., *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1978, pp. 81-110.

ragged, unruly and unrefined, in a contrasting depiction to themselves justified their position of power. O'Sullivan has noted that 'critical theory, however, would now argue a relationship of power, explaining that artists, through the act of representation, assumed a dominant position over those depicted as primitive. Whether the term 'primitive' is used to signify (patronisingly) a lack of civilisation, or (romantically) a simplicity in the face of the over-civilisation of western societies, it stereotypes those depicted' (2011, p. 2).

Figure 27: The regimental red coat and the ladies in white and the horde of unruly natives to the rear with the gentry to the forefront

This contrast between the native and the colonialist is clearly visible in figure 27 where the red coat wearing colonial army member is assisting a group of ladies in a horse-drawn carriage, dressed in their finery and shaded by umbrellas from the ragged poor natives nearby. Peacock's use of colour here is additionally noteworthy as artists can intentionally use colour to evoke emotions in the spectator. Red stands out and grabs the attention of the viewer, but moreover conveys an expression of power, and in the case of the uniform it also communicates authority. The ladies being assisted from the carriage are all dressed in white, clean, formal dresses, contrasted against the dark tattered clothing of the natives, thus emphasising their position of power in terms of the sublime, dark and shade. But also, in how they are respected by the authority figure of the army. Similarly figure 27 depicts a group of wealthy men on horse-back, dressed again in finery. Here some of the figures are dressed in blue, what is noteworthy about the colour blue is its cost in this

period, the paint was extremely expensive (Lotut, 2018). Thus, those adorned in blue symbolically represent economic privilege. Significantly the contrast between the native and the colonialists is even more strikingly apparent in this section. Not only are the natives pictured crawling around on the ground beside the horses, to the rear of the picture and directly behind the group on horse-back, a scene of a raucous behaviour of the natives is depicted. This image to the rear, of what appears to be a great fight or riot, again in the sublime shade, is juxtaposed to the refined, bright and calm elites in the foreground on horseback.

In a contemporary newspaper a review of Peacock's Pattern appeared which stated,

> 'This picture... is the production of Mr. Peacock, a most ingenious Artist, who last year produced a picture on a similar subject, to which this might be properly termed a comparison. Though far superior both in composition and execution. Those who are fond of drawing comparison, said my friend, have styled him the Irish Teniers, and even his enemies admit that with a regular course of education, he would make a first rate Artist–... in my opinion, an Artist of his powers has no need to draw upon Teniers, to eke out his reputation: His style seems to me to be his own, and with his fertility of invention, and the superior ability he manifests in handling his pencil, certainly promises great things, if suitably recognised... The enchanting scenery of this picturesque spot exceeds every idea of it my imagination had formed... to the fine effect, which on whole, the picture derives from the grandeur of the landscape... it unites all the minutiae of individual character... Its general colouring is rich, warm; the touch is spirited, and the local contrast, in the various groups, and the figures of which they are composed, have a striking effect' (The Patriot, 1813).

This elaboratively descriptive piece connects the audience to the customs of the day insofar as it conveys the feeling of attending and bearing witness to the ritualistic practice. Similarly, in a Foucauldian sense Peacock's use of a panoptic view was purposely constructed to satisfy the audience's curiosity in regards to rural Irish folk culture due to the artist's abundant detail and lively depiction of the festival day crowds (2019). Within this period, antiquarian interest was not only concerned with physical or tangible remnants of the past, but additionally in the traditional beliefs, customs and recreations of the peasant classes, the intangible. Ó' Giolláin has argued that 'devotional rituals, such as those associated with the celebration of a patron saint, attracted particular attention due

to their relationship with sites of historical importance, most notably round towers and holy wells' (1998).

Figure 28: Spilsbury's Patron's Day at Seven Churches, Glendalough (Folklore collection, National Gallery of Ireland)

Peacock was not alone in artistically capturing the pattern day at Glendalough. Spilsbury also illustrated the day on canvas a few years later. Spilsbury's patron day in 1816 depicts a small valley within the confines of a very dominant mountainous with few ruins, an indistinguishable structure (possibly a representation of the cathedral) and in the distance the graveyard and an uncapped round tower rather to the rear of the picture. Although the painting does not portray the Glendalough valley with accuracy, how the artist portrays the place and the event itself is significant. Unlike Peacock, Spilsbury's painting includes an image of the high cross and some of the headstones. Spilsbury also incorporates the local peasants at the forefront praying, with children and dogs crawling around them, presumably to highlight their unruliness even on their most sacred of days. Evidently this celebration was host to a considerably large crowd, but accounts of the day do not paint

the activities of the attendees in a favourable light. In the early part of the 1800s Beranger describes his visit to Glendalough on Pattern Day,

> 'the scene was remarkable, and I and my friends aften spent a large portion of the night walking among the ruins, where an immense crowd usually had bivouacked…throughout the space of the sacred enclosure'. Interestingly, however, he adds 'what a change has taken place in the last twenty years…. the patron saint's day is no longer celebrated[118]' (Wilde, 2015).

Throughout these images while the physical remnants of the past are represented, their depiction is aestheticized, and illustrated in such a way as to highlight the existence of the structures in the scenery, however the ruins are all secondary to the landscape. Here the ruins become symbolic representations of the past, they hold aesthetic value, as opposed to historical value. As Simmel argues ruins in paintings are to be looked upon and 'experienced as a self-enclosed reality' (1911, p. 116). Within the sublime ruins are not only included but also featured, in all of these images of Glendalough "accurate" impression of the historical remains are not captured. This is due to the fact that the ruins are merely consequential additions to the landscape, ones which proudly demonstrate man's domination of nature, yet they do not represent the imagined 'sophisticated' society of the era. Brett contends that vast size is 'a powerful cause of the sublime' (1996, p. 52). This is clearly illustrated in the depictions of Glendalough as all contain representations of the mountains (some exaggerated emphasis on their vastness portrayal is included) surrounding the valley. Vast mountains juxtaposed against the flat valley, is again a technique in the sublime to emphasise the contrast, high and low like light and shade.

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[118] The removal of native customs and traditions occurred across the country, the English colonialists eventually outlawed all Irish religious and native rituals in order to cement their dominance on the Irish people. The pattern day at Glendalough is celebrated each year, however, it is a very small gathering of people who visit the holy well and pray, the days of the huge celebrations are merely mentions in ancient texts.

Figure 29: Spilsbury Pattern at Glendalough (1816, Folklore collection, National Gallery of Ireland, 2020)[119].

9.5 Heritage as a visual construct of historical artefacts

With time came a technological means of capturing the aesthetic beauty of Glendalough, photography. The invention of photography drastically altered how people perceived the world, with its birth, photography, induced 'a metamorphosis in the way people see and understand the world' (Wendell Holmes, 1980). A photograph's ability to capture and preserve the intangible nature of objects became crucial in how form and matter could be separated (Slater, 2013), as such a new reality materialised, Wendell Holmes argued 'image became more important than the object and would in fact make an object disposable' (ibid 1980). Photography like its predecessor, painting, served an analogous function in that they were both purposely focused on constructing a focalisation of the aesthetic in such a way as to conceal the apparently unsightly. An idealised landscape

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[119] An interesting observation of this painting not only has the artist removed almost all of the ruins (apart from the two distinguishing features the gate and the round tower) the two lakes have also been erased. The landscape is again the focus, but this time Spilsbury draws the attention of the viewer to the people.

image to depict the 'geographical imaginings of Ireland as place with the aesthetic philosophy of the picturesque' (Carville, 2013).

Like the painters who came before the photographers visited to capture Glendalough's aesthetic beauty including the ruins of the past. However, as opposed to the sublime and beautiful paintings of preceding eras, photographs of Glendalough began focussing on the ruins of the monastic site as the pivotal point of focal captivation 'photographic depiction of the picturesque decay became embedded within the cultural imaginary of Ireland as place portraying its geographical terrain of built heritage as simultaneous distant and exotic yet pictorially familiar' (Carville, 2013). In presenting Glendalough as visually exotic, the viewer is enticed by its mysterious seemingly wilderness like landscape, yet comforted by its familiarity, as it resembles or even conjures up a vision of their home before it was impacted upon by modernity. A wild yet peaceful and somewhat civilised place to escape to, Slater articulates the construction of the exotic in photographs as a means of distancing, and at times hiding that reality, from the viewer to blur 'the grim appearance of everyday life and reality' (2003, p. 117).

Figure 30: Glendalough (1875/76) during the reconstruction of the round tower (National Library of Ireland, 1876)

Subsequent to the formation of the new Irish Republic in the early 20th century the ideological depiction of Ireland altered to suit the political rhetoric of the newly formed Irish government. Thus, how Glendalough was presented visually in photographs was adjusted, this was Ireland for the Irish, heritage should only celebrate what was perceived as 'real' Irish. Carville as argued 'an essential feature of the establishment of cultural identity is recognising one's outward appearance in the material forms of cultural expression' (2003, p. 217). Material or physical forms such as archaeological remnants of the past presented photographically provide an embodied outward appearance through which a sense of cultural identity can be achieved, Bakhtin refers to this as the 'plastic pictorial world' (1990, p. 28). This emphasis on the physical artefacts of cultural practices, Gibbons notes has had,

'important consequences in considering the relations between culture and history in Ireland, particularly as they impinge on the deeply contested issues of cultural and national identity. It is clear from this approach that identity does not involve consciousness/ or even self-consciousness, but also the realm of representation, i.e. the capacity to be realised in the material form' (1996, p. 10).

In the new republic the Catholic Church held a position of power, therefore heritage which was seen to have connections to the church was celebrated and promoted. Glendalough and it's early Christian settlement, along with other sites from the Early Christian Period[120], became a focal point for tourist and heritage promotion. 'Religion was an important signifier of identity in the Irish Free State and archaeology was important in the provision of scientific evidence to legitimise identity' (Carew, 2018, p. 89). Consequently, photographs of the site concentrated on the Christian archaeological features, postcards for tourists to send were pictures of the ruins within the monastic site, an example of one (figure 10) not only depicts different features but is also adorned with shamrocks to emphasise Glendalough's 'Irishness'. The Early Christian period was hailed as the era of the 'saints and scholars'. Ireland's new government promoted this ideology widely and publicly, as a time before colonialism, when the Irish were educated, reverent, healthy and holy people of God, a comprehensive contradiction to the narrative continually conveyed by the English colonisers. It therefore stood to reason that the monastic sites would feature heavily in heritage promotions and in rebuilding of the new state.

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[120] When a classificatory period is given an overtly religious title, as the Early Christian period, the implication is that the users or makers of the objects assigned to this classification were of a particular religious persuasion (Carew, 2018, p. 90) .
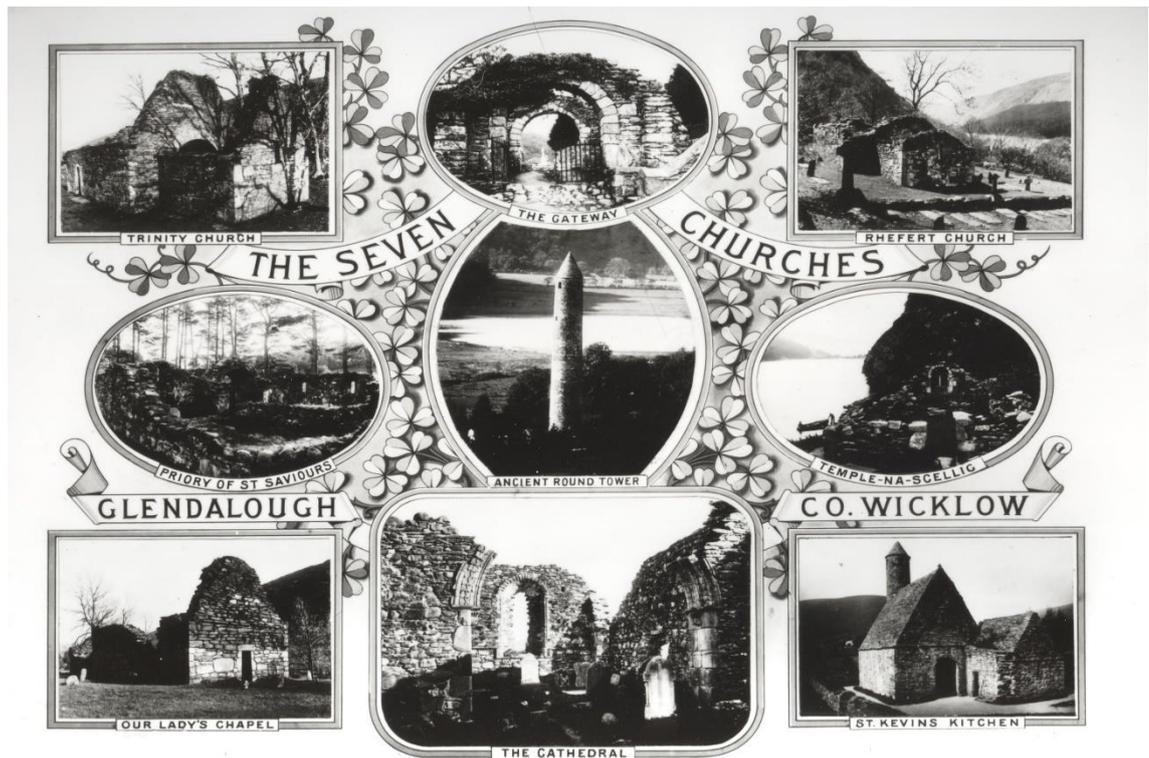
Figure 31: Various postcard of Glendalough monastic site, note the use of shamrocks to emphasise 'Irishness' (Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland)

9.6 Staged heritage? Sanitising Glendalough

Heritage structures in Glendalough have been sanitised and aestheticized, the archaeological evidence clearly demonstrates how the buildings have been reconstructed. While maintenance of archaeological ruins is fundamental to their preservation, going beyond maintaining the structures, I would suggest, can spoil the original fabric of the material artefacts. Although most reconstruction is based on archaeological and architectural drawings, several of the buildings at Glendalough were rebuilt in error, as spoken about in the history chapter. In addition to these reconstruction issues, the over-cleaning, removal of mosses or vegetative growth can visually create a sanitised appearance to the ruins, thus giving the false impression of newness, even a disneyfied aesthetic (Ritzer & Liska, 1997). In this process of conservation, the first stage is to remove the vegetation, repair and replace stonework into it's perceived 'original' position

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and repoint the mortar if required. Consequently, the building becomes visually anesthetised. Slater argues the 'peeling away' in the process of conservation, the natural process of decay is removed and the aura or appearance of being historic and old is transformed and even transcended (2013, p. 5). In Glendalough, St. Kevin's church is a classic example of this process of restoring a monument. While it remains an authentic archaeological artefact the process of conservation makes the building's veneer appear newly constructed, or 'staged authenticity'(McCannell, 1976).

Figure 32: St. Kevin's Kitchen before restoration (photograph courtesy of the Brokagh centre) and after (2020)

A senior management representative of the OPW commented on the conservation process on the material objects at Glendalough,

> "how do you manage all sustainably so that doesn't damage the fabric and then of course you can also get into the whole aesthetic condition, is it really right?" (Simon).

A local politician commented on the conservation policy within the monastic site at Glendalough saying, "it's too sanitised" (John). By sanitised he is referring to the cleaning and restoration process. The removal of the consequences of time, as 'ruins make us think

of the past that could have been and the future that never took place, tantalizing us with utopian dreams of escaping the irreversibility of time' (Boym, 2008). Gazing on the physical artefacts of the past connect people to a time before, they can evoke feelings of nostalgia. Benjamin (1977) saw ruins as 'allegories of thinking itself' to which Boym adds the 'meditation on ambivalence. At the same time, the fascination for ruins is not merely intellectual, but also sensual. Ruins give us a shock of vanishing materiality' (2008). This conservation process Makarius describes as 'restoration vandalism' where the ruin has two value forms 'the age value and the historic value' (Makarius, 2004, p. 167). Therefore, the removal of the age value, which is predominately judged through optical perception, is the removal of one of the ruins intrinsic value forms to those who gaze upon it. In Glendalough, it appears yet again that the aesthetic has become the salient objective.

In addition to restoration and conservation the OPW are responsible for erecting interpretative signage. The OPW's approach to signage within the monastic centre is less is more, deliberately a minimal number of historical information markers at key locations have been erected, such as the round tower, the entrance gate and St. Kevin's kitchen. Their representative remarked on this,

> "The interpretive signs are lacking but yet again there are conflicting views on that in other words how much explanatory or interpretation, passive interpretation can you do before it becomes intrusive, it becomes essentially a blot on the landscape" (Simon).

Notably the respondent's reply focussed on the visual intrusion that signage may have on the aesthetic, however, throughout the site several other non-historic signs (information for services sign etc) are present. When pushed further on why the signs that are present could not include more archaeological information, he added,

> "Yep, and yet this is one of the areas where we struggle interpretation, there's a natural desire, I supposed to say this is a thing we are looking at here, is this, and that can be done in a number of

ways. Traditionally it was around what's called passive interpretation on an explanatory panel or a description" (Simon).

While this explanation does point to a sympathetic and conservational perspective of the site by the management, I would argue that there is additionally a commercial aspect to this strategy. The heritage centre provides a comprehensive presentation of the history of the monastic site, it includes artefacts, information panels, pictures and texts, all of which is available to the visitor for an admission fee. Several interview participants referred to the interpretation centre's exhibition,

> "the audio-visual is about early Christian monasteries and not about Glendalough" (John), and another stated, "the visitor centre run by the OPW, their remit is to tell the story of the monastic settlement…their remit is to connect Glendalough to all the other OPW visitor's centres in the country" (Jane).

Like many of the other heritage centres around Ireland their presentation centres on an audio-visual film, shown in a specially designed viewing room, or small cinema at regular intervals throughout the day. Again, it appears the visual is the dominant discourse in the lure to Glendalough, visitors can come into the centre gaze upon the images and video and see the place within the building. Within the confines of the centre a virtual experience from a particular perspective is delivered visually, so much so that it cuts down the trip time for many bus tourists, thus expediting their journey forward. Glendalough through these images continues to be sold as sublime, as well as picturesque, heritage is secondary to other agendas, such as the visual.

Although the aesthetic beauty of the area is not in question, Glendalough has been visually constructed over time to perpetuate its allure. From the earliest visitors to the colonialist of the past, on to contemporary Ireland, the dominant promotional enticement has and continues to be the aesthetic beauty of the place. While Glendalough does lie in a dramatically picturesque setting how it has been sold through travelogues and images has

been aestheticized and constructed to suit various agendas, be they social, political or economic. In the era of colonialism in Ireland, Glendalough did not fall into the hands of a landlord or within the demesne of a landed estate it was nonetheless culturally colonised. Antiquarians began to arrive, studying the artefacts but also like early anthropologists, the native people. As a place Glendalough became the escape, and leisure playground of the British gentry, and visiting the site was regarded as good taste as well a symbol of status. With the influx of the upper class the contempt and othering of the native people increased. Pictures, writings and paintings were widely published and exhibited. It therefore stands to reason why so many writers and painters depicted Glendalough in their works. While contemporaneously Glendalough is sold globally and nationally as one of the most significant heritage sites in Ireland, the advertising and promotional material focusses heavily on the visual. I would argue that the current promotional videos and pictures are reflective of the picturesque/sublime genre of the early part of the last century. It appears that Glendalough heritage is a runner up in the reasons to visit to area.

Chapter 10: Durrow: A History revealed in its physical forms

The next three chapters are structured in a comparable manner to the preceding Glendalough chapters. This chapter focusses on the historic processes that have shaped Durrow Demesne, County Offaly, the second of the case study sites. While also investigating the extant written and visual information on the place, each of the surviving physical archaeological artefacts are examined in detail and discussed. Durrow is a place of varied and conflicting histories, and this chapter aims to explore how Durrow's history is revealed in its physical forms. Reputedly founded by Columba, Colum Cille, in AD 553, Durrow or Darú is also referenced as Dearmag, *The Plain of the Oaks*, and situated in County Offaly. Once home to a great and powerful monastery, this currently unassuming place once rivalled Clonmacnoise. Little remains of the monastic complex. The site's status is clearly evinced, however, by the impressive high cross and the early medieval grave slabs. Although, predominately known for its monastic settlement and renowned founder, Durrow has historic foundations beyond what is presented and immediately observable. This pre-historic past is evident in archaeological reports, yet little to no mention is made elsewhere. The historic focus, for the greater part, is centred on the monastic and Christian artefacts. The site's proximity to both the Esker Riada[121] and the Slí Mhór[122], which run approximately 600 meters north of the site, may have been fundamental in the decision to develop at this location.

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[121] The Esker Riada, meaning the dividing road, is a system of eskers which pass through the Irish midlands.

[122] The Slí Mhór, or the big road, was an ancient routeway stretching from Dublin to Galway, linking the country from east to west and effectively dividing the country evenly in half. It was the most important means of travel in early Ireland.

10.1 Geology and the natural vegetation

Whilst conducting fieldwork in Durrow I contemplated the reasons so many find this place special, and drawn here from the earliest times, why this space? Within the bogland and moraine area of Ireland's Central Lowland lies Durrow Abbey on the border between the counties of Westmeath and Offaly. This Irish midland landscape was formed by deposits on a warm ocean floor some 300 million years ago. Thus, rendering the underlying structure mainly carboniferous limestone, followed by a covering layer of relatively recent glacial deposits approximately 12,000 years ago. Two landscape features dominate the midlands, and Durrow area: Drumlins and Eskers. Drumlins 'are elongated landforms, in the direction of ice flow, often some kilometres in length, width of a few hundred metres and a height of tens of metres' (Jansson, 2017).
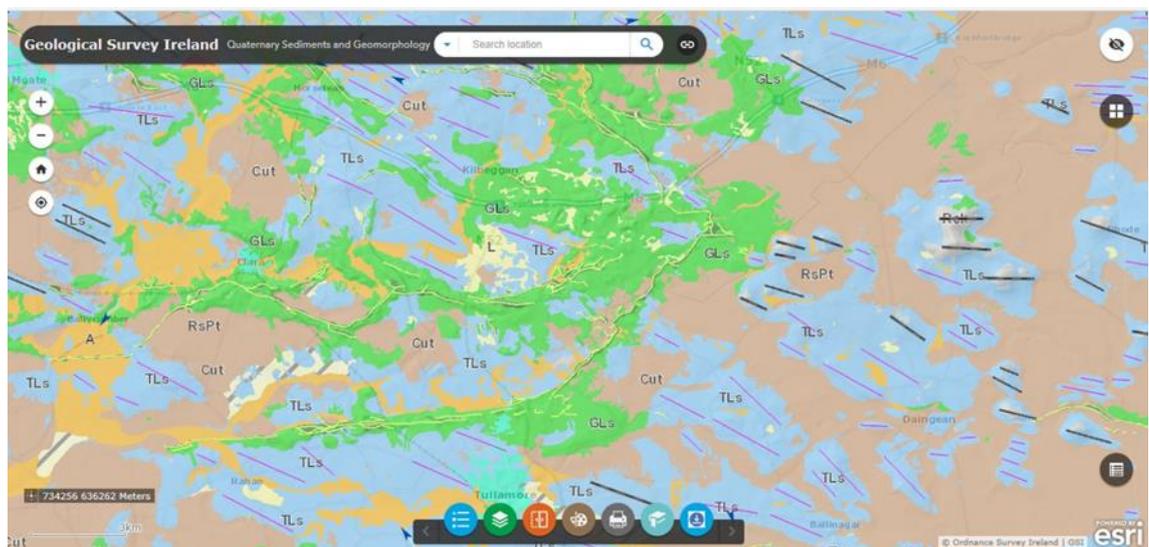
Figure 33: Drumlins and eskers of Durrow townland (Department of Communications, Climate Action and Envirnoment, 2020)

Eskers 'are glaciofluvial deposits from sediment carrying subglacial tunnels'(ibid, 2017). The landscape of Durrow and its surrounding area was formed and defined by these glacial deposits resulting in rolling low hills and ditches. Though the land is fertile, due to elevated, relatively well-drained drumlin hills and esker ridges, the low-lying areas

have a tendency to become boggy and waterlogged, thus the land requires artificial drainage for agricultural production. The land surrounding Durrow Abbey while for the most part has been drained, remains waterlogged, and susceptible to flooding. Effectively making agricultural production, with the exception of cattle farming, precarious. Durrow demesne sits firmly, in an elevated position on top of one of these Drumlins, demonstrating its importance. Although much of the original oak forests have long since been removed the Abbey site still remains enclosed within large trees, giving the site a feeling of isolation and a sense of wilderness.

10.2 The evolution of Durrow as a church location and the physical manifestation of that development on the site

Durrow has a rich tapestry of history, encompassing eras from the earliest of times to the modern day. None of these periods can be viewed in isolation and Durrow in its contemporary form is the culmination of events and conditions of the past, as well as present. From its foundations in the Sixth century[123] the monastic settlement at Durrow over the subsequent centuries saw a period of continued settlement and growth. Reputedly the site was held in high regard and became one of the most important and influential monastic settlements in Ireland. Evidence in the geophysical surveys conducted on site, demonstrates that Durrow was an enclosed monastic settlement site.

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[123] Archaeological evidence in the form of Iron age burials as well as the discovery of a bronze age pin would point to earlier inhabitation of the site than the monastic period (O'Brien & ÓFloinn, 1985).
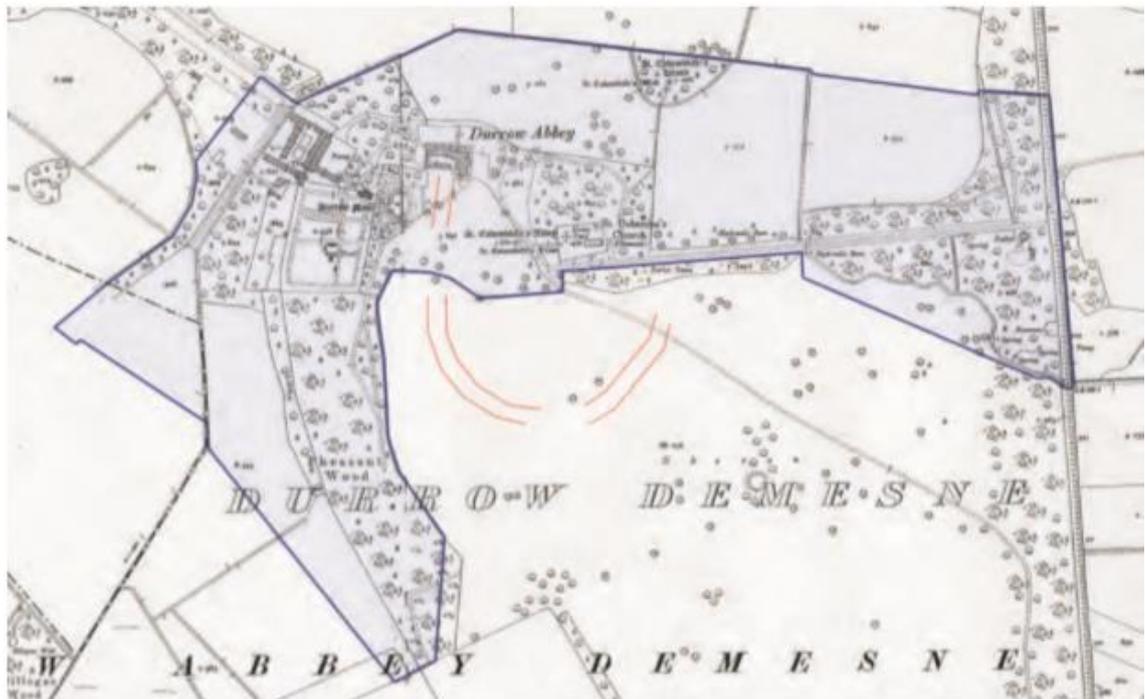
Figure 34: Geophysical survey showing the site of the monastic enclosure (Margaret Gowan and Company, 2000)

The monastic enclosure was a regular feature of early medieval monastic sites, usually of circular or oval shape, delimited by an earthen bank and fosse and sometimes a stone wall (Manning, 1995, p. 42). From aerial photographs of the site a discernible enclosure at Durrow is evident, consisting of a large double ditch delimiting an area of about 500 meters in diameter (O'Brien & ÓFloinn, 1985). Within the tale *Betha Colaim Chille* or the Life of Colum Cille, the construction of the enclosure is mentioned. The tale recounts how Colum Cille instructs Cormac Ó Liatháin to encourage Laisrén, the abbot of Durrow, to 'set the monastery in order and enclose it well' (Howley Harrington Architects, 2005). Herbert (1996, pp. 192-3) dates Betha Colaim Chille to about 1150 – 1169. A poem attributed to the saint, but written several centuries after his death, provides additional detail regarding the fortifications. Laisrén together with over 150 workers set about the construction of the enclosure ensuring at all times there were no breaches. The forest around Durrow was felled to make stakes, for the protection of the sides of the monastery (Fizpatrick & O Brien, 1998, p. 98). Geophysical surveys undertaken at the site in 2000

and 2001 revealed the line of the enclosure which runs in a wide arc through the fields to the south of the church and graveyard (GSB 2000; GSB 2001). The core buildings would have been situated within the inner sanctum at the centre of the enclosure. It is possible that the present graveyard has roughly the same boundary as this inner sanctum. Its edges may have been further defined by the position of the high cross which may have acted as a termon cross (Fitzpatrick, 1994, p. 35). The inner sanctum would have been surrounded by an outer area, also enclosed, containing associated habitation, craft and agricultural activities.

Figure 35: Aerial photograph of Durrow Demesne (arrows point to the remainder of the circular enclosure)

The Christian church in Ireland went through consolidation in the sixth century. Driven by the increasing need for stable centres of Christian faith this is arguably the period in which most of the important and significant monasteries were founded. With increased numbers of Christians and the emergence of monastic structures, came a decline in European based model of parishes and dioceses. This drove the increasing desire of many of the young people, both male and female, to devote their lives to prayer, work, celibacy and obedience. Subsequently, the church was required to expand rapidly. This expansion

reflects an intensifying alliance between the Church and secular society. In particular allegiances with the increasingly powerful Irish royal families of the midlands and north of the country. These alliances are clearly illustrated in the lineage of Colmcille, a member of the Uí Neill royal family (*Cenel Conaill*), who ruled the northwest of Ireland. During this period the southern Uí Neill began and completed their consolidation of power in the kingdoms of Mide[124] and Brega[125]. The principal figure of the era Brega, Diármait Mac Cerbaill, great grandson of Niall of the nine hostages, associated with the founding of Clonmacnoise along with St. Ciarán. His connection to Durrow comes from his judgement on Colum Cille, ruling as he did that Colum Cille made an illicit copy of the Cathach manuscript. Supporting the church and the more important monasteries was one way of establishing power and attracting approval, and Diármait was one of the first to employ this strategy at Clonmacnoise. His descendants followed this example, founding many monasteries. Máelsechnaill mac Máele Ruanaid (ob. AD 862), a descendant of Diármait, who dominated the midlands in the first half of the ninth century, was a generous patron. He came from the Clann Cholmáin and was reportedly known as the first king of Tara or *rí Érenn uile* (King of all Ireland).

Durrow, by the eighth century, was an important monastic house of the Paruchia Columbae (Columban Federation). 'The settlement, which remained under royal patronage, would have been a place of considerable wealth and influence supporting a substantial population by medieval standards' (Howley Harrington Architects, 2005, p. 2). According to the annuals of Ulster in a battle in 764 Durrow lost 200 men against Clonmacnoise suggesting that the settlement could reasonably have had total population

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[124] Mide, no longer in existence, was the name of the Kingdom of Meath which included counties Westmeath, Kildare, Offaly, Louth, Cavan, Longford as well as parts of Meath, Dublin, Louth.
[125] Brega, or the kingdom of Brega consisted of Dublin, Meath (including Tara, the seat of the high king of Ireland) and Louth.

of between 1500 and 2000 inhabitants[126]. As the monastic settlement was regarded as relatively wealthy it was an attractive target for raids. The monastery was burnt and plundered on twelve separate occasions between the ninth and twelfth centuries[127]. In addition to these raids there are references and reports of several battles between rival families within the same period[128]. The cemetery was used as a burial place for a variety of high-status individuals such as bishops, abbots and the nobles of the midlands and Munster. These high-status individuals included Áed mac Brénainn, King of Tethba, buried there in the sixth century, Domhnaill of Clann Colmáin joined him two hundred years later.[129] Murchadh Ua Briain, grandson of Brian Borumha, was interred there in the early eleventh century[130] (but later exhumed and reportedly reinterred in Clonmacnoise and Christchurch). It is likely that the earliest church buildings at the site were constructed of timber and later replaced with stone buildings. The first reference to a stone church is in 1019 when 'the stone-church of Dermagh was broken open by Muirchertach, grandson of Carrach. While no evidence of the early medieval churches and domestic buildings survive above ground, at the site there are a number of early medieval stone antiquities that confirm the existence of a significant monastic centre' (Howley Harrington Architects, 2005).

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[126] AU 764.6 states 'The battle of Argaman between the community of Cluain Moccu Nóis and the community of Dermag, in which fell Diarmait Dub son of Domnall, and Diglach son of Dub Lis, and two hundred men of the community of Dermag. Bresal, son of Murchad, emerged victor, with the community of Cluain' (MacAirt & MacNiociall, 2000).

[127] For example, AU 1019.10 reports 'the stone church of Dermag was broken down by Muirchertach ua Carraig in an attack on Mael Muad, king of Fir Chell, and the latter was forcibly taken from it and afterwards put to death', and AU1095.2 'Cenannas with its churches, Dermagh with its books, Ard Sratha with its church, and many other churches also, were burned' (MacAirt & MacNiociall, 2000).

[128] AU 776.11 'A destructive battle between the Uí Néill and Mumu, in which the community of Dermag, Tobaeth's sons i.e. Duinechaid and Cathrannach, and some of Domnall's sons were engaged; and many from Munster fell, and the victors were the Uí Néill' (MacAirt & MacNiociall, 2000).

[129] AFM records this as 'after Domhnall, son of Murchadh, son of Diarmaid, had been twenty years in sovereignty over Ireland, he died. He was the first king of Ireland of the Clann Colmain, and he was buried at Dearmhagh *Durrow* with honour and veneration' (O'Donovan, 2002).

[130] The entry in AU 1170.10 merely states 'Murchadh Mac Murchadha and Murchadh Ua Briain were slain' (MacAirt & MacNiociall, 2000).

The abbey was converted to a parish church in 1541. In the late seventeenth century, the parish church of Durrow was recorded as being in reasonable repair, with a shingled roof, two glazed windows, communion table and a pulpit. In addition, it contained 'a finely carved late medieval grave-slab commemorating Francis de Renzi of Tinnycross, a New English settler, who died in 1665' (Howley Harrington Architects, 2005, p. 5). Then in 1712, Third Baronet George Herbert, died and was succeeded to the estate by his sister Frances Herbert, who was married to Major Patrick Fox. It was while under the ownership of Frances Herbert that the church at Durrow was rebuilt. An account of the Diocese of 1733 made by Bishop Mant, communicates how the Church at Durrow was is disrepair 'Mrs Fox pulled it down and rebuilt it at her own expense' (Byrne, 1994). This 18th century restoration was followed by another in 1802.

10.3 Columba/Colum Cille

Tradition maintains that Durrow was founded by Columba (Colum Cille of Iona c. AD 521-97) in AD 553. Widely acknowledged as an important sixth century churchman, he was responsible for the founding of a reputed twenty-three monasteries, including Kells, Derry (c.AD 540), Swords and Iona in Scotland. Like many other saints, his hagiography was written long after his death. The main source of information on his life comes from *Vitae Columbae,* written a century after his death by Adomnán, Abbot of Iona (AD 679-704). This provides a thematic view of Colum Cille's life following in the tradition established by Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St. Martin of Tours* (before AD 435). A second biography of Colum Cille's life, *Beatha Colaim Chille,* was composed by Manus O'Donnell much later in 1532. Adomnán and Manus O'Donnell were, like their protagonist, of the royal Uí Neill family. Adomnán joined the monastery at Durrow around AD 640 and spent several years teaching and studying there before relocating to

Iona, where he was subsequently to become the Abbot. The only other source that gives an account of the Saint and Durrow come from Bede's writings in the 8th century he declared 'before he passed over into Britain, he had built a noble monastery in Ireland, which, from the great number of oaks, is in the Scottish tongue called Dearmach – The Field of Oaks. From both which monasteries, many others had their beginning through his disciples, both in Britain and Ireland; but the monastery in the island where his body lies, is the principal of them all' (Bede, 1969, p. Book III:iv). The Vita Columbae is one of the most significant and important surviving work written in the early medieval period. Adomnán and the Anglo-Saxon Abbot Ceolfrith of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow in Northumbria, commissioned the *Codex Amiatinus* in AD 692. These two influential men enjoyed a good relationship, and it appears they had accepted the Roman date for Easter, agreed at the Synod of Whitby in AD 664[131].

10.4 The saint's life

On the 7th of December AD 521, Colum Cille was born into Irish royalty, in Gartan, County Donegal. His father Fedlimid of Cenel Conaill (modern day O'Donnell), was directly descendant from Niall of the nine hostages, and his mother Eithne, was the daughter of the king of Leinster. According to Adomnán(1995) Colum Cille's birth name was Crimthann, meaning Fox[132], and was educated in Newtownards by St. Finnian.

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[131] The date for Easter had been the subject of much debate and controversy within the early Church in Britain and Ireland. In the early years of Christianity, Easter continued to be celebrated on the same day as the Jewish Passover; however, the first Council of Nicaea in AD 325 decreed that the Jewish calendar should no longer be used and Christian's were obliged to adopt the practice of celebrating Easter on a Sunday, the day of the resurrection, which had become custom in Rome and Alexandria. While most of the Irish Church, including the *Columban Paruchia* had accepted this continued to use a third century calendar (*Augustalis*). The Ionan tables not only often resulted in a different date for Easter, but they also allowed Easter to be celebrated on *Nisan 14* (Jewish Passover) if it fell on a Sunday, as opposed to the Roman system of moving Easter to a different Sunday. The conflict of liturgy was mainly focussed in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria, which included important monasteries such as Lindisfarne, founded by Aidan and Irish monks in AD 634 who was sent by Iona at the request of the Anglo-Saxon king Oswald.

[132] Possibly coincidental but it is a name widely connected to Durrow both in the past and today.

Finnian studied at St. Ninian's *Magnum Monasterium* on the shores of Galloway. At approximately twenty years old, and already a deacon, having completed his training at Movilla, Columba travelled southwards into Leinster, there he became a pupil of Gemmán an aged bard. Later he left Leinster and entered the monastery of Clonard, situated on the river Boyne in county Meath, a place noted for sanctity and learning. Here Columba was educated in Latin and Christian theology, became a monk and eventually ordained a priest.

In 544 a famine devastated Ireland and Columba decided to return to his native Ulster (*Ulaid*). He was reportedly a man of stature, with a loud melodious voice which could be heard from the top of one hilltop to another (Crawley, 1954). It is within this period that he founded Durrow. A dispute broke out between Columba and Finnian in approximately AD 560, Columba copied a manuscript and intended to keep a copy of the work for himself without permission from Finnian. This dispute led to the battle of Cúl Dreimhne. It represents the first instance of copyrighting dispute. The King's ruling falling in Finnian's favour by stating 'to every cow its calf; to every book its copy'. Following this in AD 561, Columba was again dragged into a battle. A member of his family was murdered on holy ground. No person could be harmed if they were provided with sanctuary, thus the King's men breached the right of sanctuary and in turn the law. Due to these events Columba decided to leave Ireland and went to Scotland where he set up Iona in AD 563.

10.5 Archaeology, the material and landscape remnants of the past

Archaeological evidence shows that the site was used continually from the Iron age onwards and finds on site include a Viking coin, ten Anglo-Saxon coins with Edward the Elder 'Æthelstan' engraved into them. Unfortunately, much of the continual settlement

evidence are visually undetectable and many of the physical structures and artefacts from the site have been removed. Early archaeological reports by Stokes (1898), De Courcy Williams (1897, 1899) and Macalister (1949) all focussed on the high cross, the grave slabs and inscriptions. Later archaeological surveys were conducted by F. Henry (1961) and De Paor (1998) yet again these surveys were concerned with the high cross, it's associated art and the grave slabs. O'Brien and Ó'Floinn's (1985) excavations on Sheenan Hill were as a result of a local farmer uncovering human remains during ploughing. Whereas Collins (2006,2007,2010,2018) directed several excavations on site, all of which were on a consultancy basis as a requirement of law for any construction on a heritage site, she was also responsible for the excavation of the high cross[133] site during its move into the restored church.

10.5.1 The high cross

At the base of the north face of the shaft lies the remains of an inscription which includes the name Máelsechniall[134] (Ó Murchadha & Ó Murchú, 1988). King of Ireland, in this period several other high crosses in prominent monastic sites such as; the South cross at Clonmacnoise, the high crosses at Kinnity and Killamery, have dedications inscribed to commemorate Máelsechniall. He was the father of Flann Sinna[135], who, with the Abbott Colmán, erected the Cross of the Scriptures and *daimliag* at Clonmacnoise. These crosses are very similar in style, containing biblical scenes and abstract panels. The cross of the Scriptures at Clonmacnoise, dated approximately to AD 909, stylistically, the South cross

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[133] Recommendations were made in the OPW's Durrow conservation plan to create a replica high cross, and this was to be put back in the original position to demonstrate where it had come from, although to date this has never transpired. This has already been done successfully with the Cross of the Scriptures at Clonmacnoise.

[134] AU 862 states that Máel Sechnaill Mac Ruanaid of the Clann Cholmáin, King of Mide, was the high King of Ireland (rí hÉrenn uile (MacAirt & MacNiociall, 2000).

[135] Annals of Inishfallen report in 847/8-916 Flann as Mors Flaind meicc Mail Sechnaill, ríg hErend (son of Maelsechnaill king of Ireland) (MacAirt, 2008).

at Clonmacnoise, corresponds with the inscription which references Máelsechniall's reign, dating to between 846-862AD[136]. However, the similarities between the Durrow high cross and the cross of the Scriptures suggest that Durrow is most probably dated prior to AD 900 and was possibly erected by Flann Sinna as a memorial to his father. The masons when constructing the cross identified flaws in the stone and attempted to accommodate these in the design. Even contemporaneously these flaws are clearly visible in the ironstone strata in the cross.

North face   West face   South face   East face

Figure 36: The four faces of the Durrow high cross (OPW, 2012)

Durrow cross was constructed by carving into sandstone and stands at 3.20m in height. It is set on a semi pyramidical base with a cap in the likeness of a small wooden church (typical of the era). Each face of the cross represents biblical scenes, with opposite sides

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[136] AU M862.5 'Mael Sechnaill son of Mael Ruanaid son of Donnchad son of Domnall son of Murchad of Mide son of Diarmait the Harsh son of Airmedach the One-eyed son of Conall of the Sweet Voice, son of Suibne son of Colmán the great son of Diarmait the red son of Fergus Wrymouth, king of all Ireland, died on the third feria, the second of the Kalends of December *30 Nov.*, in the 16th year of his reign' (MacAirt & MacNiociall, 2000).

relating to new and old testaments. The main representation on the East face is the 'last judgement' where Christ is flanked by musicians. The shaft depicts the 'sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham'. Whereas the West face portrays 'the crucifixion' with Christ flanked by 'Pilate washing his hands' and the 'denial of Peter'. On the shaft of the West side a depiction of the resurrection is carved showing 'the soldiers asleep on Christ's tomb', the Flagellation of Christ', and 'the division of Christ's garments'. Finally, the top section of the cross is *Traditio Clavium*, Christ with Peter and Paul. It is likely that in the period this cross was constructed it was not only a commemoration to the king but as an educational tool, for both the young apprentice monks and the local community as the population of the area grew. Within this historical period few people outside of the ecclesiastical population would have been literate, and the cross with its visual representations would have provided an almost universal method of information transmission.

Originally situated at the west of the church, opposite the main entrance, at the access point from the Abbey house, the high cross was relocated inside the present church building after restoration in 2005, to curtail any further erosion. According to Collins (2009), the position that the cross occupied before relocation was the original location, since its construction in the 9th century. In its original position, the high cross sat as a proud marker of the monastery's status, although, it was this position under trees that ultimately led to the corrosion of the sandstone. Collins archaeological excavation[137] conducted preceding and immediately subsequent to a relocation of the cross reveal no

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[137] Area where the cross had stood measuring 5m by 5m was opened, 'initial examination suggests that all the burials were late in date, probably none earlier than the 18th century. The cross appears to have been in its original (early medieval) position, in that all burials respected the location of the cross base. The cross rested on a layer of redeposited boulder clay, which contained a few fragments of animal bone. There was no evidence of an earlier timber cross at this location, nor was there any evidence of burial beneath the cross. The excavation results would suggest that the cross slab found by De Paor did not cover a specific grave but may have been placed to the east of the cross in order to 'close' that area from any further burial – perhaps placed there in the 19th century' (Collins, 2006).

burials beneath its foundations but did uncover animal bones. Human remains of 17 individuals were excavated, along with 'much disarticulated remains' (Collins, 2006) around the cross base[138], none of which dated later than the 18th century. Interestingly the report claims that 'the cross rested on a layer of redeposited boulder clay' and that 'a series of radiocarbon dates is proposed for the site, including the animal bone fragments recovered from beneath the cross base, which should provide a firm sequence for burial at the site and a date for the redeposited layer beneath the cross' (Collins, 2006), yet no evidence for these tests can be found. Although Collins concludes that this was the original position of the cross from the lack of burials beneath there is a strong argument to suggest that the lack of any medieval archaeological evidence in this position could very well indicate that this was not the original site of the cross. In addition, the visual damage to the cross could be another indicator of such.

Figure 37: Durrow high cross in its original position outside(photograph courtesy of Offaly History Society) and the cross's position (Mc Adam, 2019).

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[138] North, South and East, no remains discovered dated contemporaneously to the cross.

The damage to the lowermost panel of the cross, the section with the inscription, would appear to be the result of deliberate defacement. Evidence from examination of the damage shows that this occurred with the use of a metal object, probably a stone working tools, chisels or punches due to the 3 semi-circular indentations along the fracture line remaining on the stone. No record exists of when this occurred, it was most probably an intentional act of disrespect to Máelsechniall or his descendants by a rival clan. On examination of the damage to the cross it appears that this defacement could not have occurred when the cross was upright, the directional grooves show that the cross must have been laying on the ground when the blows were inflicted. This coupled with the lack of medieval archaeological evidence points to the possibility that the cross has been moved previously.

In 2005 the decision was made between the government agencies and the local community to renovate the old church and relocate the cross inside the building, where it stands in pride of place today. The Durrow high cross is one of the finest artefacts from early medieval period in Ireland. Although, the cross has degraded through erosion, predominately in the last fifty years, earlier drawings exist which indicate the superb quality and detail of the carving. In appearance, the cross has an anthropomorphic quality, the cross' physical structure could be considered a reflection of the human form. Like a tall, strong, person with outstretched welcoming arms, it also visually appears to have veins running throughout its stone. These veins are the result of flaws in the stone and changes through weathering over time, such as the decolouration from the trees dropping from overhead over the years in its position outside.

Figure 38: The veins in the cross (Mc Adam, 2018)

Figure 39: Durrow's high cross resembles a humanlike structure (Mc Adam, 2018)

The personification of objects assisted the acceptance of structures, such as the cross, and aided its use as a tool for storytelling or education.

Durrow was also home to another high cross, no longer in situ, and in 1974 the head of this high cross was removed from the monastery to the National Museum of Ireland. Harbison refers to it as a 'cross-head of sandstone stood for centuries on top of the gable of the now disused Protestant church' (1992, pp. 82-83). This apparently un-ringed cross head is 'the crucifixion'. A shaft fragment with interlace decoration on its visible side cemented into the South end of the West wall of the graveyard may be from the same cross. The base of this cross remains on site, it is located in a field situated parallel to the main access lane, known locally as the Mart field.

Figure 40: The 'real' headache stone Mart Field and the 'new' headache stone in Durrow graveyard (Mc Adam, 2017)

This cross base is termed 'the headache stone' and situated on the south of the avenue leading to the church on the Ordnance survey twenty-five-inch map of 1910-1912 (Henry, 1963). Interestingly, however, this stone is now virtually ignored, and the local people have erected a 'headache stone' monument in the north corner of the graveyard. Offerings at the base of the alter can be clearly observed. Like many traditions they have developed and been constructed or imagined over time (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2000), this headache stone ritual is not unique. A local stakeholder commented,

> "I'm from the next parish, Rathugh……there are two relics up there, the holy well and the headache stone….it evidently has a miraculous cure for people suffering with headaches…. the stone in Rathugh is very obvious…a slab with engravings….2 meters by 2 meters" (Martin).

10.5.2 The book of Durrow

It is debatable whether or not the seventh century illuminated gospel book, the book of Durrow, was produced at the site, however, its title suggests a link. Arguments have been put forward by scholars over the years that the book may have been created in Northumbria and later brought to Durrow, and while plausible there is no evidence to

support either origin conclusively. O'Neill contends that it was probably created between AD 650 and AD 700 (2014). Housed in Trinity College's library along with the book of Kells, the Book of Durrow is estimated to be more than one hundred and fifty years older than the more famous Book of Kells. Due to its companion's more detailed and colourful illustrations, and additionally its promotion by the Irish tourist industry, the Book of Durrow is relatively overlooked. Nevertheless, in September 2018 recognition of this books' importance occurred, albeit by the English museum where it is now on loan as part of a larger European manuscript collection exhibition. Regardless of this recognition, how the book is valued is evident by the exclusion of the book of Kells in the loan agreement.

The Book of Durrow is the oldest extant illuminated insular gospel book, containing the gospels of Mathew, Mark, Luke and John, as well as canon tables and several pieces of prefatory matter. Like all manuscripts from the early Christian era its pages are made from vellum, and natural plant dyes for the ink. These were very expensive materials to produce especially the vellum, made from calf skins, demonstrating the importance of the book. The book itself contains a large illumination arrangement, that includes six extant carpet pages, a full-page miniature of the four evangelists' symbols, four full page miniatures, each containing a single evangelist symbol, and six pages with prominent and striking decorated initials and text. It is written in majuscule insular script, a form of block capital writing, with some lacunae. Due to several re-bindings over the eras the page size has been reduced. In addition, where most would originally have been in "bifolia" or folded pairs, most leaves are now single when unbound. It is also clear that some pages have been re-inserted in the wrong locations. Owing to the errors in re-locating these pages, it is unclear if there was originally a seventh carpet page. Matthew's gospel does not have a carpet page, but there is, unusually, one as the last page in the book. It is

feasible that there were only ever six: one at the start of the book with a cross, one opposite the next page with the four symbols, as is currently the sequence, and one opposite each individual symbol at the beginning of each of the gospels (Meehan, 1996). Otherwise, the original order of illumination seems to be complete, which is rare and unusual in manuscripts of this age.

Like many manuscripts, written on vellum, there is evidence of more than one use, as is evident from a note in the colophon of the book which had clearly been erased and overwritten. One interpretation of this entry by a scribe 'Colum' state that he completed the book in twelve days. Meehan (1996, pp. 26-28) argues that this is an unlikely feat and that it would be plausible to complete one gospel in that time but not all four, or the intricate artwork included. The Book of Durrow was also the earliest known manuscript to have been housed in a *cumdach*, a metalwork reliquary to store and protect a valued book. Once encased in the shrine, the book was most probably rarely, if ever removed and used as a book (Meehan, 1996, p. 13). It is most probable that the *cumdach* was created at the behest of King of Ireland Flann Sinna, the era this relic of Colum Cille is recorded as at Durrow. The shrine has been missing since the 17th century, however its appearance, including an inscription recording the king's patronage, is recorded in a note in the book's folio IV from 1677, even though other inscriptions are not transcribed.

Durrow Abbey was dissolved in the 16th century, and the book went into private ownership. James Ussher borrowed and studied the book, between 1621-1623 when he was Bishop of Meath. Although it was misused as a 'cure' of cattle, it managed to survive during that period, when at least one section of it was immersed in water by a farmer to create holy water. Between 1661 and 1682 it was donated to Trinity College library, together with the Book of Kells, by Henry Jones the then Bishop of Meath. Both the shrine and its cover were lost during the occupation by troops in 1689 (Meehan, 1996,

pp. 13-16). Unusually, for such a valuable national treasure, local people remember the book of Durrow being brought to the school when they were children, in the 1970s and 1980s,

"I have seen the book, years ago it was brought to the school in Durrow" (Teresa).

10.5.3 Medieval grave slabs

The early medieval grave slabs, which were originally located along the western wall of the graveyard, were relocated within St. Columba's Church for protection from the elements. Of these slabs four are inscribed, however, due to severe weathering these inscriptions are now difficult to read. The most legible reads 'OR DO CHATHALAN' or 'Pray for Chathalan' presumably a commemoration stone for a former abbot of the monastery. Another is inscribed with 'OR DO AIGIDIU' or 'Pray for Aigidiu' it is most probable this refers to Aed mac Aicidi, lord of Tethba whose death is recorded in the Annals of AD 954 or 955[139]. 'The legible portion of another reads 'DOM' and the dedication may relate to Domhnaill of Clann Cholmáin who died in about AD 758 (Fitzpatrick, 1994). Whereas the fourth has a long inscription which is now only partly legible and has not been related to a specific historical figure' (DePaor, 1998).

10.5.4 Folklore

Folklore does not constitute history, large portions of this field are entirely fictional, however, what is to be remembered when reading or listening to these tales is that they also include elements of fact and established period customs. Joyce used several accepted historical sources in the writing of his Wonders of Ireland, such as the Book of Ballymote and the Annals of the Four Master's. Within this work he includes a chapter on an event

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[139] AFM 954.8 'The following were they who were slain there: Conghalach himself; Madudhan, son of Aedh, son of Mael-mithigh; Aedh, son of Aithide, lord of Teathbha; Cormac, son of Cathalan, lord of Feara-Arda; and a great many others along with them' (O'Donovan, 2002).

that occurred in Durrow in 1055. The tale tells of a Cloigtheach[140] of fire appearing at night where it remained for nine hours, surrounded by a flock of dark coloured birds, who flew in and out of the doors and windows. At the centre of the flock was a jet-black bird, who was so large that thousands of the other birds could nestle beneath his wings. The birds were said to then have randomly swooped down and snatched small animals flying them up and dropping them to their deaths. Eventually after some time the birds left the tower and perched on the oak trees of the neighbouring wood, the large black bird ripped the greatest oak tree up from its roots with his talons as they departed. Although, this tale is clearly a mythological story it is the details that are relevant, the tale talks of a round tower at the site of Durrow, not as a fictitious addition but, as an unquestionable structure in situ. The mention of the oak trees is not accidental, Oak trees are sacred[141]. The tale describes numbers of people watching and all the small animals being taken by the birds, this gives us an indication of the population of the area. Finally, the pillar of light may refer to a natural phenomenon such as Aurora Borealis, or a lightning storm.

Archaeological evidence of a round tower has to date not been uncovered, however, it is likely on a monastic site of Durrow's status that a round tower would have existed. De Courcy Williams argues that although scarcely a vestige of the monastery remained 'Petrie thought that he had sufficient evidence to prove that there formerly was a round tower, and he believed he had the authority of Adamnan[142] to support this theory' (1897). Folklore also surrounds the holy relics of Durrow, the Book of Durrow and the

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[140] Cloigtheach meaning round tower (Foras na Gaeilge, 2018).
[141] The sacredness of oak trees can be seen in the law tracts were the penalties for damaging a sacred tree are significantly greater than any of the other classes of trees. The Irish name for these types of trees is *fidnemed*, the word nemed translates as sacred (Kelly, 1998).
[142] Petrie's 'Round Towers' (Petrie, 1845 (2016)) and Adomnan's life of Columba (Adomnán of Iona, 1995).

holy well, both reputedly cure illness. The book of Durrow allegedly was used by farmers to cure cattle as one local commented,

> "I have some recollection of the story of a farmer using the book to heal a calf, he put it into a bucket of water for the calf…. that's why it has water damage" (Teresa).

In addition to these, one local community member related a tale about the Abbey grounds,

> "it is said that the grounds are haunted by a big black dog, I've never seen it, but other people have told me they have when they've been alone on the grounds, it's a story that's been told for many years. I often wondered was it made up by the landlords to keep the locals out?" (Brid).

10.5.5 The holy well/Columba's well

St. Colmcille's well is situated on site in an area north-east of the church known as St. Columba's Island. The well sits in the centre of a wooded area, mainly populated by oak trees of varying ages and species. Under the canopy of trees in a separate area, accessed by a reasonably large footpath, the small spring, which is accessed by stone steps, is covered by a barrel vault of small boulders. On close inspection of the well, it is apparent that it was constructed in relatively recent years, and that many of the stones on the barrel vault have been recycled from both the previous Augustinian Priory and the Cistercian monastery. Although, its current, and long-standing manifestation is a Christian holy well, it is not only reasonable, but highly probable, that due to its location and configuration, that this was a pre-Christian sacred site. Pre-Christian, or 'pagan' religious and ritual sites, were often associated with oak trees, and these tree's branches are referenced frequently in the early Irish literature, as are wells.

In its contemporary form, the holy well at Durrow not only connects the community to their religious beliefs, but also a place that connects them to their shared past. The well is venerated every year on the pattern day, June the ninth. First recorded in 1463, the pattern was mentioned when an archery contest took place between the O'Catharnachs of Durrow and the McGeoghegans of Westmeath (Walsh & Geoghegan,

1994). The tradition continues to this day and on the 9th of June each year the community gather for mass and the first communion ceremony of the local children. Before these religious rituals in the local catholic church the local community, and members who've return from living outside the area, some returning from places like America and Australia, gather outside the church and proceed in a procession to the holy well. This procession is part of their pattern day celebrations, but it is also key to holding the community together.

However, this tradition was interrupted and purposely obstructed on several occasions, by owners of the Abbey house. In the late 18th century Herbert Stepney blocked up the well, of which O'Donovan states 'the day previous to the anniversary of St Columba's festival, Herbert Stepney Rozen [sic] who was the proprietor of the place, took care to have the well stopped up' (1937). This exclusion was attempted again in the early part of the 19th century, when according to O'Donovan, Lord Clondyne attempted to prohibit access to the site, and excluded the local people from burying their dead in the graveyard, because he thought it 'too annoying to have them come so near his court which lies within ten perches of the church' (1937). It appears that subsequent landlords allowed local access until 1950s, when the Williams family took over the ownership of the big house.

> "In the late 50s or early 60s when the land changed ownership and interestingly it went from protestant land ownership to Catholic landownership and the assumption was now it's grand, we'll have access, but it was the opposite, the gates were closed" (Martin).

They sold the property and land to another Irish family who also restricted access to the well. However, after several failed hotel planning applications these landowners negotiated with Irish government to sell the estate, including all buildings, to the state in 2003 (Byrne, 2017). It appears that the well was always a site of contention because of

access issues. Today the local community at Durrow see the well as intrinsic to their identity.

10.5.6 Augustinian priory and the nunnery

In the twelfth century attempts were made to reform the Irish church. This reform movement was administered and driven by St. Malachy of Armagh, his strategy included the introduction of new religious orders, of these the Augustinians were the most prominent, into pre-existing monastic communities (Fitzpatrick, 1994, p. 35). St. Malacahy instigated, Murchadh Ua Sechnaill, king of Mide, to found Augustinian houses of regular canons and nuns at Durrow about 1144 (Fizpatrick & O Brien, 1998, p. 68). In the 1140s an Augustinian Abbey dedicated to St. Mary was founded on the site by Murchadh Ua Máel Sechnaill, who is recorded as having a house, died and was buried at Durrow in 1153 (Ó Riain, 2011, p. 67) (Gwynn & Hadcock, 1988, p. 174). Subsequent to the death of Murchadh, the Augustinians were subjected to a number of attacks recorded in the annals and the adjacent country was laid waste by the Anglo-Normans in 1175. No trace of either the nunnery or priory above ground at the site remains (Bradshaw, 1974), nor are the exact locations of these buildings known, however, there is evidence that pieces of the Augustinian Abbey stone were used in the reconstruction of the holy well.

Figure 41: reused pieces of the former Augustinian Priory and nunnery in the (re)construction of the holy well, Durrow

10.6 The Normans and Hugh De Lacy

Hugh De Lacy was the Anglo-Norman Lord of Meath. De lacy determined that Durrow was an ideal location for an Anglo-Norman Manor as that it was an established ecclesiastical centre with a large population. In AD 1180 he began building a motte on the sacred (*nemed*[143]) monastic site, the monument consists of a large steep sided flat-topped mound, a motte, with a base diameter of 43 m and summit diameter 22m and of a height of 8m. No surviving evidence for a bretesche or wooden tower on the summit of the motte exists. According to the annals, Hugh De Lacy was murdered by the foster son of Ó Catharniagh of Munterhagen, while reviewing his completed fortification at Durrow in 1186[144]. The next reference to Durrow in the annals is dated 1213 and is concerned with the re-building of the castle[145]. In the nineteenth century during the lordship of the Toler's a summer house or gazebo was constructed on the summit remnants of which can be seen today.

10.6.1 The dissolution of the monastery and the castle

Following the dissolution of the monastery in the 1540s it was immediately re-granted to the prior, to a member of the local O'Molloy family[146] on a 21-year lease. By the sixteenth century records show that the castle at Durrow was in a much-ruined state and it is highly probable that a new structure was built at this time (Fitzpatrick, 1994). In 1562 lands were

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[143] Nemed is the old Irish word for sacred, this can refer to a person, place or thing, and is used interchangeably. It predates Christianity, however, the word continued to be used throughout the Christian period.

[144] Hugo de Lacy…. after having finished the castle of Durrow, set out, accompanied by three Englishmen to view it. One of the men of Teffia, a youth name Gilla-gan-inathar O'Meyey, approached him, and drawing out an axe, which he had kept concealed, he, with one blow of it, severed his head from his body; and both head and trunk fell into the ditch of the castle. This was in revenge of Columbkille (O'Donovan, 2002).

[145] The English army came from thence to Delvin McCoghlan, and soe to Clonvicknose where they built a castle, also they finished and made the castles of Dorow (Durrow), Byrr (Birr), and Kinnety (Kinnity) on that voyage (Murphy, 1896).

[146] The Molloy family to this day still visit and celebrate their connection to Durrow with an annual celebration at the site (photos).

leased to Nicolas Harberte, for £10 per annum payable to the crown, as well as a pledge to military service if required (Byrne, 1994, p. 133). 1569 records reveal the continued presence of canons and a prior at Durrow and it contained 'the site of the abbey, being half an acre, on which was a church, hall, and other buildings, annual value, besides reprises, 40s; that in the said town were seven messages and forty cottages' (Byrne, 1994, p. 130). Evidently the lands at Durrow continue to flourish over this period and this is reflected in the valuation of over 1,000 acres of land valued at over £18. Harberte was afforded another lease of the house and lands in 1574 on condition that he built two stone fortresses on the site within four years. Subsequently, descriptions of the site at the time of Harberte's occupation state that there were two stone castles, most probably tower houses[147].

Figure 42: Durrow Church (pre) restoration (Byrne, 1994)

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[147] Possible references to these are made in the Ordnance Survey Field Name Books of 1837-40 which recorded that ' the castle of Durrow, was levelled to the ground by Stepney's about 60 years ago [1780s]' within the O.S letters reference is made to approximately the year 1780 'extensive ruins of the castle of Durrow were extant immediately to the north of the moat (OF009-005001), but that these walls were pulled down by the Stepney family to build a mansion-house, which still exists, but much enlarged and amplified by the present Lord Norbury' (De Courcy Williams, 1899).

10.7 Landlords and the Abbey house

The Abbey estate lands were sold to John Toler, the first Lord Norbury in 1815 and in 1829 he had drawings prepared by the architect William Murray to which would see Durrow house embellished and extended. In 1831 the first Lord Norbury was succeeded by his son Hector John Toler who then planned to build a larger country house in a Gothic revival style in 1832. In 1837 Lewis stated, 'a new mansion house being built at Durrow Abbey similar in style to Pain's Castle Bernard (Kinnity Castle) built a few years earlier, but not as grand' (1837). The new house was completed in the same year and renamed Durrow Abbey changing from the previous title of Durrow Park. However, due to a dispute with the local tenants Hector John Toler was assassinated in January 1839 and work on the house ceased. In his eulogy to Lord Norbury, Lord Oxmanstown of Birr

declared that 'he was in the act of building a great residence, to be the permanent residence of his family, and consequently the centre of a great expenditure' (1839).

Figure 43: Abbey house with two upper storeys (D'Alton, 2017)

Subsequent to Lord Norbury's murder in 1843 the house caught fire and was demolished. A contemporary newspaper reported that the abbey was almost completely destroyed 'on Saturday evening last, it took fire, and before assistance could be procured to arrest the progress of the flames the abbey was almost reduced to ruin'. The article goes on further to confirm that the building was unfinished 'as the entire works stopped immediately after the murder of the late munificent proprietor, Lord Norbury' and details the contemporary stage of construction of the abbey. 'The new building which was not completed, joined

the old one…...intended to adopt as a wing by facing it with stone: in this portion all the valuable furniture was stored and this part of the extensive building is totally destroyed' (Howley Harrington Architects, 2005). By 1854 the ownership of the demesne comprising of 605 acres, the remains of a row of houses in the high wood and two occupied gatehouses, tenants Mary Reilly and William Lyons, was in the hands of the Countess of Norbury, who was succeeded by Hector Robert Toler before the end of the century until his death in 1899 (Byrne, 1994). In approximately 1860 the three storeys, with a three-storey off-centre entrance porch, the Porte cochere was added later, over a sunken basement house was completed (Department of Housing, Local Government and Heritage, 2004). The gable end of the house was richly ornamented with bay windows, tail chimney stacks and corner turrets, all of limestone. To the rear of the building was a simple castellated service wing facing a sunken courtyard, two sides of which were bounded by a single storey range of stores (Howley Harrington Architects, 2005). During the Irish civil war, in 1923, like many of the big houses throughout Ireland, the house was again gutted by fire. The roof collapsed, and the entirety of the fixtures and fitting were destroyed (Archiseek, 2020).

Figure 44: Abbey House after the 1923 fire (UCD Digital Library, 2016)

In the mid-1920s, Ralph H. Byrne, was commissioned to redesign the house and it was re-erected to his specifications. The Slazenger's, famously connected to Powerscourt and the sporting brand, bought the house in the 1950s, and sold it to the Gardiner's who occupied the house for a short time only (Byrne, 1994). Within this period the first Catholic family took ownership of the house, the Williams. The William's family changed how the local community interacted and connected to both the people of the house and their sacred site. Their children schooled in local area, and the family attended mass in the local catholic church. However, they were also the first to stop local people from visiting the well and the property.

Figure 45: Rebuilding of the Abbey house, 1926 (D'Alton, 2017)

The next family to take ownership of the house were again a catholic family, although reportedly they distanced themselves from the local community and had little to no connections with their neighbours. Subsequent to several failed planning applications for a hotel and golf course they sold house and grounds in 2003 to the Irish state for €3.175 million.

As Durrow is a national heritage site, an overview of its historic development was necessary to this thesis to provide context. This chapter details all aspects of Durrow Demesne's history in order to unfold the reason for its contemporary form. Durrow as a place has witnessed a varied and conflicted history. From its monastic foundations in the Sixth century to its contemporary configuration as a heritage site, people have impacted on Durrow's landscape for centuries. Artefactually Durrow's heritage site has merely a handful of physical archaeological objects, such as the high cross and the holy well,

however, to each of these the local community has attached traditions and customs. The lack of physical historical artefacts is in juxtaposition to the extensive documented material on the human occupational processes on the place. Although, it appears much of the physical structures have been removed some evidence on the landscape does remain, and through an analysis of this and the historical records some conclusions can be drawn. The history of the place is merely one of the interconnecting processes that created the heritage site, and the following chapter will focus on how the contemporary processes shape Durrow today.

Chapter 11: Durrow: Space, people and authorities

Situated in County Offaly the national heritage site of Durrow Abbey is positioned on the rolling Drumlins of the midlands of Ireland. Like Glendalough, Durrow is home to the remains of a Sixth century monastic settlement site. Durrow, as detailed in the previous chapter on its history and archaeology, has a varied and complex past, however this chapter is concerned with the place in its contemporary form. The purpose of this chapter is to present the empirical data in a comparative manner to the previous Glendalough chapters on spatial configurations, tourists, local society perspectives and the governing bodies. Spatial flows and movement of people in Durrow is as important as in Glendalough but how these means of movement have occurred offer contrasts. People have settled in and travelled through the Durrow area from the earliest times. The archaeological inventory suggests that initially travellers may have arrived in the area by boat, on rivers that have since dried up due to climatic conditions and water table alterations. Durrow additional sits centrally along the *Slí Mór*[148] or the main medieval highway of Ireland. Over time roads and transportation systems have changed but the main access routes are still largely functional. In contrast to the first case study site of Glendalough, Durrow has very low tourist numbers. The official figures for site visitation for 2018 were approximately 7000. This data was obtained from a counter installed on the gate access to the church grounds by Offaly County Council. With the OPW and local community members entering the site several times a day, it is therefore reasonable to conclude that the vast majority of this 7000 figure cannot be attributed to visitors, but to the locals and staff. However, some tourists do enter the site and data for these visitors is included in this chapter. As with Glendalough, Durrow has several different authoritative

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[148] Detailed further in Durrow's history and archaeological chapter.

bodies governing its management and upkeep. Therefore, in a similar manner to Glendalough chapter the initial section of this chapter will concentrate on how Durrow is arranged and sensed spatially. As a site Durrow has several functions and these will be outlined and identified through the political, social, and the economic. Spatially, Durrow as a heritage site has merely one main entrance[149], however, plans are in the process of implementation to increase accessibility to the site.

11.1 Spatial configurations of Durrow: Geographical position, commerce, locals and movement

Figure 46: Map of Ireland showing the position of Durrow

Durrow monastic site is situated on a notoriously dangerous stretch of the N52 in the rural village and townland of Durrow. The village itself sits between Kilbeggan 6 kilometres

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[149] Other access routes exist however these are on private land and not for general access. The rear entrance gate at the far side of the Abbey house is chained and bolted.

to its north, and Tullamore, 8 kilometres to the south. It consists of one main road and a handful of minor routes. Durrow village has no commercial properties, no shops, bars or restaurants. With a population of 447 (CSO, 2011) Durrow townland includes, 1 church with an attached graveyard, an old schoolhouse (now used as a community hall), several houses, a GAA pitch and a hidden heritage site. Like Glendalough all other amenities like shops, petrol stations and restaurants are situated in neighbouring towns, Tullamore or Kilbeggan. Durrow could easily be missed if it were not for its one village name plate. Also, like Glendalough, a Durrow village resident must then travel out of the area to avail of essential services. Durrow contains no commercial business, the sole economic activity

Figure 47: Durrow townland map (National Monuments Service, 2020)

of Durrow lies in small agricultural holdings, therefore consequently the majority of the local population must travel elsewhere to engage in employment.

11.2 The tourists

Official tourist numbers are conflicting with the Heritage Officer claiming 9700 in 2018 and the official OPW count at 7000 for 2019. These numbers were collected through a

counter on the gate entrance into the church grounds, therefore this number represents those who have visited the interpretative centre only. However, subsequent to spending months on site it is clear that these numbers are skewed, on many of those days no tourists visited the site, on all occasions I was present very few visitors were ever present. I believe a large proportion of the counter numbers represents the caretaker and the local community members who help manage the site. Tourists do visit Durrow, but in contrast to Glendalough these visitors are not random, or drawn in through any tourist or heritage promotions, if they are not local or related to locals their knowledge of the site appears to be from word of mouth, as the heritage official confirmed,

> "I think people find it because of local promotion …..we couldn't see a way of being allowed erect signposts" (Lily).

This assertion was confirmed on more than one occasion during the field work observations on site. The first such incidents were with a group of six tourists who interacted with me. Four of the group were Canadian and the other two were relatives who lived locally. This group had little knowledge of the site apart from the pattern day tradition. The second was with three Spanish visitors who had been directed to the site by a bed and breakfast owner in the neighbouring village, again they were given little information apart from there was an old cross. As the numbers of visitors, I encountered was low, the use of entries within the visitor book[150] provides a rich source of data.

11.2.1 Tourist experience

While Durrow is a beautiful place, unlike Glendalough it is not famed for its aesthetic allure. However, with 213 of the 1289 entries in the visitor book using 'beautiful' as their descriptor of the place, in addition to another 62 used the word 'lovely', and 65 used the

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[150] Visitor books for 3 years given with the kind permission of the local community, who maintain and provide the books each year in the heritage centre, all data is anonymised, and no identifying features have been retained.

word 'wonderful', evidently demonstrates that the people who do visit regard Durrow as a place of visual attractiveness. Words like peaceful, serene and tranquil were used by the visitors 47 times. Interestingly, 44 referred to the Durrow heritage site as a hidden gem or treasure, as well as several references to their difficulties in locating the site, thus, acknowledging the lack of promotion and access information. Surprisingly, the number of references to the history and heritage of the site were substantially fewer than the aesthetic commentaries. Merely 27 visitors citing their reason for visiting as historic and heritage. 704 appeared to have been local to the area and were visiting for traditional, ancestry or ritual occasions.

11.3 Barriers to access

To the East of the N52 lies the modern Catholic church, burial grounds and community hall. Durrow Abbey and monastic site are situated to the west of the N52. No signpost or name plates direct to the site, and the entrance is a black gated avenue. This seemingly off-limits gateway leads on to an overgrown treelined avenue and this is the entrance to the OPW controlled national monument. Although visitor numbers are significantly lower than Glendalough, traffic problems at Durrow are comparatively similar, yet stem from a different set of issues. The main road N52 on which Durrow is situated has over the years been the site of numerous motor vehicle accidents. While the visitor numbers are extremely low the flow into site is obstructed by the very routes the site needs. Throughout various interviews the road issue repeatedly was mentioned one local politician remarked "the biggest issues and it is still an issue is access to the site, it's a very dangerous junction" (Brian). A local resident commented "there were a number of people killed on the road from trees when the strong winds or high winds, old trees fell" (Teresa). This sentiment was echoed by a managerial representative of the OPW "the road outside is a very significant feeder road to the motorway and it's a fast road with a lot of

accidents on it" (OPW). Further confirming this and also who was behind the decision to ban any direction signage to the site the heritage officer for Offaly commented

> "the road belongs to the NRA and they have deemed it too dangerous to put signs on, you know you have been on it? the right turn into the site is dangerous and they said putting signs up would increase the number of accidents on the road" (Lily).

Several proposals for increasing access have been put forward and discussed over the years, one priest from the diocese said, "it's a very busy road and getting off it, I suppose if they built a new road it could be different" (Martin). While a local community member suggested that an alternative route was in the pipeline to reduce traffic on the road

> "there is talk that they are going to build a new road that'll come to the Abbey from the other side and sure if we get this new road maybe that would put us back on the map" (David).

A more informed participant, the heritage officer, commented that some suggestions for alterations to the road had already gone before planning

> "it was proposed that the road would be widened by moving the Abbey walls back and the gates so they are almost on top of the gate lodge, there is a steep hill there and moving the entrance would make that worse and dangerous, plus it is interfering with the original walls, it just wouldn't work" (Lily).

Although the managerial representative of the OPW's response was comparatively similar he provided a more detailed account of the planning proposals for the road

> "we sought planning permission to do up the little building (gate house) and provide visitor facilities there and a small car park, from there we could feed people up to the monument but it doubled the project cost because what we were supposed to do to the road" he was asked then to elaborate on the road plans and he stated "we would have had to construct a slow lane as well as significant changes in levels of the ground, in engineering terms it was tricky but very expensive, so with the result then we felt we couldn't proceed and the idea was effectively mothballed, I wouldn't say abandoned but I suppose put aside and try and think of something else" (Simon).

When asked if the OPW were discouraging visitors to come to Durrow, because of the lack of any signage, the overgrown and unwelcoming avenue and the lack of any kind of promotion his response was

> "we are quite happy to open the door for visitors, people who want to find us, and it is open every-day and we are quite happy to do that to have it open every-day but we can't promote it, we have taken legal advice and if we actively encourage it as a visitor site then we are liable for accident cover. So, I suppose that's the sad fact we do have a lot of legal cases, our approach is to make the site accessible in a discreet way but not to promote it" (Simon).

While the OPW are clear they are not promoting or doing anything to resolve the site access problems Offaly County Council are actively working with other state bodies on alternative access routes and increasing visitor numbers

> "the rear entrance to the site is on private property, so we looked to the other entrance at Coillte woods…. we are constructing a walking path but it's more than that it's a safe entry. We will be able to put signposts up and be very clear to visitors that it is a walking path of 5 kilometres. One of the men working on the collaboration said it will be more of an experience for the visitors because normally people show up drive in, spend 10 to 20 minutes at the site and leave, this way they can spend a few hours, have a nice walk and look at the heritage site" (Lily).

The addition of walking paths to the site would make Durrow comparatively similar (on a much smaller scale) to Glendalough in that it would bring facilities for walkers with the possibility of expansion onto the midlands greenway[151]. These walking paths are within the pleasant woods and under the governance of An Coillte, with the assistance of the Offaly County Council for their construction. As previously mentioned, these new pathways will have a separate entrance on the far side of the Durrow Abbey site and away from the dangerous N52. Of these plans to move the entrance the caretaker of the site remarked "sure that is a terrible waste of money, the new road that is being built will come in the opposite direction and no one will go near it" (Steve).

Local people also mentioned how the road was a hinderance to attracting visitors "they can't do anything unless the road is made" (Molly) and another stating "there's an awful

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[151] The midlands greenway currently stretches from Dublin to Athlone, County Westmeath through Mullingar with plans to extend the route to Galway. The routeway will traverse Ireland, when complete in a similar manner to the ancient Slí Mhór road. Durrow is relatively close to the current routeway, and it is therefore a feasible proposition.

lot of accidents on that road" (Teresa), while another also spoke of the accidents and was aware of road planning proposals;

> "So many accidents on that road, there was a young girl killed going to school crossing over by the graveyard, just when you come up the hill there back from the graveyard, there's another bit that a young lad on his way to school there, and another as you turn up as you would coming from the church, then a young one was going across the road to where there used to be a little shop….it's a black spot……there were proposals in the early 2000s to widen the road but it was priced too high and no one was willing to spend the money on the road so it fell through. Some politicians were involved but it never happened" (David).

A more interesting local perspective emerged throughout the interviews in relation to the road. All local respondents mentioned how the road was cursed, the caretaker and local resident recounted the events of an accident;

> "a few years ago a tree was hit by lightning on the road, very dangerous road, the tree came down on a car and killed a woman and her son, the other son lived because he was lying down in the back of the car, but that is because it is a cursed road" when prompted further about the curse he added "it was the priest, my father told me, he said I bless you with my right hand and I curse you with my left hand, and ever since there has been loads of accidents and deaths on that road, and the curse couldn't be lifted because the priest died and took it to his grave" (Steve).

With a similar narrative others talked of the curse

> "it's hard to know about them curses but there have been an awful lot of accidents on that road" (David).

Figure 48: Main gates to Durrow heritage site (Mc Adam, 2017)

Off the N52 road is the entrance to the heritage site through a semi-circular black gated area, this gateway is somewhat typical of demesne landed properties of the period in Ireland. These gates are opened each day by the caretaker at 10am and are the only access to the monastic heritage site. On the left side of the entrance sits the gate lodge, this building's exterior was renovated and re-roofed in the last number of years as it had become dilapidated, originally its purpose was to house the gatekeeper, it is now a storage shed. An elderly member of the local community commented

> "the Blakes used to live in the house at the gate…. they were protestants and they were supposed to open and shut the gate, you know check everyone that came and went, but they had to leave it open nearly all the time" (Molly).

Another local also remarked

> "we had the eviction from the gate house, the Blake's they were living in the gate house at the main gate there, don't know what the story was but the William's (landlord of Abbey house) evicted them" (David).

Figure 49: The Gatehouse, Durrow Abbey (Mc Adam, 2017)

The gatehouse was renovated externally and reroofed by the OPW when they were entrusted with the management of the site as "there were plans to turn the gate lodge into a visitor's centre" (Lily). A local politician elaborated on these plans,

> "it is very marshy lands around the gatehouse and there were plans for a toilet block and the for the little gatehouse to become a visitor centre or a little café, now someone has stolen the lead off the roof, the conversation plan that was drawn up is not being implemented" (Brian).

The onsite OPW employee also remarked about the gatehouse,

> "people used to live in it, they were like the big house security, but that was before my time and I've been working here for 23 years now, it was bought as part of the package with the site from the previous owners to the OPW, it's a shame the O'Brien's were good people but they had to sell up……the problem now is thieves and vandals they stripped the lead off the roof of the gatehouse, the outbuildings the same, the gatehouse is just my shed really for storage of tools" (Steve).

Directly in front of the gate lies the narrow avenue, not much more than a mud lane, enclosed and overshadowed by the large trees that line its way. The tree cover makes the avenue entrance less than welcoming and access very restricted to single cars or small

minibuses. There is no room to manoeuvre or pull in so meeting a car on this lane means reversing all the way to either end.

Figure 50: The entrance avenue to Durrow heritage site (Mc Adam, 2017)

When asked was there anyway of improving the road as it limited access the same respondent related a story about the previous landlady

> "I remember once when the former owners were still here, my phone rang one day and it was herself, Mrs, and she said ###[152] the chimney is on fire…..I told her to ring the fire brigade….they got here and couldn't get down the avenue…so access has always been a problem, I don't know why they won't let me open it up a bit, they said shelter but sure it is all hanging over one side and not the other, and the land on the far side is all boggy" (Steve).

When pressed further this about why the avenue was so overgrown this OPW employee stated

> "I'm not allowed to cut them, I asked about the laurels and maybe cutting them back 2 or 3 feet, but I was told they were good rain cover, look at them they're growing mad there, but no I was told to leave them alone" (Steve).

In a follow up question about how the avenue seemed concealed or almost blocked up this participant replied, "so people don't come in" repeating his statement back to him as

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[152] Identifying name used.

a question he said "yes, now you have it, I don't think they do" (Steve). Bearing this in mind during an interview with a managerial representative of the OPW this issue was presented to him to which he responded

> "I'll give you a brief history of Durrow, we carried out a fairly significant conservation plan and project at Durrow a number of years ago, where we conserved the cross and move the cross inside and put up some interpretation. So, as I said that's the conservation mission right there, I suppose to be honest with our traditional protect and conservation hat on we kind of said well that's it job done, the major artefact at that site is conserved" (Simon).

11.4 Monastic heritage

Following directly along the avenue the road ends at locked gates, to the right of the gates sits the small, gated entrance to the church grounds. Durrow church sits in front of the big house on the estate grounds. Very little of the 6th century monastic structures are visible apart from a few unmarked headstones and the high cross. Originally the Church of Ireland chapel belonged to the house occupants and many of their ancestors are buried in the graveyard. Until the property was purchased by the Irish government in 2003 a gate entry, situated directly opposite the main entrance to the big house, connected the church and the Abbey house. A decision was made to move the high cross from the cemetery grounds to inside the church building for preservation and to prevent further erosion to the 10th century national monument, simultaneously the gate entrance was sealed, and a new wall erected between the two areas. A local politician explained the rationale of moving the cross

> "it was outside like one of the gravestones, in a corner of the graveyard and clearly it had weathered and I was aware through the OPW and others that this was a problem……but evidentially the decision was made to move the high cross and put it inside and make an interpretative centre" (Brian).

Figure 52: Durrow church from the Mart field (Mc Adam, 2017)

As a heritage site the remains of the monastic settlement at Durrow is comparatively small, especially when contrasted with Glendalough. Within the walls of the graveyard there lies a church building, containing the high cross and a graveyard with many ancient, as well as relatively modern burials. The ancient graves are comparable in age and construction to those at Glendalough, however the number of remaining headstones[153] are much fewer at Durrow than Glendalough. Outside of the church grounds along a parallel path lies the holy well of St Colmcille, apart from one other large stone[154] in the neighbouring mart field this is all the remaining remnants of the monastic site.

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[153] It is probable that many more ancient graves existed at Durrow and the numerous human remains uncovered in archaeological excavations are testament to this.

[154] This stone is the base of another high cross long since removed and never uncovered, this stone is the original headstone and is discussed in the chapter on history and archaeology. Another stone is marked on the archaeological survey in also in the Mart field, as the backache stone, but it is no longer visible on site.

Figure 53: locked gates to the Abbey house, Durrow (Mc Adam, 2017)

The locked gate at the end of the avenue is the current physical barrier obstructing people from entering the grounds of the Abbey house. Over the years many other tangible and intangible barriers prevented access to the big house. Durrow Abbey house sits in the centre of the estate grounds, alongside which the ruins of a Norman Motte remain. This once grand house was home to several generations of landlords.
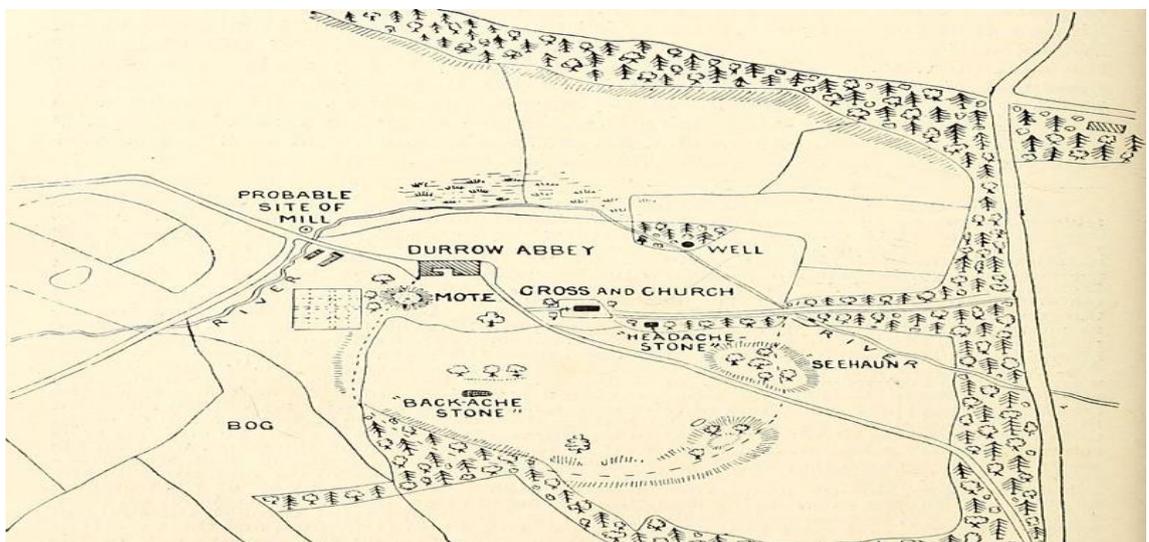
Figure 54: Map of Durrow Demesne 1899 (De Courey Williams, 1897)

Figure 55: Durrow Abbey house (Mc Adam, 2019)

11.6 The authorities

Predominately the control of Durrow monastic heritage site is in the hands of the OPW. Unusually the high cross is not under the ownership of the National Monuments Authority, yet, the NMS are responsible for the other monuments in the graveyard, and the OPW are in charge of the graveyard's maintenance. Coillte are responsible for the woodland area to the West of the site and surrounding the Abbey house. Offaly County Council have responsibility for common areas. As with Glendalough Durrow comes down the remit of several different authorities, whilst there does not appear to be any overt conflict between these bodies there is a feeling of tension and frustration. The caretaker spoke of dealing with representatives of all authorities

> "I was working away the other day when a lady approached me and asked to go into the Abbey house, I told it is not open and private property, she then said back to me sure it's owned by the state, I told her it was under private lease and she said to me I am from the National Monuments and I have the authority to enter and access any national monuments, I told ok sure the gate is open

go ahead the building isn't stable……authority that's what they are all like when they come here, I am the caretaker I am the only one with authority around here" (Steve).

11.7 Politics

Although the OPW are predominantly the governing body over the Durrow heritage site, according to the heritage officer over the years several different politicians have attached their names to the site,

> "Marcella Corcoran Kennedy made it her goal to save Durrow, maybe a way to promote herself, she got Leo Varadkar down and got him to promise to discuss Durrow with the NRA. The work to widen the road was going to cost €750,000 and the NRA said they would put up €100,000 but the council couldn't come up with the rest. It made for great headlines" (Lily).

The minister for finance was responsible for the purchase of the Durrow site for the state, to this day he is proud of his contribution to Durrow Abbey,

> "I'm still fascinated by it and I am proud that it is there it's a terrific place and resource" (Brian).

In 2017 the minister for transport visited Durrow Abbey during his site visit to the nearby site of the proposed new bypass[155]. He was directed and accompanied to the site by several local and national politicians, as well as the heritage officer for Offaly. It was reported that no commitment was made by the minister to construct the bypass but the importance of Durrow monastic site and its potential as a tourist attraction was emphasised (McLoughlin, 2017).

11.7.1 The locals and their heritage

For the local community of Durrow, the heritage site is of great importance and value. Unlike Glendalough it is Durrow's real local community that work and promote the heritage on site. Although the participants did not refer to the new residents as pseudo local it became apparent that they did not regard them as real locals.

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[155] As of June 2020, this road which will link the N52 to the M6 and bypass Durrow, is still under public consultancy and no decision has been made (Tadhg Carey, 2020).

"an awful lot of new people bought sites and houses up there, lovely houses, that's what we call millionaire's row" (David).

Another local added,

> "I remember a good few years ago now an awful lot of people came into Durrow, move into Durrow from Dublin, from other places and looked to change the day of the Pattern….in 1975…. there were very few houses on the high road and now there are houses everywhere…probably 50 new houses" (Teresa).

And another remarked further,

> "lots of houses and plots were bought up around here during the boom time, people moving here and commuting to Dublin every day, we're only just over an hour from Dublin, like lots of villages in counties close to Dublin the population increased. Most of these new people keep to themselves they aren't part of the Durrow local community and don't involve themselves in our traditions or the local heritage" (Brid).

This connection to their place and traditions is evident through the contribution of many hours of their time. In the days preceding the pattern day local volunteers give up their time to clean up the well and the surrounding area. The local community have an elected pattern day and graveyard committee and through this a clean-up plan is organised each year

> " the pattern day committee is responsible for cleaning up the well, my brother is on that committee and my daddy used to be on it too, he was very involved…then there's the graveyard committee, mammy and daddy are both buried in Durrow graveyard…we keep the yard and the boundaries, it's voluntary" (David).

It is not just to the pattern celebrations that the locals contribute their time, on many occasions they provide valuable hours and knowledge to the heritage site.

Durrow's local community are very connected to the heritage site and the history of the area. Every summer local community members including some local historians take over the running of the heritage site in August. They provide information and tours for any tourists that arrive on site. "it's our heritage you know, our history and to the people of

Durrow it's of great importance" (Teresa). One local historian, who has published several books and articles on Durrow said

> "I give up my time to be here in the summer to meet the visitors, I am afraid that the history will be lost. This is more than just a historic site for me, this is my home, my family's home, I've lived and worked in the area all of my life, I'm very proud of Durrow and I want to share it" (Brid).

Ken another volunteer and retired schoolteacher remarked

> "I enjoy coming down and doing my shift here, I get to read my paper, but it's so quiet and gives me great peace to be here" (Ken).

This feeling of enjoying their time on site echoed in the words of Brid who said

> "everyone turns up early for their shift, we have two more coming to take over for the afternoon, we always have plenty of volunteers."

Like Glendalough and it's mining heritage the local people of Durrow are very connected to their heritage. While the historians have knowledge of everything from the early Christian's to the Norman's to the occupants of the big house, the other community members seem to affiliate themselves with Saint Colmcille, one participant spoke of how Durrow and Colmcille helped her beat cancer;

> "I believe Colmcille told me I was sick I walked down to the well and I knew I had to go and I ended up in hospital, I do believe it was his power that day…..my doctor said surround yourself with positive people and I moved back to Durrow and I surrounded myself with positive people and the community at Durrow and they got me through it" (Teresa).

Others feel this connection to the heritage;

> "I believe Durrow is a spiritual place, sure it's where Colmcille was, that's important and the Book of Durrow" (Molly).

The local school children are brought into the cross each year and their class photo is taken.

11.7.2 The pattern day and the holy well

Every year on the 9th of June the Durrow community celebrate Saint Colmcille's pattern day. This over the years has become the most important day of the year for the local community with one respondent stating

> "I left Durrow in 1989 but I have never missed a pattern day, I will take the day off work, it doesn't matter whether it's a Monday or a Sunday" (Teresa).
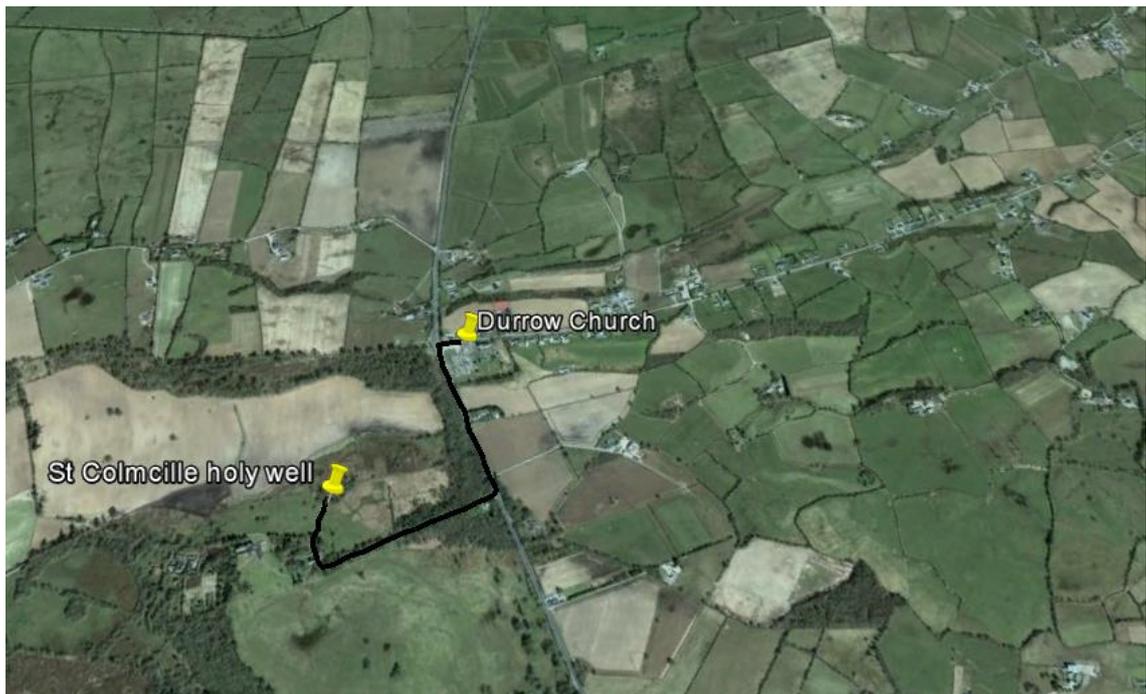
Figure 56: The pattern day route map, Durrow (www.googlemaps/durrow.com)

Every year on the pattern day the children of the community make their first holy communion, subsequent to the mass the whole community parade from the modern-day Catholic church to drink the water from the holy well in the heritage site grounds. Pattern days were common occurrences in towns throughout Ireland in the past, but over the last century their numbers have dwindled dramatically. A local clergy member spoke of the importance and uniqueness of the pattern day in Durrow

> "it's the closest thing to the continent Catholicism I have seen anywhere in Ireland…. on the 9th of June come rain, hail or snow that procession, the mass and the procession to the well will go ahead" (Martin).

when asked to elaborate on pattern days he replied;

> "it's very continental I suppose I'm thinking of the time of the devotional revolution, I think it was a way of preserving it because all pattern days and all things like that were suspended until times changed in Ireland and everything was given back to the church, so obviously they went to the church and had mass and kept the tradition alive by having the procession….it's strange now though because processions have gone out of fashion and this one has been maintained" (Martin).

When a local community member was asked about the significance of the pattern day to the area he said;

> "the only time people are around is pattern day and midnight mass at Christmas" (David).

In a follow up question on the community and the importance of religious rituals he replied;

> "if the church was gone, oh God, ah that's the only thing we have there" (David).

As with all traditions over time the narrative alters while all of the participants under the age of 70 recounted how all the children received first communion on the pattern day on the 9th of June for as long as they had been a community;

> "we all got our first communion on the 9th of June didn't matter what day it was" (David).

The same assertation was echoed in another interview,

> "the pattern day is of huge significance because it's the day all of our families all got their communions always on the 9th of June…to me it's the 9th of June, it's Durrow that's it…. we don't have to ask the question when is communion….that's out heritage" (Teresa).

Whereas, when speaking to an elderly participant on the pattern day her information on the commencement of first communion contradicted the younger members of the community she recounted very clearly;

> "I think the first year it was done on pattern day was when my niece Mary was 6 and a half in 1964…...I made her communion dress it was the finest week that ever was seen and the first communion day was dreadful, there wasn't even sports the day because the weather was so bad because of the rain" (Molly).

Figure 57: Durrow holy well before clean up and after clean up (Mc Adam, 2017)

11.8 Pattern Day schedule is routine

People of Durrow know exactly how pattern day will be organised each year. It begins at the same time, follows the same schedule, the parade always follows the same route, and it always concludes after the visit to the heritage site.

> "the pattern day you have the first mass, which is the first communion mass, and as I said to you we all got our first communion on that day which is now the 12 O'clock mass and then the procession goes down to the well" (Teresa).

While the communion for the children is very important it seems that all local people are very keen to get to the well

> "the first thing everyone wants to see and go to is the well" (David).

Once at the well people take it in turn to drink the 'holy' water, as one participant remarked

> "you got a sup of water from the well…. even though it was full of mud" (Molly), while another said "it's a tradition everyone goes down and they get a drink of the water that day" (David).

A priest from the Diocese also replied when asked had he drank from the well

"yes, of course, and I didn't get sick or die…. regularly if it's a wet summer and there has been bad weather access to the well might not be possible because it floods" (Martin).

As many holy wells around Ireland have specific 'cures' connected to them I asked if this well had a cure associated with it to which my elderly respondent replied

"there is no special cure, but I always drank a good drop of it and it has the purest taste of mud off it (laughing)" (Molly).

Figure 58: Spanning the high cross of Durrow (Mc Adam, 2019)

In addition to visiting the well the pattern day procession also includes a stop at the high cross for members to 'span the cross';

"we went to the well and then span the cross……there was a little path up to the cross, everyone went to the cross the same as they went to the well" (Molly)

While a second participant noted,

"after the well we'd go back up the church and the choir would sing a few songs and a few people would span the cross" (David).

'Spanning' the cross has become an intrinsic part of the pattern day ritual, as with drinking the well water the local community have an explanation as to why;

> "I always remember doing it, even as a child, you went to the well first and when you came back up the idea was to see if you could put your two arms around the cross, I don't know what it was for a man, but for a woman it was so she wouldn't die in childbirth" (Molly)

Whereas another younger member of the community stated;

> "it's just a tradition, we've all done it many a time, but there are people that go and span it, some might and some mightn't you know" (David).

While another commented;

> "after the well we go to the cross, we span it, you know try wrap your arms around it, I think it's so the people get a good marriage with children, you know fertility (Teresa).

And yet another recounted;

> "folklore says that if a woman stands in front of the cross she will be married soon, but really it isn't gendered and what I was always told was if anyone can wrap their arms around the cross and they meet then they will be married soon" (Brid).

When these comments about spanning the cross were shared with the oldest member of the community she responded;

> "well that's a yarn, well anyway very few women could do it there was a little notch out of the cross and if you could get your shoulder in there, the men they could do it, not all the men, but the woman if she was thin she could do it but if she got big at the front she couldn't do it, but I could" (Molly).

11.9 The conflicts

Since it's very foundation the site has been a place of conflicts. The Monks and the local clan wars to the Normans, to the landlords and now the governing bodies. From the interviews with local community members it became apparent that a long standing division between the owners of the Abbey house and the locals had occurred. The oldest of the participants lived through five separate landlords on the property she spoke of the family who owned the house when she was a child, the Toners

> "the Toners are the ones I remember the most, they had the big house they had a groom, a steward, a herd, and then in the kitchen there was a cook, a lady's maid, a couple of housemaids, parlour maids and there was 6 or 7 girls, none local, they kept themselves very separate from the local people…..there would be big parties but they would come and go from England, they spent a lot of their time in England" (Molly).

Although separate it appears according to this respondent that these landlords did not obstruct the locals from entering to visit the well and the cross

> "the cross was outside and the old church was there in my younger days it was locked but a lot of people found their graves (family burials) ….when I was 7 or 8 the church was closed" (Molly).

Considering the era of occupation of these landlords was so long ago none of the other respondents lived within this period. Subsequent to the Toners another family bought the Abbey, the Gardiners, the lived in the house for a relatively short period of time and little comments were made about them. Next to own the Abbey were the Slazengers, this family not only allowed access to the well they tarmacked the access path, and it remains like this today.

Figure 59: Tarmac under the grass and a sign on the path to the holy well, Durrow (Mc Adam, 2019)

Although the current organisational structure on the surface appears to have alleviated this division, statements and comments made by participants show that this distinction is still evident but much more subtly than under the periods of private ownership. Although the property was purchased by the Irish state in 2003, conflict over the house continues. A charity organisation entered into a 99 year leasing agreement with the OPW for a minimal annual rent (€10) in 2007, a political representative remarked

> "I remember at the time there was nothing special about the house, as in architecturally, it was a big house, a fine big house, but because it was a reconstruction it could not be opened as a big house, so at the time we decided to pass it off to some very worthwhile charity, that was going to have its own funding" (Brian).

In 2016 this charity organisation brought a high court action against the OPW (still pending hearing) over a dispute concerning repairs. The charity has not occupied the house since 2013 and it is falling further into a state of disrepair. A representative of the charity commented

> "After much deliberation we decided that we could no longer stay in the property when it had many serious maintenance issues. We left the property in 2013 and started court proceedings against the OPW in 2016. Sadly, the house is falling into an ever-worsening state of repair. The house and land have a shadowy history, murders were committed and the building itself is constructed in the shape of a cross, the symbol of the Knights of Columba, who are really like a cult, you know like Opus Dei" (Betty).

A local community member and historian spoke of her worry for the property

> "I looked up the company records for the charity who have the lease on the Abbey, it's not good they are severe financial difficulties, I fear this legal battle will continue for so long that most of what is left of the house and the outbuildings will be gone too far for anyone to save then" when pushed further about the charity she added "I think the charity took up the house with the best intentions, but I just don't think they realised exactly the amount of work involved in one refurbishing it and two in the upkeep, I think the charity's founder was relying on funding that never came and then couldn't afford to stay, it's very sad to see it like this now" (Brid).

Figure 60: Durrow Abbey house North-face occupied and the Abbey house 2020 unoccupied

In other interviews with participants the same sentiment of loss and worry transpired

> "the grass is long and the weeds are all growing and there's nobody in it…. you can't go into the building it's all rotting" (David).

11.10 The disconnect between the locals and the landowners

In contrast to Glendalough, it is not the tourists or visitors to Durrow that have caused the local community to feel disconnected from the Abbey house, but the owners and authorities managing the monastic site. While the contemporary community[156] at Durrow have access to their holy well and the monastic site now for many years various landlords of the Abbey house restricted admittance into the site. Historic documents reveal a graveyard lockout by the landlords in O'Donovan's 1835 OS Letters, detailing how the

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[156] The Covid-19 pandemic has seen a country wide lockdown of amenities and parks in Ireland including all OPW heritage sites, unfortunately this year on the 9th of June (Pattern Day) the Durrow monastic site was one of these sites. Simultaneously the Catholic church cancelled all communion and confirmation celebrations, thus in 2020 no Pattern Day parade to the well was permitted in Durrow. However, according to information given in a telephone conversation from an interview participant, a small gathering occurred in the modern graveyard, some prayers were said and bottled holy water from the well was sprinkled over the attendees.

owners of the house forbade the burial of local community members in the cemetery, and the subsequent resulting disturbances. Reports of private church services in the chapel are also discussed, where only household members and their invited guests were permitted attend. On a spatial level like many burial grounds the more 'important[157]' or wealthy graves[158] take up greater area and are visually more elaborate and bigger. This contradicts the narrative of serval of the locals who maintain that the son of Brian Boru was at one time buried at Durrow, no evidence physically exists, however, a historical document published in 1897 makes this assertation based on flimsy evidence.

> "The church of Ireland would be forthcoming with burial records I would say, less secrecy, although there won't be a record of where Brian Boru[159]'s son was buried because his remains were removed from here and moved to Christchurch in Dublin, but I would say that it will show that Lord Norbury is interned in a crypt under the church" (Brid).

Similarly, to Glendalough heated clashes between the landowners and the locals have resulted in conflict over access to the site. Restrictions on burials and access have resulted in protests and violence, one local recounts the O'Brien's locking the locals out in the 1990's

> "we couldn't go into the old church they had that locked up and the guards came and we were told we weren't allowed to go in, ah we all walked down there and one of the fellas tried to pull the gate and there was a fella assaulted down there that night as well, it was nasty enough, dirty enough when they (the O'Brien's) had the place" (David).

Another local commented that in the time of the Williams people were only permitted access to the well for the days leading up to and on pattern day

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[157] Williams in his writings of Durrow graveyard states "the moral remains of a number of heroes must have been laid to rest in the cemetery at Durrow, though we cannot identify the exact spot" (1897).
[158] Such as the tomb of De Renzi, named on the tomb as a great traveller and a general linguist. He, Williams argues, composed a grammar, dictionary, and chronicle in the Irish language (1897) .
[159] It is possible that this comes from a mix up in identification the annals comment that Domnaill, son of Diarmaid, high king of Ireland was buried in Durrow, Brian Boru's son was also named Domnaill (AFM 758).

"until 2003 when it was taken over by the OPW, up until then they would only allow you to go down and clean up around a couple of days before it and then on the day but that was it you couldn't drive around or anything" (Teresa).

This exclusion by the landowners of the past went beyond access to the site, locals feel that they were never considered for work in the big house and that all staff were sourced from elsewhere.[160] An elderly[161] local participant spoke of this when asked if the house and land staff came from the area "no none of them were….not a chance…none of them were local" when asked where they came from she replied

"anywhere in Ireland, could be below in Westmeath Lizzie was from below in Westmeath, and Johnny was a groomsman and he was also the driver when the petrol went, you remember the time the petrol went, no you wouldn't well the petrol got tight with the war and she (the landlady Toner) had a lovely pony and trap her husband and her used and Johnny used to drive them around, it was a really deep and grand trap with a different pony everyday" (Molly).

When pressed further about the employees origin and why they wouldn't employ locals she responded

" so that the business and the secrets of house would stay in the house, so it wasn't coming out, there was men (locals working on the land) round about it that had jobs….but they wouldn't be around the house or inside the house knowing all the comings and goings" (Molly).

As well as the pattern day limitations and the employment opportunities that local people were excluded from, on several occasions over time the landlords prohibited locals from burying and visiting their relatives graves in the old cemetery. One local commented

"this used to be both a catholic and a protestant graveyard but when the Williams had this place they stopped people coming in to the graveyard, I know another owner also stopped people from burying their family, there was trouble over that at the time" (Steve).

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[160] The current caretaker is an exception to this exclusion, he, his father and grandfather all work in succession through the years for the different landowners.
[161] This participant was born in Durrow in 1921 and had lived her entire life in the same area, she recounted knowing six different landlords of the property.

11.11 In that liminal space, the graveyard

Durrow's graveyard contains the resting place of many of the locals relatives and as such it remains a place people feel connected to. De Courcy Williams maintains that the graveyard was opened by Otway Toler[162] in 1880. It is the only part of the complex that is owned by the National Monuments service (NMS), but it is still under the OPW for maintenance. Comparably to Glendalough, local relatives of those buried in the Durrow graveyard are not permitted to do any kind of maintenance or cleaning up of the graves. Of this the caretaker of the site said

> "I have a relative buried here, I asked the OPW could I clean up their grave and I was told no, that it belonged to the state now and I wasn't to touch it" (Steve).

In contrast to Glendalough, however, the cemetery at Durrow is no longer an active burial site and has been officially closed for internment for many years. Every year ancestors of some of the most renowned clans (Molloy's) of the area congregate and commemorate in the graveyard. Like pattern day this commemoration day brings life to the cemetery making it like Glendalough a liminal space between the living and the dead. Local participant mentioned the Molloys

> "there are Molloys buried here, I think there are two graves out there and they come and meet every year on the last week in August, at one time this was all Molloy land" (Frank).

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[162] Toler according to Williams was the son of the previous owner of Durrow Abbey, Lord Norbury who was murdered on site in 1839 (De Courcy Williams, 1897) by disgruntled local community members because of his unfair treatment of workers on the landlord's lands.

Figure 61: Ribbons mark the 'Molloy' graves (Mc Adam, 2019)

Preparations to celebrate their heritage and the reunion of the Molloys is made in the weeks before, gravestones are marked with ribbons to indicate to the attendees which of the graves are relevant to them.

The headache stone in the corner of the graveyard has been constructed into an alter like structure in the left-hand corner.

Figure 62: The headache stone (note the coins/offerings to the left) (Mc Adam, 2019)

Local custom relates how if someone puts their head to the stone they will be cured of headaches, local historian commented,

> "people want to believe this is the stone that will cure headaches and it has become a local tradition to put their heads on the stone and leave an offering" (Brid).

Durrow has a long and complicated history, often enmeshed in conflict and a political tug of war. It is therefore unsurprising that the contemporary Durrow heritage site, and the attached demesne, continues to have a sense of unsettledness or even discontent, as well as a legal conflict. Spatially, it appears that Durrow heritage site is under the control of

one authority further examination uncovered that like Glendalough several governing bodies have a foothold in the site. Access and directional guidance to Durrow are a major hinderance to the draw of visitors to Durrow. Like Glendalough poor infrastructure inhibits the flow of traffic to the site. However, unlike Glendalough, Durrow is not actively promoted by any of the agencies involved in heritage or tourism in Ireland. Additionally on spatial level Durrow, like Glendalough has merely one publicly (motorised) accessible access point. In contrast to Glendalough however, Durrow's local community have an active role in presenting their heritage on site and are granted management of the site for 2 weeks each year[163]. This management period usually coincides with heritage week and talks are normally scheduled by the local historians in the Offaly history society's headquarters in Tullamore. Durrow has throughout time been a place of contradiction with many owners, this is still true today with several authorities controlling various aspects of the site. The official presentation at the site is limited and purposively unpromoted[164], this for the foreseeable future looks like it will not be altered.

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[163] This management is according to the OPW representative an unofficial yet acknowledged permission.
[164] See previous statement from the representative of the OPW.

Chapter 12: Hiding the past, the aestheticisation of Durrow Demesne

Durrow over its existence has been developed and constructed in a myriad of physical forms. In its current manifestation the central element of Durrow is the high cross, its associated church and burial grounds. Durrow is one of the most important historical sites in Ireland, yet regrettably much of the material remnants of the past are absent from the contemporary form, and so, it is often overlooked. Few physical social artefacts remain and those that have survived have largely been hidden or sanitised. Many would argue that the most significant period in Durrow's past was its foundation, in this chapter I contend that the alterations imposed in the more recent times, were as, if not more decisive in shaping what remains today. During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth century[165] the dominant framework through which the Irish landscape was interpreted was the picturesque. With its beginnings in Seventeenth century Italian landscape painting the picturesque developed theoretically in Eighteenth century philosophy of the aesthetic. 'These cultural forms of the picturesque subsequently became an interpretative mechanism through which landscape connoisseurship emerged as an elite cultural activity among Ireland's landed gentry[166]' (Slater, 2007). Ideological forms of the picturesque evolved into accepted philosophical principles which guided English informal style of gardening design in rural Ireland. Through this gardening design framework, the ideological and cultural forms of the picturesque were manifested in a material structure. In turn 'these abstract concepts became embedded into the natural structures of the local

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[165] 'Although the colonial nature of Ireland's relationships in the British Isles and British empire is sometimes ambiguous, they displayed most of the characteristics of colonial society in the 18th and 19th centuries, especially in the role played by the landed gentry. The Irish economy which was largely controlled in the 18th and 19th centuries by the English metropole, developed as an agricultural periphery to the British heartland. The Irish landed estate, which formed the lynch-pin of this economy, lay at the core of the colonial enterprise in Ireland from the 17th century' (Duffy, 2005).
[166] By the 1840s, 1000 protestant landed gentry owned 50% of the land in Ireland.

landscape ecosystems'(ibid, 2007). The picturesque was a means of culturally altering the landscape. In that era much of the premise was to do with 'taming the wilderness', civilising the uncultivated and bringing nature to order (Duffy, 2007). Durrow demesne throughout this historical period was the home to several landlords, all of whom directly impacted upon the physical landscape of the place. The ideology of the picturesque dictated an almost universal implementation of an English style of informal gardening amongst these landed gentry in rural Ireland.

12.1 The sanitisation of the colonial space

One of the fundamental principles of the picturesque was the construction of an unspoilt and unhindered landscape. Manifesting itself in the visual absence of fencing or labour. The picture-perfect vista. In short to create a painting like view of grasslands and small rolling hills. However, these vast plains and rolling hills were constructed within the walled confines of the landed properties and were ultimately a statement of the colonialization of the Irish landscape. The creation of 'little Englands' on Irish soil (Slater, 2007). In this way the foreign (Ireland) develops into the constructed and fanciful familiar (England) as Shields argues Ireland becomes 'related to the distant by virtue of interconnected quality of place-myths' yet, the techniques employed by the landed gentry differed when implemented in Ireland, but this was used as means of demonstrating the dissimilarity between the places, Ireland could never be the 'mother land' therefore there was purposeful 'contrasting place-myths in order to take on a comparative significance' (Shields, 2013, p. 39). Irish landlord's estates were confined behind walls which were a reflection of the psychological uncertainty and the protestant gentry occupant's apparent security concerns (Williams, 2010). The walls that surround the Irish estate, Cullen contends represented 'a bold statement of power and possession combined with separation that announced its presence to every passer-by' (1986, p. 127). For Durrow

boundary walls and fencing was not restricted to the colonial period. Archaeological evidence has clearly established the existence of a circular wooden enclosure. These walls in the monastic era were erected to protect the native population. Whereas the construction of walls by the Anglo-Irish landlords functioned as a barrier to keep the native people out. In the colonial period, I would argue that the walls represented a symbolic detachment from the local for the landlord and the fabricated English enclave on Irish soil, 'the relation to the earth as property is always mediated through occupation of the land and soil, peacefully or violently' (Marx, 1973, p. 458). Moreover, in contrast to the builders of the monastery who worked with the natural resources and nature itself, the landlords in attempting to dominate nature instead became alienated from place and the native environment. Within the walls of the property a 'staged' picturesque view, and through the medium of the elegant and expansive gardens the landlord could differentiate themselves from the scores of impoverished tenants, invoking a powerful contrast (Slater, 2007). In the colonial mind, this endorsed to the outside observer, the landlord's ability to civilise and created order within the chaos of the Irish wildness (Mc Elroy, 2011).

12.2 Reconstructing the visual

Introducing the picturesque into Ireland's colonial visual culture was a means of expressing allegiances to the culture and ideology of the landlord's English origins. The function of this focalisation was to depict Ireland through the 'dominate perspectives, angles of vision and vantage points in the wrestle for control over the arena of the imagery' (Carville, 2013, p. 184). Bender points out that within this era 'peasants were literally evicted as part of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century enclosure movement. They were also evicted aesthetically' (1993, p. 262). The landscape aesthetics carried ideological implications regarding the way people react to scenery and those living within it (Eagleton, 1990), especially in a society where land was the basis for power and wealth

(Williams, 2008, p. 21). The Eighteenth century 'privileged position was embedded in social class and education' (Brett, 1996) local populations were regarded as having low to no education and therefore of a much lower class to the landed gentry. From a Bourdieuian perspective then the aestheticisation of landed property was a demonstration of the landlord's social, cultural and economic capital (1984). Essentially this illusion of vast lands enhanced the impression of wealth and in turn, power, to those who observed the property, including the external native people. From a spatial perspective 'attributes that may appear to be natural are not necessarily rooted in nature…. they are as much about the absence of activity as they are about the presence' (Shields, 2013, p. 36).

In order to complete this process in Durrow the walls and fences were hidden. The wall to the south of the property were concealed through the landscape design method of ha-ha walling. A ha-ha wall is a sunken fence created by digging a deep, dry ditch, the inner side of which would subsequently be built up to the level of the surrounding turf with brick or dry-stone wall (Porter, 2020). The outer side would slope upward before levelling out, thus creating an illusion of an unbroken continuous rolling lawn, while providing a boundary for grazing livestock. Slater argues 'fences and walls are the physical manifestation of private property and society's attempt to control access to rural space' (2009, p. 8). By creating an unbroken landscape, the landlord asserted their dominance on the terrain, whilst giving the appearance that the property was bigger than it was in reality. Furthermore, creating a landscape aesthetically pleasing was considered the definition of good taste (Williams, 2008). Barrow remarked the appreciation of landscape 'came to be regarded as an important pursuit for the cultivated and almost in itself the practice of an art' (1836).

In addition to constructing an illusion of unbroken space all native cultural features were removed, those that could not be buried were hidden or disguised. From the perspective

of Edward Said this would be the spatial act of coercion and a form of geographical violence. Imperialism for Said is an act of geographical violence through which every space in an occupied country is explored, charted and finally brought under control. For the native Irish, the history of their servitude to the colonial masters was inaugurated by the loss of the local place, 'who's concrete geographical identity must thereafter be searched for and somehow restored' (1993, p. 77). For the owners of Durrow demesne, the burial, removal and camouflaging of native history must have proven to be an immense undertaking, in that they had to remove the ruins and remains of the continuous occupation of the site from the earliest of times[167]. The larger buildings and structures on site were camouflaged by trees, the main entrance on the eastern side of the property was a tree lined avenue. Behind these trees lay the ruins of the church, high cross and the holy well. At the end of the avenue and through the gates the land cleared for an uninterrupted view of the big house, although a reconstruction it still commanded awe. In the wooded area directly behind the house hid the remains of the Norman Motte and just beyond that the walled garden. To the north of the walled gardens, again disguised by trees stood all of the outbuildings, pumphouse and stables belonging to the property. In the centre of it all sat the Abbey house with unfettered views of the land to the north and to the south, with large picture windows to enhance the vantage point.

Human figures were considered subordinate to the harmony of nature (Brett, 1996). Therefore, within the picturesque the appearance of peasants loitering or labouring was undesirable. Even within the big house itself labour and those who worked within its walls were cleverly disguised. To the west of the main house lay the enclosed yard, access to

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[167] The length of occupation of site is speculative as only minimal archaeological excavations have been carried out on site. The geological survey conducted on site provided some evidence of the early occupation, however this survey was conducted by engineers employed on the behalf of developers for a failed planning application. The historical and annalistic evidence, referred to in the Durrow history chapter, provides a strong indication of earlier archaeological features.

which was through a concealed entrance at the most westerly end of the building via a wooded area and at the end of the 'tradesman's' road. All staff and workers were only allowed to access the building through this entrance and along this roadway. Of these staff one respondent recalls in her lifetime.

> "the big house they had, a groom, a steward, a herd, and then in the kitchen there was a cook, a lady's maid, a couple of housemaids or parlour maids as they used to call them, and there was 6 or 7 girls"(Molly).

Figure 63: The tradesman's entrance (Mc Adam, 2019)

In addition, the house would have employed several groundskeepers, stable hands, gardeners and maintenance men. The tradesman's route would have therefore ensured, like the unsightly fences, houses, ruins or any evidence of the native landscape, the native people were removed in the pursuit of the picturesque.
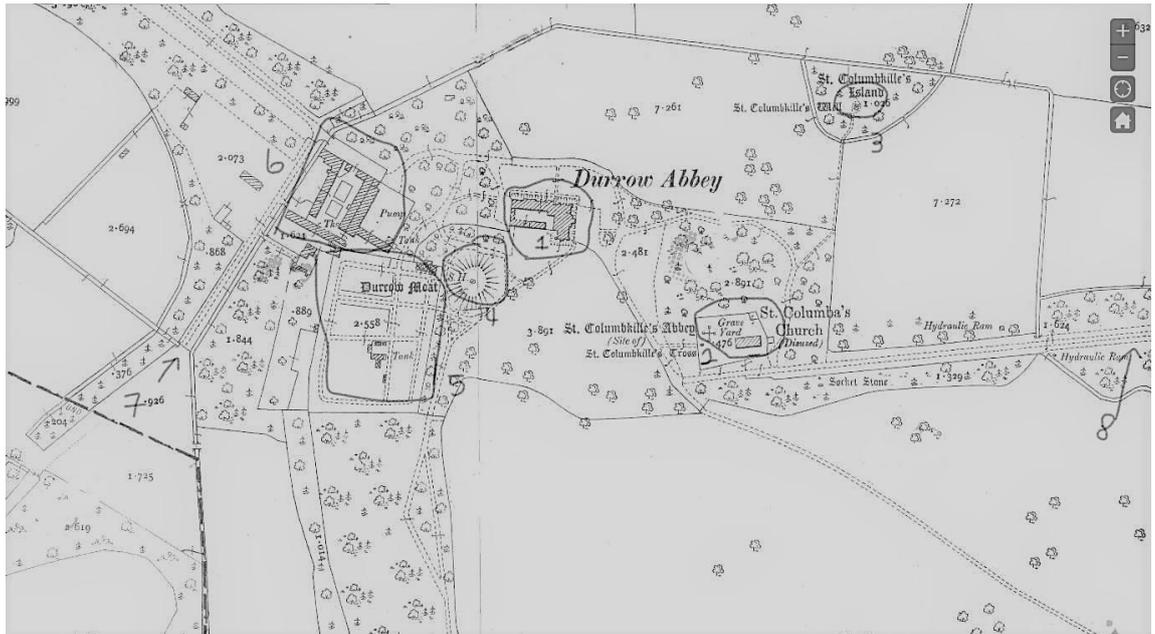
Figure 64: Durrow Demesne (extract from OS 25 inch map courtesy of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland) 1. Abbey house 2.Heritage site 3. Holy well 4. Motte 5. Walled garden 6. Outhouses 7. Tradesman's road 8. Main entrance

Essentially the visualisation of place becomes the dominant feature resulting in the purposeful focus on particular areas. In the big houses throughout Ireland, such as Durrow, areas in the gardens were staged so as to make the garden like a theatre. In the construction of these idealised gardens 'the cultural and ideological forms of the picturesque took on a material structure as these abstract concepts became embedded into the natural structures of the local landscape ecosystems' (Slater, 2007). Similarly, Carville argues that an essential feature in establishing cultural identity is the recognition of one's outward appearance through material forms of cultural expression (2003). Cultural representations came in the form of follies. These were artificial constructed focal points erected to draw the attention of the audience; usually in a gothic dramatic style. In the case of Durrow one of these 'follies' was erected on top of the Norman motte to be used as a garden tearoom. Here, the landed resident thoughtlessly disguised and restructured an ancient monument to suit their agenda, a lá Brett 'the essence of the pleasures of privilege is irresponsibility' (Brett, 1996, p. 41). The placing of the tearoom on top of the Motte was a reuse and repurposing of an archaeological structure, as though

its past was inconsequential. It was probably positioned there due to its elevation which provided yet another vantage point to observe the generated picturesque vista.

Figure 65: The internal courtyard (Department of Housing, Local Government and Heritage, 2004)and the staff entrance (Mc Adam, 2017)

Figure 66: Ruined entrance to the sunroom (folly) on top of the Motte (Mc Adam, 2017)

'Follies' Slater argues 'were constructed to give a general air of the historical past to the parkland. However, follies were only symbolic of an idealised past rather representing a real historical past or event and especially for the collective memory of the native Irish'

(2007, p. 238). In the creation of the picturesque garden in Durrow, and other landed properties, the landlords not only ignored the real history of the place but also actively hid it by burying it beneath the lawns and the artificial constructions (follies). In addition to the folly, Durrow was a place of staged heritage. The main garden ground, in front of the house, an area was set out to exhibit a medieval cross, this ancient artefact was taken from the monastic site and relocated by the landlord. Thus, making the artefact an aesthetic exhibit rather than an object of the past, and a point of focalisation for visitors to the fabricated garden design.

Figure 67: Crosshead on the Abbey lawn (Byrne, 1994)

The use of Irish archaeological remnants was not necessarily a demonstration of interest in Irish cultural and national identity, but rather, self-serving for these landlords (Carville, 2003). By these actions the conflict between the native and the landlord is revealed, where the battle between the aesthetic and real history meets in the physical form of these objects. Landlords interests were not focussed on the 'Irishness' of the artefacts but on

the visual, its exoticness and as a demonstration to others of their class, wealth and status. The staging of heritage was not unique to Durrow, within this era's fervent interest in antiquities many a big house included archaeological artefacts on display. In the creation of the picturesque at Durrow the landowner 'improving' his estate would not consider the welfare or traditions of the tenants or local community (Brett, 1996). In addition to the disregarding local traditions, the natives were regarded as ill-educated. As detailed in the Glendalough chapter, the British colonial narrative surrounding the native people portrayed the Irish as unruly, uncivilised and illiterate. Any indication of an educated local people would conflict with this description and required removing or hiding. Many archaeological artefacts would not only have displayed skill in their craftmanship but in the case of monastic settlements many would have demonstrated the education of those who previously occupied the site.
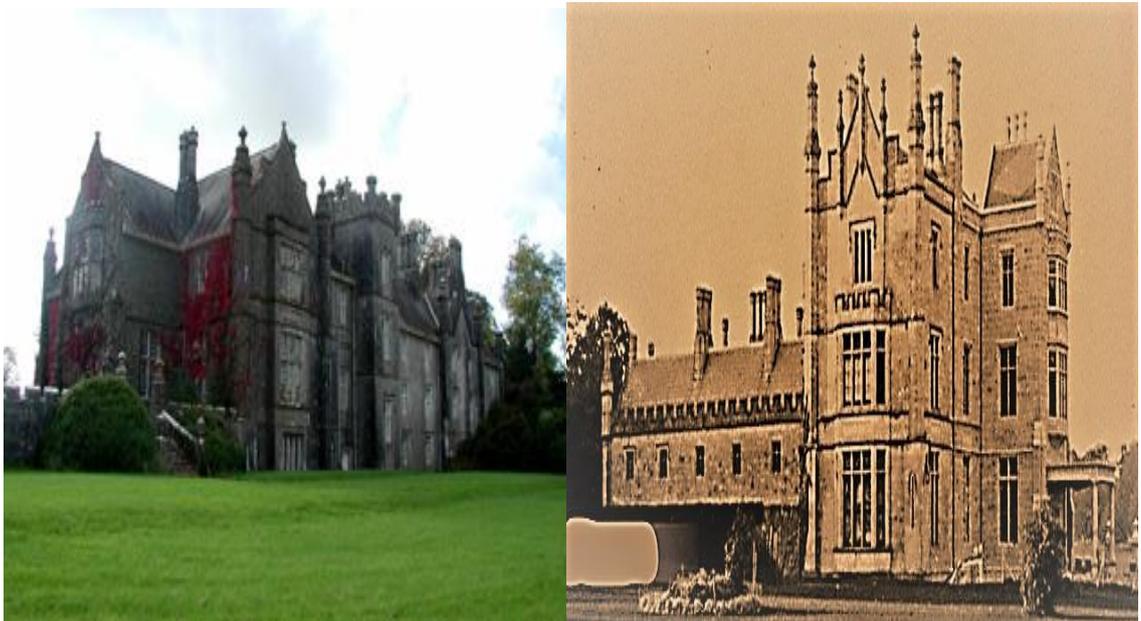
Figure 68: Durrow abbey house 2003 (Durrow History society) and Abbey house in its heyday 1837 with all three storeys (UCD Digital Library, 2016)

In the designing of their 'little England' left no room for anything Irish. The large looming barrier was predominately an aide to separate themselves from the local population.

"Although the detaching of the local population from these picturesque-defined locations was for 'high' cultural reasons, the actual consequence for the native Irish was the creation of a 'no-go' area within their own ancestral lands. Crucially not only were the natives debarred from entry to the picturesque spots, but the actual material, natural structures of their ancestral lands were changed to respond to the new sensibilities of the picturesque. Many of the traditional spiritual locations that possessed symbolic significance for the native population were either physically destroyed or access to them was permanently denied because these mythical and historical sites were now located on the picturesque demesnes and ultimately protected by the legal dicta of private property" (Slater, 2007, p. 238).

Durrow is home to several spiritual and traditional locations and rituals, like the pattern day parade and the visits to the holy well[168]. In addition to these rituals Durrow also housed a burial ground which in the time of the early landlords was an active burial site for both the gentry and the locals, catholic and protestant alike. These rituals and traditions were prohibited and obstructed to varying degrees by landlords in different periods.

One of these traditions was the use of the holy well situated within the ideal viewpoint of the house. Like the southern landscape, the northern vista of the property was also focussed on the picturesque, from this perspective the house sits in a dominant position over the landscape, the northern landscape rolls downward from the house. Yet again artefactual features that could not be removed were hidden. To the northeast[169] lies the holy well, on what is known as St. Colmcille's island[170]. Surrounded by oak trees the holy well is completely camouflaged when viewed from the house.

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[168] All of these traditions are detailed in the previous chapters on Durrow.

[169] Refer to figure 64 map

[170] This area of land is boggy and waterlogged. The river and underground spring, which is the source of the well frequently flood, so the area appears as almost an island. There is a strong argument to be made when examining the geological map and consulting the early texts that this area was in fact in the past an inland isle surrounded by water.

Figure 69: North-side of Durrow Abbey house (Mc Adam, 2017)

It is unsurprising that all aspects agricultural production were also removed from sight of the big house, with the exception of the grazing livestock. The picturesque evolved in opposition to the French and Dutch formal gardens where flowers were characteristic and vegetation that did not fit into the aesthetic principles of the picturesque was also concealed. No evidence of labour was permitted to spoil the aesthetic of the constructed picturesque. Livestock enhanced the picturesque and were the reason for the construction of the ha-ha walls. Durrow contained a large walled garden, hidden behind trees to the west of the house just beyond the motte. Within the walled garden food and other produce was grown to sustain the household, flowers and other ornamental plants grew to decorate the big house. What remains today of Durrow demesne's walled garden is the outline of a well-planned and structured place of production, including outbuildings, gardener's sheds, a variety of fruits trees, a lined wooded area and the outline of vegetable and flower

beds. One participant remembered visiting the walled garden when she was young in the late 1930s,

> "ah it was beautiful it was a great big garden as big as that field out there….. there was vegetables and flowers there was flowers hanging down the walls and apples trees and pear trees …. ah the flowers were hanging down the walls the yellows and the reds and the whites…. there's an old white rose that is very few places but there is one there below in the yard in the month of May if you were up here, you'd smell the white rose…. the little sheds for putting geraniums in in the winter and there was little place for putting in the little barrels and all the tools and things" (Molly).

As a result of two separate fires in the big house, the second destroying mostly the Western wing of the home where all of the paintings, family artefacts other important pictures and papers from the house were stored, little early photographic or painted illustrations of the house remain extant.

Figure 70: example of a walled garden, Victoria Garden, Dublin (Fallon, 2017)

Figure 71: The gardener's shed, Durrow Abbey walled garden (Mc Adam, 2017)

When asked was the produce sold locally Molly replied,

> "that was just for the house and yes it sustained them and then the pheasants and see they used to hang up the pheasants by the head and Paddy Byrne used to tell us that they wouldn't eat them till they fell" (Molly).

Figure 72: Walled Garden 2019 Durrow (Mc Adam, 2017)

Figure 73: Durrow Abbey house (Mc Adam, 2019)

The house itself was deemed to be of historical significance and is a listed building, but it is not a national monument. A national politician remarked,

> "there was nothing special about the house as an architectural big house, a fine big house, but it wasn't marketable as a tourist attraction, it didn't have the grandeur of other big houses around the country. At the time we decided to pass it off to some very worthwhile charity that was going to have its own funding" (Brian).

A decision was made subsequent to the demesne purchase that keeping the house was not economically viable. The building was appraised as merely a reconstruction and held little value. However, what was overlooked in the assessment was while this is a rebuilt structure, the ground and first floor are the original template of the earlier and historically significant building, in conjunction with its cultural value this house is, at least symbolically, much more valuable than estimated. The OPW representative however felt the house could have been kept under their management and used in a different manner,

> "It's not a significant big house, but it is still a very valuable property….it could be very useful as a visitor facility dedicated to the Christian monastic life, and yes, it is a listed building but not a national monument so a degree of adaption could be undertaken within that property …. maybe take some pressure off Clonmacnoise" (Simon).

While this alterative function for the house would be welcome, in that it would prevent any further deterioration of the building, it is interesting that the OPW's perspective demonstrates an apparent bias towards Clonmacnoise, and therefore demonstrates that they perceive that location as much more historically significant than Durrow.

12.3 The fading of the picturesque and the deterioration of the material form

The contrasting visual of contemporary Durrow Demesne and its constructed picturesque past is striking. While vestiges of the bygone glory days of the big house remain like fading scars on the landscape, Durrow Abbey and its grounds have become a shadowy suggestion of its once grandeur. In contrast to Glendalough, where the aesthetic lure was not constructed by society, and the draw has always been in its seeming 'wilderness'. Unfortunately, what remains of the grounds of Durrow demesne is no longer aesthetically alluring, little of the constructed picturesque has survived. While the cleared view from Durrow Abbey house to the north and the south remain, these field are now agricultural lands filled mainly with cattle. Once tended and manicured garden is a space of weeds, and browning grass. All of the ornamental features have been removed or have fallen away, nature has reclaimed this space.

Upon the purchase of the demesne by the state, the governing bodies and politicians agreed that the best course of action for the house and its grounds was to be leased to a charity. Again, the Durrow space was divided by the new Irish landlords. The heritage centre, with its associated artefacts was deemed a priority, whereas the house which came as part of the package, was not something that would return any economic revenue, but rather drain on resources. From the perspective of the governing bodies perhaps their

interest lay in conserving the 'true' Irish heritage[171], and not the remnants of the Anglo-Irish colonialists of the past[172].

Figure 74: Durrow Abbey North-side (Mc Adam, 2017)

The big house has fallen under disrepair, once a bright and clean building with coloured ivy adoring it, the façade is grey, bleak and depressing. More and more the burden of time and the forces of nature are evidently impacting on the house, the roof is collapsing, and several windows are broken. One local community member remarked,

> "I've reported the broken window in the basement, the opw came out and boarded it up to secure it, it was open for quite a while and I think some local kids were going in, I would be concerned that it's not safe, the roof is coming in in places. If you look up at the first-floor windows there are several broken" (Brid).

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[171] This argument of not conserving or protecting any object deemed to be of colonial or British construction in Ireland, as it represented the oppression of the nation by the colonists, in the 1960s by politicians who opposed the preservation of Georgian Dublin.
[172] Refer to chapter on Irish nationalism, even almost 100 years after the creation of the nationalist Irish republic, the sentiment of only conserving heritage which was deemed to be 'true' Irish persists.

Figure 75: The dilapidated entrance to the once magnificent walled garden, Durrow (Mc Adam, 2017)

All of the out-buildings are very dangerous and waiting to be condemned, the walled garden and the paths surrounding the house are in serious disrepair. On the condition of the house the OPW representative commented,

> "my colleagues in the property management services…. are alarmed at the state of the building and the rate of deterioration" (Simon).

Figure 76: The dilapidated outbuildings, including stables (Mc Adam, 2019)

The house has been empty for at least ten years now, the leaseholders are in a legal struggle with the OPW, a case that looks like it will drag on for many more years. A representative of the charity stated,

> "we decided that we could no longer stay in the property when it had many serious maintenance issues. We left the property in 2013 and started court proceedings against the OPW in 2016. Sadly the house is falling into an ever worsening state of repair. The house and land have a shadowy history" (Ellie).

Predictably the unoccupied nature of the property results in the continued corrosion and decline of the property. The caretaker for the heritage site remarked,

> "it's such a shame I remember the groups of children coming with the charity, it's a long time ago now, I haven't been in the house in a while, it was in good condition then, I used to have keys but they were taken when the legal battle began, it's private property, as well as no upkeep the problem is thieves and vandals, there used to be scaffolding on the house and they used to climb up and steal the slates, really dangerous and rotting, let in all the rain. It's been taken down now and fixed but there's a good bit of damage" (Steve).

Consequently, unless some drastic measures are taken the house unoccupied and unmaintained will deteriorate further beyond repair. According to a local authority representative, a planned walking pathway through the Pheasant woods has been halted because the current leaseholder refuses to allow a path to be created at the front of the house behind the ha-ha wall. This pathway has been in planning for several years and would have connected the wooded area to the monastic site[173]. Interestingly, regardless of the deterioration of the house, if contemporary visitors were permitted access to the building they would see only the results of an historic process, and not the process itself 'with its horrors and triumphs' (Brett, 1996, p. 41).

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[173] This plan is detained in the earlier Durrow chapter, as a means of creating a new access route to the heritage site avoiding the N52.

12.4 Staging of heritage

Heritage is artefactual, people want to see things. The artefacts, the physical representations and remains of the past are what draw visitors to heritage sites. Heritage history is distorted because of the predominant emphasis on visualisation and the aesthetic. Visitors are presented with artefacts, including buildings either 'real' or imagined, within which 'a whole variety of social experiences are necessarily ignored or trivialised' (Urry, 1990, p. 112). While some early literature accounts for additional heritage and archaeological features exist for Durrow, the detainment of the property and the removal of these artefacts, without records, by the landlords over the centuries has fundamentally wiped them from existence. Historical records of other physical structures are missing, or do not exist. Additionally, as the local population were essentially, and to a certain extent still are, excluded from the property little local recording of features occurred within the period of occupation by landlords. Remnants of the Augustinian monastery exists in reconstructed features throughout the property, some fragments of the building were reused in the tearoom (on top of the Motte), the headache stone in the graveyard is from this period and very obvious pieces of the monastery building make up the holy well. The holy well reconstruction is recorded in historical documents as being ordered and completed under one of the landlords. While hidden, it was possibly also a sort of folly, a novelty discovery for visitors to Durrow demesne, a re-envisioning of a tradition or a re-inventing of a site with the removal of the local.

For Durrow the contemporary heritage site is an 'imagined' reconstruction, the church was renovated in order to house the perceived most important artefacts, namely the high cross and stone slabs. The high cross is positioned within the church in the most central dominant position. To stage the cross further special skylights were installed (against the advice of the archaeologists) directly above thus drenching the focal artefact in a sea of

light. Around the cross designed illustrated information panels were placed at each side, again emphasising the visual, where 'the written narrative responds to the visual narrative…to make sense of …the artefact' (Slater, 2003, p. 107). This creates a sense of awe, from the perspective of Walter Benjamin this kind of purposeful sense of aura created around heritage artefacts bestows on them a sacredness (1973). The fact that Durrow's high cross has been placed within a church building adds to the sense of reverence it commands. As a general rule the heritage centre in Durrow is unmanned[174], as a consequence there is no verbal narrative, apart from the high cross little to no further information appears inside or outside the centre. Constructing a space devoid of verbal and written displays; places emphasis on the visual, therefore physical artefacts. While focus on the visual alone allows for the visitor to create their own narrative, it neglects to present any account of the society or rituals associated with the place as a whole. Nevertheless, it does remove the subjective views of some of the historical and politicised accounts connected to the artefacts.

Glendalough while also staged, bears a greater resemblance to the monastic enclosure of its era. While some buildings have elements of reconstruction, and the ruins have had most of the impacts of nature, such as vegetative growth and weathering effects removed, Glendalough's monastery is more sympathetically presented than Durrow's. Therefore, as Durrow's heritage is essentially hidden with little remnants of the physical forms the artefactual draw is diminished. Hence, the need for Durrow heritage centre's spotlighting of the high cross as an artefact. The impact of colonialization on Durrow heritage is immense. As a process the creation of the picturesque by the landlord class in Durrow has forever irreversibly altered the landscape. Due to the artefactual nature of heritage in

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[174] Apart from the fortnight in the summer months when the local heritage group take over management of the site.

Ireland, unless physical landscape and structural features are visually present little focus is placed upon the sites as a whole. Durrow's most significant artefacts[175] have, from a conservation and political perspective, been preserved and secured for the future. It is not unreason able to anticipate that little further investment in Durrow will occur unless construction works, or an accidental extremely significant find materialise.

12.5 The double form of the ideal in Durrow: the colonial picturesque and local heritage

As discussed, Durrow has been impacted upon by several differing social and political processes, as such it is apparent that there are varying examples of the ideal form here. Like Glendalough the ideal form occurs in more than one manner. Again, similarly Glendalough the particular construct of religious places containing a spiritual energy which can be experienced by those who visit. According to a local priest, Durrow has a special energy that goes beyond the site's physical form, both natural and societal:

> "this is a holy place…...when you are down here, there is a sense something really important happened here, this is an important point on the earth……there's a silence and stillness…. there is something of wonder that brings people to Durrow" (Martin).

This sentiment of special energy was reiterated by others:

> "Durrow has something very unique about it" (Brian). "I believe it is a holy and spiritual place" (Molly).

So embedded into the perspective of the local community is this spiritual idealisation of place that the belief of any interference to the site will result in repercussions to those who disrespect its sanctified ideal form:

> "De Lacy met his end while building his motte, this was because he dared to interfere with Columba's monastery, it was enough to cause indignation and to make people kill, their belief in

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[175] The high cross, headache stone and holy well.

Durrow's holiness goes beyond ownership.... it's like they say you don't touch Columba's, you don't touch Columba's" (Martin).

This spiritual ideal form and the consequences for disrespecting it is also related in the following story of the landlord blocking the holy well:

"he didn't want the locals on the land, he thought that if he blocked up the well so it wouldn't have any water, then the community wouldn't want to come in, but it backfired. The blockage caused a huge leak and flooding in the house. That was Colmcille, that well belongs to the Durrow people, no landlord could change that" (Brid).

This ideal form of spirituality in Durrow is associated with religious and local identity and was expressed in the following way by one individual:

"Durrow has this feeling of perfection, it's like everything comes together there and obviously other people feel that too, local people consciously and unconsciously are aware of it, it's in their soul, part of their DNA.....it's how local people construct their identity, or maybe it's just a different expression....this is our place....people experience it in different ways, there's objective but this is subjective, it's different" (Martin).

Although the physical forms of the monastery's construct in Durrow are limited, what remains possess an ideal form. Thus, again with the connection to the holy well, I reiterate how an ideal form is never completely divorce of the physical artefact and is conceptually embracing. In a similar way to Glendalough time influences when this particular spiritual ideal form is experienced, for Durrow it's during the pattern day and its associated celebrations. In contrast to Glendalough however, the spiritual ideal in Durrow is experienced collectively as a community rather than in solitude.

"it doesn't matter where you are you always come back for the pattern" (Molly)...... "the procession down to the well is a solemn event....you met people who you won't see from one end of the year to the next but they are all there for pattern and the holy well....I would say I have great faith and have a great deal of belief in Colmcille and the how significant the holy well is....we all stay there on the day the choir sings and we say prays and everyone drinks the water" (Teresa).

12.6 Durrow's local historical ideal form and the institutional version of the OPW based on material archaeological artefacts

The local historical ideal form of Durrow is presented by a community group through the narratives from historical texts, but it also includes local 'knowledge' and folklore. Unlike Glendalough the historical ideal form in Durrow comes in two separate presentations, the local being the first:

> "I'm part of the local history society, we have an office in Tullamore, there are several other local people involved in looking after Durrow monastic site, we actively gather historical and archaeological information, most of us are also active in the community preservation group…none of us are employed by the OPW but we act as caretakers, and visit the site often, in the summer we look after the site for two weeks while #Steve# takes his holidays….I am a keyholder….I organise and provide tours and talks about Durrow"(Brid).

Whereas the historical ideal form presented within the centre is determined by the institutional dictums of the OPW. There is no interpretative centre nor are there any official tour guides. With the only information provided coming from four illustrative panels that relate specifically to the high cross. In this sense the historical ideal form is censored with all the focus directed at one physical artefact, all the other existing material objects are left to speak for themselves. How the high cross is presented is a purposeful manipulation of the artefactual ideal form. Moving it from its original outside position to the newly specially renovated church, insured that the archaeological artefact became central to the institutional narrative and the historical ideal form. The weathering of the cross was used as a justification for the moving of the artefact:

> "it was just outside like one of the gravestones, in a corner and it had clearly weathered…the OPW informed me that the weathering was a serious problem and like the cross in Clonmacnoise it needed to be brought inside" (Brian).

And yet, the same respondent also remarked that moving the cross was an extremely difficult task as it was so well constructed:

> "a thousand years in one spot, we have issues with foundations today, but the boys back a thousand years ago who laid the foundations for the high cross knew what they were doing. It never wavered, it stood in the same spot for a thousand years with the wind, the rain and the storms" (Brian).

No information relating to the monastery's founder St. Kevin is imparted by the OPW. Whereas it is significant that during the periods of management by the local community he is central to their narrative and intrinsic to the ideal form. The lack of interpretative engagement by the OPW creates an inherent danger of misinterpretation of the historical 'facts' and artefacts. The headstone has been idealised by the local community its physical form is a reconstruction, but its ideal form is created by the community:

> "the headache stone was probably constructed uses pieces of the old Augustinian monastery, people leave coins and offerings after they put their head to the stone for the cure of their headaches. It has been a part of local folklore for as long as anyone can remember" (Brid).

All of these diverse objects in Durrow exist in spite of the lack of physical artefactual objects. The few artefacts that remain have been idealised in various ways, and as the ideal is fluid the possibility of more and varying ideal forms being created in the future is conceivable.

12.6 Conclusion

Durrow over the course of time has had varied and conflicting constructs. The impact of cultural, political and social processes is evident in the landscape. Although in its contemporary form the dominant features are those of the early Christian monastic settlement site, the colonial past has left an ever-present legacy on the physical structure of the place. Heritage is artefactual and people are drawn to material forms of the past. In the case of Durrow most of the archaeological material forms of the past were removed, buried or hidden in the colonial period of occupation, so much so that little of the social forms of the past remain. Durrow demesne was aestheticized to create an idealised form of the picturesque, a gardening framework which emphasised the landscape. This

dominant picturesque framework dictated by the visual focussed on creating an uninterrupted vista and meant that all obstructions to that view required removal. In the creation of the picturesque on the landed property the landlords removed, buried and disguised all elements of social production, all physical materials created by society were eliminated. Therefore, all archaeological and historic artefact which did not fit into the picturesque genre were wiped from the landscape. Heritage sites are focussed primarily on physical artefacts, people visit heritage sites to engage with the artefactual remnants of the past. These tangible objects are the lure and the draw, and although intangible heritage is connected to these sites, most of these traditions are also, in the case of Durrow, focussed on the physical artefacts, the holy well and the high cross. However, when Durrow is viewed through the lens of the ideal form some of the non-physical objects can become 'thing-like' in an idealised manner and thus regarded as physical objects. The spiritual ideal form in Durrow is intrinsic to how heritage is presented. In the construction of the picturesque the future of Durrow as a heritage site was established. As a place, it is steeped in history and heritage. The colonial past has also impacted upon the archaeological ideal form, with the majority of the physical artefacts removed or hidden, the resulting narrative focusses solely on the remaining physical forms. Its colonial past is embedded in its contemporary physical form, and this is one the main influences of the institutional ideal form, where the colonial and even the Norman sections of the site are excluded. As such even after the Irish state's purchase of the site from private ownership the conflict and segregation of the site has and continues to impact on Durrow's physical form, its ideal form and in turn presentation.

Chapter 13: The interconnective processes that create heritage: the physical, social and ideal forms

The next two chapters will connect the preceding chapters together. They combine the insights gained from the theoretical, narrative and analytical, in the preceding sections, and enables the answering of the research question; How is heritage presented in different sites, by different social, political and national groups? Structurally these chapters follow the order of the work as a whole, dealing with each of the interconnected factors that create heritage. To begin it considers heritage as a concept, and the underlying theoretical arguments. This is followed by an explanation of the uncovered themes/processes used to unpick and analyse the concept. The processes to which heritage is intrinsically linked are tourism, politics, social systems, economics and aesthetics, each of these interconnected processes are addressed separately through an approach which reveals their interweaving coexistence. Subsequently, the chapter moves to how heritage objects are retrieved, how their meaning is ascribed and the practical realities of heritage presentation in Ireland. Threaded through the analysis and discussion archaeology, its development and its purpose. Archaeology is integral to heritage; it is therefore crucial to include an analysis on the discipline and its constraints in Ireland.

13.1 What is heritage

Heritage is not exclusively about the past, it is rather a reflection of the present and the aspirations of the future 'people in the present are the creators of heritage, and not merely passive receivers or transmitters of it, as the present creates the heritage it requires and manages it for a range of contemporary purposes' (Graham, et al., 2000, p. 2). Heritage is an interweaving of time and space, where the past, the present and the future converge in particular places to 'imply certain immediate and longer-term futures but not others' (Shields, 2013, p. 39). Heritage is a social construct, it is connected to the past, but as a

concept, it constitutes a semblance of human interpretation of what has come before. It is the selected portions of the past purposely chosen for contemporary purposes, whether economic, cultural, political or social, chosen to bequeath to the future, the worth of which 'rests less in their intrinsic merit than in a complex array of contemporary values, demands and even moralities' (Ashworth & Graham, 2005, p. 7). As such, heritage is the meanings that people ascribe to the past, its objects and places, thus making heritage 'thing-like' and artefactual. Traditionally these objects have been housed in museums and heritage centres and labelled as educational. Fundamentally, heritage and identity are interwoven, people frequently look to the past to understand who they are, and where they come from. Throughout this research heritage is linked to locality, locality is linked to identity and as such how heritage is a crucial component in place-making and the locals sense of belonging has been reiterated and investigated in the case study sites. Psychologically the attachment to place, and the sense of belonging satisfies a need in individuals, and by extension society as a whole, 'so that the comfort of the past may anchor the excitement of the future' (Lynch, 1972) lest collective amnesia lead to social disorientation (Ashworth, 2013). However, part of this place-making attachment has been purposefully 'legitimatised' through the narration of the past to justify and re-enforce political ideologies, such as nationalism. These post-hoc justifications, such as education and political agendas, have been prevalent in interpreting, investigating, and preserving the past, this research additionally examined the economic motivations. History, and archaeology provide the resources to the 'cultural' and heritage tourism sector, but heritage also more broadly serves as an amenity for other economic activities, such as restaurants, hotels and souvenir shops. Evidently confusion in defining and understanding what heritage constitutes is extensive, I argue that this is due to its inherent complexity. Heritage is not discipline specific, it contains elements of several diverse yet,

interconnecting areas of speciality, such as, but not exclusively, history, archaeology, geography and sociology. A widespread belief is that history and heritage are each other's equivalent and can be used interchangeably, however it is clear from this research that this is not the case. Heritage and history are not the same thing, history is the recording of the past by historians, whereas heritage includes a range of aspects from language, culture, identity and even locality (Dallen & Boyd, 2003). Tunbridge and Ashworth contend 'history is what a historian regards as worth recording and heritage is what contemporary society chooses to inherit and pass on' (1996, p. 6). In sociological terms this process is referred to as 'socialisation' where the norms and standards of a society are narrated and passed on to new generation. Heritage as a concept is extremely complex, in that it cannot exist without a medium. Tangible heritage is demonstrated through monuments and artefacts, yet intangible heritage is regularly attached or attributed to some of these objects and symbols. Heritage objects have a symbolic value beyond their physical forms, they have several different value forms. Historical artefacts contain social, cultural, political, ecological and economic elements. While many of these are not immediately perceptible, through an investigation of the each of these processes and their interconnected nature in this research, all can be revealed.
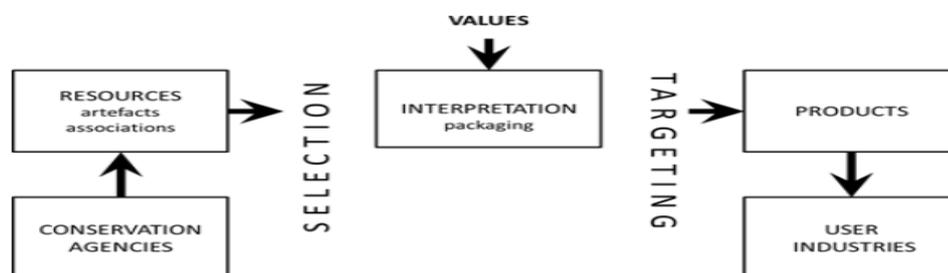
Figure 77: Components of heritage (Ashworth, 1994)

Ashworth's model *figure 77* illustrates how heritage tourism and other 'high order economic activities' are 'transformed into heritage' through a process of commodification

(Ashworth, 1994, p. 17). Moreover, Ashworth contends that 'history is the remember record of the past: heritage a contemporary commodity purposefully created to satisfy contemporary consumption' (2013, p. 16). While commodification is an essential element in the creation of heritage, the concept itself is far more complicated and complex than Ashworth's model. Heritage in this model is regarded as merely a 'marketable product', and neglects to include several crucial processes which not only contribute but, in some cases, fundamentally shape how heritage is presented.

Whilst layers of different values exist which shape heritage available to consumers, the heritage industry's presentation of the past may be no more 'misleading' or flawed than other understandings of the past gained through media, oft more valued, such as biographies and historical novels (Urry, 1990, p. 112). Furthermore, Johnson argues that heritage tourism, and in particular the 'framing of history' has a valid role to play in the transmission of knowledge of the past, meaning it does not merely present a 'sanitised or bogus version' of history (Johnson, 1996, p. 555). Although heritage is an imperfect representation of history, Timothy and Boyd (2003) contend that this may be due to the limits of the historical narrative, in that it does not provide a complete record of the past. It should be recognised that 'it is not at all clear just what understanding of history most people have' (Urry, 1990, p. 112). Regardless of the fact that history and heritage are defined essentially separately or even 'antithetical' in nature, frequently they are used interchangeably and 'are habitually confused with each other' (Lowenthal , 1998, p. x); the ambiguity of both concepts. This also suggests that whilst academics and specialist audiences may be at ease with the distinctions, audiences may not explicitly understand or consciously think about the nuances (Marimon, 2012).

Figure 78 demonstrates the crucial elements in heritage construction. Not every heritage site contain all of these elements, yet, they are significant themes which emerged

over the course of this research. This model purposefully has no directional indication, meaning that they are reciprocal relationships, rather than linear cause and effect (Ritzer, 2017). In addition, this research is not only interested in the relationship between these processes in the contemporary reality, but also in the past[176] and into the future of the phenomena (Bauman, 1976, p. 81).
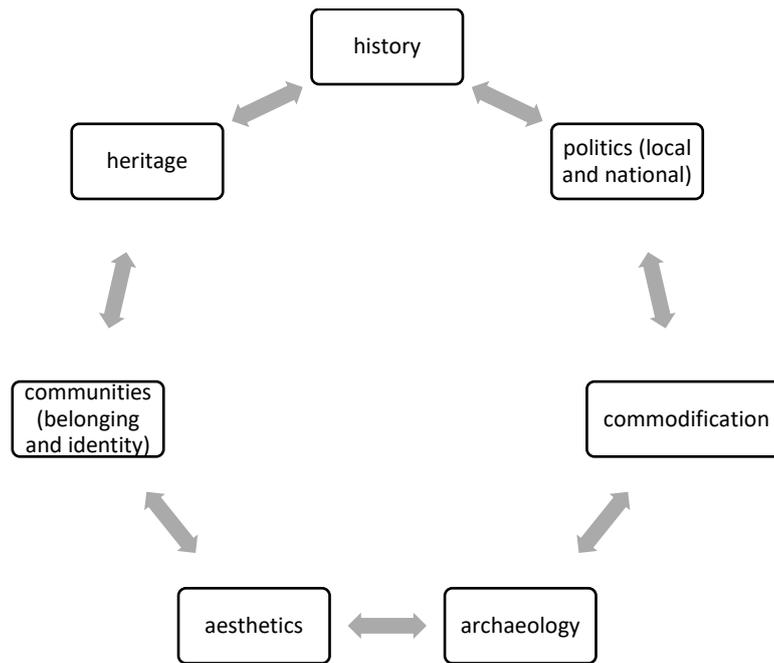
Figure 78: Processes in the construction of heritage (Mc Adam, 2021)

Heritage is viewed differently depending on the country, the culture, the economic situation the religious persuasions of the people. According to Derrida (1976, p. 70) heritage is a dangerous supplement, as our comprehension of the past is always incensed by presence and absence, indeterminacy and determinacy, thus dislocating the substance of heritage by its very construction. National heritage is subjective, politically, economically, and socially motivated. However, the UNSECO charter provides regulations and protocols for the establishment and management of places labelled World

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[176] 'Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living' (Marx, [1852] 2010, p. 15).

heritage sites. Although not explicitly specified, UNESCO's prime objective is to preserve heritage through conservation, a process also observed in the approach of many of the Irish heritage organisations investigated in this research. The widely accepted definition of conservation is viewed as 'preserving purposefully' (Burke, 1976). Whilst different countries have different policies and approaches to heritage and its physical artefacts, once a site has been deemed a world heritage location mandatory convention from UNESCO become the overarching regulatory process. Global heritage, it has been argued, is a set of politically inflected material practices, whether it is a World Heritage site, or the governance is through international legal frameworks, or how it is translated and enacted on a national level and having devolved concrete effects for local residents (Meskell, 2015). A multitude of things from the past remain in the present, yet not all of these are regarded as heritage. Even though heritage practices differ from country to country they are all connected to places, sites, objects, or cultural practices. While not underestimating the intangible aspects, it is the material dimension and its ramifications that scholars, are particularly interested in. The material constitution of sites, their management, conservation, insertion into tourist economies, mobilization within national and global imaginings, and their many connected communities are all processes in which archaeologists are well versed (ibid, 2015).

13.2 Conceptual contradictions and social processes

Heritage, it would seem is concerned with history, artefacts and preservation of the past, and is predominantly to do with people. Without people there is no heritage. People are the creators and propagators of heritage. The very definition of heritage refers to people as the fundamental element in its construction. Heritage helps people to transcend time because it is the element of the past that people consider worthy of preserving in the

present for the future[177]. This research has revealed that heritage is double formed, comprising of physical artefacts and social forms[178]. The objects or artefacts of heritage are embedded with a social form, in other words the people and the societies who created them, or conserved and preserved them, are part of their structure. Places only exist through human interaction, and all heritage sites are places. Even intangible heritage is reliant on people, be that in the memory of individuals who transmit and practice cultures, or in the learnt ability an individual possesses in playing a recognised cultural heritage instrument or sport. 'Heritage is simultaneously a part of the physical reality and an intangible phenomenon' (Konsa, 2013, p. 123). As such non-physical 'artefacts' can get a physical form in how they are presented as thing-like entities, although they are intrinsically not, through a process of conceptual reification[179] or the ideal form. Where the ideal 'is not simply a form of things, nor for that matter simply a form of social activity. It is a form of social activity embodied as the form of a thing. Ideality achieves existence 'only as a reified and reifiable form of activity, as a form of activity that has become and is becoming the form of an object' (Ilyenkov, 1977, p. 87). The ideal should be understood as the form of dynamic activity of social man that is embodiable in things ... as activity under the form of a thing, or conversely as a thing under the form of activity, as a 'moment' of this activity, as its fluid metamorphosis' (Chitty, 2000, p. 19). Moreover, because heritage is connected to, and shaped by, political, social and economic

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[177] See Michael Tomasello's work on the connection between time and culture (2001).

[178] Social forms can change over time and even at other times have contrasting cultural and political forms.

[179] Reification is a complex idea, it is the process of attaching emotional or social meanings to physical objects, Ritzer describes reification as 'the process of coming to believe that humanly created social forms are natural, universal, and absolute things' (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2014).

institutions, as well as ecological systems, it is therefore a crucial element in understanding how societies function.

Physical artefacts in both Durrow and Glendalough have been conceptually reified in that they have been ascribed with social meanings. Durrow's holy well, and associated Pattern Day [180], are described by locals as 'always' happened, part of who they are, and are viewed as crucial to their physical and mental wellbeing. While the source of the well water does come from a natural spring, the physical object is of man-made (re)construction. Likewise, at Glendalough the deer-stone, a man-made bowl-like rock, is attributed to St. Kevin, as a miracle, although it is not shrouded in local festivities [181] it is nonetheless, reified and regarded as natural. Both sites contain high crosses, with similar folklore and ritualistic behaviours (spanning the cross) attached to these physical artefacts. However, Durrow's high cross goes beyond the ritualistic meaning ascribed to it, the local community have reified it further, as they feel it has always been there magically protecting the community. The object sits in a visually dominant position central to the heritage site, sheltered within a specially refurbished church, and it is no coincidence that its physical structure resembles a human figure with out-stretched arms.

In addition to the conceptual reification of artefacts and objects, heritage sites are physical places and are the result of social processes. Where large artefacts are attached to the landscape, their physical geographical location becomes intrinsic to their existence and the associated interpretation. Newgrange world heritage site is referred to throughout this research and is an excellent example of how differing social processes and political agendas have shaped its presentation and the interpretation. Since colonial times, through the foundation of the Irish state, Newgrange has been the focus of debates and attention

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[180] An example of something that is not a physical artefact yet through reification is regarded as such.
[181] As previously noted this is due to the local community's feelings of disconnection with the site.

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due to its uniqueness, artefactually. Differing interpretations and presentations of the world heritage site, were as a result of social, political, and economic agendas, as well as access issues, have attracted debate and several forms of social constructions since its (re)discovery in 1699. Correspondingly, both case study sites are afflicted with access and regulatory conflicts, historically and contemporaneously. In Glendalough the local people feel a sense of marginalisation due to the over management of the place, the assortment of governing bodies and the multitudes of tourist visitors with the associated traffic congestion. Therefore, for the locals, inaccessibility to the place is not merely the overawing visitor numbers, but also the invisible barriers constructed by the governing authorities. For the locals there are few times they have the place to themselves and feel some autonomy, erroneous or not, over their surroundings. Likewise, the marginalised and minority communities in Ireland use Glendalough as a meeting place at times like Christmas. In a similar vein the people of Durrow are provided with two weeks a year where they are unofficially (yet acknowledged by the authorities) supervisors of their heritage site, although they have a seemingly greater influence over the heritage site, they too are limited by the governing bodies. Durrow's local community are permitted to provide their own unrestricted interpretative account of the monuments and site to any visitors, however these visitor numbers are limited, as is their supervisory period. At all other occasions visitors are only provided with minimal approved signage inside the church that directly relates only to the high cross. Consequently, almost all interpretative information is focussed on the aforementioned reified artefact and comes from a particular perspective. On the other hand, Glendalough locals are not afforded any input into the interpretation of the monastic heritage site, meaning that the only interpretative information provided to visitors comes from either the OPW heritage centre or the guided bus tour providers. Whilst the locals at Glendalough do not have any of the management

duties of the monastic site like Durrow locals, they do run their own mining heritage information. Although, the mining heritage is seen as separate to the heritage site, it does similarly lend the local community a sense of ownership and belonging to their area. Thus, management of heritage cannot be conducted in a manner that is separate from contemporary societal processes.

Heritage can play a legitimating role for values and identities hidden or marginalised over the course of national and global history. Newgrange again is a prime example of heritage monuments being ascribed with social forms for political legitimacy. The earliest interpretations of the site all attempted to disassociate the Irish people from the history and construction of the artefact. The purposeful dismissal of the Irish people of the past to create such a feat of engineering, perpetuated the established narrative of the Irish as subhuman, unintelligent, and violent and therefore deserving of oppression (Curtis, 1997). In this way the colonial authorities not only justified their occupation of Ireland but also attached a false social meaning to the monuments, whilst also simultaneously marginalising the Irish. At both case study sites a similar process of demoting and demonising of the Irish people occurred, for Glendalough it is evident through the depictions in paintings, whereas in Durrow it arose from the elimination of all evidence of native existence from the aesthetic. Likewise, after de-colonialization many monuments and 'British' heritage object were removed, the most famous of these was the destruction of Nelson's Pillar on O'Connell Street in 1966[182]. The grandiose 40.8m object sitting pride of place on Dublin city's main street was regarded by many as an insulting tribute to the colonial oppressors of the past, and many argued it should be removed. However, as the pillar was legally held in trust by the new Free State

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[182] This was not the first time the monument had been targeted, a failed attempt to blow up the monument occurred during the Easter rising in 1916 (Independent Archives, 2016).

government, they had a duty of care to preserve the monument. Similarly, a recent example of this emerged during the Black Lives Matter protests with regard to monuments depicting individuals and events that some protestors perceived as racially discriminatory. Several of these monuments globally were defaced, and torn down, and in some cases the authorities of the areas chose to remove the monuments from public display in recognition of their impact on minority groups. Thus, demonstrating how heritage is not only fundamental to societal and identity formation, it is highly emotive and fraught with complex relational associations.

13.3 Constructing a distinctly Irish heritage

Heritage is tied to identity formation and as such it is a powerful social, economic and political tool. In Ireland heritage was and continues to be used to justify particular interpretations of the past, and certain agendas in the present. During Ireland's colonial era heritage was viewed as within the antiquarian tradition, where the ancient past and its objects were prized, but things considered as Irish heritage were supressed. This attitude continued until the Gaelic revival period, where many influential scholars advocated for the preservation and promotion of the Irish language and other heritage objects. This attitude was not however the perspective of the majority. Nevertheless, with the withdrawal of the British from Ireland and the foundation of the Republic, a perspective similar to the Gaelic revivalist on heritage became the norm. Subsequent to the formation of the Irish Free State, a nationalistic and overtly 'anti-anything-British' sentiment emerged. The focus of the new government was on promoting 'Irishness', separate and distinct from Britain. Language, cultural traditions, artefacts commemorating victories over the English and archaeological artefacts which demonstrated Ireland's unique, scholarly and holy past were reconstructed, promoted or conserved. Ireland was constructed as the land of 'saints and scholars'. Therefore, the promotion was of early

Christian historical sites, like Glendalough, was unsurprising, as they were viewed as exemplary examples of Irish intelligence and accomplishments before the invasion of the English. Glendalough had the addition issue that it was a site attributed as a favourite English tourist escape, therefore it was imperative that the monastic story would be the core narrative communicated at the site into the future.

13.4 Heritage as a tool for political agendas

From the outset of the division of the Island of Ireland into the Republic in the South and the Ulster six counties, which remained under the authority of the U.K government subsequent to the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1922, an agenda emerged in relation to the historic and political narrative. Evans describes the border between the North and South as 'sometimes a battleground, regarded by both sides as the last frontier of the British Empire' (1993). While in the republic the government was vehement that only the real Irish or 'Celtic' heritage be uncovered, preserved, and promoted, as an 'entity which was not only politically but also socially, culturally and economically independent and which dealt with its citizens in a purely Irish manner' (Augusteijn, 1999, p. 7). Likewise, the Ulster unionists strove to promote and uncover heritage, but rather than promoting Irishness, they were focussed on the Britishness and creating a unique Northern Irish identity not connected to the Republic (Stout, 1996). Evans remarked in the late 1920s that archaeology in the South of Ireland was 'quickened by political self-consciousness' (1968, pp. 3-8), and that the Free State government wanted to look at lines that were untainted by English contact. Yet, he himself as the highest-ranking archaeologist in the region was guilty of geographical determinism, so much so that he dismissed the work of scholars in the South because he perceived it to be 'an ultra-nationalist ideology influenced by Sinn Féin policies' (Carew, 2018, p. 119). Evans also stated that Northern Ireland 'remained more British, and that cultural change has been attributed to contacts

with and successive invasions form the larger island' (1968, p. 5) thus, he concluded that the differing political attitudes were just, as the North was distinct from the South historically and even archaeologically. This politically driven narrative somewhat persists in heritage centres in the North to this day. Navan Fort (Emain Macha) in County Armagh is a clear example of a political agenda. Over the course of this research, I visited several different heritage centres throughout the whole of Ireland, one of these visits was to Emain Macha. While there I viewed and participated in the tour of the site, beginning with the audio-visual presentation, in the purposely constructed cinema adorned with mythological characters. The show was presented in the form of an animated film accompanied by narration from an early 'Christian monk'[183] said to be a mix of 'real history' and mythological tales, in which was stated that Northern Ireland was 'part of our common European heritage'. This mixing of myth and real heritage in the case of Navan fort is a purposeful politically motivated interpretation. Cúchulainn[184] is the main protagonist in the film, whom they refer to as the hero of Ulster. Brett argues that the 'Cúchulainn story has been thoroughly appropriated by extreme loyalism[185]; but the tendentiousness of the story is obvious enough' (1996, p. 123). This use of an early Irish literary figure is nothing more than imposing a contemporary political perspective and the justification of a modern geographical border, where none existed in the era depicted. Thus, the political agenda overshadows the archaeological and historical significance of this particular heritage site. This form of political interpretation is not unique to Emain

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[183] The monk tells the audience that these tales may not be true, but ought to be, the use of a monk is an attempt to make it seem like this story is connected to religion.

[184] Cúchulainn is a hero from early Irish mythological literature. The tale in the heritage centre is focussed on the Táin, where the Clans of the North fight the clans of the West of Ireland over two bulls, see Thomas Kinsella (1969).

[185] See Fortnight magazine (Adamson, 1991), 'More annals of Ulster' (Hanna, 1994) and 'Deceptions of Demons' (Morgan, 1993) with relation to a large mural depicting Cúchulainn in a Unionist area of Belfast entitled 'Defender of Ulster against Ireland'.

Macha, many heritage sites throughout Ireland, both North and South have been subject to political agendas.

13.5 Tourism and the commodification of heritage

Tourism over the recent decades has come to be understood as a 'significant part of the culture industry where leisure activities have been increasingly commodified as a culture of consumption (Featherstone, 1991) has emerged' (O'Brien, 2011, p. 17). With an increase in the consumption of commodities Adorno and Horkheimer (1972) argue, modes of production and the conceptualisation in creating these commodities has understandably in turn increased. Consequently, under this process, tourism, and accordingly heritage sites, become 'filtered through the culture industry' in other words heritage and tourism as products are assessed through their exchange value as opposed to their use value, 'as the higher purposes and values of culture succumb to the logic of the production process and the market' (Featherstone, 1991, p. 14). Hence, in a consumer society everything essentially becomes cultural where 'social life become deregulated and social relationships become more variable, hence an aestheticisation of reality occurs to create a depthless culture' (Jameson, 1984, p. 87). As such the label 'cultural heritage' is frequently employed to describe heritage, this categorisation includes however, not only heritage sites and centres, but also historical buildings, archaeological artefacts, people, traditions and culture. Glendalough has been the subject of commodification since the advent of tourism, it has and continues to be sold as a place to consume. The contemporary heritage site is surrounded by varying means of consumption from the very blatant sale of commodities in the form of souvenirs to the sale of the gaze of the aesthetic beauty, to the heritage centre and hermitages that offer peace and spirituality at a price. Comparably, Durrow however, has little of these visual or artefactual draws and as such as little to no commodification attached.

13.6 The aesthetic as a medium to present heritage

Contemporary society is a consumer society, where the commodification of place prioritises the historical value and where constructed reality overshadows the established accepted heritage. The commodification of heritage 'results in the creation of replicas of historic sites and objects, non-original renditions of the past, and the development of imaginary, invented or contrived places' (Dallen & Boyd, 2003, p. 244). Visitor experience at many heritage sites is constructed in such a way as to make it as entertaining as possible to increase visitor numbers, in the words of Bryman (2004), it has become 'disneyfied'. The very nature of tourism involves imagining, fantasising or daydreaming and the anticipation of the novel experience, thus, once an image is placed in the visitor's mind it becomes a very powerful motivational tool. *Skellig Michael* was used as film location for *Star Wars*, and a very successful Irish media campaign promoting this association is currently running which relies heavily on the media and visual representations of the island to the globe (Mc Adam, 2020). While tourists are already flocking in their thousands to the site, the media promotion has utilised everything from panoramic vistas to aerial photography to images captured from space (emphasising the galaxy far away concept from the movie). These visual images are presented and constructed in such a way as to lure visitors, to the exotically, picturesque island of *Skellig* the ideal location for solitude and reflection (ibid, 2020). From a Foucauldian perspective, the idea of a constructed visual or powerful 'gaze' (Urry, 1990) can be applied to the tourist experience. This kind of tourist gaze derives from the expectations of visual pleasure and experiences beyond the familiar. These constructed expectations are continuously and 'endlessly reproduced' by mass media and are objectified in tourist imagery (ibid, 1990). However, Urry's argument attributes the construction of the gaze to the tourists themselves when in reality the production, creation and control of the gaze

is executed by powerful authorities in the tourist industry, with the support and funding of government bodies, who use media and social media to their advantage. In Foucauldian sense this situates the mass media as ubiquitous in terms of power, for Foucault power is not static it cannot be obtained and retained, it is 'produced from one moment to the next, at every point, or rather in every relation from one to another' (1980, p. 93). While no physical changes have been made to the structures on *Skellig*, it is nonetheless presented in a pseudo-historic manner. In other heritage sites the use of replicas is employed, where artefacts physical artefacts are to be preserved and protected, or no longer physically exist.

Replica heritage centres employ a process of aestheticizing the social forms where the physical artefact, cannot be aestheticized because of their physicality, or in some cases the lack thereof. In this way the social form, the meanings and heritage ascribed to the place or artefact is presented and not the 'real' physical artefact. People expect a level of commodification in places, be that souvenir shops or hotels or purposively built heritage centres, where artefacts and experiences go beyond 'belief with extraordinary meaning, a McDisneyisation of the past' (O'Meara, 2000). In this system of anesthetizing heritage objects a process of 'cleaning' and 'rebuilding' artefacts has been conducted on many heritage sites both in Ireland and globally. Cleaning up the objects results in the removal of the past. In aestheticizing the physical objects, the socially embedded form is removed, therefore, creating a distance between the human sphere and the material object (Woodward, 2011). The modernising or cleaning of artefacts and historical buildings reifies or standardises the aesthetic for those who gaze upon it, whilst also alienating the contemporary viewers from the 'actual' past. In this sense the artefact becomes 'new like' disneyfied and fanciful. Some historic monuments have been 'recreated' in a manner which is not consistent with the archaeological or historic interpretation, such as

Newgrange. As mentioned previously the rationale in 're-construction' of Newgrange World heritage site was not primarily to rebuild and present the monument as an archaeological artefact, but to create a spectacle for tourist consumption. Essentially Newgrange was 'reconstructed' through the interpretation of one main archaeologist, funded by the Irish tourist board and the state. In this case the veneer of the physical artefact was aestheticized for the presentation to the media. In Glendalough several of the buildings were 'cleaned' and some were even 'reconstructed'. Durrow too has not escaped this 'cleaning' process, the old church was refurbished, including a modern white pebble-dashed exterior, reconstruction of the interior wooden seating areas, and the pulpit. The old church was rebuilt in essence to become an ornate housing for the crucially important high cross. Tourists pursue authenticity, but heritage, Smith argues, is not a physical thing, building or object, but what takes place at these sites 'heritage….is a cultural process that engages with the present, and the sites themselves are cultural tools that can facilitate, but are not necessarily vital for, this process' (2006, p. 44). The narrative presented at heritage sites is dependent on a variety of conditions and motivations, for example, some heritage centres will use a construction of the past to promote a contemporary perspective and to achieve economic profit. Yet, the remit of the main national heritage agencies in Ireland is to conserve and protect.

13.7 The aesthetic and the picturesque

In this section I discuss how the particular social form of the landscape aesthetic emerges within the two heritage site locations. This method of comparable analysis of heritage sites through aestheticisation has never been achieved in any existing research. Whilst it is focussed on Ireland, the process, I argue, could be replicated in many heritage sites globally. Although the objective to aestheticize these places is comparable, the picturesque process employed varies at each location, in Glendalough it evolves as a

framework of interpretation and in Durrow as a mode of changing the physical form of the landscape. In order to complete this form of analysis a clear and precise understanding of all processes, social, political, economic, and ecological, involved in the construction of each site was crucial. In addition, an interdisciplinary approach to both the gathering and analysis of the collected data was essential. In this way a comprehensive interpretation, inclusive of a myriad of perspectives was achieved. As previously discussed, heritage sites and objects are frequently the subject of aestheticisation. In Ireland this practice occurred from at least the eighteenth century onward. Aesthetics involved the practice of laying out gardens and travelling with the express purpose of seeking out picturesque views. The picturesque and the sublime depiction of places provides a picture rooted perception of the world. 'Picturesque means pleasing to the eye, it is remarkable because of its uniqueness, it is as impressive as a painting, it can be presented in the form of a picture, it presents a good theme for painting, and finally, it is a landscape worth painting' (Frydryczak, 2014, p. 100). For instance, at both case study sites this concept became crucial for their portrayal to the world. Creating the picturesque at Glendalough was a fundamental component in the promotion of the site as a tourist attraction. But more crucially, the picturesque is suited to ideally interpret the place aspects of Glendalough where the sublime is in the natural aspects and the beautiful is in the societal made artefacts of the monastery. These societally created artefacts, in the form of ruins, while they were historical remnants their existence, more importantly, represented man's dominance over nature and the wild. In the use of the sublime, the images produced were manipulated in such a way as to not only disneyfy, but to mystify, and create a sense of wilderness to the place. Whereas, the picturesque aesthetic designates an anthropocentric stance, in the sublime, man is deprived of his privileged position, becoming part of nature, and not merely an observer. Simultaneously, the

scenery also changes from the harmonic and bucolic landscape, to a wild, untamed, land containing awe-inspiring ridges and plunging mountains. Contemporary reinterpretations of the sublime 'tend towards sensual involvement accentuating "being-in-the-landscape" rather than "attitudes toward the landscape" landscape as an ideological construct that is influenced by various shades of politics (Frydryczak, 2014, pp. 50-51). At Glendalough through exaggerated contrasts of the sublime a distinction between the local and the colonisers was apparent. Although in paintings this is sometimes not immediately discernible the intention is apparent, once understood in context, that the intention was to visually establish the difference between the two. This 'othering' of the locals enables the colonisers to justify their occupation of Glendalough, by depicting the locals as uncivilised and therefore lacking in the ability to manage such a wild and wonderous place.

Like Glendalough, Durrow was subject to the picturesque. Whilst this process would have been undoubtedly captured in paintings, because of two separate house fires none of these images survive. However, the remnants of the process are apparent on the physical landscape of the place. Through the use of maps, photographs, old and contemporary, as well as consultation of the archaeological excavational reports, and a comparison between similar properties of the same era, an understanding of how the picturesque manifested in these places emerged. I note here that collecting all of this data for comparison was not only time consuming but at times extremely arduous, but I believe that in achieving this I have created a strategy that other researchers can use to hasten their research. While similarities are apparent, how Durrow was aestheticized differs from Glendalough. Durrow was a demesne owned by an English landlord, who constructed the property as picturesque, not to entice tourists but to follow the trend of creating 'little Englands' in Ireland. This process not only connected the property directly back to the

'motherland' of the coloniser, but also asserted the owners' dominance over both nature, the land and the local population. Mitchel (2002, pp. 1-2) asserts that landscape is not a neutral concept but rather "an instrument of cultural power, perhaps even an agent of power". Creating the picture-perfect garden within the era of the picturesque involved a process of removing all wildness, human activity and only permitting certain vegetation. The nature of the picturesque is determined by the perception of landscape as a beautiful painting, hence the dominance of sight-centricity, the disinterested contemplation as a strategy for distancing the view, the positioning of the viewer as an audience and observer rather than as a participant, and the removal of any utilitarian function from nature (Rybicka, 2015). In the process of creating this picturesque spectacle all elements deemed unsightly or interfering with the projected discourse were eliminated. In Durrow this included all signs of human labour as well as all cultural and archaeological objects. These objects big and small were buried, removed, dismantled or hidden. As a result, the archaeological and historical remains at the heritage site of Durrow are minimal. Although it is not overtly obvious the effects of colonialism on the site of Durrow are apparent. In addition, what is also clearly demonstrated in Durrow's current presentation is the complete absence of any reference to the colonial heritage of the site.

13.7 Conservation as a medium to present/control heritage

In direct contradiction to tourism, commodification, and the aesthetic is the process of conservation. Although it is apparent that heritage has been used as a tool for economic profit and is one of the main tourist draws to Ireland, many of the heritage agencies are reluctant to promote visitors to sites. This lack of promotion is strikingly evident at Durrow. As the analysis and examination of the spatial configurations, the physical segregation of areas through governing bodies, and the 'flows', this section discusses how conservation is used as a means to control social accessibility to heritage sites. Arguably,

footfall and traffic to, from and within, heritage sites cause erosion, deterioration and potential endangerment to heritage objects. The OPW's core mission is

> "preserve and conserve and protect" and that visitor's is a "secondary mission…. if there is ever a conflict between visitors and damage to the site we will always pick the property"(Simon).

For Durrow the OPW does not directly prevent visitors accessing the site, in fact they do maintain the site well, and have provided building and some interpretation of the high cross. However, they also subtly do not encourage tourist to the site, there are no signs, the avenue entrance is overgrown, not so much as it is impassable but in such a manner as to make it appear unwelcoming, there is also no advertising or heritage staff on site. Whereas their remit in Glendalough differs, as it has a long history of large tourist numbers. All visitors to the monastic site searching for information must visit the heritage centre, and then they are directed into the monastic site, where the paths and routes are purposefully set out so as to minimise time spent in the area. There are no signs for visitors to read or loiter beside and no areas to congregated inside the monastic enclosure, whereas, at the NPWS section at the upper lake picnic tables and benches are provided. While, NPWS are interested in conservation, their remit is to protect the natural environment (also part of Irish heritage), one way they achieved this is by purposefully constructing walking paths with signage and trail maps. In addition, these walking paths incorporate the mining trails, meaning that no added intrusion onto the landscape was necessary. Similarly in Durrow walking trail construction, by Offaly County Council and Coillte, had begun and plans to incorporate the monastic site into these paths had been passed, however, owing to the ongoing conflict and legal proceedings over the Abbey house these plans have been placed on hold. Evidently the primary concern of all the authorities working on this project was conservation, nonetheless, the aspiration was to increase visitor numbers to the area.

13.8 Conclusion

Heritage is a complex concept, that requires a range of components for its construction, in other words it cannot exist without a medium. Several social processes are attached to heritage tourism, politics, social systems, economics and aesthetics, each of these interconnected processes were addressed separately in a manner that revealed their interweaving coexistence. Heritage is a fundamental aspect of identity formation, providing people with a sense of belonging and connection to place and their communities. While physical social artefacts are intrinsic to the presentation of heritage to wider society, the intangible and non-physical is equally as crucial, meaning that heritage is double formed, comprising of physical artefacts and social forms. In relation to this I argued that through the social process of reification non-physical 'artefacts' can take on a physical form in how they are presented as thing-like entities, although they are intrinsically not. Additionally, other social forms are not always fixed and can be altered, by social and politic forces, as is evident from the case study sites. Glendalough's sublime colonial form was transformed into the nationalistic holy place of scholars, and Durrow as a 'little English' enclave to the heritage site vital to the community's identity and well-being. Heritage at both of these sites has become more and more tied to the spatial dimension and the next chapter discusses how the state and community operate on the ground.

Chapter 14 Durrow and Glendalough: The social forms, processes and the presentation of heritage

This final chapter focusses on the two case study sites and how the several different processes and systems mentioned in the previous chapter impact upon the sites and the people who live and work there. In addition, how these people who live and work in the area impact back on the heritage process is also discussed. Ultimately, this chapter is primarily focussed on how heritage and its related processes impact on the people. Throughout the preceding chapter the concept of community is mentioned on several occasion, thus this chapter begins with discussion on what the concept means sociologically. Integral to community is what it means to be local, how people negotiate their space and in turn their heritage. Crucially, in this chapter I examine whether a community can exist without a heritage past. Both Glendalough and Durrow are sites of conflicts and affiliations, due to historic and contemporary authoritative and ownership issues, as well as access/use disputes. Whilst the sites are spatially distinct, their differences and similarities were determined by how the underlying. 'heritage' processes manifest themselves in situ and at particular times.

14.1 Community

Although community can mean a myriad of things to a multitude of people depending on the context, for the purpose of this section, community is tied to the spatially located areas of Glendalough and Durrow. Cohen (1985) argues that community is a symbolic reality and a construct. Community then it could be argued, when viewed jointly with the individual, is one of the key locations for the recreation of identities: it is, therefore, part of identity formation. As Augé (2009) asserts, strong collective identities are linked to the spatial life locations or as Anderson may view them as imagined places (2006) this

sense of collective solidarity thus gives rise to a solid sense of community. However, spatiality is dependent on and must also be situated in particular timeframes to evoke this sense of solidarity. In other words, spatial proximity must be also be accompanied by societally accepted contemporaneous trends and norms for people to feel a sense of connection to place. The sense of solidarity is apparent in an interview with a local when refers to Glendalough as 'ours', this simple word shows not only his connection to the community but also the place "you feel like it's ours" (John). How identity is linked to place and in turn shaped by location is ambiguous, however it is crucial to the social and political function it performs in identity formation. The complex web of interconnecting links between social, political and community that operate locally function (or un-functionality) can be clearly seen in Glendalough.

The graveyard in both case study locations is a crucial spatial aspect of the community identity as their past members and immediate family members are or were buried there, it is therefore part of their direct heritage link to that spatial location, moreover individual graves have only personal/family social forms and are not culturally or socially constructed. In Glendalough, those who regard themselves as part of the community attempted to "clean up the graveyard" because it had "gone wild" (Michael) this demonstrates a pride in the appearance of their spatial location but also shows comradery. Unfortunately, due to the fragmented authoritarian structures that operate within the Glendalough site, this act of community involvement in the site has resulted in conflict. Similarly, in Durrow a community member, and OPW employee, requested permission to tend his family grave, and was denied as they perceived this as inferring with a national monument. Yet, each year a group representing a historic family from the area not only gather within the graveyard, but they also alter 'their' graves, and the OPW

seemingly turn a blind-eye[186]. As a social reference point, community requires constantly to be defined and stabilised for members sense of security (Jensen, 2004). With conflict at the Glendalough site and a feeling of lack of access and control, it is no wonder that community members feel a sense of separation, referring to the state bureaucrats management a local stakeholder commented,

> "the big problem here is the local community can't get involved in these places…they have been taken over by these people" (Joe).

However, community can only emerge through common experiences and a shared comprehension of meaning. An awareness of a shared appreciation of the same place creates shared values, which in turn influences social action, giving meaning to acts, thus creating a common discourse and guidelines for thought and differentiated action.

14.2 The local

Urry contends that the word local is a complex concept with several interpretations, nevertheless, local in the context of this study is viewed as 'two inter-related sets of processes, social and spatial, which happen to produce particular combinations of social relations within a given geographically delimited area' (2000, p. 63). A local is a person accepted by the community unit as comparably similar to the others in the group, with a particular emphasis on familial continued connection to a particular place. Place is 'often experienced as a structure of feeling through activities and performances which crystalize and express group identities to the outside world through passing through and identifying with particular places and particular histories' (Tiley, 2006, p. 14). Like Bourdieu's habitus, a level of attachment emerges from local people's feelings of belonging, revolving around a shared familiarity and disposition. An individual or a group's

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[186] During field work I observed interference with several of the graves, moss and vegetation was removed from and particular key 'Molloy' family monuments were marked with pieces of material for identification. These ribbons of clothe were not removed after the gathering but left for the caretaker to tidy up.

identification with place 'does not just happen. It requires work, repeated acts which establish relations between peoples and places (Creswell, 2004; Massey, 2005) and significantly expands intersubjective space–time (Munn, 1986) beyond the self'. Therefore, as Urry argues being local is dependent on a variety of processes and factors, being there is a distinction between those who are local, 'people like us' and the outsiders or 'non-locals', living without the same geographical area does not necessarily make one a 'local'. 'This binary opposition may be set up and reproduced in a variety of ways, relating to people's very sense of belonging to a given 'community'. A general feature of the culture of a given region or nation may be that strong distinctions are drawn between the local and the non-local' (Urry, 2000, p. 73).

For Glendalough and Durrow there appear to be two distinct categories of 'local' the 'real locals', those with generations of ancestors born, bred and buried in the area, and the 'new' locals/blow-ins, defined as those who lived for one generation or less in the area. In both Durrow and Glendalough, the views of the locals on their community are remarkably diverse. While on the one hand they emphasise that connection to each other is a prominent characteristic of their shared local identity. This connection for the locals is seen in very specific local associations and clubs, where many of them actively participate (Freidman, 2007) thus, demonstrating what Corcoran et al. refer to as 'embeddedness' and 'connectedness' (2010, pp. 87-99). On the other hand, some especially newcomers (some not so new) feel excluded and also socially regulated by those community members who see themselves as 'real locals'. Therefore, connection and being local have both societal and individual meaning. An individual can be part of the community, share common interests and sense of identity, yet they may still not be included in the inner sanctum of the local community structure. They are strangers who 'come today, stay tomorrow' (Simmel , 1999 (1908)). For Simmel these strangers are a

part of the community, yet are perceived as "enemies within," meaning they are in a position where they are simultaneously an outsider and a counterpart.

At both Durrow and Glendalough, the 'real' locals distanced themselves, to varying degrees, from the blow-ins. In Glendalough while there appeared to be a level of harmony, when it came to 'their local' mining heritage the blow-ins were completely excluded from any committees or planning. Whereas, with regard to all of the other heritage, monastic, artefactual, historical or natural, the 'blow-ins' were not only involved, but were at the forefront of any community involvement. This was comparatively dissimilar in Durrow where the blow-ins had no involvement in any community activities, with one local remarking that there are a "lot of blow-ins….there's loads of houses and sites, all blow-ins" and that they were attempting to collect money from them for the upkeep of the local community services, like the village hall " fiver week or 250 a year" but these blow-ins were less than forthcoming with their contributions. This, Corcoran et al. argue was likely due to their involvement with other social networks and family connections elsewhere, meaning they are 'unlikely to share an identity created solely through their interactions in the place where they live' (2010, p. 270). In Glendalough where the 'new' locals (some of whom had been born and lived their entire lives in the area, but their parents were not born there) actively participated in some community heritage projects (Glendalough heritage forum). Savage et al. argue that in some cases blow-ins were more likely to feel that they belonged to a place than those who were born and brought up in a particular area (2005). Inglis contends this is more to do with a commitment to the area than having any historical roots in a place and a 'deep rooted belonging' (2011, p. 16). These 'new' locals sense of attachment could be viewed as 'elective belonging' Contrastingly, the blow-ins at Durrow had no involvement whatsoever in the heritage centre or the local history group.

At Durrow and Glendalough, the sense of community belonging is as complex as the concept of heritage. Conflicts over access and control have arisen from the multitude of ways that state bodies interact with the local community in Glendalough. Urry (1990) contends that local authorities play a significant role in structuring access and control at heritage sites. This he argues further often leads to fragmentation, which in turn causes disagreements on appropriate actions, from the viewpoint of the locality as a whole as well as causing difficulties in obtaining local support. Whilst in Durrow historically the ownership and prohibitions over access to the site have caused conflicts. Unlike Glendalough, Durrow was held in private ownership since the destruction of the monastery by the Norman Hugh de Lacy in the twelfth century, up until it the Irish State purchased the property in 2003. Through a multitude of owners, with comparable prohibitions on access for the local community, conflicts frequently occurred. Therefore, relatively open access and the (pseudo) control the locals have only transpired in relatively recent years.

The privatisation of space (Wickham 2006) hinders the construction of a sense of community and local bonding/social ties. Whilst it is arguable that both Glendalough and Durrow are public heritage sites, they are privatised nonetheless, in that the local communities have access, although limited, to the sites, and accordingly, they have little autonomy over crucial management decisions or even the day to day running of these sites. Durrow's local community is intrinsically linked to the heritage site. They feel a strong sense of belonging to the place and feel it is fundamental to their identity. Durrow remains a deeply religious community, with little in the village besides the Christian features and structures apart from homes. Although Durrow's local community members take over the running of the site for two weeks a year, this according to the management of the OPW is "unofficial and I'm not supposed to know about it" (Simon). His reasoning

for the OPW turning a blind eye to this was "we have always had a relationship with people who are in that section of society, like historical associations, in large part for us they are the eyes and ears when we can't be there" (Simon). This seemingly small gesture is therefore mutually beneficial and provides a sense of co-operation between the governing authorities of the state bodies and the local community. Moreover, owing to the historic preventative access issues and the subsequent conflicts, giving the local community a sense of limited control, improves not only the relationship between the parties but also provides the local community with the perception that their voices are heard. Nevertheless, when pushed on if the OPW want visitors to Durrow their representative indicated they did not and that they have fulfilled their mission to preserve the artefacts and see the site as a 'maintain only property',

> "we conserved the cross and moved it inside and put up some interpretation up…that's job done at that site the major artefact conserved" (Simon).

This is a clear example of how differing social forms of heritage are competing in the same spatial location. While the site is open to the public, the lack of promotion and signage ensures that the visitor numbers are kept low. Arguably then is the site unofficially open for the local community, it is 'their' heritage site? Although, community members are keyholders their control is still very limited[187].

As a place Glendalough is segregated spatially and socially, there are however a few areas that the community work together for its betterment, they claim "we wanted to be respected, we're not going to damage anything, it's a sacred place and we know that" (Michael). The use of the collective noun 'we' demonstrates the common discourse and shared values. As identity is fundamental in the formation of society, in turn the meaning

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[187] During the Covid19 restrictions the site was closed to all public but also all community members, keyholders included, only one OPW caretaker staff member was permitted access.

of community then becomes paramount for any local development (Baret,et.,al, 2005; Bessière, 1998). Community identity influences action and gives it collective form, which is a basic requirement in understanding the local development that heritage tourism is a crucial part of that identity, both positively and negatively. As identity is a social construct, it is therefore changeable and adaptable. For a successful heritage tourist site, Xie (2006) argues that a 'common community perception' is required, a common community perception is reliant on a shared community identity. The disconnect the community at Glendalough have from the heritage site may be therefore directly related to their exclusion. This is especially highlighted that the main heritage artefacts are located in the community's graveyard and how they are prevented from performing the normal duties of caring for their own family graves. In turn their focus on the mining heritage could be viewed as a strong common community perception and a shared identity to which they can relate to. But also, as a reaction against their inability to access their own community graveyard.

Over the course of the interviews, it emerged that the local people in Glendalough felt an affiliation to NPWS, just like the people in Durrow felt an affiliation to the OPW. The NPWS above all other authorities in the area of Glendalough have provided the local people with an avenue and the means to express their perceived connection to the area's mining heritage. Providing the locals with not only means to express their identity (through this social form medium) but also their sense of belonging to the place, gives the community agency and sense of ownership. Social identities are immensely symbolic in nature. The necessary social forms of heritage is very much revealed in their discursive character and their function in representing reality; they continually remain open, are subject to negotiation as well as conflict, and are immersed in power relations (Bauman,

2004; Laclau, 1996; Laclau, 1994; Laclau, 1996b). Above all authorities in the area the NPWS service have engaged with the locals and 'their' mining heritage project.

14.3 The attempted construction of the mining heritage of Glendalough

During the course of these interviews and the preceding field work it became apparent that the local community at Glendalough primarily feel a connection to the mining heritage of the area, and little concern for the other sections of heritage in the region, especially the monastic heritage. As this area of heritage is the most contemporaneous, in relative terms, with some of the mining employees still alive, and many of the relatives of the workers are still living in the area. Unsurprisingly, this gives the local community a sense of belonging. Mining occurred within the lifetime of many of the residents and they appear to feel a sense of ownership over this aspect of the area's heritage. Arguably the disputes between authorities, the traffic problems, the disconnection from the tourists, and the loss of ownership of the 'traditional' heritage elements of the site may be influential factors in the community's affiliation with the mining heritage. Additionally, it is apparent from the data that the local community feel that they have gained some autonomy over their surroundings through working on and developing the mining heritage trails and information.

Alternatively, there may be some economic motivation for their commitment, while the mining heritage does not receive any renumeration from their visitors they have received funding for research, as well as some infrastructural investment. This according to Oakley (2018) and several other scholars argue that many other mining heritage sites that had been managed and promoted by individuals and small groups[188], out of personal

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[188] As a point of interest one of these local unpaid group members in the case of Glendalough is one of the last living miners and he provides guided tours of some of the mining sites.

interest for no financial rewards, have been taken over by and have begun to be treated as resources and managed according to commercial principles (Harrison, 2012; Lowenthal, 2015; Lowenthal , 1998; Hewsion, 1987). It has been several years since the mines closed down in 1963. From 1809 lead was mined in the area and later zinc bringing economic benefits and employment. In many mining regions global crisis situations occurred and the mines also closed, bringing with it the threat of the dissolution of the local community, in the form of unemployment, emigration and economic deactivation. Threats of community disintegration 'increases interest in heritage, in identities, and the search for a symbolic redefinition of the community that could sustain the continuity of local mining societies' (Oakley, 2018). With these closures it became crucial for the region's survival to find economic alternatives. In many of these diverse places, tourism offered a real opportunity (Dicks, 2000; Wanhill, 2000; Coupland & Coupland, 2014; Pérez-Álvarez, et al., 2016; Hewsion, 1987). In this context, tourist development not only offers a viable alternative to the obsolete mining industry, but also acts as an agent in the process of defining diverse collective identities. That being said Glendalough differed from the vast majority if not all of these locations, as it already had an extremely well historically established tourist industry, however devoid of a mining heritage. The official and internationally promoted heritage at Glendalough is not community based nor is it from the perspective of the locals, heritage with community interest or involvement.

Tourism is accompanied by and creates Augé's (Augé, 2009) homogenous 'non-places' and is also largely dependent on maintaining and promoting the idea of distinctiveness and diversity of heritage places, peoples, artefacts and customs which may be experienced by a tourist. While at some heritage centres a construction of the past to promote a contemporary political position is used, at others like *Skellig Michael* the narrative has become embroiled with a fantasy/sci-fi construction compromising the

UNESCO world heritage site. It is precisely this mediatisation of Ireland as a fan tourist destination that fuelled the Irish government to pass legislation, namely section 481 film subsidy, which provides tax breaks for international media companies to use Ireland as a film location. Irish revenue states these tax breaks consist of either 32% on expenditure, or, 80% on total film production cost, or, €70 million (2019). Hence, *Skellig*, resides in a juxtaposition between a place as a world heritage site and as a location in a Sci-fi movie (Mc Adam, 2020). For it is at sites like *Skellig*, that heritage has become the runner up in the convergence between the popular imagination and the tourist gaze (Crouch et al. 2005, Urry 2002). Thus, exacerbating the competing constructs of history and the mediatised landscape of heritage in Ireland (Mc Adam, 2020).

Recent academic research suggests that relations between tourists and locals is anything but straightforward globally (Rasdi, et al., 2019; Mudimba & Tichaawa, 2017; Ryan, et al., 2013). Over the course of time locals may become tourists and tourists, locals, thus producing complex identities. In the context of Glendalough there emerged a cohort of tourists that visit regularly, so much so that they feel 'at home'. Some of these tourists in turn brought others as guests bringing them to the interpretative centre, but moreover also throughout the heritage site acting as impromptu tour guides. How locals articulate their idea of identity often gets blurred and relationships between local accommodators and tourist visitors become estranged. Increasingly locals feel the need to control how both their locality and they as a community are being represented, as this has a direct effect on their lives. Tourism as a concept requires the continual definition and redefinition of identities between insiders and outsiders which become, through the course of time, mutually implicated involving marking differences, strategies and performances of inclusion and exclusion, public and private, 'front' and 'back' spaces for interaction (Goffman, 1959). For those living or who regard themselves as local to

Glendalough, holding on to their identity in a place of constant fluidity arguably could be why they have distanced themselves from the constant stream of visitors as Bauman asserted 'the real problem is not how to build identity, but how to preserve it' (1996, p. 23).

14.4 Community heritage versa National heritage in the contested site of Glendalough

Placing the words 'community' and 'heritage' in the same sentence, re-opens an ongoing dialogue in the academic lexicon, both terms are enmeshed in debate and theoretical underpinnings. These contested spheres of study have and will continue to spark discussion. Both heritage and community are essential moments of processes that mediate each other. Glendalough is a national heritage site, but for those who live there it is much more central to who they are. For those who live in the area it is home, it is where they feel they belong. Like Bourdieu's idea of habitus, the residents sense of belonging to the place revolves around a shared familiarity and disposition. A sense of belonging, familiarity, similar dispositions to those around a person, and the idea that this place is home, all connect a person to place and become an intrinsic part of their identity. Belonging is also strongly associated with the family and community, so much so that in small groups that revolve around frequent face-to-face interactions community members can become as close as family units. Durkheim (1976) argues that identification with place involves interactive processes of social labelling and identification, is this person like me, etc?

Heritage sites are places built upon artefacts from the past. The identification with place at these sites occurs through social references to these material entities of the past. This can be achieved via declarations of this is 'traditional'. Heritage sites reveal

representations of societal structures that no longer exist. Many of the aforementioned traditions are focussed on the nostalgic idealisation of the past (Derr, 2002), aimed at promoting a continuous connection to the real or 'imagined' time that came before (Anderson, 2006; Hay, 1998; Gustafson, 2001). Living at a national heritage site has its benefits and its drawbacks, while for many tourist attractions or heritage sites the locals enjoy the economic and social fruits of their spatial location, in Glendalough the locals claim this is not the case. While it is true that few visitors to Glendalough stay more than a few hours or the day at most, and the hotel is not full of overnight guests, several different local businesses operate seemingly profitably in the village. The hotel contains the only inside dining facility, essential in Ireland where the weather cannot be counted upon. Several stalls are permanently positioned in key areas throughout the site, selling everything from souvenirs to food. In addition, at key locations artists and musicians position themselves to sell their wares to the visitors. While all of these small stalls are not owned by the local community, they all lease the land from a local property owner, thereby, sharing their profits locally. Visitors tend to acquire memorable tangible mementos of their visit to places, in the form of souvenirs (Anderson & Littrell, 1995; Hashimoto & Telfer, 2007; Trinh, et al., 2014). Durrow differs in this regard dramatically, as there are no commercial outlets of any kind, the heritage site employs only one caretaker member of staff on site. There are no mementos to be purchased. The second most important artefact associated with the site is the book of Durrow[189], this book resides Trinity College next to the book of Kells, where postcard images of the book can be purchased.

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[189] The book was given to Trinity by Henry Jones between 1661 and 1682 (Meehan, 1996).

14.5 Durrow pattern day

Arguably the vast majority of visitors to the Durrow site visit on one day each year, Pattern Day on the ninth of June. The Pattern Day at Durrow is the most important day of the year for the local community. Its significance is verified by the existence of the 'pattern day committee' which was set up many years ago and continues to thrive, like the celebrations themselves. The committee are responsible for planning and organising the day. Their main duty is to ensure that the well is clean and tidy for the day of the parade, so that those congregating at the site on the day have access to the well, where they traditionally drink the water for wellness. One respondent stated that:

> "the pattern day, and of huge significance because like all of our families all got their communions on the 9th of June so the 9th of June is a huge significant day so I suppose from a memory and a historical point of view knowing the day you get your first communion on is great…….we got our first communion and then we went on our procession down to the well" (Teresa)

this is further reinforced by another respondent who declared that:

> "the Pattern it'd be on every year, ah sure god almighty tonight you'd think it'd never come the races and the pattern the races was first and then the pattern and everyone in Dura [sic]and everyone belonging to Dura [sic] would turn out for the pattern you'd come back from where ever you were for the pattern" (Molly).

The children always received their communion on pattern day as participant David advises,

> "we all got our first holy communion on the 9th of June."

This was confirmed with another participant who also stated that:

> "we all got our communion on the 9th of June it didn't matter what day it was" (Teresa).

and yet another community member additionally said :

> "the pattern day…huge significance because like all of our families all got their communions on the 9th of June" (David).

The Pattern day has become the focal and almost sole community wide activity, its importance commands the attendance of those living locally as well as the return of

natives who have moved or emigrated. In a place where there are no shops, bars or commercial centres, and all community activity revolves around the church and its associated community hall, in an era where the majority of residents have to travel out of the area for work, it is unsurprising that a tradition such as the pattern day has become such an integral part of the community. The pattern day celebrations are not merely a day to celebrate the community, nor are they to show their religious devotion, the history of the place shows that it is much more engrained in the peoples' sense of belonging and identity.

Durrow has been a place of contention and conflict from the earliest records to the modern day. The community's exclusion from the site has significantly marked and coloured their view. Access to the site has been restricted, and partly restricted, on many occasions in the past, preventing the locals from fully preforming the rituals associated with the day. Although, the premise of the day is to parade to the well where the party drinks the well water, the ritual also includes a visit to the old graveyard and spanning the high cross. These access issues have been resolved in recent years and no prohibitions to the site now occur on the community's special day. Like Glendalough, heritage in Durrow is double formed, the physical artefact and the social forms, which change over time. The pattern day itself is an example of the conceptual reification, were the intangible in transformed into a physical artefact. Evidently, each of the physical artefacts, the high cross and the well, have several socially embedded forms. While both of these physical objects were constructed by human hand, their reified conceptual form in exponentially more complex than their physical constructions. Unlike Glendalough however, although the principal physical artefacts are under the governance of national heritage organisations, their access and control issues much less of a contemporary concern to the local community.

Unfortunately, due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the related Irish government restrictions, Durrow heritage site, along with all other heritage sites nationally, have been closed to the public for the majority of the year 2020 to 2021. Therefore, the annual pattern day celebrations, and the associated parade to the well, did not take place, meaning no locals have had access to the site currently.

14.6 A case for community-based heritage tourism

Community-based tourism and heritage development is not only a successful economic model of visitor enticement, but it also additionally provides the local community with some sense of ownership over their place. This Massey argues comes from 'the social and economic structure of any given local area will be a complex result of the combination of that area's succession of roles within the wider, national and international, spatial divisions of labour' (1978, p. 116). As Sutherland explains 'collaborations that bring professional scholars together with motivated citizens and civic leaders have the potential to uncover and promote meaningful sites that neither locals or outside agencies could accomplish alone' (2015, p. 526). Although, a committee has been founded 'the Glendalough Heritage Forum' to discuss and negotiate between all relevant authorities and the local community little comradeship has been developed. It also appears that those who have taken up 'local' positions on the forum are the 'new' locals that I discussed earlier in this chapter, meaning the 'real' locals have again distanced themselves from any involvement with the 'traditional' heritage. As the heritage officer revealed when asked about the possibility of an overarching authority in Glendalough

> "the nearest thing we have to this…. frustration because everyone has a hand in it but nobody is doing anything or there is no cohesion …that is why we set up the heritage forum…the idea was to try and make progress, reach a framework it has provided a sort of structure where we can sit around a table" (Maria).

Although a large amount of research and data base of information relating to the mines, their history, the miners, the ecology and its links to the community has be compiled, it is not being utilised. Conceivably the neglect in the utilisation of this valuable data is due to the inherent contradictions that exist between the state agencies and their form of National heritage and the local community and their community heritage. Notably, whereas, the 'real' locals have no involvement with the 'traditional' or monastic heritage at Glendalough, they have been fundamental in assisting and creating this data regarding the mining heritage. According to the heritage officer this data consists of "an archive" that comes from information gathered through an interlink project, this she states is stored "on various drives". Included in this archive is a DVD "produced in the 90's maybe 99 or something" of interviews with miners including "transcripts of the interviews" (Maria). In addition, an in-depth study of the mining sites was conducted and its findings were published in 2011. Schwartz and Critchley insist that 'Glendasan and Glendalough represent the best-preserved nineteenth century lead processing sites in the whole of Ireland and are on a par, in terms of their heritage value, with many contemporaneous lead mines in similar uplands regions of Britain. Both are in the ownership of the Wicklow Mountains National Park (WMNP) which is not just responsible for protecting and conserving the natural environment, but also the historic environment, the physical legacy of thousands of years of human activity, in the form of buildings, monuments, sites and landscapes. Certain parts of the historic environment are valued because of their historical, archaeological, architectural or artistic interest and are seen as 'heritage assets', representing a unique source of information about the lives of our ancestors and how they adapted to, and changed, their environment. Moreover, such heritage assets inform and influence our perceptions of identity and sense of place and are vital for research, education, tourism, leisure and recreational activities. Crucially, they are a finite,

irreplaceable and fragile resource that is vulnerable to a wide range of human activities and natural processes and for that reason merit statutory protection through designation (2012, p. 47). Furthermore, an archaeological survey was completed in 2012 which included a core sample of soil taken and analysed from the upper lake area, close to the mining site. Additionally, an archive of a multitude of photographs exist of the mines, the miners and the landscape. The local peoples' frustrations could be eased if they were provided with a permanent means of presenting this heritage which would provide a physical means to construct a social medium to produce a social form of community heritage. However, there may be an ecological obstacle for the erection of such a centre in that the natural setting of the valley is compatible with the monastic heritage, but a mining heritage presentation would or could counter the ecological aesthetic of the site.

In contrast to Glendalough, Durrow has developed a very limited community-based heritage system, while the OPW do unofficially allow them access and some modest authority over the heritage site, their impact is minimal. For the community the heritage site is available for small scale events within the opening hours and access to their key artefacts is unrestricted. Fundamentally the issue with Durrow is the lack of visible artefacts and their promotion and visitors to the site, small community heritage groups cannot without the permission of the management advertise. In addition, in order to allow larger groups redevelopment and restricting of the site by the governing authorities would be required, and this has been ruled out due to lack of funds. Therefore, in the case of Durrow heritage presentation is advocated by the local community, yet its growth is hindered by politics, the physical infrastructure (car park and road access), aesthetics, the lack of archaeological material and insufficient funding. Finally, Durrow's community heritage will most likely persist in the form it is today into the future, a locally passionate small-scale presentation.

Ultimately, throughout the course of this research it has become inarguably apparent that heritage cannot exist without a visual medium, be that archaeology, locating the physical artefacts (not history), which provides the material contents for the presentation of an aesthetic social form, but none of this will happen without the political will to fund such a project. However, in order for this conclusion to be reached it was necessary to investigate all of the processes involved in heritage construction. Without hesitation the need to use case study sites was crucial to the data gathering process. Interviews with experts in the field assessed the research and guided it into new areas of enquiry along the way. Several themes/processes developed and became crucial to the understanding of what heritage is. These themes/processes were investigated to draw the conclusion that heritage, unlike history cannot exist without it being presented through a visual medium. Crucially how the aesthetic and the visual impacted upon these heritage sites was one of the unanticipated results to come from the data collection. Through the analysis of the visual components collected, such as maps, paintings and photographs, and subsequent to a thorough investigation of both the historical and archaeological existing material, how the aesthetic impacted upon each site and became crucial in their current presentation emerged. Since the overall determining aspect of heritage is the constructed social form of the material artefact, its social form has to be projected in an ideological form (book, painting, photograph, film, or even oral discourse) through various and diverse forms of the media. Consequently, this results in these material and social forms becoming prone to being displayed in an aesthetic cultural form. Unquestionably, the aesthetic as a medium is a determinant. Similarly, how politics has impacted upon heritage in the past, in the present and will continue to do so into the future determines its presentation. While the economic value and the commodification of places may appear like the overwhelmingly decisive process at heritage sites, for Glendalough

it was not the salient feature, but yet it was still a determinant. Whereas, for Durrow the lack of commodification and economic return was a factor in its presentation. For both Glendalough and Durrow, the attached historic narrative determined how the sites were presented. In addition, the archaeological artefacts determined how heritage was presented. While many of Durrow's material archaeological artefacts had been removed, buried or relocated over time, those that remained have become central to the sites heritage presentation and possibly elevated beyond their historical significance. Whereas, in Glendalough the majority of the physical archaeological material artefacts (although some have been reconstructed) remain in situ. Crucially, heritage is therefore dependant on these mediums for presentation. However, there is an inherent problem with this kind of place heritage, where the past is experienced through a narrative based on objects, the authenticity of its representation is impeded by the physical amount of heritage artefacts on display or present on the surface of the 'historical' landscape. Thus, only a sense of its historical past can be presented, such inherent one-sidedness is best grasped by the concept of the ideal form. Therefore, the ideal form of an individual heritage artefact is a particular manifestation of a process of idealization operating at the general level on the whole site. The ideal form is best utilized as a concept which grasps the overall sense of orientation towards the identified site and the artefacts that make up that place. Its necessary one-sidedness expresses the inherent ambiguity involved in understanding a place where an emotional feeling is created rather than an objective analysis of all the levels of historical occupation that a place evolves through. However, as discussed rarely has a place only one ideal form applied to it but more often there are several diverse ideal forms struggling for dominance over a place through the actions and interactions of social groups and institutions. Unfortunately, as heritage has never been analysed before through the theoretical lens of the ideal form how it is understood will be through the

disjointed presentation. As it stands heritage cannot exist without determinants or mediums, in its current configuration without history, politics, archaeology, economics, local communities and national groups, and even the aesthetic, there is no heritage presentation.

Chapter 15 The unique contribution to knowledge

This thesis demonstrates how heritage is a part of our everyday lives and is used as a vehicle to understand sociologically how fundamental it is in identity formation. The key to understanding heritage is to approach it as an extremely complex and fractured phenomena. Heritage is not just about the past, it is an ever-present component of contemporary life, and simultaneously connected to the future. When Irish identity is promoted nationally and globally it is always linked to cultural heritage and its symbols. One of the most surprising findings of my research was that heritage is an emotionally charged concept it provides a sense of belonging. However, when I examined it amongst the local communities, I uncovered that it was a source of conflict, it can cause people to feel marginalised and isolated. Thus, its presentation is not merely the physical display, it is for communities how they show their loyalty, connection, knowledge, and pride in their place. On other levels, heritage in my case studies was the most critical factor in place construction and subsequently a vital source of economic income, for both communities. It is directly connected to tourism, in 2017 (most up to date due to covid), 75% of Ireland's tourists specified cultural heritage attractions as their main purpose of visiting the country. This revenue is so important to the Irish economy that the government announced earlier this year an investment of 73million, with special grants for immersive heritage sites.

The first half of this thesis framed the discussion on heritage, set out the theoretical framework, and established what key themes emerged during the course of the study, both in the data collected and throughout the literature. I have created a clear theoretical framework, using Marxian concepts innovatively in a novel manner. I concluded that

heritage has to be seen as a complex process which on one level is dependent on objects for its transmission and presentation. These artefacts are the material base on which the process of heritage works upon. Heritage artefacts begin their life cycle as use-value products. All human social activity produces determinate forms, which distinguishes us from animals as these forms come from the labour process. The labour process is where nature is transformed into the wants/needs of people, in other words use-value products. Here nature provides the material substance and man uses his labour consciously (thoughts and physical) to alter the natural substance, thus, embedding the social form and creating the ideal. This concept of the ideal which I adopted from Ilyenkov, the Marist philosopher is original and ground-breaking. However, I have re-interpreted his philosophical concept of the ideal form and adopted it as a research tool. Therefore, creating a unique sociological lens in order to use the ideal form as a conceptual tool for my analysis. Within this analysis I have detailed how the ideal is the social form of construction imposed on physical things, so it exists outside of things but becomes a critical aspect of how we interpret them. It is the socially determined form of human activity, where man sees the purpose in the natural and envisions its future form, hence giving the object a use-value. The ideal is an objective reality, yet it does not depend on our individual consciousness, we are aware of it like we are aware of the laws of nature.

In addition, I believe that the multi-aspect of the determinations of heritage uniquely demanded that I had to use many disciplines, especially with regard to how heritage is actually 'constructed' in real historical time and across real spatial locations – history, media, geography, archaeology, Folklore, gardening, surveying, natural history, visual arts, geology, photography, cultural studies, economics, public administration, tourism studies, politics and sociology. etc. The use of this diverse range of disciplines in an interdisciplinary way was necessary because of the unique complex structure of

heritage. The use of an interdisciplinary perspective in itself was not only an enormous undertaking but the culmination of many years of study in areas outside of my speciality of sociology. It was crucial to have an archaeological advisor throughout the research process but without my qualifications in early Irish history and literature, archaeology, and spatiality this thesis could not have been completed. The adoption of an interdisciplinary approach aided the fusion of insights from history, archaeology, and heritage studies and thus further the sociological investigation into the two sites under study. Heritage is a complex unity of many processes that involve many aspects, which critically transcends the social and the natural realms. So, because of the complexity of the heritage, I had to create a new and innovative method of collecting and analysing data. The methods of investigation were created sympathetically so as to demonstrate how the ideal form is fluid and changing and that past and the present can shape the modern interpretation of heritage sites into the future. Although, the methodological system was challenging, time consuming and extremely complex, through careful replication of my processes it will be useful for other researchers in a variety of areas in the future. True mix methods goes beyond the customary qualitative interviews and quantitative survey data. Whilst customary mix methods delivers an advantageous and detailed account of the research problem, it could not provide a fully inclusive and comprehensive evaluation of all aspects in this research. Heritage, as I have stated involves the past, present and future and therefore it is a constantly changing process which transcends time and space. It is constructed, reconstructed, and created by people for political, social and economic purposes. In order to cope with its inherent diversity and complexities, I decided to 'ground' my research in place heritage, which is dependent on physical and visible artefacts, located in established 'heritage' sites. In doing this it was critical to situate 'heritage' (the heritage process) on a spatial level and detail how space and place impact

of the heritage presented. It was essential to include a comprehensive assessment of the existing theoretical literature and how this study both fits into these debates, but also adds valuable insights into how heritage can be viewed on a spatial level. One of the aims of this research was demonstrate how interdisciplinary aspects of heritage come together within a particular spatial location. This thesis, therefore, offers an in-depth and detailed explanation of heritage as a complex process, using multifaceted methods of investigations. The interdisciplinary approach to this research was essential, sociology and particular Marxist sociology, provided an overall framework that was critically able to appropriate and absorb the diverse insights from the other disciplines involved in the heritage industry. Whilst archaeology was the essential in providing the material artefacts to demonstrate and present heritage in a visual form. It is clear from my research findings that heritage requires thing-like artefacts for its presentation, and since archaeology is the science of artefactual history, this research could not have been conducted without an understanding of the discipline of archaeology and especially its physical 'findings', as well as the thorough examination of the inventory, excavational records and a study of all artefacts associated with each site. Special attention was given to the historical context of the monuments, both in their material forms, and in the history of the ideas. Additionally, in order to conclude that history and heritage are different things, it was important to examine the historical approaches and compare this to the archaeological evidence, as well as my field observations. Such as how local people at Durrow reconstructed a 'headache stone' in the graveyard based on a fragmented record of its existence, and how this 'pseudo-alter' has become part of their heritage. Or at Glendalough how the deer-stone has become enmeshed in the monastic heritage, yet the real historical and archaeological purpose is not provided or explained.

Crucially, however, without the sociological lens and specifically its concept of the ideal form, I would not have been able to make the conceptual breakthrough, where archaeological evidence provides not just the physical artefact on which the construction of the ideal is based, the inclusion of all influencing factors, be that social, economic, political, or ecological, demonstrates how one object can have many ideal social forms. In fact, the uncovering of how important the thing-like concept of heritage is evident in how some of the non-physical artefacts of heritage can become thing-like through the process of conceptual reification. Ultimately, through my conceptualization of the ideal form and its application to the artefacts of the heritage industry, I was able to develop a unique framework which not only locates the interconnection between the material aspects of a heritage artefact with its necessary social construction (definition) of its ideal form(s). adds to the body of literature but provides a particular theoretical framework for understanding heritage. It is only through this ideal form framework, I established, that an understanding of how heritage is constructed, presented, and consumed can be fully achieved. This approach also allows for the comprehension of how heritage is constructed and experienced at different sites, and why this can vary between sites, with the adoption of new ideal forms.

Methodologically my research was conducted by using a complex range of procedures reflecting the complexity of heritage itself. As the use of paired comparison is a new approach to interpreting modern heritage, it was essential from the beginning to set out a clear duplication system at both sites, in other words do the exact same form of investigation at the two places. The decision to have Glendalough and Durrow as case study sites came after much background reading, especially the historical, and many site visits. Both case study sites chosen had comparative similarities in their historical foundations, are positioned within small communities, are approximately the same

travelling distance from Dublin, yet are at opposing ends of the visitor number scale. The initial observational period at both sites became crucial to firstly help me to devise my methodological approach, but also to begin to understand of how heritage sites not only functioned, but also how community members and tourists interacted with heritage in physical locations. Through reading the existing literature and simultaneously engaging with the case study sites during the fieldwork my understanding of heritage altered dramatically. The differing forms of observation, covert, overt and participant observation provided the research with different ways of seeing and understanding the subject.

Because the problematic of the thesis moved to place heritage, I had to engage in field work. During the field work and data gathering period of this research I additionally visited several other heritage sites throughout Ireland and took detailed field notes. Throughout this field work I took photographic images of each site with the intention of including them as visual aids in the thesis. It was this visual collection method and my observations of people's interactions with the sites that gave me the insight on the importance of the visual, the gaze and the picturesque, which became critical aspect of my formulation of how the visual is one of the essential determinations of heritage and how one of the essential aspects of heritage is its need to be visually presented.

But the complex nature of heritage and particularly heritage locations is not just conceptual but also to do with how heritage is physically presented on site. Several practical themes emerged during the research, and each has been addressed in detail within the findings and chapters of the thesis, such as place, consumption, selling of the sites, and the production of the sites. Some of the biggest challenges to both sites were in relation to access – physical access - and issues with governing bodies and the local communities. Both Glendalough and Durrow's there are number of governing bodies and

local communities were subject to varying levels of conflict with these authoritative bodies in the past and the present. It became very clear that local communities felt a sense of belonging and an attachment to their place, however, the connection to the monastic heritage was far greater to the people of Durrow than Glendalough. So much so, that the local community derived much of their identity formation with the site and its associated artefacts. Whereas the local community at Glendalough was much more segregated with those who identified as 'real' locals attaching themselves to the mining heritage, and the 'pseudo' locals feeling an affiliation to the monastic settlement site. Here I argue that this is due to all the different groups perceived autonomy over each section. For those in Durrow having two weeks control over the site gave them a more collective sense of attachment. Likewise, with the mining heritage people of Glendalough they felt like it was their heritage, and not one that was shared with outsiders - the monastic heritage- as well as the fact mining occurred in living memory. On a side note, mining is anti-aesthetic, and throughout the interviews with Glendalough locals they appeared to resent tourists visiting the site for the aesthetic beauty, essentially prevented them from enjoying it themselves.

Durrow in its earliest form was one of the most important monastic settlements in Ireland, founded by one of the country's patron saints Colmcille. It was an immensely powerful monastery with allegiances to Kings, which rivalled Clonmacnoise. Whereas Glendalough although a great monastery was regarded more of a hermitage and had much less influence and power in the same period. Yet, contemporary Glendalough has been constructed in such a way as to elevate its status and importance and is currently one of the most visited tourist, as well as heritage sites in Ireland, with a very striking level of physical artefacts remaining on site. Interestingly, in Durrow the local people have conceptually reified certain aspects of the heritage site, the pattern day has essentially

become thing-like, in an effort to not only connect the community closer to the site but also to increase its importance as a place of heritage. For Glendalough having the visual and the aesthetic beauty, and a long history of presentation of those aspects, is an advantage over Durrow, although it has its own beauty in the rolling hills it is not strikingly dramatic. The aesthetically alluring landscape of Glendalough has been the draw of tourists to the place for centuries, where people have come to gaze, romantically and collectively on the visual. Media presentations over the eras at Glendalough have consciously focussed on drawing tourists to the area, thus creating an economy from tourism. From the earliest tourists to now, Glendalough was promoted through various means of media, from early to modern tourist guides, paintings, postcards, videos and currently internet tourist campaigns, it was therefore essential for all of these mediums to be investigated and analysed in this thesis.

In stark contrast to Glendalough's presentation, Durrow's presentation differs, where not only is the aesthetic lure absent, but also the lack of material artefacts impacts on its draw. The OPW's policy of conservation over visitors is glaringly evident at Durrow. So much so, that although the site is tended and cared for well it is purposefully discretely concealed. By this I mean although it is open to the public, the entrance is not signposted, there is no promotion of the site in anyway. More significantly and in a covert manner, the entrance avenue is overgrown, not so it is inaccessible, it is maintained, but it is dark, uninviting and to a visitor it appears like an entrance to a private property. Thus, while the OPW are adhering to their duties to maintain and open the property to the public, at the same time they are impeding visitors. The future of Durrow is uncertain with legal proceedings imminent. If the OPW obtain control of the Abbey house again, it is possible that the function and presentation of the site will change. The possibility of creating a heritage centre in the big house was mentioned by the OPW representative and this could

in turn be the cure to the access issues. A heritage centre on site would become the focal point of the site and thus return Durrow to an experience through the material. A place to draw visitors but also to control the access and information of the site. Likewise, in Glendalough negotiations with the local community and the governing bodies, through the Glendalough heritage forum are ongoing, and thus a possible solution to their conflicts can be addressed.

I want to conclude that heritage is a unique coming together of many diverse determinants and this complexity and fluidity of heritage in general, and even the form of site heritage, which we investigated in detail, can best be summed up in the words of Engels 'when we consider and reflect upon nature at large or the history of mankind or our own intellectual activity, at first we see the picture of an endless entanglement of relations and reactions, permutations and combinations, in which nothing remains what, where and as it was, but everything moves, changes, comes into being and passes away. This primitive, naive but intrinsically correct conception of the world is that of ancient Greek philosophy and was first clearly formulated by Heraclitus: everything is and is not, for everything *is fluid*, is constantly changing, constantly coming into being and passing away' (1969, p. 30).

Figure 79: Celtic knot from the book of Durrow (TCD Archives, 2021)

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Maynooth
University
National University
of Ireland Maynooth

Dr Carol Barrett
Secretary to Maynooth University Research Ethics Committee

01 June 2016

Aine Mc Adam
Department of Sociology
Maynooth University

RE: Application for Ethical Approval for a project entitled: From Wilderness to
Wonderment: The Multifaceted Processes behind Irish Heritage and Tourism

Dear Aine,

The above project has been evaluated under Tier 2 process, Expedited review and we
would like to inform you that ethical approval has been granted.

Any deviations from the project details submitted to the ethics committee will require
further evaluation. This ethical approval will expire on 30 June 2018.

Kind Regards,

Dr Carol Barrett
Secretary,
Maynooth University Research Ethics Committee

C.c Dr Eamonn Slater, Department of Sociology

Reference Number
SRESC-2016-041

Appendix A