

Technological University Dublin ARROW@TU Dublin

Book/Book Chapter

Archaeoastronomy Research

2012-8

The Lismullin Enclosure: Design Beyond the Obvious in the Iron Age

Frank Prendergast Technological University Dublin, frank.prendergast@tudublin.ie

Follow this and additional works at: https://arrow.tudublin.ie/arastbk

Part of the Celtic Studies Commons, and the Other History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons

Recommended Citation

Prendergast, F. (2012) 'The Lismullin Enclosure : design beyond the obvious in the Iron Age'. In Kelly, B., Roycroft, N., et al. (Eds.) Encounters Between Peoples. Archaeology and the National Roads Authority Monograph Series No. 9. Dublin: National Roads Authority.

This Book Chapter is brought to you for free and open access by the Archaeoastronomy Research at ARROW@TU Dublin. It has been accepted for inclusion in Book/Book Chapter by an authorized administrator of ARROW@TU Dublin. For more information, please contact arrow.admin@tudublin.ie, aisling.coyne@tudublin.ie, vera.kilshaw@tudublin.ie.

Encounters between Peoples

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE NATIONAL ROADS AUTHORITY MONOGRAPH SERIES NO.9



PROCEEDINGS OF A PUBLIC SEMINAR ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES ON NATIONAL ROAD SCHEMES, AUGUST 2011









ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN PEOPLES

Encounters between Peoples

Proceedings of a public seminar on archaeological discoveries on national road schemes, August 2011

Edited by Bernice Kelly, Niall Roycroft and Michael Stanley



Published by the National Roads Authority 2012 St Martin's House Waterloo Road Dublin 4

© National Roads Authority and the authors

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any electronic, mechanical or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or otherwise without either the prior written consent of the publishers or a licence permitting restricted copying in Ireland issued by the Irish Copyright Licensing Agency Ltd, 25 Denzille Lane, Dublin 2.

Cover illustrations

Main image

Leamanagh Castle, Co. Clare: a 17th-century manor house built against a late medieval tower-house (James Lyttleton).

Small panel, left

An Early Neolithic house at Dunsinane, Co. Wexford, excavated on the M11 Gorey to Enniscorthy motorway (AirShots Ltd).

Small panel, centre

Extract from Thomas Raven's 1622 pictorial map of a manor house and village at Movanagher, Co. Derry (Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library, MS 634, ff 85v–86).

Small panel, right

Elevated view of an early medieval enclosure at Camlin 3, Co. Tipperary, on the M7 Castletown to Nenagh motorway (AirShots Ltd).

Cover design: Wordwell Ltd

ISBN 978-0-9564180-8-1 ISSN 1649-3540

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

Managing editor: Michael Stanley

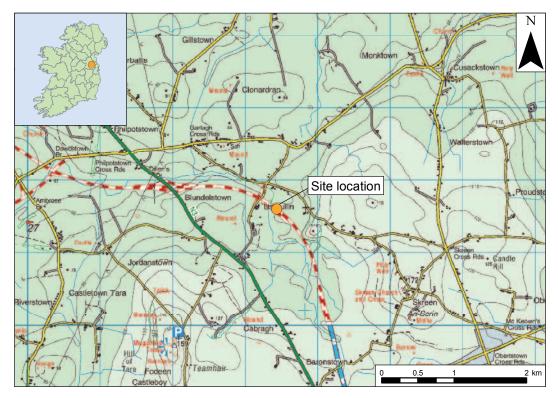
First published in 2012

Typeset in Ireland by Wordwell Ltd

Printed by Castuera, Pamplona

2. The Lismullin enclosure: design beyond the obvious in the Iron Age

Frank Prendergast



Illus. 1—Location of Lismullin 1, Co. Meath (based on the Ordnance Survey Ireland Discovery Series map).

When a post enclosure was discovered in the townland of Lismullin, Co. Meath, during the development of the M3 motorway, it was immediately evident to the excavation archaeologists that this was a site of major importance (Illus. 1-3) (O'Connell 2007a; 2007b; 2009a). The enclosure complex, which was radiocarbon-dated to the Early Iron Age, was constructed from a large number of small wooden posts set out in the form of a threering structure, with an easterly-facing avenue. The entrance to the avenue was accentuated by a four-post structure. The rings were concentric and delineated an inner enclosure, c. 16 m in diameter, defined by closely spaced post-holes, and a double-ring outer enclosure, c. 80 m in diameter. The structure was situated within a natural depression overlooked on all sides by a low ridge. To the west of the site, the ground falls sharply to the nearby River Gabhra, which flows northwards through the Gabhra Valley between the Hill of Tara and the Hill of Skryne. Archaeological excavations and dating of finds suggest a multiperiod but episodic use of the entire site, conceivably beginning in the Early Mesolithic period (c. 8000-5500 BC) (O'Connell 2009a, 25-6). Human activity is more certain from the Neolithic to the early medieval period, and the discovery of a Late Bronze Age structure south-west of the inner enclosure demonstrates the enduring importance and a continuity of use of this location in prehistory.

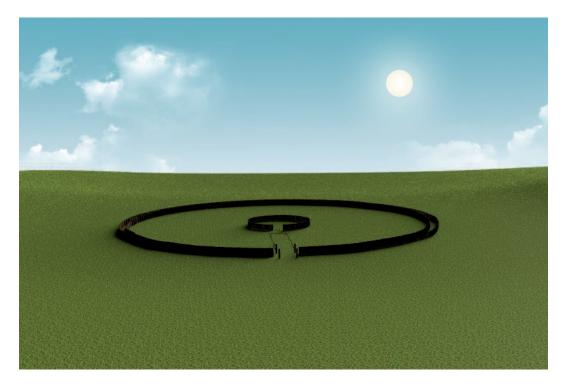
Encounters between Peoples



Illus. 2—Elevated view of the Lismullin post enclosure from the south-east, showing the extent of the outer enclosure (John Sunderland).



Illus. 3—Elevated view of the inner enclosure at Lismullin from the north-west (John Sunderland).



Illus. 4—Computer-generated reconstruction of the post enclosure at Lismullin, looking west. In this reconstruction it is assumed that the inner enclosure had an entrance and that the avenue posts were shorter than those of the various rings (courtesy of Aidan O'Connell, Archer Heritage Planning).

In terms of its scale and morphology, the enclosure complex exuded formality and symmetry (Illus. 4). The apparent simplicity embedded in its design belied an elegance of style. Overall, these qualities, the landscape setting and other archaeological evidence suggested a ceremonial and ritual function for the complex, consistent with the idea that large numbers of people would have gathered there periodically during the Iron Age. Such an interpretation is in harmony with the organised nature of ritual behaviour engaged in by people everywhere, now or in the prehistoric past. The date ranges obtained for the enclosures' built elements point to a highly developed but comparatively short-lived usage during the Iron Age. Bayesian statistical modelling of 15 radiocarbon-dated samples obtained from different contexts within the site (Marshall et al., forthcoming) suggests a commencement date of 455–400 BC (65% probability) and a terminal date of 370–330 BC (38% probability).

Ceremonial gathering is one expression of ritual and of ritual behaviour. It can act as the cultural/social driver for 'encounters between peoples'—the theme of this monograph and of this paper. Moreover, the site's discovery has yielded new insights into a period of Irish prehistory widely regarded by archaeologists as enigmatic, owing to the comparatively minimal quantity of recorded material remains. For these reasons, a brief description of the Iron Age is warranted here to provide cultural and chronological contexts for the archaeological findings, and for the outcomes and interpretation of the geospatial data analysis undertaken by the writer.

The enigmatic Irish Iron Age

Sequentially, the Iron Age lies between the Bronze Age and the early medieval period and has three recognised phases—the Early Iron Age from 700 BC to 400 BC, the Developed Iron Age from 400 BC to AD 1, and the Late Iron Age from AD 1 to AD 400 (Becker 2009, 354). While the chronology of the period is now better understood and defined, traces of its people and their material culture are curiously scarce in comparison to the more extensive evidence available for the preceding Neolithic period and Bronze Age (c. 4000–700 BC). Both Becker (ibid.) and Raftery (1994, 112) thus allude to the relative 'invisibility' of the period in terms of the settlement and material records. This relative invisibility continues despite the explosion in the number of sites excavated during the recent era of major roads infrastructural development (e.g. McLaughlin & Conran 2008; Taylor 2008). The majority of these discoveries were made after the publication of Raftery's seminal works on this period during the 1990s.

Analysis of the almost 1,000 sites currently on the web-based NRA Archaeological Database indicates that 8% have yielded Iron Age dates (McCarthy 2010) and these have improved the period's 'visibility'.Yet, despite these recent development-led discoveries, and as argued by Raftery (1994) and Becker (2009, 353), two central problems remain in relation to the study of the Iron Age in Ireland. These are the lack of material finds associated with domestic life and the comparative lack of a settlement record. Where detected, relevant finds are mostly 'high-status artefacts' such as decorated horse gear, weaponry, gold ornaments and ceremonial items, as well as tools and other metal objects. Furthermore, Raftery suggested that such gaps in the record were due more to our inability to find them than to their lack of existence. Accordingly, Taylor's (2008, 54) commentary on any evidence of life in Ireland in the Iron Age as being 'notoriously difficult to identify', and on the discovery of two Iron Age sites in County Tipperary as being 'especially exciting', is relevant.

The Lismullin 1 post enclosure was, in the context of this discussion, a discovery of a very different kind. Apart from its significance as a new Iron Age site, it was, in this author's opinion, the sheer quantity and quality of the excavated post-hole data that would ultimately propel this particular find to the forefront of importance amongst recent Irish archaeological discoveries and enable new light to be shed on the 'invisible people' of that period. Moreover, the uniqueness of the site is best emphasised by drawing brief comparisons with the five Irish hilltop Late Bronze Age/Iron Age royal sites. At each (Dún Áilinne, Navan Fort, Rathcroghan, Tara and Cashel) extant archaeological monuments and complexes have been identified (e.g. Newman 1998), and some have structural parallels with Lismullin 1. At Dún Áilinne, Co. Kildare, for example, the closely spaced timber enclosures belonging to the second phase have a funnel-shaped easterly-facing timber avenue. At Navan Fort, Co. Armagh, similarities with Lismullin 1 occur in the circular timber structures and the east-facing entrance. At Rathcroghan, Co. Roscommon, the circular enclosures and the probable entrance on the eastern side of the mound reinforce the link. At Tara, Co. Meath, the palisaded enclosures of the Rath of the Synods also allow for comparison with Lismullin 1 in a design sense.

Studies of timber circle sites in Britain and Europe have previously considered the issue of orientation (e.g. Gibson 2005, 87–9, 99) within broader archaeological attempts to 'interpret architectural alignments upon astronomical phenomena in relation to wider

questions of cognition and world view' (Ruggles 1998, 203). On a cautionary note, any attempt to interpret a monument's orientation based upon a single example of the type is potentially very risky, with many cultural or other factors to be considered (Prendergast 2011). In consequence, the astronomical hypothesis investigated here (see below) may just be one of many equally valid alternatives (including a random orientation) that could explain the avenue's alignment.

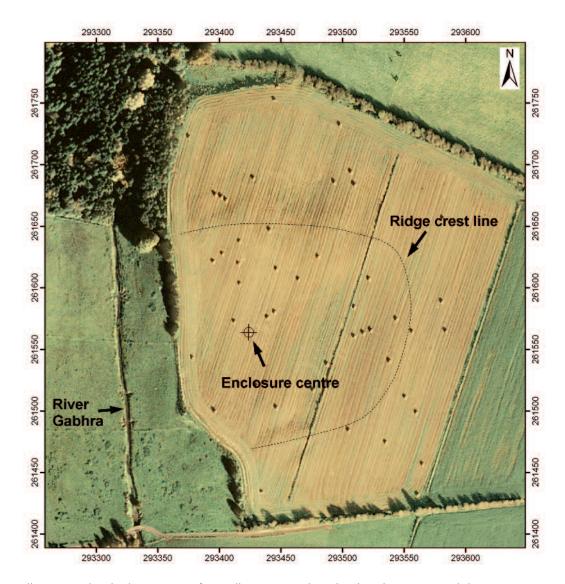
More broadly, previous analyses and consideration of the structural design and function of timber circles have been either graphical (e.g. Waterman 1997, 159–71) or theoretical (e.g. Fleming 1972). Importantly, the completeness and quality of the Lismullin 1 data set as recorded by the excavation archaeologists have provided a unique opportunity for the writer to undertake a more rigorous and holistic consideration of the monument and its likely function.

Site description

The Lismullin 1 post enclosure¹ was discovered in 2007 during archaeological investigations in advance of construction of the Dunshaughlin–Navan section of the M3 motorway. Although O'Connell (2007a; 2007b; 2009a; 2009b) has provided comprehensive descriptions of that excavation, and of the various post-excavation analyses undertaken by specialists (O'Connell 2009c), a selective summary of the relevant design features of this very rare type of enclosure complex is first given here. Two attributes can explain such rarity. First, the architecture replicates a style of construction more prevalent in the Late Neolithic period (c. 2850–2450 BC). Second, the landscape setting is in marked contrast to the prominent hilltop aspect of the Iron Age royal sites with which it has previously been compared. The structure is therefore interpreted by O'Connell as a 'post enclosure', so as to differentiate it from such Iron Age sites and from timber circles and henges, which predominantly date from the Late Neolithic period.

From a landscape setting perspective, the post enclosure sat above the adjacent River Gabhra in a shallow depression surrounded and overlooked by a natural ridge (Illus. 5). To the west, the terrain falls steeply from the ridge to the river. Furthermore, the enclosure is c. 83 m lower than the summit of the Hill of Tara to the south-west, and c. 43 m below the Hill of Skryne to the east. The immediate landscape surrounding Lismullin 1 trends north-west–south-east and indents into the northern end of the Skryne Hill land mass. The diameter of the ridge would probably have limited, and thus dictated, the overall scale of the built structure within (the mean diameter of the outer ring of the outer enclosure was 80.5 m). Viewed from the overlooking ridge, the enclosure would have seemed discreet, whereas Iron Age royal sites were invariably situated on prominent hilltops for maximum visibility from afar. The deliberately discreet setting of the Lismullin enclosure guaranteed relative invisibility and was perhaps intended to delay the visual impact of the site until the moment of arrival. It is also likely that such a setting, and its scale, would have easily facilitated the intimate gathering of a large number of people assembled around, or within, the post enclosure (if, indeed, it was used in this fashion). Crowd capacity analysis to support

¹ NGR 293423, 261564; height 77 m OD; Excavation Reg. No. E3074; Ministerial Direction Nos A008 and A042; Excavation Director Aidan O'Connell; RMP No. ME032-062.



Illus. 5—Modern landscape setting of Lismullin 1 prior to the archaeological excavation and the construction of the M3 motorway (base aerial image courtesy of Survey Mapping Consultants Ltd, with additions by the writer).

this view has already been undertaken (Prendergast, forthcoming).

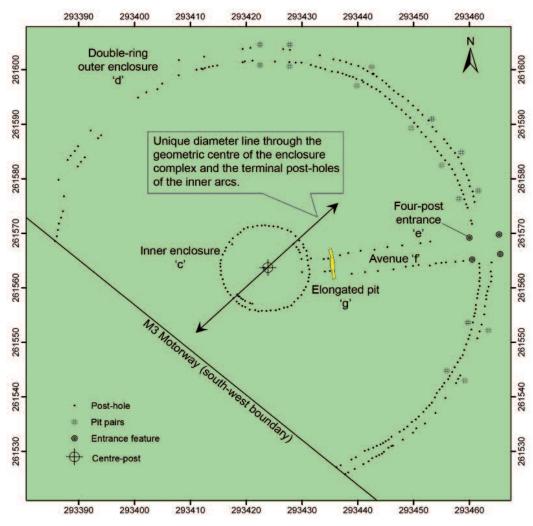
Although some of the view from the site is now restricted by modern tree cover (which may have been heavier in prehistory), it is possible and probable (depending on the location of the viewer) that the adjacent royal site on the Hill of Tara, 2.3 km to the south-west, would have been intervisible with the post enclosure in the Iron Age. The proximity of the nearby River Gabhra, which flows south-north on the western side of the ridge surrounding the post enclosure, may also have held ritual significance in the context of how the complex was used, and perhaps acted as a factor in the selection of the site.

Structural elements of the enclosure

The principal archaeological features as identified by O'Connell in the excavation zone consist of the following elements:

- a. central post-hole;
- b. two inner arcs of post-holes;
- c. inner enclosure post-holes (radius = 8 m);
- d. outer enclosure (double ring of post-holes with outer radius = 40.3 m);
- e. four-post entrance feature to the avenue;
- f. avenue post-holes;
- g. elongated pit;
- h. eight pit-pairs.

These are shown in Illus. 6, but the pit-pairs are now discounted by the excavation director as a coherent structural group. In the elongated pit, which was set transversely and symmetrically to the avenue, quantities of charcoal, burnt animal bone and burnt hazelnut shells were found. Charcoal deposits obtained from two post-pipes on the southern side of the outer enclosure have yielded radiocarbon dates of 520–380 BC and 490–370 BC, thus placing the complex in the Early–Developed Iron Age (Becker 2009, 354; see Appendix 5 in O'Connell 2009c for full details). Additionally, archaeological assessment of the dispersed



Illus. 6—Elements of the Lismullin 1 post enclosure (Frank Prendergast).

Encounters between Peoples



Illus. 7—Inner arc of posts at a Stoney Indian Sun Dance Lodge in Sibbald, Alberta, Canada, with willow sails woven in between them. The wattling at the Lismullin post enclosure may have been similar in appearance (Michael Stanley).

assemblage of pottery sherds recovered at Lismullin 1 (Grogan & Roche 2009) and the radiocarbon-dating programme undertaken by Marshall (2009) show that the site experienced prolonged and episodic use throughout prehistory.

Environmental assessment carried out at Lismullin 1 indicates the presence of significant quantities of hazel, which could reflect the use of wattles woven between the (probably ash) posts of the enclosure (Illus. 7) (Archaeological Services Durham University 2009, 23). The discovery of Maloideae (apple-type wood) further suggests that flower- or fruit-bearing branches may have been used to decorate the structure, possibly for their aesthetic effect. Because of the likely natural processes of weathering and decay, posts and wattles would probably have required regular replacement. The four entrance post-holes had a larger diameter than those forming the enclosure rings and the avenue. This is in keeping with the emphasised formality encountered in the entrances of other timber circles in Ireland and throughout the rest of Europe (e.g. Gibson & Simpson 1998; Gibson 2005).

Excavation of the site involved the thorough recording and the removal by hand of all archaeological layers across the majority of the enclosure within the road corridor. Based on the pattern of extant post-holes, a significant proportion of the outer enclosure (c. 19% of the total area of the post enclosure) may remain *in situ* outside the boundary of the M3 corridor on its south-western side (see Illus. 6). Although it is possible that the inner enclosure could have supported a roof, the current interpretation is that this component of the enclosure was unroofed and therefore open to the sky. Furthermore, owing to the lack of any evidence for either habitation or burial at the site, the prevailing opinion is that the complex had a probable ceremonial/ritual function and was primarily built to facilitate the gathering of people and their ceremonies.

Research questions

The likely methodology used originally to set out and construct the circular elements of the enclosure as shown in Illus. 4 and 6 would have required nothing more than a taut rope rotated around a centrally placed peg. Intentionally regular spacing between the post-holes (pitch), or their alignment as in the avenue, would also have been a simple task. Interestingly, Atkinson (1961) provides support for this view in his discussion of the engineering and building skills of Neolithic people in Britain.

During the excavation of Lismullin 1, the planimetric coordinates of each extant posthole were recorded with centimetre accuracy using standard high-precision surveying techniques. Consequently, it can be assumed that the archaeological record is effectively error-free—at least for the purpose of investigating the retrospective construction methods (and intentions) of the builders of the Lismullin post enclosure. Although gaps and irregular spacing are apparent in the data set (see Illus. 6), the significantly large number of post-holes (>350) identified by the archaeologists were sufficient to allow meaningful quantitative analysis and qualitative assessment by the writer. Accordingly, three primary research themes were pursued.

Site morphology

Was the apparent regularity and symmetry of the complex, evident to the eye of the beholder, achieved through the use of a central peg? Were the circular elements (enclosures) concentric and to what degree? What method was used to align the post-holes in the avenue? Was the location of the elongated pit significant in terms of any ceremonial role for the complex?

Site metrology

If symmetry and proportionality were embedded in the data, was there evidence of the use of a unit of measurement at the site, and could this account for the apparent regularity of the design? Any such discovery would have significant implications in terms of providing insights into cognitive and social behaviour and group organisation in the Iron Age. Importantly, the existence of high-status monuments in the Iron Age (as previously described) and the extensive surviving corpus of prestige items of high-quality metalwork, and La Tène-style art (e.g. see Raftery 1994), are indicative of an already sophisticated culture in Ireland at this time.

Site archaeoastronomy

Was the avenue, or any other structurally aligned part of the post enclosure, orientated towards a seasonally prominent astronomical body? If detected, how might such data yield new knowledge about the ritual behaviour and cosmology of the people who frequented Lismullin?

Results

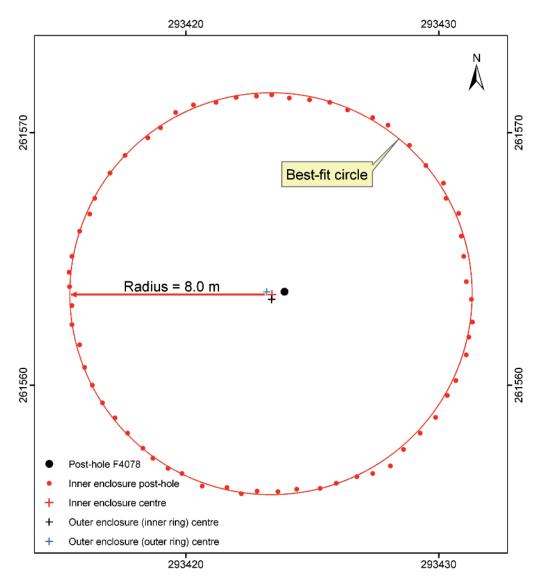
Within the limitations of this paper, only a selective account of the broader research methodologies and their outcomes can be given here. A more detailed report is presented

Encounters between Peoples

elsewhere (Prendergast, forthcoming). From that, and in relation to the three research themes outlined previously, a summary of the major findings is provided below.

Morphology—regularity and proportionality in the complex?

The geometric centre of each of the three enclosures was mathematically determined using the method of least squares. (This method determines a unique mathematical model of the data such that the sum of the squares of the errors, or deviations/residuals, of the data from the best-fit model are at a minimum. Thus, statistically, the determined model is likely to be the most probable model.) This approach also yielded the length of each radius, as well as the residual errors between each post-hole and their respective best-fit circle. (The residual error is the estimated error derived from a comparison between an actual observation or measurement and the arithmetic mean value.) An example of this is presented in Illus. 8, which shows the derived geometric centres of the three rings, the location of a nearby post-



Illus. 8—Morphological analysis of the three enclosures. Note: only the post-holes of the inner enclosure are shown (Frank Prendergast).

hole (F4078) and the radius of the inner enclosure as determined from the post-hole data. Because of the very tight clustering of the three geometrically derived circle centres, there is convincing numerical and statistical evidence that each had a common centre. This argument allows for the effect of small undulations in the local terrain, its effect on the original construction method and, in turn, the reliability of the mathematical derivation of the centres from the post-hole data. Furthermore, and because of the close proximity (c. 0.6 m) of F4078 to those centres, it is argued that this post-hole was the probable ceremonial centre-point of the post enclosure and was likely erected after the construction of the enclosures. In terms of a date sequence for the construction of the monument, the archaeological evidence (see Marshall 2009; Marshall et al., forthcoming) suggests a multiphase development for the complex. In other words, not all of the rings may have been laid out as a single act of construction. When the design is viewed and appraised in its totality, however, the argument for an initial single phase of construction followed by recurring and/or cyclical replacement/refurbishment of the elements or their components may be equally valid.

In the outer enclosure, there was evidence that post-holes in the outer ring were evenly spaced at a mean interval of 1.05 m, while post-holes in the inner ring were systematically but more closely spaced at a mean interval of 0.93 m. The mean pitch between post-holes in the inner enclosure was 0.82 m. This suggests, using a one-way analysis of variance test (a statistical method that simultaneously compares the equality of three or more means by using their variances), that a radial method of construction was probably used to set these out, and from a common centre-point. In other words, both rings of the outer enclosure were laid out in a single sweep of the rope and thus were built together. Inspection of the data on the north-western and south-eastern sides (see Illus. 6) could suggest that the missing post-sockets there reflect instances where posts had decayed or fallen and were not replaced. Any such conclusion, however, is entirely reliant on the extant archaeological evidence, which is comparatively weaker in both of those sectors of the post enclosure.

Linear regression analysis of the avenue post-hole data did yield very strong evidence that both sides were intentionally laid out as straight lines. (Linear regression analysis is a technique used to fit a straight line model to an actual set of data points, usually given as numerical coordinates.) Here, the correlation coefficient determined for each side of the avenue was $R^2 = 0.99$ and 0.98 respectively (1 indicates a perfect fit to a straight line). (A correlation coefficient is a measure of the strength of the linear relationship between a straight line and an actual set of data points, or the linear relationship between two variables x and y.) By calculating and analysing the distances between post-holes across the width of the avenue, both avenue sides (between the entrance and the elongated pit) were found to be parallel to within one fifth of a degree (0°.2). This clearly demonstrates the simple but careful use of a standard width to construct the longer outer section of the avenue with parallel sides (see Illus. 6).

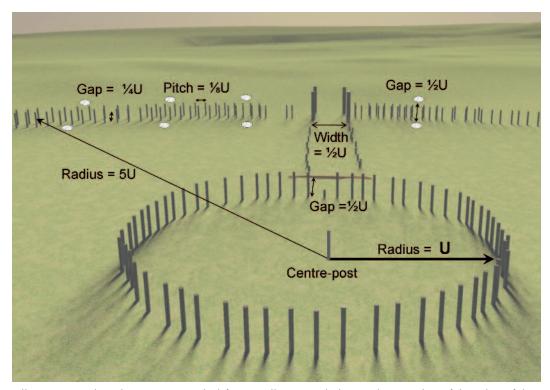
Metrology—use of a unit of measurement to construct the complex?

The dimensions of the principal elements of the enclosure were numerically determined from the available post-hole coordinates. Once derived, these were scaled to the radius of the inner enclosure for comparative analysis and statistical testing using the analysis of variance method (see one-way analysis of variance, above). From that work, the radius of the inner enclosure is argued to be the most likely candidate for a standard unit of measurement used to construct the entire enclosure complex. Using the length of any other element as a standard is less simple and would incur a greater degree of measurement difficulty and construction error. The results are shown in Table 1 and Illus. 9.

Element	Mean length (m)	Length scaled to U		Remarks
Radius of the inner enclosure (U)	7.97	_	-	Unit of measure (U)
Width of avenue and entrance	3.96	0.49	x ½	Half of U
Outer enclosure radius	40.25	5.05	x 5	Five of U
Gaps between rings in outer enclosure	1.95	0.25	X 1/4	Quarter of U
Gap between internal arcs and inner enclosure	1.02	0.13	x 1/8	Eighth of U
Gap between pit pairs	3.99	0.50	x ½	Half of U
Pitch between posts in the outer enclosure	1.04	0.13	x ¼	Eighth of U
Gap between inner enclosure and west side of elongated pit	4.05	0.51	x ½	Half of U

Table 1—Dimensions of the enclosure elements.

The argument that a unit of measurement was used to provide dimensional control for the construction phase(s) of the post enclosure was statistically tested using the data summarised in Table 1. For this, the radius of the inner enclosure was first used (as the standard numerator) in the calculation of ratios (columns 3 and 4 in Table 1). These ratios were then used to scale (make equivalent) the lengths of each element so that their mean values could be compared. The results of that comparative test provide very strong statistical evidence that a unit of measurement was used, and that this was likely to have been based on the radius of the inner enclosure. Simply stated, these findings convincingly indicate (Prendergast, forthcoming) that the radius of the inner enclosure was successively halved so as to control dimensionally the construction of the complex, with the exception of the outermost ring. That could have been constructed with a rope length equal to five times that of the inner radius.



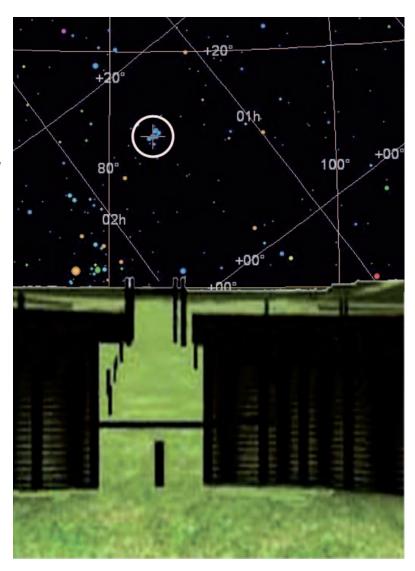
Illus. 9—Hypothetical construction method for Lismullin 1, in which U is the equivalent of the radius of the inner enclosure (base image courtesy of Archaeological Consultancy Services Ltd, with additions by the writer).

Archaeoastronomy—evidence of culturally relevant alignments?

For this analysis, the complex was first examined for any structures possessing obvious axial or structural linearity with an alignment potential. Only two such candidates were found. The first was a unique line within the inner enclosure defined by the diameter passing through the central post-hole (F4078) and the terminal post-holes of the two short inner arcs of post-holes—if, indeed, they were arcs (see Illus. 6). Archaeological uncertainty remains as to the function of these two elements, including the possibility that they may be the remains of an additional ring. Either way, the astronomical analysis (not shown here) yielded astronomical declinations for the two possible directions of this diameter line of $+24^{\circ}.9$ in the north-east, and $-23^{\circ}.4$ in the south-west. (Astronomical declination is the angle of altitude of any celestial body measured above (+) or below (-) the plane of the earth's equator. Currently, the declination for the sun ranges from $+23^{\circ} 26'$ (summer solstice) to $-23^{\circ} 26'$ (winter solstice), and is 0° at the true equinoxes.) Each alignment (derived from azimuth/true bearing and horizon altitude) is indicative of sunrise at the summer solstice and sunset at the winter solstice on the local horizon respectively. As such, this could suggest a ritual use of the complex focused around these periods of the year.

Analysis of the easterly axial orientation of the avenue proved to be more interesting. That yielded a declination of $+4^{\circ}.8$, indicating that the avenue was not aligned on the rising sun at the equinoxes (at the equinoxes, the declination would be around 0°). Instead, the obtained value coincides with sunrise around 1 April and 10 September in the modern Gregorian calendar. Alternatively, in that sector of the night sky during the Iron Age, the only significant and recurring event that might have attracted interest may have been the

Illus. 10—Avenue alignment on the Iron Age night sky and the transit of the Pleiades star cluster. This computer-generated view of the avenue is blended with a sky view modelled for c. 500 BC using CyberSkyTM 4.0.2 and assumes that the inner enclosure had an entrance (Frank Prendergast).



transit of the Pleiades star cluster. This very obvious star grouping would have risen to the north (left) of the avenue alignment. Soon afterwards, it would have crossed the avenue at an altitude of about 12°, taking about 20 minutes to do so (Illus. 10). The analysis included a correction for the effect of precession of the earth's axis—the motion of the earth's pole of rotation. To an observer on the earth, this translates into a long-term (c. 26,000 years) cyclical movement of the celestial pole against the star background. In the intervening 2,500 years since the Iron Age, the effect is to cause the apparent positions of the stars to significantly change on the celestial sphere (sky), and with respect to the mean pole.

The Pleiades is a visually distinctive grouping of stars also known as the 'Seven Sisters'; it is not a constellation (star patterns named after mythological creatures and gods by the ancient Greeks). In the mythology of ancient Greece, the seven sisters (Alcyone, Electra, Maia, Merope, Taygeta, Celaeno and Asterope) were the daughters of the god Atlas and his wife Pleione. All seven stars thus complete the visible cluster, although typically only six are easily seen (this depends on the state of the atmosphere, and the acuity and elevation of the observer). There is extensive evidence to suggest the importance of the cluster in

mythological and calendrical terms to indigenous and prehistoric cultures (e.g. the supposed depiction of the Pleiades on the Bronze Age Nebra Sky Disc from Germany; see Pasztor & Roslund 2007, 269–70).

If the date of 10 September (coinciding with sunrise in the avenue) is taken as a hypothetical indicator of the time of year when sky-watching of the transit of the Pleiades over the avenue began, its appearance would have been noticeable in the eastern sky above the avenue at about 21:00 around that date. The phenomenon would have been repeated nightly, but its timing would have occurred about four minutes earlier on each successive evening (almost two hours over a month) owing to the gradual and cumulative divergence between apparent solar time (the period of time during which the earth makes a revolution on its axis relative to the sun: 24 hours) and sidereal time (the period of time during which the earth makes one complete revolution on its axis relative to a particular star: 23 hours 56 minutes). As a consequence, any observed star will appear to rise c. 4 minutes earlier each night. On that basis, the phenomenon would not have been visible after the end of October owing to the transit event becoming less visible in a brighter sky. Interestingly, the interval in question (September–October) would have demarcated a period of the year following the annual harvest and before the onset of winter—a time for gathering and ceremony, perhaps.

Encounters between people: assembly and ritual

For this writer, the obvious, and now proven, formality of the whole complex suggests a range of interpretive possibilities. An exploration of these might then help to address the important questions of why the complex was built in that manner and what the visitor experience was like. The most obvious attributes are enclosure and segregation, axis and procession, focal point, threshold, hierarchy and sacred space. These are logically ordered in terms of how the complex and its participants may have performed and engaged in any coordinated role or ceremony. Potentially, these qualities are the basic but connected elements of ritual behaviour and practice as well as a cosmology.

At Lismullin, enclosure is taken to mean the containment and segregation of peopleeither within or outside the two principal circular spaces. Like those who may have assembled on the surrounding ridge, they would have been excluded from yet psychologically drawn to whatever religious or commemorative ceremonies may have taken place at the site. The linearity and symmetry of the avenue is an obvious design metaphor for the axis of the site. This was the path or aisle that led towards the elongated pit and the inner enclosure beyond, and would have allowed up to four people walking abreast to process from the entrance. While speculative, such a scene conveys a deep sense of formality, hierarchy and ritual. The elongated pit, in which the deposition of burnt offerings is thought to have taken place, may have acted as a potential inhibitor to further progression and was, conceivably, a threshold as well as being depositional in purpose. In all designed spaces, a threshold holds deep significance. At Lismullin 1, it is argued that this carefully positioned element was the focal point of the whole complex and the crossover point/barrier between the public space and the inner restricted space. Thus, perhaps, it served to separate the sacred from the secular and the celebrant(s) from the laity. At the centre of the complex lay the probable sacred space where, conceivably, an individual or a group periodically conducted ceremonies and rituals of a celebratory or cosmological nature. This argument is supported by the possible solstitial axis (or alignment feature) found within the inner enclosure and/or, more convincingly, by the alignment of the avenue and its potential link with the nightly autumnal passage of the Pleiades.

Conclusions

The record of use of the complex is now lost to us and any attempt at interpretation must be regarded as speculative. Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated that the application of rigorous numerical analysis techniques to high-quality archaeological data can yield a rich dividend. That dividend is measured in terms of the new insights provided here on how the Lismullin enclosure was built, probably aligned and possibly used. Arguably, this adds another 'excavation layer' to the archaeology of the site in the form of new quantitative and interpretative knowledge, and ideas, for further scholarly exploration and debate.

The wider study of ritual and cosmology, and their relationships with formally built structures and temples belonging to the prehistoric past, has received extensive treatment in the literature (e.g. Doxiadis 1972; Aveni & Romano 1994; Waldren et al. 1995; Bell 1997; Krupp 1997; Manley 2000; Bradley 2005; Boutsikas & Ruggles 2011; Insoll 2011). In Ireland, some structural similarities to Lismullin 1 can be found at Iron Age royal sites, as previously discussed. Of those, the commanding site at Dún Áilinne is the most intriguing. It lies 85 km to the SSW on the summit of Knockaulin Hill. That complex had a 25-m-diameter central circle of timber posts, radially set pits and extensive evidence of burning and feasting (Raftery 1994, 73; Crabtree 2002; Johnston & Wailes 2007; Johnston et al. 2010). Feasting may also have occurred at Lismullin 1, but on a much smaller scale. This is suggested by the charcoal, burnt animal bone and burnt hazelnut shells found in the elongated pit. This could be interpreted as one form of ritual behaviour practised locally or regionally. Interestingly, Joy (2011, 405) refutes the idea of the existence of a single European Iron Age religion, proposing instead a model that allows for 'regional and temporal similarities' that were practised on a local scale and 'within systems of belief that were intimately bound up and connected with every aspect of everyday life'. The outcomes of the interdisciplinary study presented here are consistent with such a model. Overall, the structural formalism, exactness and other attributes of the Lismullin post enclosure arguably now elevate it to an even higher plane of importance for the period-nationally and in a wider European context.

Acknowledgements

The writer is indebted to each of the following for helpful criticism and discussion along the way: Aidan O'Connell (Director, Archer Heritage Planning Ltd), Donald Murphy (Director, Archaeological Consultancy Services Ltd), Prof. Muiris O'Sullivan and Prof. Gabriel Cooney (School of Archaeology, University College Dublin), Donal Martin (School of Mathematical Sciences, Dublin Institute of Technology [DIT]), Dr Hamish Carr (School of Computer Science and Informatics, University College Dublin), Anselm Griffin (School of Civil and Building Services, DIT), Noel Brady (School of Architecture, DIT), Dr Padraic Houston (School of Mathematics, DIT) and Dr Seán O'Hógain (School of Engineering Sciences, DIT).

References

- Aalen, F H A & Whelan, K 1997 'Fields', in F H A Aalen, K Whelan & M Stout (eds), Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape, 134–44. Cork University Press, Cork.
- Aalen, F H A, Whelan, K & Stout, M (eds) 1997 Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape. Cork University Press, Cork.
- Archaeological Services Durham University 2009 'Appendix 9: Environmental report. Lismullin 1, M3 Motorway Project, Co. Meath, Ireland: plant macrofossil, charcoal, cremated bone and mollusc analysis', in A O'Connell, Report on the Archaeological Excavation of Lismullin 1, Co. Meath. Final Report Volume 2: Specialist Reports (http:// www.m3motorway.ie/Archaeology/Section2/Lismullin1/file,16728,en.pdf, accessed June 2011).
- Atkinson, R 1961 'Neolithic engineering', Antiquity, Vol. 35, 292-9.
- Aveni, A & Romano, G 1994 'Orientation and Etruscan ritual', Antiquity, Vol. 68, 545-63.
- Becker, K 2009 'Iron Age Ireland—finding an invisible people', in G Cooney, K Becker, J Coles, M Ryan & S Sievers (eds), Relics of Old Decency: archaeological studies in later prehistory. Festschrift for Barry Raftery, 353–61. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Bieler, L (ed.) 1979 *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin.
- Bell, C 1997 *Ritual: perspectives and dimensions.* Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford.
- Bourke, C 2003 'Three medieval mounts from County Armagh', Ulster Journal of Archaeology, Vol. 62, 92–6.
- Boutsikas, E & Ruggles, C 2011 'Temples, stars, and ritual landscapes: the potential for archaeoastronomy in ancient Greece', *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 115, 55–68.
- Bower, N & Stevens, P 2011 Archaeological Excavations (A003/035, E3499) Ask, Site 39, N11 Gorey to Arklow Link, Co. Wexford. Unpublished report by Valerie J Keeley Ltd.
- Bradley, R 2005 Ritual and Domestic Life in Prehistoric Europe. Routledge, London.
- Breen, C 2004 The Archaeology and Landscape Cultural History of Bantry and Beara, 1200–1650. Unpublished Ph.D thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway.
- Breen, T 2002 'Mell 2, Co. Louth', in I Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 2000: summary accounts* of archaeological excavations in Ireland, 235. Wordwell, Bray.
- Breen, T 2010 'Two first-millennium cemeteries at Mell, Co. Louth, and Murphystown, Co. Dublin', in C Corlett & M Potterton (eds), *Death and Burial in Early Medieval Ireland* in the Light of Recent Archaeological Excavations, 33–42. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Bronk Ramsey, C 2005 OxCal Program v.3.10 (http://www.rlaha.ox.ac.uk/O/oxcal.php).
- Butlin, R A 1976 'Land and people, c. 1600', in T W Moody, F X Martin & F J Byrne (eds), A New History of Ireland: early modern Ireland 1534–1691, Vol. 3, 142–67. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analogous Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward III, Vol. VIII (London, 1913).
- Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland 1509–1670, 24 vols (London, 1860–1910).
- Channing, J 2012 Archaeological Excavations (A032/000; E2517). Baysrath, Co. Kilkenny, Report N9–N10 Kilcullen–Waterford Scheme Phase 2 Waterford–Knocktopher. Unpublished report by Valerie J Keeley Ltd.
- Charles-Edwards, T 1976 'Boundaries in Irish law', in P Sawyer (ed.), Medieval Settlement:

continuity and change, 83-7. E Arnold, London.

- Charles-Edwards, T M 1993 Early Irish and Welsh Kingship. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Chrobak, E, Kiely, J & McMorran, T 2012 'Early medieval kilns and medieval moated site with associated annexe at Busherstown, Co. Offaly', *Eachtra Journal*, No. 13 (http://eachtra.ie/index.php/journal/e3661-busherstown-co-offaly/, accessed February 2012).
- Clarke, L 2010 Report on the Archaeological Excavation of Ardsallagh 2, Co. Meath (http://www.m3motorway.ie/Archaeology/Section2/Ardsallagh2/file,16738,en.pdf, accessed November 2011).
- Clarke, L & Long, P 2010 Archaeological Excavation (E2967) Prumplestown Lower, N9/N10 Kilcullen to Waterford Scheme: Moone to Prumplestown, Co. Kildare. Unpublished report by Headland Archaeology (Ireland) Ltd.
- Clinton, M, Fibiger, L & Shiels, D 2010 'Archaeology of massacre: the Carrickmines mass grave and the siege of March 1642', in D Edwards, P Lenihan & C Tait (eds), Age of Atrocity: violence and political conflict in early modern Ireland (2nd edn), 192–203. Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- Connolly, M & Coyne, F 2000 'The underworld of the Lee Valley', *Archaeology Ireland*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 8–12.
- Connolly, M & Coyne, F 2005 Underworld: death and burial at Cloghermore Cave, Co. Kerry. Wordwell, Bray.
- Conran, S 2009 Phase 2 Final Report. Ministerial Directions: A024. Excavation Registration No: E2076. Newcastle, Co. Galway. Ringfort with medieval or post-medieval settlement. Unpublished report to Galway County Council on behalf of CRDS Ltd.
- Cooley, B (no date) *Kilskeagh* (http://kilskeagh.com/html/history-breda_cooley.html, accessed October 2011).
- Costello, T B 1911 'Trade tokens of the county of Galway in the seventeenth century: with introductory note', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 29–43.
- Cotter, E 2003 'Ballinvinny South', in I Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 2001: summary accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland*, 27. Wordwell, Bray.
- Coyne, F & Collins, T 2004 Excavation of a Post-Medieval Settlement at Rough Point, Killybegs, County Donegal. Davis Printers, Limerick.
- Crabtree, P 2002 'Ritual feasting in the Irish Iron Age: re-examining the fauna from Dún Ailinne in light of contemporary archaeological theory', *in* S J O Day (ed.), *Behaviour Behind Stones*, 62–5. 9th ICAZ Conference, Durham.
- Culleton, E 1999 Celtic and Early Christian Wexford. Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- Curtis, E (ed.) 1934 Calendar of Ormond Deeds. Vol. ii, 1350–1413. The Stationery Office, Dublin.
- Doxiadis, C A 1972 Architectural Space in Ancient Greece. MIT Press, Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London.
- Earthsound Archaeological Geophysics 2009 Archaeological Geophysical Survey of Land Adjacent to Archaeological Sites at Busherstown 1, Drumbaun 2, Drumroe 1, Killeisk 1 & Park 1, N7 Castletown to Nenagh (Derrinsallagh to Ballintotty) Road Scheme, County Offaly & County Tipperary R179. Unpublished report to Laois County Council by Eachtra Archaeological Projects.

- Elder, S 2003 'Kerloge', in I Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 2001: summary accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland*, 403. Wordwell, Bray.
- Estyn Evans, E 1942 Irish Heritage. Dundalgan Press, Dundalk.
- Estyn Evans, E 1957 Irish Folkways. Routledge, London.
- Fallon, D & Clutterbuck, R (forthcoming) 'Post-medieval settlement at Newcastle', in J McKeon & J O'Sullivan (eds), The Quiet Landscape: archaeological investigations on the M6 Galway to Ballinasloe PPP Scheme. NRA Scheme Monographs. National Roads Authority, Dublin.
- Farrelly, J & O'Brien, C (comp.) 2002 Archaeological Inventory of County Tipperary. Volume 1: North Tipperary. The Stationery Office, Dublin.
- Feehan, J 2003 Farming in Ireland. Faculty of Agriculture, University College Dublin.
- Fibiger, L, Shiels, D & Clinton, M 2008 'A Mighty Rage ...': Carrickmines Castle and the events of March 26th/27th 1642 (http://www.wac6.org/livesite/poster_files/ WAC_098_Fibiger_Shiels_Clinton.pdf, accessed August 2011).
- Fitzpatrick, E 2009 'Native enclosed settlement and the problem of the Irish "ringfort", *Medieval Archaeology*, Vol. 53, 271–307.
- Fleming, A 1972 'Vision and design: approaches to ceremonial monument typology', Man, Vol. 7, No. 1, 57–73.
- Flynn, C 2009 'Camlin 3: a cemetery-settlement in north Tipperary', *in* M Stanley, E Danaher & J Eogan (eds), *Dining and Dwelling*, 133–41. Archaeology and the National Roads Authority Monograph Series No. 6. National Roads Authority, Dublin.
- Flynn, C 2011 *Final Report on the Archaeological Excavation at Camlin 3 E3580*. Unpublished excavation report by Valerie J Keeley Ltd for the NRA and Laois County Council.
- Flynn, C, Kiely, J, Roycroft, N & Stevens, P (eds) (forthcoming) Marches of the Slighe Dála: archaeology and history on the M7 Castletown to Nenagh (Derrinsallagh to Ballintotty). NRA Scheme Monographs. National Roads Authority, Dublin.
- Fotheringham, A S, Kelly, M & Treacy, C 2011 NCG Online Atlas Portal (http://ncg.nuim.ie/historical-atlas, accessed October 2011).
- Gahan, A 1998 'Castle Upton, Templepatrick', in I Bennett (ed.), Excavations 1997: summary accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland, 3. Wordwell, Bray.
- Gibson, A 2005 Stonehenge and Timber Circles. Tempus, Stroud.
- Gibson, A & Simpson, D (eds) 1998 Prehistoric Ritual and Religion: essays in honour of Aubrey Burl. Sutton, Stroud.
- Gosling, P (comp.) 1993 Archaeological Inventory of County Galway. Volume 1: West Galway. The Stationery Office, Dublin.
- Gowen, M 1989a 'Westereave', in I Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 1988: summary accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland*, 18. Wordwell, Bray.
- Gowen, M 1989b 'Colp West', in I Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 1988: summary accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland*, 31–2. Wordwell, Bray.
- Griffith, R 1855 First Survey of Property Ownership in Ireland from 1848 to 1864 (http://www.askaboutireland.ie/griffith-valuation/index.xml?action=nameSearch, accessed April 2011).
- Grogan, E 1983–4 'Excavation of an Iron Age burial mound at Furness', *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, Vol. 16, 298–316.
- Grogan, E 1996 'Neolithic houses in Ireland', *in* T C Darvill & J Thomas (eds), *Neolithic Houses in Northwest Europe and Beyond*, 41–60. Oxbow, Oxford.

Grogan, E 2002 'Neolithic houses in Ireland: a broader perspective', *Antiquity*, Vol. 76, 517–25.

- Grogan, E 2004 'The implications of Irish Neolithic houses', *in* I Shepherd & G Barclay (eds), *Scotland in Ancient Europe*, 103–14. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- Grogan, E & Kilfeather, A (comp.) 1997 *Archaeological Inventory of County Wicklow*. The Stationery Office, Dublin.
- Grogan, E & Roche, H 2008a N11 Gorey–Arklow Link Road, Co. Wexford. The prehistoric pottery assemblage from Ask Sites 42–4, Co. Wexford (A003/020, E3502). Unpublished report for Valerie J Keeley Ltd.
- Grogan, E & Roche, H 2008b N11 Gorey–Arklow Link Road, Co. Wexford. The prehistoric pottery assemblage from Moneylawn Lower, Co. Wexford (A003/015, E3478). Unpublished report for Valerie J Keeley Ltd.
- Grogan, E & Roche, H 2008c N11 Gorey–Arklow Link Road, Co. Wexford. The prehistoric pottery assemblage from Raheenagurren West Site 26, Co. Wexford (A003/044, E3490). Unpublished report for Valerie J Keeley Ltd.
- Grogan, E & Roche, H 2008d N11 Gorey–Arklow Link Road, Co. Wexford. The prehistoric pottery assemblage from Frankfort, Co. Wexford (A003/055, E3466). Unpublished report for Valerie J Keeley Ltd.
- Grogan, E & Roche, H 2009 'Appendix 6: The prehistoric pottery assemblages from the M3 Clonee–North of Kells, Co. Meath, Lismullin 1 (E3074)', in A O'Connell, Report on the Archaeological Excavation of Lismullin 1, Co. Meath. Final Report Volume 2: Specialist Reports (http://www.m3motorway.ie/Archaeology/Section2/Lismullin1/file,16728, en.pdf, accessed June 2011).
- Halpin, E 1992 'Newtown', in I. Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 1991: summary accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland*, 37–9. Wordwell, Bray.
- Hanley, K 2005 'A society in turmoil—as seen in a 17th-century coin hoard from Ballinvinny South, Glanmire, County Cork', in J O'Sullivan & M Stanley (eds), Recent Archaeological Discoveries on National Road Schemes 2004, 141–6. Archaeology and the National Roads Authority Monograph Series No. 2. National Roads Authority, Dublin.
- Harrison, S H 2001 'Viking graves and grave-goods in Ireland', *in* A-C Larsen (ed.), *The Vikings in Ireland*, 61–75.Viking Ship Museum, Roskilde.
- Harrison, S H (forthcoming a) 'Viking burial', in I Russell & M Hurley, Woodstown: a Viking Age settlement in Co. Waterford. The Stationery Office, Dublin.
- Harrison, S H (forthcoming b) 'Grave goods, weapons, axeheads and conical mounts', in I Russell & M Hurley, Woodstown: a Viking Age settlement in Co. Waterford. The Stationery Office, Dublin.
- Hegarty, L 2011 'Moyveela 3 (E3907)—pre-Famine clachan', in F Delaney & J Tierney, In the Lowlands of South Galway: archaeological excavations on the N18 Oranmore to Gort national road scheme, 162–6. NRA Scheme Monographs 7. National Roads Authority, Dublin.
- Hession, J 2012 N25 New Ross Bypass Road Scheme, Cappagh, Co. Kilkenny to Knockroe, Co. Wexford. Archaeological Services Contract, Stage (iii)—Excavation. Post-excavation assessment report for Ryleen 2 in the townland of Ryleen, Co. Wexford. Unpublished report by Headland Archaeology (Ireland) Ltd for Wexford County Council and the NRA.
- Hull, G 2008 N18 Ennis Bypass and N85 Western Relief Road, Clare Abbey, Co. Clare. Final

archaeological excavation report. Unpublished report to Clare County Council by TVAS (Ireland) Ltd.

- Hull, G & Joubert, S 2008 'Medieval monastic occupation and post-medieval military activity at Clare Abbey, Co. Clare', *in* J O'Sullivan & M Stanley (eds), *Roads, Rediscovery and Research*, 59–70. Archaeology and the National Roads Authority Monograph Series No. 5. National Roads Authority, Dublin.
- Hussey de Burgh, U H 1878 The Landowners of Ireland. An alphabetical list of the owners of estates of 500 acres or £500 valuation and upwards in Ireland. Hodges, Foster and Figgis, Dublin.
- Insoll, T (ed.) 2011 The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Jennings, R 2011 N9/N10 Kilcullen to Waterford Scheme, Phase 4—Knocktopher to Powerstown. Danesfort 4, A032. Final archaeological excavation report. Unpublished report to Kilkenny Council by Irish Archaeological Consultancy Ltd.
- Jennings, R & Delaney, M 2009 'An 18th-century roadside cottage in Danesfort Demesne, Co. Kilkenny', in M Stanley, E Danaher & J Eogan (eds), Dining and Dwelling, 155–64. Archaeology and the National Roads Authority Monograph Series No. 6. National Roads Authority, Dublin.
- Johnson, C 2011 'Metal artefact report', *in* C Flynn, *Final Report on the Archaeological Excavation at Camlin 3 E3580*, 326–86. Unpublished excavation report by Valerie J Keeley Ltd for the NRA and Laois County Council.
- Johnston, P 2011 'Plant remains report', in P Stevens, Archaeological Excavations (E3502) Ask, Sites 42, 43 and 44, N11 Gorey to Arklow Link, Co. Wexford, 269–72. Unpublished report for Valerie J Keeley Ltd.
- Johnston, S A & Wailes, B 2007 *Dún Ailinne: excavations at an Irish royal site, 1968–1975.* University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia.
- Johnston, S A, Campana, D V & Crabtree, P J 2010 'The use of archaeological and zooarchaeological data in the interpretation of Dún Ailinne, an Iron Age royal site in Co. Kildare, Ireland', in J Morris & M Maltby (eds), The Role of Environmental Analysis in the Integrated Investigations of Ritual Deposits, 5–11. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 2077. Oxford.
- Jope, E M 1960 'Moyry, Charlemont, Castleraw, and Richhill: fortification to architecture in the north of Ireland 1570–1700', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 23, 97–123.
- Joy, J 2011 'The Iron Age', in T Insoll (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion, 405–21. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Kelly, F 2000 *Early Irish Farming*. Early Irish Law Series 4. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin.
- Kerr, T, Harney, L, Kinsella, J, O'Sullivan, A & McCormick, F 2009 Early Medieval Dwellings and Settlement in Ireland, AD 400–1000. Vol. 2: Gazetteer of Site Descriptions (http://www.emap.ie/documents/EMAP_Report_3.2_WEB.pdf).
- Kilskeagh Development Society Ltd (no date) Kilskeagh—1842 (http://kilskeagh.com/, accessed September 2011).
- Krupp, E 1997 *Skywatchers, Shamans and Kings: astronomy and the archaeology of power.* Wiley, New York.
- Lyttleton, J 2006 Native and Newcomer in Post-Medieval Ireland, Changing Cultural Identities in County Offaly: an archaeological perspective. Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University

College Cork.

- Lyttleton, J 2009 'Faith of our fathers: the Gaelic aristocracy in Co. Offaly and the Counter-Reformation', *in* J Lyttleton & C Rynne (eds), *Plantation Ireland: settlement and material culture, c. 1550–c. 1700*, 182–206. Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- Lyttleton, J & Monk, M 2008 'Sites, social change and warfare in the second half of the first millennium AD: a reappraisal', *in* C Manning (ed.), *From Ringforts to Fortified Houses: studies on castles and other monuments in honour of David Sweetman*, 17–19. Bray, Wordwell.
- McCarthy, D 2010 'Digging, data and dissemination', Seanda, No. 5, 41.
- McCormick, F 1995 'Cows, ringforts, and the origins of Early Christian Ireland', *Emania*, Vol. 13, 33–7.
- MacCotter, P 2008 Medieval Ireland: political, territorial and economic divisions. Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- MacCotter, P (forthcoming a) 'The M7 motorway historical landscape: studies in the history of Ikerrin and Elyocarroll', *Tipperary Historical Journal*.
- MacCotter, P (forthcoming b) 'Historical research', in C Flynn, J Kiely, N Roycroft & P Stevens (eds), Marches of the Slighe Dála: archaeology and history on the M7 Castletown to Nenagh (Derrinsallagh to Ballintotty). NRA Scheme Monographs. National Roads Authority, Dublin.
- MacCotter, P (forthcoming c) 'Camlin historical research', in C Flynn, J Kiely, N Roycroft & P Stevens (eds), Marches of the Slighe Dála: archaeology and history on the M7 Castletown to Nenagh (Derrinsallagh to Ballintotty). NRA Scheme Monographs. National Roads Authority, Dublin.
- McGarry, T 2010 'Late pagan and Early Christian burials in Ireland: some potential explanations', in C Corlett & M Potterton (eds), *Death and Burial in Early Medieval Ireland in the Light of Recent Archaeological Excavations*, 173–86. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Mackenzie Wilson, D 1976 Sill-beam Buildings in Anglo-Saxon England. Methuen & Co. Ltd, London.
- McKinstry, L & Madigan, S 2011 M17 Galway (Rathmorrissy) to Tuam Archaeological Services Contract (2010) forming part of the N17/N18 Gort to Tuam PPP Scheme, Co. Galway. Final excavation report for Annagh Hill 3 in the townland of Annagh Hill, Co. Galway. Unpublished report to Galway County Council on behalf of Headland Archaeology (Ireland) Ltd.
- McKinstry, L & Stevens, P 2011 Archaeological Excavations (A003/064, E3532) Green's Berry Farm, Ballydermot & Toberduff, N11 Gorey to Arklow Link, Co. Wexford. Unpublished final report by Valerie J Keeley Ltd.
- McKinstry, L, Healy, M & Hurley, N 2011 'Forgotten houses and lost villages in postmedieval Galway', *Seanda*, No. 6, 20–3.
- McLaughlin, M 2010 'Early days on the N25 New Ross bypass', Seanda, No. 5, 36-7.
- McLaughlin, M & Conran, S 2008 'The emerging Iron Age of South Munster', *Seanda*, No. 3, 51–3.
- McNamara, M 2007 'The "lost castle" of Castlecranna', Seanda, No. 2, 48.
- McNamara, M 2009 N7 Nenagh to Limerick High Quality Dual Carriageway Archaeological Resolution Project E3264, Castlecranna Site 1, Co. Tipperary. Unpublished report to Limerick County Council on behalf of TVAS Ireland Ltd.
- McSparron, C 2008 'Have you no homes to go to? Neolithic housing', *Archaeology Ireland*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 18–21.

- Manley, J 2000 'Measurement and metaphor: the design and meaning of building 3 at Fishbourne Roman Palace', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. 138, 103–13.
- Marshall, P 2009 'Appendix 5b: Lismullin National Monument: radiocarbon dating strategy', in A O'Connell, Report on the Archaeological Excavation of Lismullin 1, Co. Meath. Final Report Volume 2: Specialist Reports (http://www.m3motorway.ie/Archaeology/ Section2/Lismullin1/file,16728,en.pdf, accessed June 2011).
- Marshall, P D, Cook, G & Prior, C (forthcoming) 'Appendix 1: Bayesian analysis', in A O'Connell, *Harvesting the Stars: an excavation at Lismullin, Co. Meath.* NRA Scheme Monographs. National Roads Authority, Dublin.
- Melvin, P 1996 'The Galway tribes as landowners and gentry', *in* G Moran & R Gillespie (eds), *Galway: History & Society*, 319–74. Geography Publications, Dublin.
- Monk, M A & Kelleher, E 2005 'An assessment of the archaeological evidence for corndrying kilns in the light of results of archaeological experiments and archaeobotanical studies', *Journal of Irish Archaeology*, Vol. 14, 77–144.
- Mullins, G 2011 'Lavally (E3869)—tenant farmstead', in F Delaney & J Tierney, In the Lowlands of South Galway: archaeological excavations on the N18 Oranmore to Gort national road scheme, 166–71. NRA Scheme Monographs 7. National Roads Authority, Dublin.
- Newman, C 1998 'Reflections on the making of a "royal site" in early Ireland', *World Archaeology*, Vol. 30, No. 1, 127–41.
- Nicholls, J & Shiels, D 2011 'Geophysical survey', in P Stevens, Archaeological Excavation (E3502) Ask, Sites 42, 43 and 44, N11 Gorey to Arklow Link, Co. Wexford, 322–42. Unpublished final report for Valerie J Keeley Ltd.
- O'Brien, E 1992 'Pagan and Christian burial in Ireland during the first millennium AD: continuity and change', *in* N Edwards & A Lane (eds), *The Early Church in Wales and the West: recent work in Early Christian archaeology, history and placenames*, 130–7. Oxbow Monograph 16. Oxbow, Oxford.
- O'Brien, E 1993 'Contacts between Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England in the seventh century', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology*, No. 6, 39–102.
- O'Brien, E 1999 Late Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England: burial practices reviewed. British Archaeological Reports, British Series 289. Oxford.
- O'Brien, E 2003 'Burial practices in Ireland: first to seventh centuries AD', *in* J Downes & A Ritchie (eds), *Sea Change: Orkney and northern Europe in the later Iron Age, AD 300–800*, 63–72. The Pinkfoot Press, Angus.
- O'Brien, E & Bhreathnach, E 2011 'Irish boundary *ferta*, their physical manifestation and historical context', *in* F Edmonds & P Russell (eds), *Tome: studies in honour of Thomas Charles-Edwards*, 53–64. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge.
- Ó Carragáin, T 2006 'A landscape converted: archaeology and early church organization on Iveragh and Dingle, Ireland', *in* M Carver (ed.), *The Cross Goes North: processes of conversion in northern Europe, AD 300–1300*, 127–52. Boydell Press, Suffolk.
- Ó Carragáin, T 2010 'From family cemeteries to community cemeteries in Viking Age Ireland?', *in* C Corlett & M Potterton (eds), *Death and Burial in Early Medieval Ireland in the Light of Recent Archaeological Excavations*, 217–26. Wordwell, Dublin.
- O'Connell, A 2007a 'The elusive Iron Age', Seanda, No. 2, 52-4.
- O'Connell, A 2007b 'Iron Age enclosure at Lismullin, Co. Meath', *Archaeology Ireland*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 10–13.

- O'Connell, A 2009a 'Director's first findings from excavations at Lismullin 1', in M B Deevy & D Murphy (eds), *Places Along the Way: first findings on the M3*, 21–42. NRA Scheme Monographs 5. National Roads Authority, Dublin.
- O'Connell, A 2009b Report on the Archaeological Excavation of Lismullin 1, Co. Meath. Final Report Volume 1:Text (http://www.m3motorway.ie/Archaeology/Section2/Lismullin1/ file,16727,en.pdf, accessed June 2011).
- O'Connell, A 2009c Report on the Archaeological Excavation of Lismullin 1, Co. Meath. Final Report Volume 2: Specialist Reports (http://www.m3motorway.ie/Archaeology/ Section2/Lismullin1/file,16728,en.pdf, accessed June 2011).
- O'Conor, K 1998 *The Archaeology of Medieval Rural Settlement in Ireland*. Discovery Programme Monographs 3. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.
- Ó Drisceoil, C 2007 'Life and death in the Iron Age at Carrickmines Great, Co. Dublin', Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Vol. 137, 5–28.
- O'Faoláin, S 2011 'Early Bronze Age pits, medieval enclosure and associated field enclosures at Killeisk, Co. Tipperary', *Eachtra Journal*, No. 11 (http://eachtra.ie/index.php/journal/e3587-killeisk-co-tipperary/, accessed December 2011).
- Ó Floinn, R 1998 'The archaeology of the early Viking Age in Ireland', *in* H B Clarke, M Ní Mhaonaigh & R Ó Floinn (eds), *Ireland and Scandinavia in the Early Viking Age*, 132–65. Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- Ó Floinn, R 2001 'Irish and Scandinavian art in the early medieval period', *in* A Larsen (ed.), *The Vikings in Ireland*, 87–97. The Viking Ship Museum, Roskilde.
- Ó Gráda, C 2006 Ireland's Great Famine: interdisciplinary perspectives. University College Dublin Press, Dublin.
- O'Hara, R 2010 An Iron Age and Early Medieval Cemetery at Collierstown 1, Co. Meath: interpreting the changing character of a burial ground. Early Medieval Archaeological Project (EMAP) Report 4.4 (http://www.ucd.ie/archaeology/documentstore/allreports/ emap_report_4.4_print.pdf).
- O'Keeffe, T 2000 Medieval Ireland: an archaeology. Tempus, Stroud.
- O'Kelly, M 1989 Early Ireland: an introduction to Irish prehistory. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- O'Mahony, E 2011 'Roevehagh 2 (E4012)—pre-Famine cottages', in F Delaney & J Tierney, In the Lowlands of South Galway: archaeological excavations on the N18 Oranmore to Gort national road scheme, 172–5. NRA Scheme Monographs 7. National Roads Authority, Dublin.
- Ó Neill, T 2010 'The changing character of early medieval burial at Parknahown 5, Co. Laois, AD 400–1200', *in* C Corlett & M Potterton (eds), *Death and Burial in Early Medieval Ireland in the Light of Recent Excavations*, 251–60. Wordwell, Dublin.
- O'Sullivan, A, McCormick, F, Kerr, T & Harney, L 2008 *Early Medieval Ireland: archaeological excavations 1930–2004.* Early Medieval Archaeological Project (EMAP) Report 2.1 (http://www.ucd.ie/t4cms/emap_report_2_1_complete.pdf).
- O'Sullivan, J 2007 'The quiet landscape: archaeological discoveries on a road scheme in east Galway', *in* J O'Sullivan & M Stanley (eds), *New Routes to the Past*, 81–100. Archaeology and the National Roads Authority Monograph Series No. 4. National Roads Authority, Dublin.
- OS 1840 Ordnance Survey of County Galway, first edition (surveyed 1838), Sheets 6, 43, 57 and 71, scale 1: 10,560.

- OS 1894 Ordnance Survey of County Galway, second edition (surveyed 1892), Sheets 71-05 and 71-09, scale 1:2,500.
- OS 1895 Ordnance Survey of County Galway, second edition (surveyed 1892), Sheets 43-15 and 57-16, scale 1:2,500.
- Pasztor, E & Roslund, C 2007 'An interpretation of the Nebra disc', *Antiquity*, Vol. 81, No. 312, 267–78.
- Prendergast, F 2011 Linked Landscapes: spatial, archaeoastronomical and social network analysis of the Irish passage tomb tradition. Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University College Dublin.
- Prendergast, F (forthcoming) 'An Iron Age enclosure at Lismullin: morphology, metrology and archaeoastronomy', *in* M O'Sullivan, B Cunliffe et al. (eds), *Tara from the Past to the Future.* Conference Proceedings.
- Purcell, A 2002a 'Courtlands East', in I Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 2000: summary accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland*, 354. Wordwell, Bray.
- Purcell, A 2002b 'Excavation of three Neolithic houses at Corbally, Kilcullen, Co. Kildare', *Journal of Irish Archaeology*, Vol. 11, 34–40.
- Raftery, B 1994 Pagan Celtic Ireland: the enigma of the Irish Iron Age. Thames & Hudson, London.
- Reimer, P J, Baillie, M G L, Bard, E et al. 2004 'IntCal04 terrestrial radiocarbon age calibration, 0–26 kyr BP', *Radiocarbon*, Vol. 46, No. 3, 1029–58.
- Robinson, P 1979 'Vernacular housing in Ulster in the seventeenth century', Ulster Folklife, Vol. 25, 1–28.
- Roche, H 2004 The Prehistoric Pottery from Kerloge, Co. Wexford (02E0606). Unpublished report for Stafford–McLoughlin Associates.
- Roycroft, N 2008 'Before, during and after the Kingdom of Ely', Seanda, No. 3, 34-5.
- Ruggles, C L N 1998 'Ritual astronomy in the Neolithic and Bronze Age British Isles patterns of continuity and change', *in* A Gibson & D Simpson (eds), *Prehistoric Ritual and Religion*, 203–8. Sutton, Stroud.
- Russell, I & Harrison, S H 2011 'Woodstown 6—Viking Age enclosed settlement and grave', *in* J Eogan & E Shee Twohig (eds), *Cois tSiúire—nine thousand years of human activity in the Lower Suir Valley*, 53–72. NRA Scheme Monographs 8. National Roads Authority, Dublin.
- Sabin, D & Donaldson, K 2005 N6 Galway to Ballinasloe National Road Scheme Luttrell's Pass A024/5.1 and control area A024/5.11. Metal detection survey report for ArchaeoPhysica Ltd. Unpublished report to Galway County Council by Archaeological Surveys Ltd.
- Scully, O 2011 'Metal artefacts', in P Stevens, Archaeological Excavation (E3502) Ask, Sites 42, 43 and 44, N11 Gorey to Arklow Link, Co. Wexford, 184–5. Unpublished final report for Valerie J Keeley Ltd.
- Sherlock, R 2003 'Carrigaline Middle', in I Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 2001: summary* accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland, 33. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Shiels, D 2006 'The potential for conflict archaeology in the Republic of Ireland', *International Journal for Conflict Archaeology*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 169–87.
- Shiels, D & Kyle, A 2009 N6 Galway to Ballinasloe Scheme, Contract 2. Post-excavation analysis & technical report on military-related metal-detected material from A024/000, R002, the battlefield site of Luttrell's Pass, Aughrim, Co. Galway. Unpublished report to Galway County Council on behalf of Headland Archaeology (Ireland) Ltd.

Simington, R C (ed.) 1931 The Civil Survey A.D. 1654–1656, County of Tipperary. Vol. 1.

The Stationery Office, Dublin.

- Smyth, J 2006 'The role of the house in early Neolithic Ireland', *European Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 9, No. 2/3, 229–57.
- Smyth, J 2010 'The house and group identity in the Irish Neolithic', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. 111C, 1–31.
- Stevens, P 2007 'Burial and ritual in north Wexford: excavation of a ring-ditch cemetery in Ask townland', in J O'Sullivan & M Stanley (eds), New Routes to the Past, 35–46. Archaeology and the National Roads Authority Monograph Series No. 4. National Roads Authority, Dublin.
- Stevens, P 2011 Archaeological Excavations (A003/020, E3502) Ask, Sites 42, 43 and 44, N11 Gorey to Arklow Link, Co. Wexford. Unpublished final report by Valerie J Keeley Ltd.
- Stevenson, R B K 1987 'Brooches and pins: some seventh- to ninth-century problems', *in* M Ryan (ed.), *Irish and Insular Art AD 500–1200*, 90–5. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.
- Stout, G T 1984 Archaeological Survey of the Barony of Ikerrin. Roscrea Heritage Society in association with An Chomhairle Oiliúna (the Industrial Training Authority), Roscrea.
- Stout, G & Stout, M 2008 Excavations of an Early Medieval Secular Cemetery at Knowth Site M, County Meath. Wordwell, Bray.
- Stuiver, M & Reimer, P J 1993 'Extended ¹⁴C data base and revised CALIB 3.0 ¹⁴C age calibration program', *Radiocarbon*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 215–30.
- Stuiver, M, Reimer, P J, Bard, E et al. 1998 'IntCal98 Radiocarbon Age Calibration, 24,000–0 BP', *Radiocarbon*, Vol. 40, No. 3, 1041–83.
- Stuiver, M, Reimer, P J & Reimer, R W 2005 CALIB 5.0 (http://www.calib.qub.ac.uk/calib/).
- Stuiver, M, Reimer, P J & Reimer, R 2010 CALIB 6.0 (http://calib.qub.ac.uk/calib/).
- Swan, D L 1983 'Enclosed ecclesiastical sites and their relevance to settlement patterns of the first millennium A.D.', in T Reeves-Smyth & F Hamond (eds), Landscape Archaeology in Ireland, 269–80. British Archaeological Reports, British Series 116. Oxford.
- Tait, C 2002 *Death, Burial and Commemoration in Ireland, 1550–1650.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke and New York.
- Talma, A S & Vogel, J C 1993 'A simplified approach to calibrating ¹⁴C dates', *Radiocarbon*, Vol. 35, No. 2, 317–32.
- Tarbett, C & Gowen, M 1988 'Tankardstown South', in I Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 1987:* summary accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland, 21. Wordwell, Bray.
- Taylor, K 2008 'At home and on the road: two Iron Age sites in County Tipperary', *Seanda*, No. 3, 54–5.
- Troy, C 2011 'Osteological report', in P Stevens, Archaeological Excavation (E3502) Ask, Sites 42, 43 and 44, N11 Gorey to Arklow Link, Co. Wexford, 234–68. Unpublished final report for Valerie J Keeley Ltd.
- Ullrich, J 2011 Geochemical Contributions to the Archaeological Examination of Dunsinane 3: phosphate analysis results. Unpublished report for TVAS (Ireland) Ltd.
- Waddell, J 1998 The Prehistoric Archaeology of Ireland. Galway University Press, Galway.
- Waldren, W H, Ensenyat, J A & Kennard, R C 1995 Ritual, Rites and Religion in Prehistory: IIIrd Deya International Conference of Prehistory. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 611. Tempus Reparatum, Oxford.
- Wallace, P 1992 *The Viking Age Buildings of Dublin.* National Museum of Ireland and the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

- Walsh, F 2006 'Neolithic Monanny, County Monaghan', in J O'Sullivan & M Stanley (eds), Settlement, Industry and Ritual, 7–17. Archaeology and the National Roads Authority Monograph Series No. 3. National Roads Authority, Dublin.
- Waterman, D M 1997 *Excavations at Navan Fort 1961–71* (ed. C J Lynn). The Stationery Office, Belfast.

White, N B (ed.) 1932 The Red Book of Ormond. The Stationery Office, Dublin.

Young, T 2011 Archaeometallurgical residues from Camlin 3. Unpublished report for Valerie J Keeley Ltd and the National Roads Authority.