Creating a transdisciplinary landscape biography of Kilrossanty parish, Comeragh Mountains, Ireland, using GIS mapping

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Declaration

I hereby declare that except where duly acknowledged and referenced, this research study is entirely my own work and has not been submitted for any degree or other qualification in the South East Technological University or any other third level institution in Ireland or abroad.
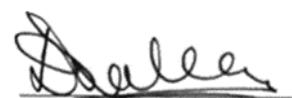
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Abstract

Landscape biographies have gained in popularity in recent years as a holistic assessment tool to enable local government planning and also to promote a community's sense of place and identity. The approach however, has yet to be applied to the Republic of Ireland's unique historic and cultural landscape. This thesis aims to address this omission by exploring how previous biographical approaches can be adapted and applied to Ireland, by using the region of Kilrossanty parish, situated in County Waterford in the south east of the island, as a case study. The new methodology intends to complement the current governmental approach to landscape assessment in Ireland which focuses solely on Landscape Character Assessments. The thesis argues that the complexities of the Irish historical background require a more layered approach for which a biography is more appropriate. By conducting transdisciplinary fieldwork, an Irish landscape biographical model has been produced focusing upon the landscape's structural transformations and identification of its authors who have been categories to better reflect the societal and political strata of this formerly colonised country.

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List of Abbreviations

BMH: Bureau of Military History

ELC: European Landscape Convention

GAA: Gaelic Athletic Association

GIS: Geographical Information Systems

HLC: Historic Landscape Characterisation

LCA: Landscape Character Assessment

NLS: National Landscape Strategy

NMS: National Monuments Service

OHNI: Oral History Network of Ireland

RSES: Regional Spatial and Economic Strategy

SAC: Special Area of Conservation

TSC: The Schools' Collection

UAV: Unmanned Aerial Vehicles

Chapter 1 - Introduction

"In the mountainy corners of the country the past is ever-present, a ready topic of talk" **(Evans, 1957, p. xiii)**

1.1 The Importance of Landscape

There is no succinct, convenient soundbite which could offer a satisfying description of landscape as a concept. Its "slipperiness" and "multiplicity of disciplinary interpretations" (Atha *et al.*, 2019, p. xxi) means it is sometimes misunderstood, often debated, and not widely comprehended outside of academic circles. The European Landscape Convention define it as "an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors" (Council of Europe, 2000a, p. 2). Somewhat more poetically, Wylie (2012, p. 373) describes it as "a concordance of life and land" ..."interwoven as strands within a single yet infinitely complex fabric...a weaving to which all elements equally contribute".

It is the totality of its form which is landscape's importance and significance; it is the lived experience and the activities carried out within it, the "rites, feasts and ceremonies" (Ingold, 1993, p. 159), which are as integral to the landscape as the physical features within it, the living, and to continue with Ingold's words, of "dwelling" and "taskscape". The European Landscape Convention pronounces the right to landscape, a declaration which has acquired increased significance in the last decade with the vast enforced movement of 'landless' refugees (Egoz, 2013). The perception of a landscape can form as well as divide, identity and belonging, and can be the cause for nationalism, racism and xenophobia as well as war. The design and forming of landscapes such as the landed estate demesne grounds designed by a Capability Brown or the chosen placement of a place of worship can reveal the effects of power and empire, of justice and injustice in the landscape, and of the inequality of possession and dispossession.

It is this importance of landscape which is at the heart of this thesis, and as a result formulates a methodology of how this "complex fabric" can be best studied in a country like Ireland, whose landscape is intertwined with the physical and cultural effects of

empire and competing ideologies. Where possession and dispossession of the landscape are still carried in the collective memory and remain a part of the Irish cultural identity.

1.2 Landscape Biographies

So if landscape can be determined as the continuous reciprocal interaction between the human, non-human and the environment, then a landscape biography is the narrative of this dynamic relationship, distinguishing it from a top-down observation or literal description of a region. The temporal and spatial relationship between the physical and cultural features is not necessarily chronological but layered and "folded" (Wylie, 2006) and intertwined. It cannot be compiled without the inclusion and involvement of the region's authors, both present and historical, who have and still do "dwell" and "task" in a region, whose actions impact upon the physical landscape as well as being influenced by their environment. A biography is therefore inherently transdisciplinary. In turn each and every author operates within the temporal historical transformations which constitute and form the political, cultural and economic norms of an era, which relate to Foucault's (1970) épistémè. In their application in real-world scenarios, they have gained in popularity in some countries in recent years as a holistic assessment tool to enable local government planning and also been found to promote a community's sense of place and identity.

1.3 Research Overview

This research applies and develops the concept of a landscape biography for the Irish region of Kilrossanty parish, situated in County Waterford in the south east of the country. The concept has never previously been applied to an Irish landscape and therefore a fresh methodology and approach needed to be created. As a starting point, the theoretical background of the research stemmed from Samuels's (1979) "The Biography of Landscape. Cause and Culpability". His work was one of the first to connect the term "biography" to "landscape", in which he stressed the importance of the authors' contribution to a landscape with their varied perceptions and subsequent effects. With different terminology, but a similar position, Ingold's (1993) "The Temporality of the Landscape. The Perception of the Environment" was also influential to this research's direction, of the phenomenological "dwelling perspective", and position that "the landscape tells – or rather *is* – story" (Ingold, 1993, p. 152).

The research teased out both the theoretical and practical characteristics of more recent biographical studies that have been conducted in other countries to identify the appropriate threads applicable to Ireland's particular circumstances, most notably the works of Kolen (2016); Kolen and Renes (2015a; 2015b),Roymans *et al.* (2009) and Palang *et al.* (2006), particularly the conception of the historical transformations of a region.

The application and adaptation of these previous methodologies has resulted in the biographical model presented in this thesis, which places a dual emphasis on the historical transformations through which the region, and country, has passed as well as focusing closely on the identification of the authors of the local landscape. For the Irish context, the authors have been divided into three categories of macro, meso and micro, which better reflected the cultural and political strata created as a result of the colonisation of the country and arguably has continued following Ireland's national independence. The model is based upon the region of Kilrossanty parish, however the intention is that it would be possible to replicate and apply it to other landscapes in Ireland.

1.3.1 Origins of the Project

The subject matter of the thesis was originally conceived following previous research I had carried out as part of an EU-funded (Interreg 4A Ireland Wales Programme 2007-2013) project investigating the sense of place of County Waterford. The project used Kilrossanty as one of its case studies including recording individual oral narratives, focus groups and investigating the tangible and intangible assets that existed in the area. It was during this research that the depth and breadth of the historical landscape in the area was highlighted, physical evidence of which was still present and accessible. Solid contacts with members of the community were also established during this time, which meant there was an existing familiarity between myself and the interview participants as well as the geographical region. This connection was invaluable for the research as it enabled access to the local knowledge held within the community including the location and access to physical features within the region.

Subsequent meetings with Dr Jane Russell-O'Connor in 2015, the Principal Supervisor, revealed that the Heritage Officer in Waterford City and County Council had expressed

a wish to conduct research into the historic and perceptual or cultural character of the Comeragh Mountains and associated land to address the lack of structured study that existed in this geographical area to date, that the Council felt had been under resourced and whose socioeconomic potential and tourism possibilities had not yet been fully realised.

Funding was received from the Landscape Research Group[1] in 2018, which provided for essential ArcGIS Pro training and the research on landownership which was the main thrust of Chapter 4. The research was also successful in receiving funding from the Irish Upland Forum[2] in the same year, which helped pay for the fieldwork necessary for the basis of Chapter 6.

1.3.2 The Research Area

The subject of the thesis into an Irish landscape biography was the region of Kilrossanty (in Irish: *Cill Rosanta)* parish, which used its spatial boundaries as geographical parameters for the study. Kilrossanty is a civil and Roman Catholic parish[3] located on the south east slopes of the Comeragh[4] Mountains in the county of Waterford, which is situated in the south east of Ireland. Maps of its location are illustrated in Figure 1.1 and Figure 1.2. The mountain range of the Comeraghs runs as a spine through the centre of County Waterford and is surrounded by lowland which consists of predominantly rural, agricultural land.

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[1] Landscape Research Group is a charitable organisation which is dedicated to the promotion and education of all aspects of landscape: www.landscaperesearch.org

[2] The Irish Upland Forum consists of a voluntary group of people who represent the views of a diverse group of stakeholders who live, work and recreate in Ireland's upland areas: https://irishuplandsforum.org

[3] The parish is the earliest local community territory believed to date from the twelfth century Church administrative system. Despite the later religious upheavals, the territorial structure remained and the boundaries consistent in the landscape and memory, therefore becoming the accepted spatial scale in later secular surveys and cartography (Duffy 2007).

[4] There are two mountain ranges in this region, the Monavullah and Comeragh. The area in which this research takes place is actually part of the Monavullagh range, however colloquially the entire range is called the Comeraghs. For ease and in keeping with local parlance, the area will be referred to as the Comeraghs throughout the thesis.

Kilrossanty parish covers an area of 71km² and comprises of 41 townlands[5]. The terrain is a combination of upland and lowland, with the highest point reaching an altitude of around 700 metres, down to 80 metres at its lowest point, which is only approximately 1.5 km from the Irish Sea from its southern border. The region is cut through by the busy N25, which is the main artery road connecting the two major cities of Waterford and Cork.

The Comeragh Mountains is a visually imposing area (Figure 1.3) which has been designated a Special Area of Conservation (SAC), within which a number of Kilrossanty's higher townlands are included (Department of Housing Local Government and Heritage, 2021a).

Figure 1.1: The Comeragh Mountain range is located within County Waterford on the south east coast of Ireland (Map data ©2019 Google Ireland)

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[5] Townlands are the smallest administrative unit in Ireland, and can range in size from less than one acre to several hundred acres. There are around 60,000 townlands across the island with evidence of their existence from the twelfth century (Kaul, 2011; Reid, 2016). They are legacies of medieval land valuations and a way of imposing tax. Individual familial groups were associated with this structure of local units (Duffy 2007).
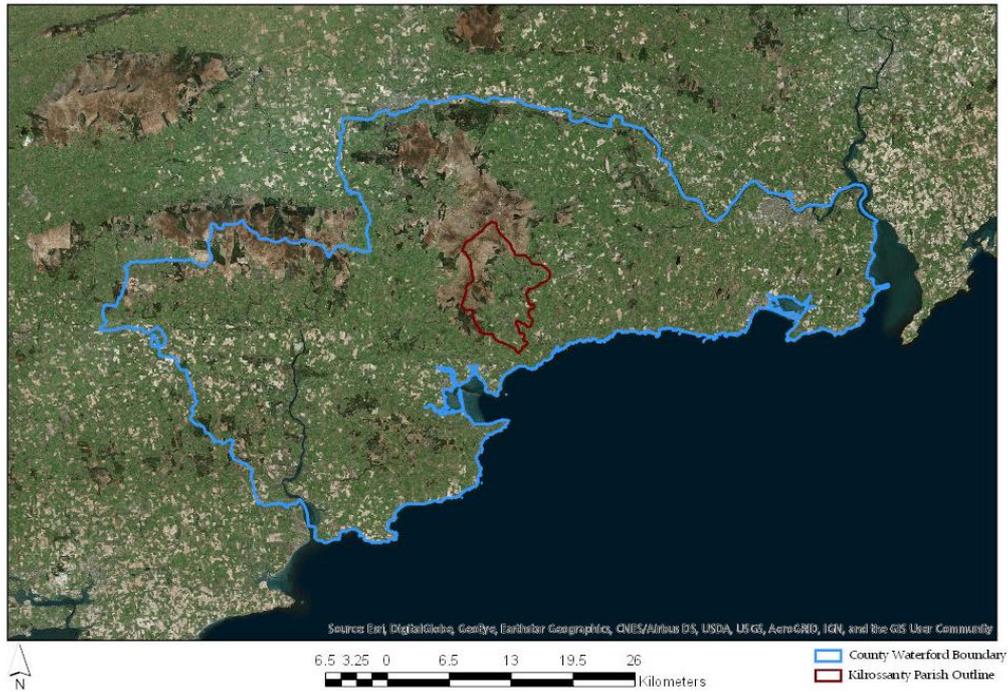
Figure 1.2: Kilrossanty parish is located on the southeast side of the Comeragh mountains in County Waterford

Figure 1.3: View of the imposing Comeragh mountains from near the N25 road

1.3.3 Research Approach

A fresh combination of approaches were brought together to build the methodological structure for this research. This was necessary because this region and Irish landscapes in general have not previously been the subject of a biographical approach. Moreover,

the concepts of landscape biography and transdisciplinarity are relatively young and therefore are not so theoretically entrenched that they cannot be subject to discussion and variation. The thesis therefore consisted of the underlying methodological structure of a landscape biography operating interface as outlined by Kolen *et al.* (2016). The emphasis on the individual and collective authors' impact and perceptions on and from the landscape ensured transdisciplinarity was a strong presence. Understanding the human-environment interaction and the "life worlds" of the landscape meant hermeneutic phenomenology and postphenomenology were essential to the methodological mix.

A synthesis of fieldwork, archival research and interviews with members of Kilrossanty's community were used to collate and produce the layers and themes of this landscape biography. GIS, Nvivo and Excel software were used to analyse and illustrate the data effectively. The layers examined throughout the thesis were:

- the temporal and spatial pattern of landownership between the social and political groups of Gaelic Irish, Old English and New English families in both the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries;
- the change and movement of settlements in the context of the topography of the mountainous landscape;
- individual participation and perceptions arising from the Catholic 1641 rebellion;
- an exploration of how the historic ordering and re-ordering of the landscape has affected its subsequent perception and use by a variety of authors.

By investigating the landscape in this way, it was possible to compile a framework of how a biography could be replicated in other regions in Ireland.

1.3.4 Research Aim

Thus the overall aim of this thesis is to:

- Create a landscape biography for Kilrossanty parish, Co Waterford, Ireland which will provide a theoretical methodology for other regions in Ireland.

The objectives to achieve this aim include to:

- Critically evaluate the relevant literature relating to landscape.
- Conduct historical evaluation and analysis of relevant records, maps and information pertinent to the geographic area.
- Create and analyse a series of GIS maps illustrating the historical physical, temporal, spatial and cultural changes in the landscape.
- Explore the people-place relationship by conducting a number of interviews with members of the local community.

1.3.5 Significance of the study

The significance of this research is that it is intended to be a complementary addition to the current approach to landscape in Ireland. The current national policy, as outlined in the National Landscape Strategy for Ireland (2015-2025), has a heavy focus on the preparation and completion of Landscape Character Assessments and Historic Landscape Characterisations. In practice to date, these have been inconsistent from county to county, mainly due to a lack of cohesive national methodological guidelines. This thesis outlines how a landscape biography approach has the capacity to incorporate more depth and context in its subject matter and is therefore more suitable to capture the historical layers resulting from the political and cultural effects of the English colonisation of the island, and subsequent competing ideologies. Ireland's unique landscape requires a fresh approach, specific to its own history.

Geographically Kilrossanty is a remote region and was as a consequence was often overlooked, or when it was included in historical documents, the content was often only an overview rather than containing a detailed description. The community's involvement in this research was therefore invaluable. Drawing out their local knowledge to identify the "materialities and sensibilities" (Wylie, 2006, p. 520) of the area means this work has developed the role somewhat of a data custodian. The significance of which was described by Tim Robinson (2011, p. 69) that, "Without the occasional renewal of memory and regular rehearsal of meaning, place itself founders into shapelessness, and time, the great amnesiac, forgets all"

1.4   Thesis Structure

The whole thesis is organised into nine Chapters. Chapter 2 places the research within both an academic and practical contextual background. It provides an overview of how landscape, as an academic subject, has been approached in multiple ways, teasing out the relevant threads or themes of how it relates to this study. Its focus then narrows to the concept of landscape biographies, their theoretical origins and how their application has been adopted and developed according to the field and region. Its practical application is explored, with a particular emphasis on the Netherlands where it has gained the most traction. The geographical focus is further tightened to explore how landscape has been approached in Ireland; firstly from a theoretical point of view, and then in a practical sense within governmental policy. In doing so, the research gaps and opportunities for study have been highlighted, which this thesis addresses.

Chapter 3 then introduces the research methodological framework for the study, which is underpinned by the landscape biography structural interface. It explores how this facilitates a transdisciplinary approach to integrate the people-landscape interaction, which is a key characteristic of landscape. The requisite epistemologies of hermeneutic phenomenology and postphenomenology which support the transdisciplinary nature of the study are also outlined. The practical application of these philosophical approaches are described in the data collection methods consisting of a synthesis of fieldwork, documentary research as well as interviews with members of the community.

The results of this data collection are laid out in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, specifically:

- Chapter 4 comprises of two main sections in which it presents the landownership patterns of Kilrossanty parish of firstly, the period between 1640 and 1670, as documented in the Civil Survey and Book of Survey and Distribution; and secondly, of the patterns as recorded in the Griffith's Valuation in the late nineteenth century.

- Chapter 5 analyses and maps the incidents and perpetrators relating to inhabitants of Kilrossanty, as identified and described in the witness depositions recorded by Protestants following the 1641 Rebellion.

- Chapter 6 examines the settlement patterns in Kilrossanty, outlining examples of their growth, decline, movement or disappearance from the late nineteenth century to the present day, using GIS.

- Chapter 7 shifts its focus from the preceding three Chapters to the perception of the landscape, outlining examples of how the local landscape has impacted upon its inhabitants and authors and the subsequent value that it has been awarded.

The subsequent Chapter 8, outlines the landscape biography conceptual model created as a result of the findings presented in the previous four Chapters, which identifies the historical transformations and categories of authors identified during the research. It is proposed that the model can be used as template for further similar studies in regions in Ireland.

The final Chapter 9, reflects and evaluates the overall thesis, and the extent to which it has achieved its aims and objectives. It explores the potential and relevance for future research into Irish landscapes.

Chapter 2 - Research Context

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this Chapter is to position the research within its theoretical and practical context. It will firstly explore the multiple approaches and perspectives which form the substance of landscape studies particularly in the context of this thesis. The emphasis then moves to an exploration of how landscape can be studied within a biographical framework. It provides an outline of the origin of the concept of landscape biographies as well as how this type of research has previously been applied to different regions in countries outside of Ireland, to better understand their practical applicability and use in real world planning. The focus is then narrowed onto Ireland itself, and how and the extent to which landscape has been viewed and studied to date from a national and local perspective. The historical influences on the physical and cultural landscape in Ireland in terms of landownership and settlements is included, as well as an outline of the extent to which Kilrossanty parish has been studied. The approach to landscape within Irish governmental policy is also outlined.

2.2 Approaches to Landscape Studies

The study of landscape is contradictory, simultaneously broad and far reaching enough to embrace a whole range of disciplines, but also vague enough to have never reached an agreed and universal definition (Muir, 1999). It "both invites and defies definition" (Gosden and Head, 1994, p. 113), and is ambiguous (Duffy, 2007). It has been described as "tension" as a result of the contradictions that emanate from divergent approaches of viewing the landscape from afar or up close and how it is experienced, physically or emotionally (Wylie, 2007). It is something tangible to view, to observe and describe from a distance (Sauer, 2008); but also it is something to 'read' like a text (Duncan and Duncan, 1988; Tilley, 1994; Muir, 1999). Its interpreted meaning however, is subjective and shifts according to the values and opinions of whomever is viewing it (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988; Darvill, 1999; Elerie and Spek, 2010; Lowenthal, 1985; Meinig, 1979; Olwig, 1996; Wylie, 2007; Tuan, 1979). Moreover its interpretation varies when filtered through 'veils' of power and ideology (Bender, 1992; Cosgrove, 1998; Mitchell, 1994; Olwig, 2002; Pratt, 2007; Walsham, 2011; 2012; Wylie, 2007). At the base of it all,

however, landscape is some-thing or some-feeling that is inhabited by humans and non-humans, interacted with, and experienced (Inglis, 1977; Ingold, 1993; Jackson, 1997).

Because of all these vagaries and lack of a clear definition surrounding the study of landscape, this section is not a straightforward chronicle of what literature has explored before, but more of an attempt to tease out the threads of its academic ontology, that form its methodological foundations, and those that are most relevant to this research on an Irish rural landscape, namely in brief:

- its integrating, interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary nature; the necessity of embracing a range of disciplines to attempt to capture its 'essence';
- the ever-changing multi-layered palimpsest;
- its subjectivity and shift in meaning depending on the observer;
- 'ways of seeing' (Wylie, 2007) the landscape, particularly involving the concept of imperialism and ideology, most relevant to Ireland;
- landscape as a lifeworld, the lived-in experience of the landscape.

2.2.1 Beyond disciplines

To immediately contradict the ambiguity of landscape as an academic subject, it can equally be noted that landscape is "an integrating concept" (Fairclough *et al.*, 2018, p. 10), which adopts a unifying approach (Fairclough *et al.*, 2018; Elerie and Spek, 2010), by bridging the gap between disciplines. It is holistic and more than the sum of its component parts (Antrop and Van Eetvelde, 2017; Van der Knaap and Van der Valk, 2006; Vidal de la Blache, 1926); embracing the Gestalt-theory (Troll, 1971). In its entirety, this unifying aspect has been described as "the landscape approach" (Shuttleworth, 2017), because it embraces such a broad range of academic approaches relating to nature, culture people, environment, social concerns and the economy (Fairclough *et al.*, 2018). A holistic, interdisciplinary and therefore interlinking approach to landscape studies is therefore inherently necessary to adequately study it and capture its 'essence' (Antrop, 2005; Antrop and Van Eetvelde, 2017; Muir, 1999; Wylie, 2007).

In more recent years however, it has become increasingly evident that a purely academic interdisciplinary approach was insufficient to fully understand the more local aspect of a landscape, and thus moves towards a transdisciplinary approach has become

necessary. This approach, as also adopted for this research, is explored in greater depth in Section 3.3.

The interdisciplinary characteristic of landscape studies has been illustrated by the "landscape wheel" reproduced below in Figure 2.1 (Tudor, 2014). This diagram highlights the range of elements which comprise a landscape, namely, the natural, cultural/social, perceptual and aesthetic, fusing together through the medium of the landscape. These elements are formed and evolved by the continuous interaction and interrelations between place and people.
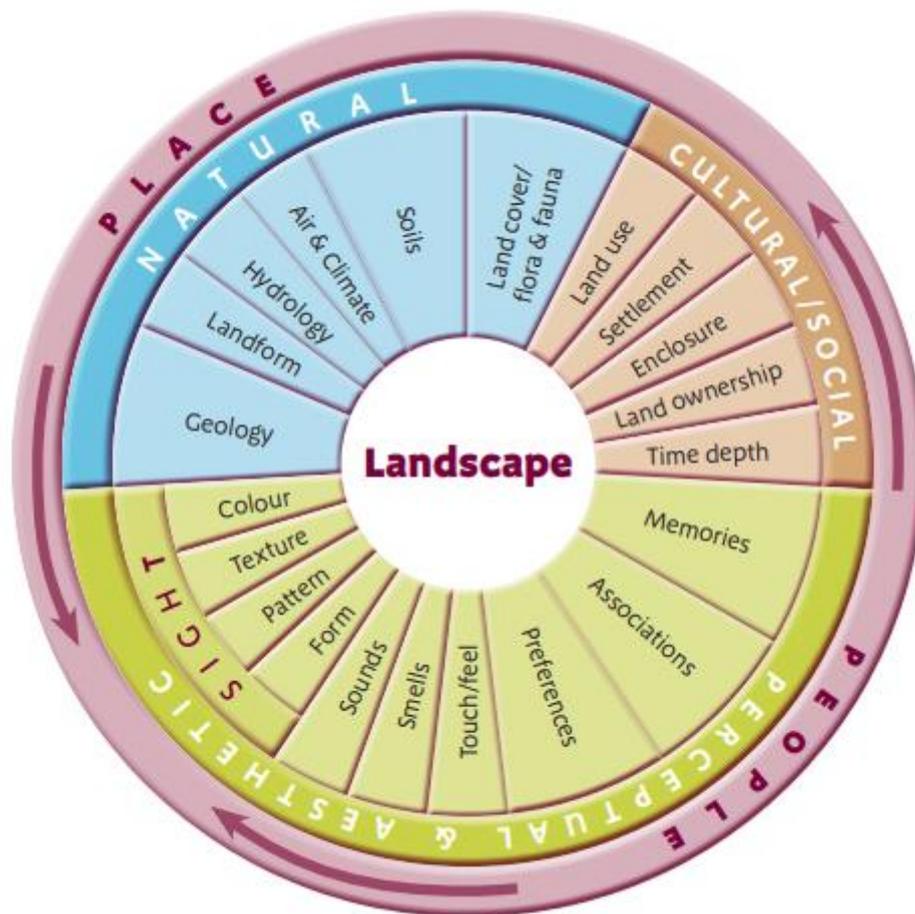
Figure 2.1: The "landscape wheel" illustrating the interdisciplinary and varied nature of any landscape (Tudor, 2014)

2.2.2 Multi-layered palimpsest

Traditionally, landscape historians have viewed the 'natural' landscape as a palimpsest, as a physical manifestation of layers upon layers of societal changes, from, for example, developments in technology including transport, politics, immigration, colonisation or war (Duffy, 2007; Van der Knaap and Van der Valk, 2006). Today's landscape is

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therefore a physical and cultural legacy of all that has gone before, "the sum of our pasts, generation laid over generation, like the slow mould of the seasons, forms the compost of our future" (Schama, 1995, p. 574). Furthermore landscape is multifaceted, it changes colour, mood and the spatial experience; it is a living heritage (Lowenthal, 2003), connecting the present to the past, becoming the symbol of the identity of its inhabitants and nation (Van der Knaap and Van der Valk, 2006).

Human and non-human activity interact with the landscape and become visible with features such as paths and roads, creating a "taskscape" (Ingold, 1993). Daniels and Cosgrove (1988) particularly deemphasised the tangibility or materiality of the landscape by focusing more on its symbolisation, "landscape is less like a palimpsest whose 'real' or 'authentic' meanings can somehow be recovered with the correct techniques, theories or ideologies, than a flickering text displayed on the word-processor screen whose meaning can be created, extended, altered, elaborated and finally obliterated by the merest touch of a button" (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988, p. 8).

In keeping with the ambiguity of landscape studies, the multi-layered palimpsest is not a straight-line chronological account, but embraces a more fluid sense of temporality (Harvey, 2013; Ingold, 1993), there is "a pattern of retensions from the past and protensions for the future", rather than a string of sequential events (Ingold, 1993, p. 157). This viewpoint incorporates key aspects of Edmund Husserl's phenomenology of temporality, explored in greater depth in Section 3.4, where it is related to this research in Kilrossanty.

2.2.3 Subjective Perception

The physical and cultural aspects of landscapes therefore are not static, but rather constantly changing, at varying levels and rates. The physical, material vista shifts depending on the light or the weather or vegetation; then intertwined with this, is a perceptual subjectivity which is dependent upon the observer's or participant's own cultural socialisation and background as well as the prevailing societal norms, or the Foucauldian épistémè (Foucault, 1970). Each individual therefore views or experiences the landscape in a different way (Cosgrove, 1998; Darvill, 1999; Lowenthal, 1985; Meinig, 1979; Muir, 1999; Schama, 1995; Tuan, 1979; Van der Knaap and Van der Valk, 2006; Van

Londen, 2006), including its monuments and structures (Barrett, 1999; Van der Schriek, 2019). As a result therefore, no two experiences of a landscape can be the same. This element of subjective perception is also relevant to the landscape researcher and their own personal viewpoint and biases from which they carry out their studies (Van Londen, 2006; Van der Knaap and Van der Valk, 2006; Vervloet *et al.*, 2010).

2.2.4   Reading the landscape

As previously outlined, the viewer of a landscape can adopt differing standpoints of either being an observer or a participant within that same landscape, the difference between an etic and emic viewpoint. The outsider's 'gaze' applied to a landscape, can adopt a semiotic discourse, of 'reading' the landscape as if it was a text and interpreting the embedded symbols and signs, to reveal its hidden codes and meanings (Duffy, 2007; Duncan and Duncan, 1988; Hoskins and Taylor, 1955; Lindström *et al.*, 2013; Muir, 1999). These 'meanings' can be 'read' with layers or filters of discourse such as power, race, gender or nationality. From a Western European point of view for example, it has been argued that the viewing of a landscape would always be subject to an imperialist context, of adopting an attitude (perpetuated by art and literature) of a cultural and political superiority over a perceived inferior nation or landscape (Bender, 1992; Mitchell, 1994; Pratt, 2007; Wylie, 2007). In terms of production therefore, a landscape cannot be viewed without acknowledging the Western capitalist system of production and reproduction, itself being a product of human labour, which also encompasses systems of justice and injustice and power (Cosgrove, 1998; Mitchell, 1994; Mitchell, 2002; Mitchell, 2003; Olwig, 2002). This is pertinent to an Irish landscape, together with the material and cultural manifestations and symbolisation of competing religious ideologies that have been prevalent in Ireland which has resulted in a sizeable impact on its landscape (Duffy, 2007; Walsham, 2011; 2012; Whelan, 1983; 1988).

2.2.5   The experience of landscape

Out of the three "totemic figures" (Wylie, 2007, p. 41) of Anglo-American landscape studies, Carl Sauer (1889-1975) and WG Hoskins (1908-1992) approached the landscape from "out there", whilst JB Jackson (1909-1996) took a different approach stating that "far from being spectators of the world we are participants in it" (Jackson, 1997, p. 2).

By exploring vernacular post-war American landscapes, he believed landscape should be treated as a living, *lived-in* world, articulating people and events who hitherto went largely unrecorded (Jackson, 1984). This approach has developed in more recent years as landscape being not just visual, but also as the everyday, lived in, participatory and experienced (Ingold, 1993; Jackson, 1997; Wattchow, 2013; Wylie, 2007; 2013). Mitchell (1994) wanted to change the word 'landscape' from a noun to a verb as it is not just a neutral background, but also 'acts', and is an instrument or 'agent' of power (Mitchell, 1994, p. 1). Ingold (1993) took it a step further, advocating that there is no division between inner and outer worlds, "through living in it, the landscape becomes a part of us, just as we are a part of it", calling it the "dwelling perspective" (Ingold, 1993, p. 152). Moreover he adds, "The landscape is the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them" (Ingold, 1993, p. 156); and by doing so creates and produces the "taskscape" (Ingold, 1993, p. 157).

The experience of a landscape involves all the senses of the inhabitant or visitor, which depending on the activities engaged, develops the character of a place and its unique significance (Wylie, 2005; 2007). From this, local, regional and national identities are formed, as well as the notions of home and belonging (Egoz, 2013; Sooväli *et al.*, 2003; Wylie, 2007). This experiential aspect of landscape exemplifies a phenomenological viewpoint, a significant thread throughout the wider thesis. Its philosophical underpinnings are explored in greater depth in Section 3.4 as part of the methodology.

More recently, this phenomenological attitude to landscape has taken new approaches, with writing not simply being about landscape but *of* landscape, and the experience of physically walking or inhabiting a landscape, such as Tim Robinson in the Aran Islands (Robinson, 2008) or Rebecca Solnit in the US (Solnit, 2001). The experiential element has been enhanced by the development in technology and the influence of psychogeography with writings and videos by for example, Iain Sinclair (Sinclair, 2003) and John Rogers (Rogers, 2013) in London, and Nick Papadimitriou also in London and its often overlooked fringes (Papadimitriou, 2012).

2.3 Landscape Biographies

The concept of a landscape biography is relatively new and widely accepted to have been introduced in 1979 by the human geographer Marwyn S. Samuels (Huijbens and Palsson, 2015; Kolen and Renes, 2015b; Kolen *et al.*, 2018; Purmer, 2015; Roymans *et al.*, 2009; Stoye, 2015). Samuels (1979) bemoaned the loss of individuation within landscape studies and that the "who" behind the image and facts about a landscape was no longer explored. He theorised that, as with a human biography, the landscape should be studied along with its inhabitants and to identify its "authors" who changed and affected the physical landscape. This could range from the large architects of change such as Capability Brown to the "*nobody in particular*" (Samuels, 1979, p. 52). To Samuels, a landscape biography is an account of the myriad of individuals who have lived, worked, shaped and imagined their surroundings, which are ever-shifting and imprinted by people's actions and life histories (Kolen *et al.*, 2018). All landscapes therefore are authored landscapes.

Samuels (1979) identifies "Landscapes of Impression" which are the subjective ideas and images a particular landscape can inspire in humans resulting in, for instance, a work of literature or a painting; these can then in turn influence how others perceive the landscape (Samuels, 1979; Stoye, 2015). This perception can take a caricature form, such as an "uncivilised" Africa or Asia waiting to be "discovered" and "opened to civilisation" and thereby presenting a justification for colonisation. The impressions of a landscape can produce an exaggerated self-importance resulting in the exclusion or attack of "outsiders", as it feeds a nationalist sentiment resulting in terminology such as "homelands, motherlands and fatherlands" (Samuels, 1979, p. 71). Samuels also identifies "Landscapes of Expression", where the landscape impressions or perceptions are taken and used to become a physical reality within the landscape, in other words how the authors physically affect the landscape around them. They are the difference between the "mental" and "material" landscapes (Stoye, 2015); in essence the difference "between a world imagined, and a world lived-in" (Samuels, 1979, p. 69).

To illustrate his theory of focusing on the role of individuals in the creation and evolvement of a landscape, Samuels (1979) gives the examples of the urban centres of

New York and Shanghai and explores how individuals have left their imprint on the landscape, most significantly the so-called "elites", such as Robert Moses, Harrimans, Sassoon and the Rockefellers (Samuels, 1979, p. 78). He acknowledges that a biography "indulges an elitist sentiment" because these are the authors who have been recorded in public and official records, who held positions of authority and hence are easily traceable (Samuels, 1979, p. 78). While conversely, those who did not own property, were outsiders, transient or simply poor, tended to be neglected in official records, and therefore remain nameless, faceless individuals, despite comprising the vast majority of the population. This is one of the inherent weaknesses of the concept, because a true, complete biography can never be achieved without including all authors, no matter the size of their footprint, which would be an impossible task.

The cultural theorist, Michel de Certeau (1925-1986) went on to mirror the biographical concept in his work *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), in which he placed the emphasis of the evolution of a landscape on those who live "down below" or the "ordinary practitioners". From his vantage point on the 110th floor of the World Trade Centre in Manhattan, he described the Wandersmänner, the everyday lives of walkers "whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban 'text' they write without being able to read it" (De Certeau, 1984, p. 93). From his elevated position the city becomes a text to read, as the city can only be experienced by movement through which it comes alive and the act of walking enunciates the space. It is significant to note that both these scholars had a focus on the densely populated city of New York, an extremely different landscape to the focus of this research.

Whilst the phrasing of a "biography of landscape" stems from Samuels (1979), the roots of the concept can be traced back further to the work of French geographer, Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845-1918). Vidal adhered to the concept of environmental possibilism, that is, the reciprocal relationship between a natural environment (milieu) and the human communities it supports, resulting in a vast array of different ways of life or 'genres de vie' distinctive to that region (Mercier, 2009; Vidal de la Blache, 1926). Each human group through its activities, practices and techniques therefore adapts to its milieu. This adaptation constitutes a genre de vie, which in return leaves its mark on the milieu. Hence by way of the genre de vie, the milieu acquires a specifically human

dimension which, according to Vidal, the paysage or landscape never fails to reveal, "the stage itself is alive" (Vidal de la Blache, 1926, p. 6). He advocated a central focus on a region's dynamics, one of the central tenets of a landscape biography. He also examined the transformations of a region by viewing present phenomena within a region as stages within a long evolution (Vidal de la Blache, 1926).

Anthropologists, Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoff (1986) shifted the term "biography" onto something other than human life, when looking at the long history of prestigious objects, as the "cultural biography of things" (Appadurai, 1986, p. 34). The continual passing of objects from one owner or user to another, meant their social context shifted as did their cultural value. The biographical term was similarly adopted by archaeologists, particularly in Britain and the Netherlands, during the 1990s to describe the life histories of monuments and how their use and perception has altered over time (Edmonds, 1999; Gillings and Pollard, 2015; Holtorf, 1998; Kolen and Renes, 2015b; Roymans *et al.*, 2009; Pollard and Reynolds, 2002). Landscape biographies in North America covered short-term developments in predominantly urban environments, such as New York, or ecologically valuable areas such as wetlands (Gomez, 1998; Meredith, 1985; Samuels, 1979).

The biographical approach to landscape has increased in popularity particularly over the last decade because it encompasses a much more integrated approach to studying the human-environment interaction, transcending the former splits and subdivisions between disciplines and period specialisations, with the result that it has now become more widely accepted as an academic and educational concept (Crumley *et al.*, 2017; Kolen and Renes, 2015b). Inevitably the approach to the study of a landscape biography has altered over time as a result of learnings from practical experience and the exploration of territories away from the initial theoretical viewpoints of the big cities of New York and Shanghai (De Certeau, 1984; Samuels, 1979). Geographically the focus up to this point has concentrated on landscapes located in inter alia North America (Gomez, 1998; Meredith, 1985), UK (Gillings and Pollard, 2015; Pollard and Reynolds, 2002), Iceland (Huijbens and Palsson, 2015), China (Koren, 2015), Estonia (Sooväli-Sepping, 2015), France (Clout, 2006), Denmark (Riesto, 2015), Italy (Van Manen *et al.*, 2016) and New Zealand (Spicer *et al.*, 2020). The territory however that has significantly

embraced and developed the landscape biographical concept to arguably its optimum benefit has been the Netherlands with numerous studies (Bloemers, 2010; Crumley *et al.*, 2017; De Kleijn *et al.*, 2016; Hupperetz, 2015; Kolen and Renes, 2015b; Roymans *et al.*, 2009; Van Londen, 2006; Vervloet *et al.*, 2010). A recent biographical study has been carried out in Fort-Liberté in Haiti, which explored the historic development of the micro-region against a background of Spanish and French colonising forces (Jean *et al.*, 2021). Despite substantial physical and geographical differences to Ireland, the biographical themes of relationship between coloniser and colonised and its reciprocal impact on the landscape has greater similarity with an Irish study than some of the UK or Western European examples. It is worthwhile to reiterate that to date prior to this research, no landscape biographical study had been carried out on any type of landscape in Ireland.

2.3.1 Application to real world planning

Landscape biographies are becoming increasingly recognised as a useful tool for collaboration between heritage managers and spatial planners for heritage management, local government planning and tourism policy (Crumley *et al.*, 2017; Cuijpers and Bekius, 2006; De Kleijn *et al.*, 2016; Elerie and Spek, 2010; Riesto, 2015; Spicer *et al.*, 2020; Van Londen, 2006; Van Manen *et al.*, 2016; Vervloet *et al.*, 2010). It has particularly gained the most traction in the Netherlands, in part as a result of being embraced by influential organisations such as the Dutch Research Council (NWO). Though not exhaustive, a number of examples have been outlined to offer an overview of their application to real world planning.

Elerie and Spek (2010) describe the Drentsche Aa project in the Netherlands, which was an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary five year research project (2005-2009) involving geologists, archaeologists, historical geographers, toponymists and ecologists creating an integrated analysis of the landscape, using landscape biography as the academic thread through the entire programme. The region "considered to be one of the most beautiful areas on the country" (Strootman Landschapsarchitecten, 2007), is described as a "green heart" amidst the largest urban region in the northern Netherlands, was at risk with encroaching urbanisation and the authors regard it as a

form of "action research" (Elerie and Spek, 2010, p. 92). Significantly they also used complementary local knowledge to enhance the planning system by taking into account all users of the landscape. Seven projects were developed as part of the programme, including a series of digital maps detailing the geological, archaeological, historical, geographical and historical architectural values in the area, compiled into an online cultural atlas accessible to the general public, with a field names project to show how views of the landscape change over time (Elerie and Spek, 2010).

The Eastern Netherlands Project has an objective of constructing a comprehensive biography of the cultural landscape of the Salland and Achterhoek regions in 2004 launched by Wageningen University and the Cultural Heritage Agency by means of transdisciplinary (or "action") research, emphasising the importance of knowledge being exchanged with policymakers, planners, landscape architects and the local population to ensure that the information gathered has an impact on the way cultural heritage values are dealt with in spatial planning (Vervloet *et al.*, 2010). The project entitled "Bunnik Buiten Gewoon Mooi" or "Bunnik Outstandingly Beautiful" was carried out in 2002 and 2003 to overcome the problem of integrating cultural historical aspects into spatial planning to improve the communication gap between cultural historians and town and country planners and landscape architects (Cuijpers and Bekius, 2006). Similarly a large-scale research programme used a transdisciplinary approach for researching the Oer-Ij estuary in North Holland entitled "Protecting and Developing the Dutch Archaeological-Historical Landscape" (Van Londen, 2006).

The international collaboration of HERCULES WP2 project put the concept into practice with a goal of improving the "understanding of drivers, patterns, and values of European cultural landscapes and to use this knowledge to develop, test, and demonstrate strategies for their protection, management and planning" (Hercules, 2015; Crumley *et al.*, 2017). This enabled divisions within landscape research to be overcome, which would be inevitable when examining nine varying landscapes in nine European countries. In keeping with the biographical concept, the study had a regional focus, was "explicitly phenomenological", with an emphasis on heritage studies, whilst maintaining an interdisciplinary viewpoint linking archaeological, historical, geographical, ecological and social data (Crumley *et al.*, 2017, p. 884). The Netherlands,

once again, appear to be the leaders in promoting and developing the concept, with a number of researchers attributing its developmental success to the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) (Bloemers, 2010; Roymans *et al.*, 2009; Vervloet *et al.*, 2010).

Outside of the Netherlands, Riesto (2015) examined the former industrial site of the Carlsberg factory in Denmark and the changes in an urban landscape as it was reconfigured into a new imagining of a leisure space by exploring "open spaces as participants in layered social, ecological and cultural processes by drawing on an emerging research tradition called landscape biography" (Riesto, 2015, p. 15). Riesto explores the layers of the landscape and the particular lenses through which people view it and the perceived value shifts of little to no value attributed to the industrial open spaces whilst it was a factory, compared with the high value given once it has been "regenerated".

Spicer *et al.* (2020) used a landscape biographical approach to analyse an agri-environmental policy experiment around Lake Taupo in New Zealand, to assess and monitor the nitrogen allowances used by owners of individual farms in the area to still remain within the legal cap. The authors felt that this was the best approach because it offered varying disciplines a common ground, and the project could explore landscape paths on three levels, of socio-ecological, local community, and individual farms. A landscape biography was essential for this project as it integrated multiple sources, encouraging a plurality of views that may even be conflicting at times, interweaving personal stories with expert opinion, whilst addressing multiple temporal and spatial scales (Spicer *et al.*, 2020).

A number of these recent projects have used digital interpretation to allow the knowledge to be accessible to the general public, including interactive websites such as www.zandstad.nl, www.idzo.nl,www.catonline.nl and www.strootman.net/en/project/landschapsvisie-drentsche-aa. Digital Cultural Biographies (DCB) can considerably improve the distribution of information and dialogue amongst stakeholders and interest groups as well as enabling the

communication of the historical "layerdness" and dynamics (De Kleijn *et al.*, 2016; Van Manen *et al.*, 2016).

2.4   The Irish Landscape

2.4.1   Irish Landscape Studies

The theoretical origins and development around landscape and its conceptual incarnation of a biography have been outlined in the previous Sections. Moving forward, this Section establishes a narrower geographical focus by highlighting how landscape as an academic study has been applied to the Irish context. This is not, and could not, be an exhaustive list of all work related to elements that impact upon the physical landscape, but rather a spotlight on the research that views landscape as an integrating force rather than a simple backdrop or stage, upon which events happen. The literature selected is also only related to rural regions, as befits the region of Kilrossanty.

The concept of landscape as described in Section 2.2, is a multi-layered unifying, holistic approach which incorporates the reciprocal interaction between nature, culture, people, environment, society and the economy. The principal work which approaches the Irish landscape in this way is Patrick's Duffy's book entitled *Exploring the History and Heritage of Irish Landscapes* (2007). In this he acknowledges the interconnecting elements or processes of change that comprise the Irish landscape, which are the consequences of locational, environmental, economic, cultural, social or ideological factors. His other works maintained a regional focus of County Monaghan, outlining for example, the landholding patterns that existed within a larger landscape context (Duffy, 2017b), as well as engaging a colonial lens on the region, to examine how power and authority stemming from the large Leslie and Shirley estates had regulated the space, place and dwelling of its inhabitants, as well as the resulting contestation within the landscape (Duffy, 2017a).

An earlier work of Mitchell and Ryan (1997), entitled *Reading the Irish Landscape,* was a chronological approach to the physical landscape, which incorporated an interdisciplinary viewpoint of "geology, botany, climatology, pedology, history,

archaeology and many more" (Mitchell and Ryan, 1997, p. vii), to offer an improved understanding and appreciation of their contribution to the overall Irish landscape.

The prolific and far-reaching cartographic and narrative work of Tim Robinson in one western corner of Ireland of the Aran Islands, the Burren and Connemara, explored a landscape in minute detail, using an instinctive transdisciplinary methodology. Robinson had a "complex web of his identities as a cartographer, an ecologist, an environmentalist, a natural historian, a botanist, a mathematician, a geographer, an artist, a translator and a landscape or topographical writer" (Gladwin and Cusick, 2016, p. 1), not dissimilar to the holistic view adopted for landscape studies, including the biographical approach. His vocabulary was also "dominated by concerns of space, time, dwelling and belonging" (Cronin, 2016, p. 53). Robinson's work allows us to view a landscape in terms of dwelling (and displacement) and identity, the relationship between nature and culture (Wylie, 2012). These being not dissimilar themes that run through this thesis of a landscape biography in another region in Ireland.

Kevin Whelan has produced a number of works exploring the temporal and spatial settlement patterns and structure in Ireland (Whelan, 1983; 1988; 1997; 1999; 2004; 2012). Their development is contextualised within the prevailing socio-economic and ideological power, "containing contested narratives of history and culture" (Whelan, 2004, p. 3). Both the settlement features and associated agricultural land use are placed within a cultural landscape palimpsest, "Each historical layer had not been laid down uniformly over its predecessors, smoothly and quietly accumulating, with each earlier layer completely buried beneath its successor: instead the cultural topography was unconformable, with layers abruptly impinging on each other" (Whelan, 2004, p. 3).

There are other fundamental prominent characteristics of the Irish rural landscape which have been studied in depth, such as the aesthetics and design of the landscape garden and estate demesne emulated by England's generally poorer aristocratic cousins in Ireland (O'Kane, 2004b; a; 2016b; a). The contestation within the landscape evident from the imposition of designed gardens and architecture layered upon former seventeenth century "battle landscapes" (O'Kane, 2016b). The hidden influences on these aristocratic landscape of women and Catholics during the period of repression for both of these groups is also of significance (O'Kane, 2004a; 2016a).

Human activity and expansion into the upland regions has been most comprehensively covered with Eugene Costello's work on the physical and cultural characteristics of transhumance (or booleying) (Costello, 2012; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2020). The research into the activity of booleying is significant because it "provides a crucial insight into the adaptive capacity of rural communities over multiple generations, as they reacted to shocks such as conquest, elite change and famine, as well as to wider economic opportunities" (Costello, 2020, p. 7). It also develops a greater understanding of the change in landscape from open pastoral land to enclosed cultivated land along the slopes of the mountain and the responsible authors (Costello, 2020).

These are just a selection of studies which explore the basis of landscape research of the human-environment interaction in Ireland, although Duffy (2007) is the sole work that makes reference to the varying ways which a landscape's personality can be viewed and perceived. Each of these important studies focus on one element that impacts upon and is impacted by the Irish landscape. This thesis focusing on one small rural region, endeavours to incorporate these relevant elements by using the landscape biographical theoretical methodology, which will be outlined in the forthcoming Chapters.

2.4.2 Historical Influences on the Landscape

An historical context is required of how the developments of the physical and cultural landscape have occurred, which will aid understanding of the data gathered and presented in the following Chapters. An additional significant part of the reason for the inclusion of this Section, is also to highlight the difference between the Irish historical context and that of its nearest neighbour of England, which has resulted in its own distinctive physical and cultural landscape.

2.4.2.1 Landownership

The structure of landownership in the island of Ireland was transformed by the expanding English imperial enterprises from the 1550s, initially in the form of the Plantations. From a medieval world of Gaelic territorial lordship, lineages, Anglo-Norman manors and tower houses, it was transformed into one dominated by a landed Anglo-Protestant gentry, which was completed by the Cromwellian invasion occurring between 1649 and 1653 (Cooney, 1999; Duffy, 1977; 2007; Foster, 1988; Mitchell and Ryan,

1997; Smyth, 2006). The shift in the landownership pattern was massive; in 1600 more than 80% of land was held in Catholic hands, and by 1641 this had been reduced by 59% achieved mainly by "plantation, purchase and intrigue" (Smyth, 2006, p. 377). Moreover by 1688 after the Cromwellian Wars, only 22% were owned by Catholics; and by 1703 it had fallen even further to 14% (Smyth, 2006, p. 377). This huge upheaval in landownership and settlement was unprecedented in any European country in this period (Canny, 2001; Smyth, 2006). Chapter 4 details how this landowning pattern was replicated on a smaller scale, but no less significant in its impact, in Kilrossanty.

The old autonomous lordships were replaced by a centralised state system based in Dublin with a ruling elite scattered across the country, with the imposition of the system of 'landlordism', a phenomenon which reached its peak in the mid to late nineteenth century (Duffy, 2007; Foster, 1988; Jones-Hughes, 1965; 1986; Mitchell and Ryan, 1997; Simms, 1999; 2004). Although the size of their holdings was variable, these regional landlords wielded great power and influence over their local community and landscape by for example, controlling the location and type of buildings constructed and the types of agriculture. Politically and economically, the landlords sat in positions of political power and authority (until the creation of county councils in 1898) as well as being a major employer in the area (Dooley, 2001; Duffy, 2007; Foster, 1988).

The most visible impact and still very much an imposing part of the Irish landscape today, are what was traditionally known as the Big Houses, which are the large country homes of the landlords and their surrounding estates. The houses vary in size from a large farmhouse to palatial type mansions, usually surrounded by landscaped gardens or a demesne, encircled by high stone walls and trees. This boundary enhanced the cultural divide between Protestant landlord and Catholic tenant by enclosing the inhabitants and excluding the outsiders (Dooley, 2001; Duffy, 2007). Their imposing architecture contrasted with the dwellings of the Irish tenant farmers, often consisting of diminutive cottiers' mud cabins and labourer's cottages. The houses and grounds were designed to inspire awe and display wealth; whilst to the majority of the Irish population, they tended to inspire resentment and hostility, which further exacerbated the social divide (Dooley, 2001; Duffy, 2007). The associated physicality and perception of Kilrossanty's Big House is explored in Chapter 6.

Thus from the seventeenth century as a result of the country's colonisation, there existed contested landscapes in Ireland, between that of traditional Gaelic Irish of oral tradition and kinship and Catholic faith, and the new Anglo-Protestant authority figures who viewed the territory largely as a vehicle to create profit (Cooney, 1999; Smyth, 2006). Classification and representation of this new landownership is detailed in cartographic form in the Down Survey (Canny, 2001; Nolan, 1979b; Smyth, 2006; TCD, 2013) and later in the nineteenth century, the Ordnance Survey (Andrews, 2002; Prunty, 2004; Simms, 2004). The detail and bias that these maps reveal in their representation of the landscape in terms of Kilrossanty, are explored in greater detail in Chapters 4, 6 and 7. Representations of the landscape in painting and the ideal of the picturesque, were deeply embedded in the relations between power and knowledge and a way of taming the 'wild' nature around them as a display of wealth and status (Duffy, 2007; O'Kane, 2004a; Smyth, 2006), to oppose the 'barbarity' of the indigenous Irish with the 'civility' of the new authorities (Smyth, 2006). These representations also influenced the development of modern tourism in Ireland and the outside perception of the Irish landscape as a timeless, mythical, romantic place (Cooney, 1999; O'Kane, 2004b).

2.4.2.2 Defining Irish Settlements

One aspect of the Irish landscape that has been extensively researched is the regional and national settlement structures, which has had significant reciprocal impact upon the material and cultural landscape; "settlement is both medium and message, site and symbol, terrain and text" (Simms, 2004, p. 312). This Section will offer a brief overview of the more significant changes in Irish historical settlement patterns.

The serious study of rural Irish settlements began with Estyn Evans in 1939, whose methodology focused on fieldwork exploring traditional rural settlement patterns and house types in the North West of the country (Simms, 2004). His students such as McCourt (1971), Buchanan (1973, 1986) and Proudfoot (1959) continued the research into the 1970s and 1980s with a body of work that studied the various external influences which had affected the pattern of settlements, such as agriculture (Whelan, 1999; Burtchaell, 1992), colonialism (Jones Hughes, 1965, 1986), invasions (Simms, 1983), and religion (Maguire, 2004, Whelan, 1983, 1988, 1999).

T Jones Hughes (1986; 1965) was also influential during this early period of Irish historic settlements studies, although he diverged from Evans's methodology by placing a stronger focus on evidence from written documents particularly nineteenth century documentary sources in order to examine how power in society was mediated through land-holding (Simms, 1999; 2004). These differing approaches to settlement research gave rise to two strands of settlements studies, comprising field observations (Buchanan, 1973; McCourt, 1971; Buchanan, 1986; Proudfoot, 1959), and research into the influence of institutions and cultural factors on settlement structure (Duffy, 1977; 2007; Nolan, 1979a; Smyth, 1976; Burtchaell, 1988; Smyth, 2006; Whelan, 1983; 1988; 1999).

Flatrès (1971; 1957) placed Irish settlements within a European context, exploring the difficulties of defining settlements as villages or hamlets because of individuals' differing perceptions. He described how secondary and tertiary metamorphosis of villages occurred when the settlement slowly changes its function, for example, moving away from a purely agricultural base to hosting more services or the farming population moves outside the village, whilst commuters take their place.

More recently, the continuous change within rural settlements has been explored by inter alia, Duffy (2007), Smyth (2006) and O'Reilly (2010; 2012). It is generally agreed that Irish rural settlements have been, and continue to be, fluid in their structure, changing according to the prevailing authority and their influence (Aalen *et al.*, 1997; Duffy, 2007; McCourt, 1971; Simms, 1986) and therefore an interdisciplinary approach is essential for their optimum understanding (Simms, 1999). As Whelan (1999) states, settlement should be treated as "a text, a multi-layered document, full of human intentionality, a culture code which embodies different levels of meaning" (Whelan, 1999, p. 187).

The radical restructuring of the landownership in Ireland in the seventeenth century was reflected in the shape and pattern of its settlements. Prior to the island's colonisation, settlement structures in the more populated regions in Ireland, including the wider hinterland regions of Waterford port, were generally dominated by 'towns' centred around a manor or tower house as well as a church, under the patronage of the local lord. Around these larger settlements were church-centre hamlets and townlands,

populated by big farms and mainly clustered settlements of kin-groups and/or their labourers (Smyth, 2006). This structure was largely destroyed by the English settlers, in favour of the new plantations and estate villages, built according to the landlords' authority bringing with them a new commercial outlook (Duffy, 2007; Smyth, 2006).

The patterns were not ubiquitous for the whole country however, and was dependent on the regional variation of agricultural practices and the relative impact of the landlord system (Jones-Hughes, 1986; Whelan, 1983; 1999). For instance, the estate system was much more invasive in the agriculturally poorer regions of the west than in the more affluent and fertile regions of the east (Jones-Hughes, 1986). Moreover smaller-scale farming was generally spatially restricted to the west of the island, where the rundale system and clachans were more prevalent (Evans, 1973; Whelan, 1983; 1999). Whereas in the south-east of the country, dairying and beef farming were the most prevalent, making use of the major ports of Waterford and Cork to the Atlantic markets, and therefore enjoyed a more prosperous agricultural system (Duffy, 2007; Whelan, 1999).

The substantial change in the type of agriculture at this time also meant many labourers were displaced in the transition and became a substantial underclass in Irish society, forced into creating marginal settlements in inhospitable land such as bogs or commonage or further upland (Aalen *et al.*, 1997; Whelan, 1999). Small-scale farming was spatially restricted to the west of the island, and, Whelan believes, was never the dominant archetype, contrary to Evans's "peasant" model. Whelan (1999) believed they were, in fact, a relatively new phenomenon, which grew out of the population explosion between 1600 and 1840 which saw the population grow from 1 million to 8.5 million, and forced the reclamation of previously unsettled areas, helped by the potato crop's ability to flourish in poorer soils (Whelan, 1999).

Ireland lost 282,000 houses and in the half century after the famine in the late nineteenth century with a further decline of at least 200,000 of mostly cabins of the poorest classes. This was combined with a net emigration of almost 750,000 people from the 26 counties between 1926 and 1956 which further emptied the countryside. Settlement landscapes were therefore characterised by contraction and withdrawal, evidenced by potato ridges and house ruins, "In many senses Ireland is a land of ruins,

reflecting destruction and warfare of the past, as well as depopulation of settlements in more modern times" (Duffy, 2007, p. 114). The socio-economic history of the country also had its effects in the settlement patterns within the micro-region of Kilrossanty, including the depopulation and resulting change in land use. Some of the physical reminders of these deserted settlements, as well as the change in the cultivated terrain in the landscape are detailed in Chapter 6.

2.4.3 Studies into Kilrossanty

There has been a considerable amount of work relating to rural Irish settlements which have focused on specific regional characteristics, covering a variety of time periods, for example, farm villages in South Kilkenny (Burtchaell, 1988; O'Reilly, 2010; Smyth, 2006), County Dublin (Simms, 1983; Smyth, 2006), County Tipperary (Hennessy, 1996; Smyth, 2006); Anglo-Norman settlement in County Meath (Graham, 1975) and of course County Donegal (Evans, 1939a; b; 1957; 1973). Research into County Waterford's settlements however, has not been quite so extensive compared with its neighbouring counties, with the exception of Nolan's (1992) compilation of interdisciplinary essays which included work by Jack Burtchaell on a typology of settlement and society and Proudfoot on the local county estate system in the mid-nineteenth century (Burtchaell, 1992; Nolan and Power, 1992; Proudfoot, 1992).

In the 1980s, Ketch (1986a; b; 1987) carried out, what appears to be, the only work on the historic settlement and colonisation of the Comeragh mountains, of which Kilrossanty parish was a part. Originating from Glendalligan townland in Kilrossanty parish, Ketch's published work consisted of a series of three articles in the *Decies* magazine in which the change in regional land value, socio-economic structure and population settlement by comparing the seventeenth century Down Survey with nineteenth century sources was presented. The work examined the creation, implementation and change of the spatial area of townlands in the region as an indicator of land use and its corresponding economic value. Townlands were not originally defined on the most marginal higher uplands, whilst others were subsequently subdivided into smaller parcels in the nineteenth century. In the Comeraghs, for example, the single denomination of "Nyre" was divided into fourteen separate

townlands as well as the subdivision of neighbouring regions of Kilgobinet and Kilrossanty. Ketch (1986a) argued that the extension of the townland network into the higher altitude, marginal land was as a result of greater governmental administrative involvement as a result of the encroaching colonisation of these areas and a desire to place a financial value on the land. As a settlement that is on the cusp of the cultivated region, Ketch terms Ballintlea as "a pioneer settlement"(Ketch, 1986a). The articles also offer a brief overview of the local townland names as reflecting their original land use (for example, Bualie relating to booleying) and New English origins such as Castlequarter, Comeragh House, Englishtown; or of poor quality land, eg. Briska, meaning "brittle land" and Crough meaning the "stiff soiled townland" (Ketch, 1986a; 1987).

2.5   Landscape in Practice: Irish Governmental Policy on Landscape

This Section moves away from the historical layers of the physical and cultural Irish landscape to how landscape as a concept has been practically applied and positioned within the relevant strategic plans and policies in the country. It explores the guidelines from the European level, how it has been translated on a national scale and ultimately the extent to which it has been practically interpreted and implemented on the ground, at the local level. It places the thesis within a legislative context to complement the philosophical and theoretical basis that has been examined in previous Sections. It also shows how the biographical approach towards landscape can fit the remit of landscape policy in Ireland, although it has yet to be applied.

Figure 2.2 offers a vertical snapshot of the current relevant plans, policies and legislation that encompass landscape in Ireland. Stemming from the supranational European Landscape Convention, subsequently translated into the National Landscape Strategy, from which the concept of landscape is, in principle, filtered down through the National Planning Framework and Plan to the local county Development Plan and ultimately impacting the local community.

In practice however, although the concept of landscape and its importance is cited in various policies, the ultimate application of the policies is limited. There are no repercussions if a signatory country does not implement the European Landscape

Convention's objectives and no pressure is applied to ensure quality outputs. As such, its application in Ireland is very much policy rather than practice. The implementation of the National Landscape Strategy in the country therefore, has resulted in no consistency in application across regions, including no official relationship with the Planning and Development Act. The emphasis within the national guidelines on producing Landscape Character Assessments, for example, is hampered by a lack of a national guidance and structure, resulting in piecemeal applications in different counties, with no regional cross-border interaction or consistency.
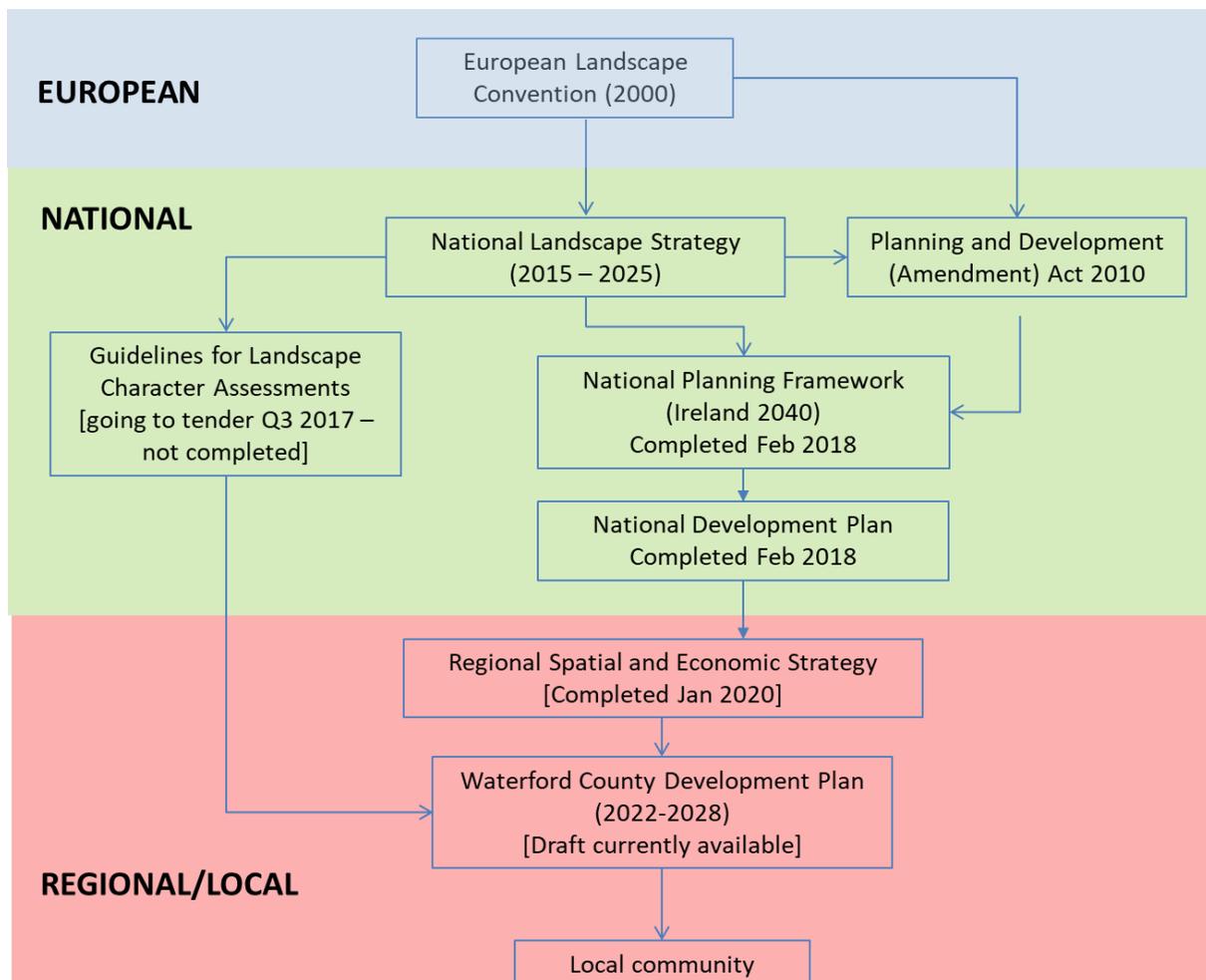
Figure 2.2: An overview of the inclusion of landscape in policy and planning in the Republic of Ireland on a European, national and regional level

2.5.1 European Landscape Legislation

The European Landscape Convention (ELC) was published in 2000 and was the first international treaty to focus exclusively on all aspects of European landscapes. Its overarching aim is to promote the protection, management and planning of these landscapes and was the first international body to look at the "whole landscape" in such an integrated manner. Ireland ratified it in 2002, along with 38 other countries (Council of Europe, 2000a). The ELC regards all landscapes to be significant with natural and/or cultural value, whether they are outstanding or ordinary, urban or rural, and that this determines the quality of people's living environment. It defines landscapes as "an area as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors" (Council of Europe, 2000a, Article 1a), and that a landscape "forms a whole, whose natural and cultural components are taken together, not separately" (Council of Europe, 2000b, Chp 1, Article 1:38) .

Its ethos is to bring landscape into the mainstream political thinking, to engage people with their surroundings to reinforce local and regional identity "which will bring rewards in terms of individual, social and cultural fulfilment" (Council of Europe, 2000b, II: 24). This in turn will have a positive impact on the sustainable development of an area which has benefits both socially and economically.

Although the ELC was formulated at a supranational level, it maintains a focus on the regional, emphasising that any professional landscape fieldwork should involve the local community, the general public and the various other stakeholders by means of surveys and information meetings" (Council of Europe, 2000b, Chapter II, Article 6: 56), which would improve its effectiveness and also ensure communities engage with the landscape to understand the value of it in order to enrich their lives as a foundation of local identity (Council of Europe, 2000b, Chp II, Article 5:50).

The ELC acknowledges the distinctiveness of landscape across the European Union countries, and therefore states that it is the responsibility of individual "Parties to carry out research and studies in order to identify landscapes and analyse their characteristics and the dynamics and pressures which affect them" (Council of Europe, 2000b, Article 6, C1a:55). It advocates using Geographical Information Systems (GIS) and modern

techniques of computerised mapping to show up landscape characteristics, such as the physical relief, the settlement pattern, the main land uses, economic activities, residential areas, the presence or absence of features such as hedgerows and terraces, important wildlife habitats and the heritage of past human activity. It believes there is no one acknowledged method for studying, identifying and evaluating landscapes, but rather the focus should be on the whole landscape rather than detailing a list of assets in that area (Council of Europe, 2000b, Chp IV, Article 12:78).

In summary, the ELC identified the following general measures each Party must put in place within their own country to implement the Convention:

- Recognise landscape on a legal basis

- Frame and implement policies to protect, manage and plan landscapes

- Lay down procedures for participation by all stakeholders

- Incorporate landscape into all aspects of any policy which has a direct impact on landscape, including transport, economic, social, agricultural, cultural policies (Council of Europe, 2000b, Chp II, Article 5:50).

In practice however, the ELC does not possess the power or authority to ensure that these measures are adopted and effectively implemented by the individual signatories, which has resulted in inconsistent application on a national level.

2.5.2 National level

2.5.2.1 National Landscape Strategy

Ireland's response to the ELC was the creation of the National Landscape Strategy (2015 – 2025) (NLS) which adopted the ELC's general and specific measures in an attempt to manage the landscape in a "considered, integrated and planned way" (Department of Arts Heritage and the Gaeltacht, 2015, p. 5). There are six core objectives of the National Landscape Strategy to ensure that it is integrated in the Irish collective decision-making processes.

- Recognise landscapes in law
- Develop a National Landscape Character Assessment

- Develop Landscape Policies

- Increase Landscape Awareness

- Identify Education, Research and Training Needs

- Strengthen Public Participation (Department of Arts Heritage and the Gaeltacht, 2015, p. 16.0)

The implementation of the objectives however has had limited success. For it to be truly effective, the practical application of the NLS objectives needs to be incorporated into the Planning and Development (Amendment) Act, as the principal statutory instrument of the Irish planning system. The legislation was amended in 2010 to incorporate references to landscape based on the ELC's interpretation, in order to shift its emphasis away from individual sites towards the wider landscape (Higgins, 2015), thus planning authorities now have a duty to include "the preservation of the character of landscape" (Department of Housing Local Government and Heritage, 2000 Section 10, (2, e)). It is significant however that whilst the NLS was originally formulated under the auspices of the Department of the Environment, Community and Local Government, following a change in government in 2011, responsibility for its formation was assigned to the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht. As a result political emphasis shifted, and it largely became disassociated with the Irish planning and local government system (Higgins, 2015). Consequently there is no statutory or official relationship between the NLS and the Planning and Development Acts and therefore by extension the Irish planning system (Higgins, 2015).

2.5.2.2 Landscape Character Assessments (LCA)

The NLS places a strong emphasis on Landscape Character Assessments (LCA) as a landscape classification tool to enable planning and awareness and to better inform local authorities and other interested stakeholders on the importance of landscape. Accordingly they have been compiled in most of the local authorities across the country to inform the respective individual county development plans, inter alia, Donegal (Donegal County Council, May 2016), Galway (Galway County Council, 2002), Wexford (CAAS Ltd, 2020), Longford (Longford County Council, 2015), Cork (MosArt, 2007), Carlow (CAAS Ltd, 2015) and South Dublin (Minogue and Associates *et al.*, 2015). The resulting reports are of varying depth and detail as there is no consistent national

approach or methodology for their compilation (Department of Agriculture Fisheries and Food, 2013; An Taisce, 2014; Julie Farmer Associates, 2006).

In 2017, the then Department of Arts, Heritage, Regional, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs went to tender to compose a national landscape character assessment set of guidelines and a comprehensive methodology, including the creation of a GIS vehicle which will tie in with other existing official GIS datasets. It is anticipated that this new overarching methodology will replace the Draft Landscape and Landscape Assessment Guidelines compiled in 2000 by the then Department of Environment and Local Government (Department of Environment and Local Government, 2000). Complementary Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) projects have also been recommended to be part of these LCAs (Julie Farmer Associates, 2006; Lambrick *et al.*, 2013). The completed guidelines have still not been published.

An Taisce[6], as an advocacy agency, ensures the implementation of national policy is correctly interpreted. The body has been vocal in the "flawed and inconsistent" manner in which the European Landscape Convention has been interpreted in Ireland on a national and regional basis; including that there exists a sole focus on outstanding landscapes, rather than the inclusion of everyday landscapes (An Taisce, 2014). It is also critical regarding the implementation of LCAs, citing a lack of understanding within local government and lack of appropriate planning use, combined with a lack of cohesive national guidelines. It claims that public perceptions of landscape differs to that of the professional private organisations hired by local councils to compile the LCAs. The body raises the question whether LCAs are sufficient and the correct approach as a planning tool, whilst stating that there is a lack of any other viable option (An Taisce, 2014).

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[6] An Taisce's tagline is 'The National Trust for Ireland' – its mission is to advocate for the protection of built and natural heritage as well as focusing on ecosystem resilience biodiversity enhancement to sustain human community and wellbeing (https://www.antaisce.org/our-mission). They are consulted on submissions for planning applications that may impact the environment or built heritage. They were also members of the National Landscape Strategy Steering Group (Dept of Arts, Hertiage & Gaeltacht (in NLS))

2.5.2.3 National Planning Framework (Ireland 2040)

The National Planning Framework, also referred to as Ireland 2040, is "a planning framework to guide development and investment over the coming years" up to 2040 to cater for the anticipated population growth (Department of Housing Planning and Local Government, 2018, p. 5). The document has a stated objective to, "Facilitate landscape protection, management and change through the preparation of a National Landscape Character Map and development of guidance on local landscape character assessments, (including historic landscape characterisation) to ensure a consistent approach to landscape character assessment, particularly across planning and administrative boundaries" and makes specific reference to the NLS (Department of Housing Planning and Local Government, 2018, p. 127 NPO 61). The National Development Plan (2018-2027) is the accompanying document which very broadly outlines how these objectives within the Framework will be practicably be implemented and funded. Unfortunately however, no reference is made to the concept of landscape within this document (Department of Public Expenditure and Reform, 2018)

2.5.3 On the ground: local policy

The European Landscape Convention states clearly that its implementation would be more effective if responsibility is given to authorities on a regional level following the legislative framework and guidelines laid out nationally (Council of Europe, 2000b, Chp II, Article 4). Whereas this is recognised in the policy document for the southern counties of the country as outlined below, it has yet to come to be fully realised in County Waterford, where this research is based.

2.5.3.1 Regional Spatial and Economic Strategy

Compiled by the Southern Regional Assembly, the Regional Spatial and Economic Strategy (RSES) came into effect on 31st January 2020 as a way of implementing the NPF on a regional level in the southern counties of Ireland, including Waterford. Its aim therefore is to be the link between the NPF and the individual County Development Plans (Southern Regional Assembly, 2020). The RSES adheres and reiterates the ELC and NLS's recommendations and calls for a consistent approach to be taken across administrative boundaries for the management and protection of landscapes, including

the implementation of a consistent national landscape character assessment (Southern Regional Assembly, 2020, p. 151 RPO 129). It does however place an emphasis on protected sites, such as Natural Heritage Areas, Special Areas of Conservation and Special Protection Areas, rather than embracing the ELC's egalitarian objective of including all landscapes, including the ordinary and everyday landscapes.

2.5.3.2 Waterford County Development Plan

The latest Waterford City and County Development Plan (2022-2028) is still in draft format but is available to view on the Council's website. The Plan makes reference to the ELC's objectives, whilst also stating that its management of Waterford's landscape and seascape involves:

- "Ensuring adequate protection to our most sensitive and vulnerable landscapes through appropriate policies and objectives.
- Providing for development that will enhance and benefit the receiving environment; and
- Protecting the landscape from inappropriate and unsustainable development;" ((Waterford City & County Council, 2022, p. 211).

The narrow focus of the regional Plan is on "sensitive landscapes and seascapes which contribute to the distinctiveness of Waterford as a place and its people" (Waterford City & County Council, 2022, p. 211). A number of scenic routes and protected views are also identified that the Plan feels needs to be protected. A Landscape and Seascape Character Assessment has been compiled by CAAS Ltd, in which seven landscape types are identified: coastal landscapes, river corridor and estuary landscapes, farmed lowland landscapes, foothill landscapes, upland landscapes and urbanising landscapes. Their "sensitivity" to change are mapped, with no further detail. There is no mention of historic character assessments or the incorporation of ordinary landscapes alongside these scenic areas.

2.5.4 Landscape Organisations in Ireland

There are a number of lobby organisations that focus on the promotion of interdisciplinary landscape research generally on an international basis, such as

Landscape Research Group, although this has its base in the UK. In Ireland, the main body is the Landscape Alliance Ireland, who describes itself as "an informal partnership of individuals, non-governmental organisations, representative organisations and public officials, committed to quality in our shared landscape, present and future and to the view that landscape must be considered in its totality" (Landscape Alliance Ireland, 2021). Their aim is to promote a "landscape way" and they have been lobbying for a better landscape approach within Irish policy. Most recently they have been urging for the establishment of a landscape management unit within a governmental department and to reactivate and implement the objectives and proposed actions of the stalled National Landscape Strategy. Its website states that, "The small team that was involved in the preparation and launch of the NLS no longer exists and the 10 year programme of implementation ended in 2018" (Landscape Alliance Ireland, 2021).

The Centre for Landscape Studies based in NUI Galway, has a stated aim "to promote the interdisciplinary study of landscape in its physical, cultural, social and ecological aspects" (National University of Galway, 2021), however their website is no longer accessible.

2.5.5   Summary of landscape legislation in Ireland

The concept of landscape and the necessity of its protection, management and planning has been incorporated within Ireland's policies and planning legislation over the last decade, following its signing of the ELC. The ELC's objectives have been replicated in the National Landscape Strategy, which in turn has been incorporated into the Regional Spatial and Economic Strategy and local government development plans.

The practical application of the policies however, has yet to be implemented on a significant scale nationally and regionally. This is evident with the lack of national guidelines relating to creating LCAs and complementary HLCs, which has resulted in inconsistent classifications and quality that are limited to the borders of each individual county. This is due in part to the lack of authority on the part of the ELC to enforce and quality control the implementation of its objectives in each individual country; as well as a lack of education and awareness on the concept of landscape and its inherent benefits for people and their environment in its recognition.

All of the policies focus on the production of landscape classifications using an LCA method, whilst An Taisce believes that there is no viable alternative. The research in this thesis however, outlines how the landscape biographical approach could provide much needed texture and time-depth in evaluating Irish landscapes, when compared with a snapshot LCA. It will explore how a biography has optimum synergy with the type of landscape, history and culture in Ireland than a rigid LCA, resulting in a portrayal of the landscape that is a layered narrative rather than a static photo. It also allows for a participatory perception of the landscape, rather than as an external observer, with the employment of a phenomenological methodology.

2.6 Conclusion

This Chapter has presented and outlined the literature relating to landscape studies as a studied discipline, which then filtered into a more specific focus on landscape biographies, and how they have been applied to various landscapes in real world planning. It then drilled down to explore Irish landscapes, providing an overview of how landscape, which has been based upon Irish regions, has been studied and also applied practically to policy within the national and local context of the country.

Reviewing the literature in this way, has provided an understanding of the framework of landscape studies and where the theoretical biographical approach is situated within it in an Irish context. With the notable exception of Tim Robinson's work, a review of the literature relating to Irish landscapes has shown that the vast majority view it from an etic position of the observed and observable individual characteristics of a landscape, rather than the emic, participative position of landscape studies.

It also outlined that although biographies are generally a relatively recent theoretical concept, they have grown in popularity as a holistic assessment tool of landscape to enable local government planning, particularly in regions within the Netherlands. It has proven to deliver a more layered and nuanced approach to landscape, including benefitting the community by raising awareness of a region's sense of place.

In Ireland however, the implementation of the National Landscape Strategy has stalled and its proposed timed objectives have not been met. This faltering has had a detrimental effect in the application of landscape assessments and general

understanding around the concept of landscape on a regional and local level. There is regional inconsistency in local counties' landscape character assessments, which does not allow for easy comparison across county borders and in the absence of national LCA guidelines. Moreover, many of the local authorities have turned to the UK version of LCA guidelines (Tudor 2014) as a template, despite the divergence in historical backgrounds and opposing positions of colonisation with its subsequent effects that this conflict has had on the landscape. Waterford Council's latest Development Plan also shows how the perception of landscape is only associated with scenic views and "sensitive" regions.

It is proposed therefore that a dedicated, bespoke, multi-layered biographical approach is better suited to Ireland's unique political and socio-economic history, which will better reflect its historical layered and conflicted political and ideological systems. It is further argued, that this colonial history means there is greater synergy with approaches to landscape with a focus on countries such as Haiti (Jean *et al.*, 2021), than Ireland's current approach, which looks towards the UK predominantly for guidelines in landscape assessment.

The summary of the historical context included in this Chapter has shown that the historical developments that took place on a national level can also be traced within the parish of Kilrossanty. The region can therefore be used as a type of case study to portray the wider physical and cultural changes as a microcosm. The limited amount of research into the region means the region is being examined in a new way.

Ireland needs an appropriate and consistent way of viewing the human-environment interaction at the heart of landscape. This research therefore offers an alternative approach to the Irish landscape by proposing a landscape biographical methodology. It therefore poses the research question for the thesis, of how can a landscape biography, specific for an Irish landscape, be created?

The following Chapter begins answering the research question by developing an appropriate philosophical and practical methodology to undertake the research. The subsequent Chapters, 4, 5, 6 and 7, apply this methodology to Kilrossanty parish to reveal some of the historical layers and themes in the biography.

Chapter 3 - Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to lay out the methodological approach adopted within this thesis in its exploration of creating an Irish landscape biography including a description of the methods of research employed to collect, analyse and synthesise the relevant data. The literature review as outlined in Chapter 2, highlighted gaps in landscape research in Ireland, in its approach and methodology. Whilst research has been carried out on the Irish landscape it has tended to be piecemeal and has never been approached from a holistic, biographical perspective as this thesis presents. Moreover although national and local legislation encourages a focus on "landscape", it is not specific in its purpose or practically implemented with much conviction, consistency or understanding. Reflecting on these findings, led to the development of this thesis's aim, objectives and related methodology, which have been developed specifically for Ireland's unique landscape. This is the first time the Irish landscape has been reviewed using a biographical methodology.

It is worthwhile at this point to restate the thesis aims and objectives as a reminder of the overall purpose of the research:

- Create a landscape biography for Kilrossanty parish, Co Waterford, Ireland which will provide a theoretical methodology for other regions in Ireland.

The objectives set out to achieve these aims are:

- Critically evaluate the relevant literature relating to landscape
- Conduct historical evaluation and analysis of relevant records, maps and information pertinent to the geographic area
- Create and analyse a series of GIS maps illustrating the historical physical, temporal, spatial and cultural changes in the landscape
- Explore the people-place relationship by conducting a number of interviews with members of the local community.

Figure 3.1 illustrates the methodological approach to this research. The landscape biography is the underlying structural "interface", allowing for "an analytical,

explorative and interpretive approach" where different disciplines can come together and synthesise to enable a holistic study of the history of a landscape (Kolen *et al.*, 2016, p. 121). The disciplines in this thesis are brought together by adopting a transdisciplinary approach, which allows an emphasis on the people-landscape interaction, specifically the individual and collective authorship of a landscape (Kolen *et al.*, 2016; Samuels, 1979). Mitchell and Willetts (2009) outlines an "epistemological pluralism" being a feature of the transdisciplinary approach, which is replicated in this research, of hermeneutics, phenomenology and postphenomenology in exploring the life world and life history of Kilrossanty parish, whilst understanding the context in which they occurred.

The evolution and development of the methodological techniques involved in this thesis have had to be developed as part of this original research, to account for and to fit the specificity of the unique cultural, historical and geographical landscape of Ireland. This chapter therefore firstly outlines the characteristics of a landscape biography in this regional capacity. It then explores transdisciplinarity as a relatively new, burgeoning concept particularly for more complex problems such as landscape, and how it has been drawn upon for this research. An outline of the methodological approaches of hermeneutic phenomenology and postphenomenology are then summarised, followed by a description of the methods employed to collect the objective and subjective data.
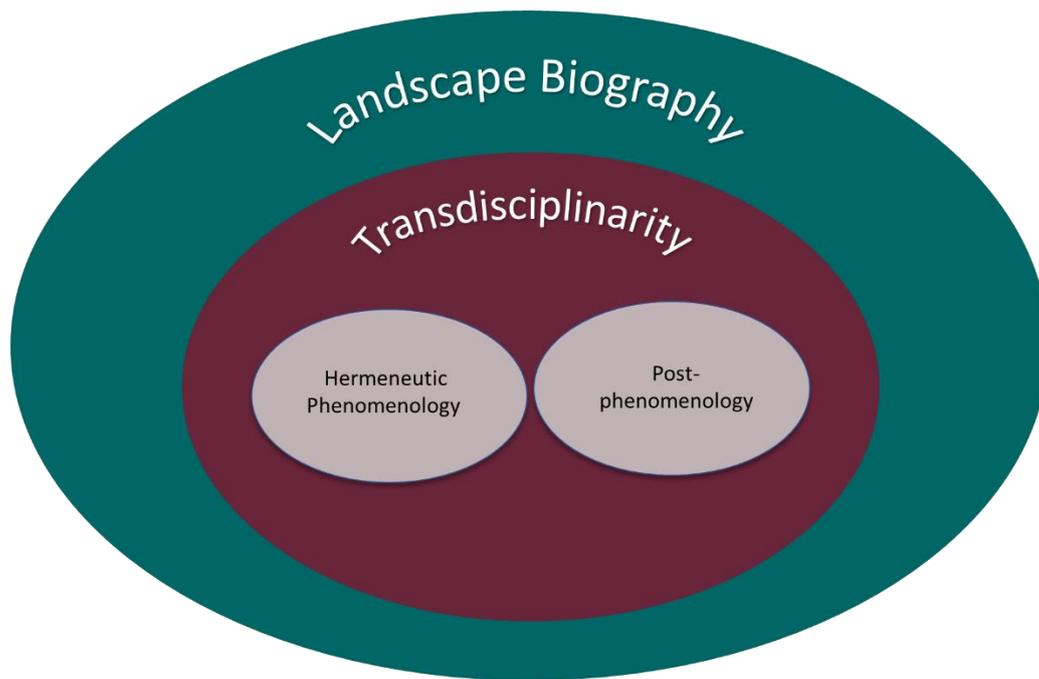
Figure 3.1: Diagram to illustrate the methodological approach of the thesis

3.2 Landscape biography as the interface

Kolen *et al.* (2016) and Roymans *et al.* (2009) have outlined five "operational principles" that comprise a landscape biography to operate as an interface, which have also been referred to as "frameworks of reference" (Van Manen *et al.*, 2016). These have been developed to guide a biography's formation, aspects of which arose from the application and testing of the concept during specific research projects (some of which were summarised in Section 2.3). A strict step by step methodology of a landscape biography does not exist (Van Manen *et al.*, 2016) however, and the concept has been accused of being "fuzzy" and in need of some more rigid methods, definitions and criteria (Kolen and Witte, 2006; Van Londen, 2006). The biographical methodology is therefore open to revision and reconsideration when researching new landscapes such as the subject of this thesis.

This section lays out these five principles and outlines how this research has been considered and adapted for application to this unique Irish landscape for the first time.

3.2.1 Historicising approach

A landscape biography is a "historicising approach" (Kolen *et al.*, 2016; Van Manen *et al.*, 2016), which means it aims to improve our understanding of the present-day landscape by examining the past, including the relationships and discourse between different societal groups and the contestation that may arise within the landscape.

The themes chosen for this thesis and explored in the forthcoming chapters have taken the core elements of societal shifts that occurred as a result of the English colonisation which reflect how the landscape was contested politically and economically in terms of landownership (Chapter 4) and furthermore ideologically in the settlement structures (Chapter 6). Outlining the local events during a turning point of the relations between the various social groups in the 1641 Catholic rebellion (Chapter 5), aids understanding of the present-day landscape structure. A sample of the conflicting perceptions of the landscape are explored in Chapter 7 particularly in the historical cartographic records, features of which still exist in today's landscape.

3.2.2 A life history created by authors

The "authorship" of landscapes remains one of the most prominent issues in all biographical approaches (Kolen and Renes, 2015b, p. 32; Kolen *et al.*, 2016; Kolen *et al.*, 2018; Samuels, 1979). As explored in Section 2.3, Samuels (1979) bemoaned the loss of individuation within landscape studies and that the "who" behind the image and facts about a landscape was no longer explored, using the terminology of "*elites*" and "*nobodies*" to describe the difference between the big society, political and socio-economic developments in comparison with the actions of individuals; whilst for De Certeau (1984) the inhabitants were Wandersmänner or "walkers" (De Certeau, 1984, p. 93). At the root of this focus on a landscape's inhabitants is also Ingold's (1993) 'dwelling perspective'.

It is a reciprocal position, not only does the landscape absorb the individuals' life histories, but the landscape also impacts upon its inhabitants and their outlook, and thus landscapes build up a life history of their own (Kolen *et al.*, 2018). Just as an individual's life history and actions are influenced by their past experiences, so too is a landscape biography, whilst also being meaningful for its future (Van Manen *et al.*,

2016). The focus and identification of the authors in Kilrossanty using the available sources, on both a local and institutional level, was a major theme within this research.

Moreover the landscape therefore plays an active role in the biographies, genealogies and identity of its inhabitants (Roymans *et al.*, 2009). The historical transformations through which a region passes, together with the substantial upheaval that invariably accompanies them, binds communities and generations together and forms a community's identity including a collective memory of the landscape and its particular features (Kolen *et al.*, 2018; Roymans *et al.*, 2009). A biography therefore incorporates a view of landscape as a mental construction, that is, a phenomenon formed in people's minds, reverting back to Samuels' (1979) landscapes of impression and expression. Hence it can articulate a community's identity, particularly when transdisciplinary sources of information are incorporated such as field names, customs and anecdotes, when they are treated with requisite importance (Van der Knaap and Van der Valk, 2006).

3.2.3 Landscape transformations

A landscape biography outlines the long-term dimension of historical landscape transformations, including fundamental institutional and societal shifts or changes in the cultural values and mentalities in a region (Kolen and Witte, 2006; Kolen *et al.*, 2016; Roymans *et al.*, 2009; Van der Knaap and Van der Valk, 2006; Van Manen *et al.*, 2016).

Each transformation moreover leaves its own imprint on the landscape whilst trying to wipe off the symbolic value of the previous layer, including its value systems, thereby forming the multi-layered palimpsest (Cosgrove, 1998; Palang *et al.*, 2006) or its "layerdness" (Kolen *et al.*, 2016). Encapsulated by Meinig's (1979) often-cited quotation: "...the past has fundamental significance, one aspect which is so pervasive as to be easily overlooked: the powerful fact that life must be lived amidst that which was made before. Every landscape is an accumulation. The past endures..." (Meinig, 1979, p. 44).   The landscape is a complex palimpsest of "places, objects and structures inextricably bound up with the intangible heritage of stories and memories" which are experienced differently over time (Kolen *et al.*, 2018, p. 172).   This is the vertical view of the buried physical and social landscape, all of which leave remnants and hints to be uncovered in

the course of a region's biography (Van der Knaap and Van der Valk, 2006). No landscape in Ireland had previously been explored with a landscape biographical approach, and therefore this research has identified the relevant historical transformations, which is necessary to take into account its unique history as an early English colony and how this was a pervasive theme throughout its layeredness. The Irish historical transformations are illustrated in Chapter 8, and are laid beside the identification of the collective and individual authors related to each transformation.

3.2.4 Relevance of the landscape biography

As explored in Section 2.3.1, a key motivation for the development of landscape biographies is to enable collaboration between heritage managers and spatial planners for heritage management, local government planning and tourism policy (Crumley *et al.*, 2017; Van Manen *et al.*, 2016; Cuijpers and Bekius, 2006; De Kleijn *et al.*, 2016; Elerie and Spek, 2010; Riesto, 2015; Spicer *et al.*, 2020; Van Londen, 2006; Vervloet *et al.*, 2010). The approach also aims to make historical research relevant and productive for planning and heritage management (Kolen *et al.*, 2016). Whereas a static Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) divides a landscape up into areas at a particular temporal stage, its approach is limited as it overlooks the relationship between a community and its landscape and the dynamic nature of this connection. It therefore narrows its scope and usefulness to planners or policymakers when researching a landscape (Kolen *et al.*, 2018). A biography offers a more integrative, holistic method in studying the long-term history of often complex cultural landscapes including the heritage that characterises this landscape (Bloemers, 2010; Kolen and Renes, 2015b; Kolen *et al.*, 2018; Roymans *et al.*, 2009; Spicer *et al.*, 2020; Van der Schriek, 2019). This enables it to trace the "…complex interplay between the history of mentalities and values, institutional and governmental changes, social and economic developments and ecological dynamics" (Roymans *et al.*, 2009, p. 33).

As outlined above in Section 2.5, the approach to landscape in Ireland focuses heavily on the preparation and completion of Landscape Character Assessments and Historic Landscape Characterisations which in practice to date have been inconsistent, mainly due to a lack of cohesive national guidelines and lack of understanding. This thesis

proposes that a biographical approach to landscape is a more appropriate alternative to the assessment of the complex Irish landscape. It argues that these social and political complexities and inherent conflicts cannot be adequately covered by a rigid LCA or HLC, particularly with the current guidelines and classifications, without which a fundamental understanding and assessment of Ireland's landscape cannot be grasped.

3.2.5 Beyond disciplines

By its holistic nature, landscape biographies have embraced an interdisciplinary and often transdisciplinary approach, as it bridges the divide between disciplines and academic and community experts, as well as between the academic historical interpretation and social memory (Kolen *et al.*, 2016; Kolen *et al.*, 2018; Van Manen *et al.*, 2016). The general public with their local knowledge should be a stakeholder in their region's biography by nurturing their unique knowledge. A biography is not a traditional, chronological local history account, but a metaphor to facilitate stakeholders, including researchers, and to create dialogue (Spicer *et al.*, 2020; Van der Knaap and Van der Valk, 2006; Van Londen, 2006). The real world examples of landscape biographies given in Section 2.3.1, have shown how this unifying approach is essential to give a voice to all stakeholders to achieve a more complete study and to gain wider support for plans that determine the future of their landscape (Bloemers, 2010; Elerie and Spek, 2010; Spicer *et al.*, 2020; Van Londen, 2006; Vervloet *et al.*, 2010). As Hupperetz (2015) observed in his research on the Visserstraat in Breda in the Netherlands, memory remains longer than a building façade (Hupperetz, 2015, p. 296).

This thesis has incorporated transdisciplinarity within the landscape biographical interface as illustrated in Figure 3.1, as well as its inclusion within the title and overriding research aims. The concept will be explored more thoroughly in the following Section, exploring its philosophy and its practical application to this research.

3.3 Transdisciplinarity

Transdisciplinarity as a methodological paradigm is a relatively new and burgeoning concept (Bernstein, 2015; Enengel *et al.*, 2012; Klein, 2015). Its novelty means that as a methodology it generally lacks established definitions with a clear theoretical base (Mitchell and Willetts, 2009). This section will therefore give it some structure as

regards this research, by briefly outlining its origins and definition from the point of view of landscape research and then, in particular, its applicability to this landscape biography, with its emphasis on the authors of the landscape.

3.3.1 Definition

Traditionally researchers work within their disciplinary field, which embraces particular methodological paradigms and methods for data collection. When working within a multidisciplinary team, the results from each of the different disciplines are collected without synthesis or integration (Bernstein, 2015; Mobjork, 2010; Vervloet *et al.*, 2010).

An interdisciplinary study integrates more than one academic discipline, and can use multiple paradigms and methods. The results within a collaborative research project are subsequently combined as far as possible to integrate and synthesise the resulting knowledge (Bernstein, 2015; Vervloet *et al.*, 2010).

A transdisciplinary research project moves beyond an interdisciplinary study by integrating academic researchers with specialisms in more than one discipline and then also combining the input and knowledge from non-academic participants, such as policy makers and/or members of the public. All contributions to the research from all actors are treated with equal weight and discernment (Mobjork, 2010; Shuttleworth and Palang, 2017; Tress and Tress, 2001; Winder, 2003). It has been described as "an extended knowledge production", with a flow of knowledge and learning in both directions (Mobjork, 2010, p. 866). Tress *et al.* (2003, p. 183) describe transdisciplinarity as combining "interdisciplinary with a participatory approach". The knowledge gained from both academic and non-academic actors is intended to be complementary to each other, rather than competitive (Enengel *et al.*, 2012). For Bernstein (2015), a characteristic of transdisciplinarity therefore, is to provide an opportunity and the ability to think laterally and imaginatively about complex solutions and problems beyond the traditional methodological parameters and is dynamic, "problem solving capability on the move" (Gibbons *et al.*, 1994, p. 13).

3.3.2 Origins

The term transdisciplinarity is widely credited to have been coined by psychologist, Jean Piaget (1896-1980) in a lecture he gave in 1970 as part of a conference with Erich Jantsch and André Lichnerowicz, at the international workshop "Interdisciplinarity – Teaching and Research Problems in Universities" (Bernstein, 2015). He envisaged it as a "superior stage" to interdisciplinary relations, and therefore capable of removing limitations and barriers between interactions and disciplines and carving out a new space of knowledge (Piaget, 1972: 144, cited in Nicolescu, 2007). It is significant that the timing of its conceptual foundations occurred during a shift in society accompanied by emerging concepts about knowledge (Bernstein, 2015; Nowotny *et al.*, 2001).

Transdisciplinarity as a concept was then largely undeveloped until the 1990s, situated against a backdrop of emerging globalisation and post-modernism from which a new way of viewing culture and society was evolving (Bernstein, 2015; Newotny *et al.*, 2001). It has since become an accepted philosophical movement, with the creation of dedicated institutes, associations, networks, journals and conferences. It is perceived as an essential approach when examining complex systems or "wicked" problems such as climate change, which calls for more imaginative and open approaches (Gibbons *et al.*, 1994; Klein, 2015; McGregor, 2011).

3.3.3 Synergy between transdisciplinarity and landscape research

The concept of landscape as an entity with the range of its component parts is the definition of a complex system and fits easily into the 'wicked' problem bracket defying a simple explanation (Duffy, 2007; Muir, 1999; Wylie, 2007). As explored in Section 2.2, its broad spectrum of environmental, social, economic, aesthetic and cultural issues (Antrop and Van Eetvelde, 2017; Tress and Tress, 2001; Wylie, 2007), means it cannot be confined to a single discipline or plural individual disciplines and a unifying approach is needed (Elerie and Spek, 2010; Fairclough *et al.*, 2018; Shuttleworth and Palang, 2017). This unifying approach can be achieved by transdisciplinarity, and thus is now considered an accepted and desired approach for landscape studies including biographical approaches to landscape (Enengel *et al.*, 2012; Kolen and Witte, 2006; Tress and Tress, 2001). Tress and Tress (2001, p. 147) also feel that it enables "deeper insights

into landscapes"; and Antrop (2013, p. 52) holds that a transdisciplinary approach to the landscape creates "a common language understandable and meaningful to all who participate".

The inclusion of contributions from non-academic sources allows the researcher to cross from an etic position of the observed and observable aspects of a landscape study, into the emic study, of the participation and subjective immersion within a landscape, outlined in Section 2.2.5. It is this experiential approach that provides the research with the phenomenological, experiential aspect of the landscape. A study of a landscape would be incomplete without the people who inhabit or impact upon the area, whose implicit knowledge of both their environment and to whom it is meaningful in some way (Antrop, 2013; Crumley *et al.*, 2017; Kolen and Renes, 2015b; Shuttleworth and Palang, 2017; Tress and Tress, 2001)

Transdisciplinarity is core to this research into developing a methodology for a landscape biography in Kilrossanty parish. As explored in Section 2.2.1 and 3.2.5, the study of landscape embraces such broad subject matters as so it cannot be confined to individual disciplines and is best suited to inter and transdisciplinary approaches (Antrop, 2005; Antrop and Van Eetvelde, 2017; Muir, 1999; Wylie, 2007). Enengel *et al.* (2012) claims that there are two main motivations to follow a transdisciplinary route, to enable the study to have a greater impact on society and also to contribute to creating a higher quality research by providing a broader knowledge base, both of which are attributable to this research.

This characteristic of the research places it within the discourse of transgression of the transdisciplinary methodology, thereby creating more of a democratic process in problem solving (Klein, 2015). It provided therefore, a recontextualisation of knowledge (Gibbons *et al.*, 1994; Nowotny *et al.*, 2001), whilst following the defining traits of Mode 2's knowledge production, of complexity, the non-linearity of relationships, lack of predictability and transdisciplinarity" (Klein, 2015; Nowotny *et al.*, 2001). The research's methodological aim therefore was to create "socially robust knowledge", which transgresses the division between academic and non-academic knowledge (Nowotny *et al.*, 2001, p. 1).

The holistic and encompassing "landscape approach" (Shuttleworth and Palang, 2017) to this research has also been complemented by the adoption of a "transdisciplinary attitude" (Augsburg, 2014; Klein, 2015). Both of which have commonality in the individual researcher's approach to this study. The characteristics of this key attitude have been identified as having an openness to other views and a willingness to learn, transgress boundaries and embrace creative inquiry (Augsburg, 2014; Bernstein, 2015; Klein, 2015).

3.3.4 Transdisciplinarity in policy

The principle of transdisciplinarity is recommended in the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe, 2000a) and National Landscape Strategy for Ireland (2015-2025) (Department of Arts Heritage and the Gaeltacht, 2015) without using this specific terminology. The ELC emphasises that any professional fieldwork regarding the landscape should involve the local community, the general public and the various other stakeholders by means of surveys and information meetings (Council of Europe, 2000a, p. 56). Whilst, the National Landscape Strategy for Ireland (2015-2025) also reiterates the need for strong public participation as one of the essential elements in implementing the landscape objectives: "Develop methods of participation for organisations, public and private, as well as individuals in the shaping, reviewing and monitoring of landscape policies and objectives and, if necessary, establish new innovative approaches. This includes fostering actions to achieve delivery of these to encourage citizens, as well as the State, in the sustainable management of the landscape." (Department of Arts Heritage and the Gaeltacht, 2015, p. 23, Action 16).

3.4 Hermeneutic Phenomenology

Returning to the diagram in Figure 3.1, the landscape biography is the interface, within which sits the transdisciplinarity paradigm. As explored within Section 3.3.3, the transdisciplinarity element of the research allows for a phenomenological immersion of the landscape.

The modern philosophical groundings of pure phenomenological thought, formed by Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), was the study of the lived experience and how we experience things rather than just taking them for granted in our 'natural attitude',

reflecting upon our everyday experience to gain some understanding on its structure (Husserl, 1936; Laverty, 2003). Its philosophical premise was to shift away from the Cartesian viewpoint of separate subject and object, the duality of mind and body, that there is a certain established distance between the observer gazing upon the external world. Husserl developed the term Life Worlds (Lebenswelt), to describe the lived experience of the world as we know it, including the interaction between humans and also with non-humans (Husserl, 1936; Laverty, 2003). This shift in emphasis to the lifeworld heralded the next generation of philosophical thinkers including Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908-1961).

Heidegger developed this philosophy towards hermeneutic phenomenology with his focus on 'Dasein', meaning "the mode of being human", or "the situated meaning of a human in the world" (Laverty, 2003). Human consciousness is not separate from the world, but is a "formation of historically lived experience" (Laverty, 2003, p. 24), and our history or background presents the way of understanding the world. Therefore every interaction and encounter is influenced and interpreted by the person's background or historicality. The interpretative process is the hermeneutic aspect, which is necessary in order to bring clarity and understanding of human cultural activity. This process means interpretation flows through the hermeneutic circle of the continual reflection on the phenomenon and its context, between the part and the whole (Laverty, 2003; Sharkey, 2001).

Furthermore Gadamer (1900-2002) agreed that "understanding occurs in interpreting" (Gadamer, 1960, p. 389). He viewed this interpretation as a fusion of horizons. This means a "horizon" is a range of vision that includes everything seen from a particular vantage point, which enables someone to see beyond what is close at hand (Laverty, 2003). He believed methods were not totally objective, separate or value free from the user and bracketing is impossible and absurd. All understanding will involve some prejudice.

Landscape, and more specifically, landscape biographies are the epitomy of the lifeworld, as a world to live in and not simply a view to observe, as something to experience as described in Section 2.2.5. The phenomenological philosophy has been interpreted into landscape studies most notably by Ingold's (1993; 2000) dwelling

perspective and taskscape and despite it holding an "anxious" position (Wylie, 2013), a phenomenological approach to landscape studies is an accepted approach (Ingold, 2000; Tilley, 1994; Wylie, 2007; 2013). Landscape biographies particularly synergise with the hermeneutic phenomenological methodology as it has a strong focus on the study of a landscape's inhabitants and its authors and their immanent relationship with the landscape. Samuels's (1979) landscapes of impression and expression emphasises the constructive interaction between people and their environment (Kolen *et al.*, 2016; Samuels, 1979). This biographical research into an Irish landscape considered the varying perspectives of those authors as a result of colonisation namely, the New English, Old English and Gaelic Irish and how, whilst their physical lifeworlds were similar, their perceptual subjective lifeworlds differed.

In phenomenology, time is not a linear process, of a succession of "now moments", but rather the present lifeworld is held together by its past and future, just as the human experience of time has the past, present and future all jumbled up and each impacting and influencing the other (Husserl, 1936; Laverty, 2003; Sharkey, 2001). This is the case for landscape biographies (including the subject of this thesis), that it is not a chronological historical account, but rather investigates themes that embodies the human-landscape interaction, to gain understanding of the shifting landscape (Wylie, 2007). By detailing the historical transformations of a landscape (as detailed in Section 3.2.3), a biography embarks on the hermeneutic circle of understanding by incorporating the context in which a phenomenon occurs, its historicality and its background, reminiscent of Foucault's épistémè (Foucault, 1970).

This returns us to Wylie's (2013, p. 57) "anxious" position of phenomenological studies of a landscape. The solely individualistic viewpoint can be viewed as too intimate for landscape studies, as it needs the broader issues of political, cultural and economic forces to also to be taken into account. For this study as with many landscape biographies, phenomenology does not extend far enough, and there needs to be a post-structural dual emphasis on the two perspectives: on the structural, longue durée elements, the political, cultural and economic forces as well as the individual, phenomenological elements or the individual authors. In the case of this Irish landscape biography, these structural components have been identified as institutions

such as the English government and the Catholic Church. This is where the research steps into the relatively recent field of postphenomenology (Ash and Simpson, 2016; Rose and Wylie, 2006; Wylie, 2006; 2007; 2013).

The term postphenomenology first came into being with Don Ihde (2003) in the field of science and technology, in an attempt to move away from the subject-centred nature of Husserl's phenomenological thought. His perspective was that technology could be used as an extension of self and experience by experiencing it directly and indirectly (Ihde, 2010). Through technology therefore we abstractly experience a place. This too is applicable to this research, as through the use of GIS, drone footage and photography, the experience of this place is communicated.

To place postphenomenology in the context of landscape studies, and this biography, it followed Wylie's (2006) "intentionality": that an experience is always about something and that "there has to be an author of this aboutness and a point from which the directedness of the experience comes" (Ash and Simpson, 2016, p. 53). Landscape is in fact a combination of the "materialities and sensibilities with an according to which we see" (Wylie, 2006, p. 520).

3.5 Data Collection Methods

The collection and production of the data for the thesis was a synthesis of fieldwork, archival research and the incorporation of primary and secondary data sources, as well as interviews with members of the local community. Figure 3.2 lists the various data sources used within each chapter topic as well as the analytical tools that enabled their effective analysis.

Chapter Topic	Data Sources Used	Analytical Tools Used
Chapter 4 - Landownership	Book of Survey & Distribution	GIS Excel
	Downs Survey	
	Griffith's Valuation	
	Interviews	
Chapter 5 – 1641 Catholic Rebellion	Protestant Depositions	Nvivo GIS Excel
Chapter 6 – Settlement Patterns	Ordnance Survey maps	GIS
	Interviews	
	Drone footage	
	Photography	
Chapter 7 – Expressions of the Landscape	Ordnance Survey maps	GIS
	Interviews	
	Drone footage	
	Photography	

Figure 3.2: Table to show the findings chapters, their data sources and the tools used to analyse the information gathered

The range of sources were chosen due to the particular characteristics of the research area. The most significant reasoning was a question of practicalities, in terms of archival historical data, this remote region was often overlooked, for example, the 1659 "census" only contained scant information for Kilrossanty compared with more populated areas. The historic Ordnance Survey maps of 1840s and 1890s had little cartographic evidence above a certain altitude on the mountain slopes. Compounded with this, is that much of the national archives were destroyed in the Four Courts Fire in 1922, including many related to Kilrossanty, such as the records of the 1653 Catholic transplantations, the 1662 Subsidy Rolls, Hearth Money Rolls and population censuses prior to 1901. The contribution from non-academic sources was therefore necessary to fill in the gaps

existing due to the lack of documentary sources. An additional justification, and no less important, was the opportunity to articulate previously unheard voices, of inhabitants who were not traditionally documented mainly because of their socio-economic status of not being landowners or political decision-makers.

3.5.1 Documentary sources

Figure 3.3 lists the main historical documentary resources accessed during the course of the research. Although not all of these documents have been used in this thesis, it was necessary to view them to establish their relevance and value in the context of the research. They consisted of a mixture of primary and secondary sources. Although many primary archival sources had been destroyed in 1922, some had been transcribed into other formats, for example, the Transplanter Certificates for County Waterford in 1653 listed the names and belongings of the Gaelic Irish families and their servants, as they were removed from their land with an enforced journey to Connaught in the west of the island. The originals no longer exist, however they were transcribed in 1915 by Robert Simington for inclusion in a local newspaper, which can still be accessed (Simington, 1915). So although the commentary around them is emotive and biased, the lists remain factual.

There remains however a lack of documents relating to the 1700s in this area. Most notably, and despite searches in the National Archives of Ireland and a conversation with the current owner of Comeragh House, Clive Holmes, as well as local historians, Sean and Sile Murphy, the location or even the existence of the local estate maps for the largest landlords in the area at the time, Palliser and Kennedy, have not been revealed (S. & S. Murphy 2019, pers comm, 18 January; C. Holmes 2019, pers comm, 22 January). An article in the Munster Express stated that the Palliser books and papers were destroyed when the house was burnt in 1923 (Phelan, 2003), whilst Clive Holmes believed "they had been stolen by the locals" (C. Holmes 2019, pers comm, 22 January).

More descriptive detail of each individual documentary source is given in the relevant chapter in which they are used.

Documentary Source	Description	Where Found
1641 Depositions	Evidence given by Protestants following the Catholic rebellion in 1641 detailing their financial and physical losses. More detail is given in Chapter 5.	Trinity College Dublin holds originals, online access available: http://1641.tcd.ie/
1653 Transplantations	A register of those being transplanted by Cromwell to Connaught as punishment for their involvement in the 1641 rebellion, including a list of their belongings.	Originals destroyed in 1922. Transcribed in 1915 in a local paper, Dungarvan Observer, now found in National Archives of Ireland (Misc 69).
1640 Civil Survey	Compiled in 1654-6, it gives a retrospective account of the landowning situation in 1641 at the outbreak of the Rebellion. More detail is given in Chapter 4.	Details relating to County Waterford is found within Cork City Council website: http://www.corkpastandpresent.ie/history/batch1/civil_survey_croppedx.pdf
1655-8 Down Survey	A map of the country accompanying the Civil Survey. More detail is given in Chapter 4.	Originals destroyed in 1922, copies made available online by Trinity College Dublin: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie/history.html
1670 Book of Survey and Distribution	The accompanying narrative to the Downs Survey, detailing the landowners in 1640 and new owners in 1670. More detail is given in Chapter 4.	Original documents found in the National Archives of Ireland (MS2a.11)

1659 "census"	A poll tax rather than a census, gives names of principal occupiers of townlands and the numbers of English and Irish. Nb. Only scant information given for Kilrossanty.	Published by the Manuscripts Commission and edited by Séamus Pender in 1939, found online: https://www.irishmanuscripts.ie/digital/censusofireland1659/Census%20Of%20Ireland%201659.pdf
1662 Subsidy roll	Details householders worth more than £3 in goods or £1 in lands.	Originals destroyed in 1922. Transcribed by Gertrude Thrift in 1912 and reproduced in a pamphlet by local Waterford historian, Julian Walton and held in Waterford City Library.
Villiers Stuart Estate Records 1215-1953	Contains archive documents detailing the Fitzgerald (Dromana) estate.	Housed in the archives of University College Cork
1828 Tithe Applotment	Details of those to pay tithes to the Church of Ireland.	Found online: http://titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie/search/tab/about.jsp
Hearth Money Rolls	Details of a tax levied based on the number of hearths in a house	Section relating to County Waterford was destroyed in 1922. No copies extant.
Griffith's Valuation 1844-1865	The basis of a new taxation rate for the country by assessing the value of the land and its owners. More details are given in Chapter 4.	Found online: http://www.askaboutireland.ie/griffith-valuation/

Valuation Office – Cancellation books 1863-1969	Ongoing periodic amendments to the Griffith's Valuation	Originals can be accessed in Valuations Office, Irish Life Building, Dublin
1901 and 1911 Census	Household returns and ancillary records. Censuses from previous years are no longer extant for County Waterford	Found online: http://census.nationalarchives.ie/
Historic Ordnance Survey maps 1840 and 1890	6" and 25" maps detailing settlements and townland and field boundaries More details are given in Chapter 7.	Best online access via: http://map.geohive.ie/mapviewer.html
Bureau of Military History Collection, 1913-1921	Online repository of witness statements and contemporary documents from the "revolutionary period" of 1913 to 1921.	Found online: www.militaryarchives.ie
The Schools' Folklore Collection	Part of the Irish Folklore Commission, the recording of local history and oral tradition by school children, collected between 1937 and 1939.	Found online: www.duchas.ie

Figure 3.3: Table to show the main documentary sources researched for the purpose of this study

3.5.2 Interviews

In keeping with the transdisciplinary methodology adopted for this research, the academic knowledge gained from the documentary sources listed above was integrated with non-academic knowledge. This was achieved by conducting semi-structured interviews amongst members of the Kilrossanty parish community to gather further relevant information about the area in which they live and work.

The overall aim of the interviews was to collect recorded interviews to elicit participants' memories of the area, including recollections and anecdotes of a former way of life, land use, cultural changes and other former inhabitants as well as their perception and interaction with the landscape. The interviews explored the bond between the community and their unique landscape and added colour and texture to the overall picture. The interviews also elicited the location of hidden physical sites of interest in the area that at times were not officially recorded, but only known to the local community.

Seven interviews were conducted, with a total of eight individuals, consisting of six men and two women. A purposive sampling strategy was employed initially for the five of the interviewees. They were selected from an existing network of contacts acquired from a previous research project into the community's sense of place in 2012, as I was aware they would have the inherent knowledge and significant sense of place with historical memories to make the exercise worthwhile[7]. As I had already had previous contact with the participants it was not too problematic to request an interview and they had an initial understanding of what the interviews would entail, as I could refer to our previous conversations. The three further participants were recommended by this initial network in a snowball approach, and were therefore reassured and encouraged by the others' participation. Half of the interviews were conducted in April and May 2018, whilst the rest took place in January 2019 and the participants consisted of a combination of local farmers, historians and authors as well as the current owner of Comeragh House. The structure and format of the interviews were validated by the

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[7] References are made to these interviews in 2012, where relevant, throughout the research.

guidelines that were provided by the Oral History Network Ireland (Oral History Network of Ireland, 2021).

The questions were semi-structured, and were lightly adhered to, a sample of which is included in Appendix A. The themes were piloted with a landscape research colleague and the questions were kept fluid and were reviewed and altered during the interview depending on the participant's interest and focus and the direction the conversation was taken. I wanted the "interviews" to be more conversations, in which the participant felt at ease. Consent forms were explained and signed at the interview (an example is included in Appendix B).

Two male participants in particular were very forthcoming in offering information about the local area, including hearsay and rumour. One female participant was slightly reticent in giving information. All were very interested in the local history, having lived the majority of their life in the region and all were aged over 70. No interview was less than an hour and a half, two were over two hours. All the interviews were recorded with a small dictaphone, which I felt was the least intrusive device to be used to eliminate discomfort or self-consciousness. All the interviews were conducted in the participants' homes, with an ever-present cup of tea and cake or a sandwich. This was deliberately done to make the participant feel as much at ease as possible to allow an easy flow of conversation and information. The interviews were later transcribed by myself to encourage familiarity and analysed as far as possible with Nvivo. Using Nvivo was slightly limited because the interviews were relatively unstructured and therefore it was not always possible to compare results to identical questions.

Some participants offered factual evidence such as identifying local family names, the location of tangible features within the landscape such as lost settlements or farmsteads, or information on how to find documentary sources; whilst other interviews were more anecdotal, telling stories about families who lived in the area and local folklore.

3.5.2.1 Participants – the contemporary authors

Pierce (Percy) Veale had created his own website to show the landownership in his townland, Lemybrien, in the 1800s. In the spirit of repaying his generosity of passing

on this website and giving up his time to talk to me, I offered to show him sources relating to the 1600s which he was hitherto unaware of. He was born in the area, but moved to Cork for work as an electronic technician for many years before returning to retire. He has built his own house next door to his old historical family home. He has many family members in the area, and his brother runs the post office in Lemybrien and lives next door to him. He is a man who deals with facts rather than superstition or hearsay. He brought my attention to Annscourt, an abandoned large farm in Lemybrien townland.

Tom Riordan was marvellously gossipy and most trusting, with great insights into the social world of the area and interactions between families. He lives in Boolattin townland and has done so all his life. He drives for a living, buses now. His family did not seem to be very wealthy in the past and his stories tend to have this undercurrent theme to them. He took me across the fields to show where there used to be a house and where his own family house was situated. He had great empathy for the female social perspective.

Muiris Walsh is a relatively wealthy farmer owning substantial acreage in the parish across several townlands. He lives with his wife in Boolattin townland, where his family has lived for generations; his direct ancestors are included in the Griffith's Valuation as inhabiting the same area. His brother owns the pub in Kilrossanty village, which has been in their family since 1880. He has Parkinsons, and therefore at times was difficult to understand. He has a great passion for his area and its history and was delighted to be able to talk to someone who was interested. Muiris had previously shown me features in the local area for my previous research project that I could never possibly have known about as an outsider and contributed greatly in whetting my appetite to carry out more research into the Kilrossanty parish. Only too pleased to help, he drove me around his land, showing me features such as the Laughing Rock, inside the old mill in Kilrossanty (which he owns) and a lime kiln. He also indicated to me the abandoned Casey's farmstead in Curraun and how best to access it as he was no longer able to walk that distance and the fields were too wet for his jeep to get through.

Figure 3.4: The Old Mill on the outskirts of Kilrossanty village owned by Muiris Walsh, situated in Boolattin townland

Kathleen Whyte is originally from Bonmahon village (a coastal settlement around 20 kilometres away) and had moved to Cutteen townland when she married and has since lived in the farmhouse at the base of the mountains with her husband and children, now grown. She was the most reticent of the interviewees and nervous of the dictaphone when I brought it out. She is Muiris Walsh's first cousin.

Figure 3.5: Kathleen Whyte's home, Cutteen townland

Pa Barron lives on his farm in Glendalligan townland and has done all his life, surrounded by his family. The interview was different to the others, as although he was very welcoming and communicative, at no point did we sit down, so less of a rapport was built. He took me over the road to meet his niece Ann. They claim to be one of the oldest extant families in the townland.

Figure 3.6: Pa Barron's house situated on far right of the picture, with his niece, Ann's family farm situated in the middle of the photo, all in Glendalligan townland

Sean and Sile Murphy are a married couple that I have met on a number of occasions. They are considered to be the experts on the local area and have self-published a number of books describing the history of the area and its inhabitants (Sile Murphy, 1982; Sean Murphy, 1982; Murphy, 1996; Murphy and Murphy, 1981; 1999). They are also very active amongst community organisations, for example in developing accessible walks in the area. They both have always been extremely generous with their time and are always very willing to share their knowledge of the area. I in turn shared with them the landownership maps and the Fitzgerald connection at Dromana House.

At my initial interview with them, Sile called the owner of Comeragh House, **Clive Holmes**, and we subsequently met three days later at the Murphys' house. Clive and his wife, Suzanne, are originally from the UK and bought the house in the late 1980s. He has written a paper on a member of the Palliser family, the former owners of Comeragh House. He is a charismatic character, with a chequered past and spoke of his recent financial losses, that he was struggling with.

The importance of these interviews and their contribution to the research cannot be overstated; they contributed invaluable information about the parish, its communities and their way of life and at times guided the research into unexpected places (Ward, 2012). The participants' knowledge of their area, in which they live and work, is vital for

a full understanding of the historical and cultural landscape. The documentary evidence relating to this area is finite, meaning oral narratives and local knowledge is essential to fill in the gaps to build as comprehensive a picture as possible. The progress and ongoing findings of this research was also communicated to the participants who gave their feedback and suggestions. All interviews followed guidelines laid out by the Research Ethics Committee in Waterford Institute of Technology as detailed in Section 3.5.2.3.

3.5.2.2 Reflexivity and Bias: My biography

Recognising and being aware of my background and potential bias in my position as researcher whilst conducting the interviews, enabled me to be aware of any possible partiality. In phenomenological terms, this would be the process of epoché or bracketing (Husserl, 1936; Laverty, 2003), being aware of my biases and attempting to be open-minded and remove my preconceived ideas. This "involves a self-scrutiny on the part of the researcher; a self-conscious awareness of the relationship between the researcher and an 'other'" (Bourke, 2014, p2). Moreover it is important to maintain an awareness of the ways in which the researcher as an individual with a particular social identity and background has an impact on the research process (Robson, 2002, p. 172). However as summarised in Section 3.4 relating to hermeneutic phenomenological research, Gadamer believed that bracketing is impossible as one cannot stand outside the pre-understandings and historicality of one's experience" (Gadamer (1960, p.389) cited in Laverty, 2003, p. 27). This section therefore, is simply an acknowledgement and self-reflection of my personal experience (or biography) as the background in which the interpretation took place and is relevant to the issues being researched, particularly of English-Irish relations.

My experience is that the long turbulent history between these islands means there is an ever-present undercurrent in social relations of an English person living in Ireland, marking them as an 'outsider'. This distinctiveness was apparent during the interviews carried out with members of the community in Kilrossanty parish. I am English female, with a distinctive English accent wearing no wedding ring entering into participants' homes in a rural Irish setting. I am non-religious (christened Methodist), whilst

Catholicism is all-pervasive in the landscape and domestic settings, from the tall holy cross on top of the mountain surveying the parish, shrines by the side of the road dedicated to St Mary, to the iconography in the houses, for example Kathleen Whyte and Sean and Sile Murphy had St Brigid's cross prominently displayed on their kitchen walls, and snippets of local history are communicated through the local church's newsletter. I was brought up during the 1980s with Margaret Thatcher as Prime Minister of Britain, whilst the Irish political party, Sinn Féin, were perceived as a terrorist organisation and their leader, Gerry Adams, was only featured on the news with his spoken words being overlaid by an actor. As I am a mature student, my perspective and positionality stems from the community and its interactions rather than a traditional academic approach.

The participants' sense of distance in our cultural spheres was noted in a number of ways: Muiris commented on his surprise that I was interested in his farming and cattle: "where you from, the city of London?" (M Walsh 2018, pers comm, 3 May). Tom Riordan asked a number of times how long it took me to come down from Dublin (I live 35km away). Kathleen and Tom were nervous at first and Tom initially asked his son to stay with us. However in all cases, the reticence soon dissipated once the common interest of history of the parish was discovered and the conversation started to flow; Tom offered derogatory comments with no apology or acknowledgement, "that was the English, they'd fucking shoot anything" (T Riordan 2018, pers comm, 20 April).

It is possible that a male interviewer may have received different responses, particularly on farming and lands use than a female researcher. For example, Tom concentrated a lot on women's issues and situations, whilst Muiris asked me several times to go for a drink, which for me, created an uncomfortable situation.

On reflection, having prior practical experience with conducting focus groups and interviews in the community was a great benefit in the participants readily accepting my invitation for an interview. Preparation was also key, having a familiarity with the area to be able to refer to features or landmarks, and being able to show copies of the Griffith's Valuation and/or maps or the area helped ease the conversation.

3.5.2.3 Ethical Considerations

The role of ethical considerations and confidentiality was essential for these interviews. There was crossover in the interviews, this is a close-knit community, and the participants knew each other and some references and anecdotes were recounted about each other, not always flattering. Stories were told in a confiding manner, and on a number of occasions I was told not to repeat a comment to anyone else. Personal safety was also key, as I was entering into people's houses alone. I ensured that someone knew where I was at all times.

All interviews were voluntary, and progressed on a principle of informed consent. Strict confidentiality was applied where requested. Confidentiality and release forms were signed by all participants at the time of the interview, with a conscious emphasis on clear and concise language to ensure optimum understanding of what the research entails and how their words will be used in future directed towards people who are not part of an academic institution. A sample of the form is included in Appendix B. The Oral History Network Ireland ethos was followed which maintains the medical maxim of "above all do no harm", with the aim of categorically avoiding any harm or embarrassment to any living parties (Oral History Network of Ireland, 2021).

It was emphasised to the participant that they could withdraw and terminate the interview at any point for any reason with no repercussions or judgement. Any question could be avoided if they felt uncomfortable answering or addressing the topic if the participant felt their privacy was being impinged upon.

The overall research project has been subject to a rigorous ethics approval process within Waterford Institute of Technology by its Research Ethics Committee and full approval was awarded on 1st December 2017.

3.5.3 Fieldwork and site visits

Numerous fieldwork visits to Kilrossanty parish were carried out over an extended time period from 2017 to 2019 until travel restrictions were imposed as a result of COVID-19. The knowledge gained as a result of the interviews, chiefly led the direction and location of the fieldwork. The participants would describe an area or a feature in the landscape,

which was of note such as Ned Curran's house (S Murphy & S Murphy 2019, pers comm, 18 Jan), Casey's farmstead (M Walsh 2018, pers comm, 3 May) as pictured in Figure 3.7, or Annscourt (P Veale 2018, pers comm, 25 April & M Walsh 2018, pers comm, 3 May). These remnants in the landscape are quite hidden, and can only be accessed by often overgrown bohreens[8], the entrances to which can often be overlooked without direction from a person who is immersed in this 'Life World'. It clearly demonstrates the importance of engaging the local community, and adopting an overarching transdisciplinary stance as essential for biographical research.

Although some of these sites do not feature within the upcoming chapters that comprise this landscape biography, the awareness of them from a spatial and temporal perspective was important for context and particularly for the researcher's phenomenological experience of the landscape.

Figure 3.7: Fieldwork in Kilrossanty revealed hidden features in the landscape, such as at the end of this bohreen arriving at the abandoned Casey's farmstead

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[8] From the Irish, *bóithrín,* which means little road, a bohreen is a narrow country lane which is usually unpaved.

3.5.4 UAV Drone Footage

One fieldwork visit was conducted with the use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV) or drones, courtesy of the Building Information Modelling (BIM) Unit in Waterford Institute of Technology. The area concentrated on was based around relics in the landscape such as Doody's farm (Figure 6.21), Ned Curran's abandoned house (Figure 6.25) and Glendalligan townland (Figure 3.6).

The original aim of the footage was to capture detailed aerial photographic evidence of physical boundaries within the landscape as well as hidden features that may have been concealed by a change in land use. In practice, flying a drone at the higher altitudes was challenging due to the wind as well as the long distances involved, because of the difficulties for the pilot in keeping the drone in view at all times.

The captured footage however did highlight the stark contrast in the change in the landscape, from traditionally farmed land compared with the steeper slopes as shown in Figure 3.6 in Glendalligan townland. It also offered perspective on the distance between now-abandoned dwellings (used in Chapter 6), and assisted in illustrating the impressions of the landscape explored in Chapter 7. In terms of acting as a tool for the analysis of the landscape biography however, it was of more limited use than originally anticipated and did not reveal any features that were not already known.

The regulatory use of the UAV activities were conducted under the guidelines set out for UAV usage as dictated by the IAA (Irish Aviation Authority) and were in strict compliance with all regulatory frameworks relating to data protection. As an additional courtesy, local farms who would have been in or near the flight path were informed and informal permission sought beforehand, so their purpose was clear.

3.6 Data Analysis

Figure 3.2 laid out the range of data sources used in the compilation of this research, as well as detailing the technological tools that were utilised for the data analysis, namely Nvivo, GIS and Excel. This section offers an overview of how each analytical tool was used to allow for a comparative spatial, temporal and thematic analysis that comprised

the landscape biography and their utility as a "strategy of communication" (Hudson and Ishizu, 2016).

As outlined in Section 3.3, the transdisciplinary approach necessitated and fostered a creativity in the collection and interpretation of the data, being a mixture of objective and subjective sources viewed as complementary to each other, rather than competing or unequal in importance. This complexity and volume of sources meant analytical tools were essential to be able to triangulate the multiple sources or viewpoints focused on the same landscape, to create a broader, more holistic and contextual, as well as, new insight into the landscape biographical concept.

3.6.1 Microsoft Excel

The use of pivot tables within Microsoft Excel allowed for historical quantitative, objective data to be analysed and communicated effectively, in the following ways:

- Once the landholding data from the Civil Survey and Book of Survey and Distribution was mapped using GIS it was possible, using Excel, to calculate the proportional landholding in the region and subsequently identify their ethnic grouping.

- The landowning data in the Griffith Valuation was inputted into Excel where the figures could be broken down into the named lessors to identify the region's largest landowners in terms of area, as well as the names of landowners whose value of the buildings and land was the greatest. This data could then be exported into an attribute table in GIS to allow the data to become geographically relevant and relatable to a wide audience.

- The frequency distribution of different types of crimes, such as robberies and murders, as well as the number of incidents to which each individual was affiliated which were detailed within the depositions relating to the 1641 Catholic rebellion was broken down using Excel. To facilitate understanding of the results, the data was presented in the form of graphs which allowed a further categorising of the participants into their ethnic grouping of New English, Old English or Gaelic Irish.

3.6.2 Nvivo

Nvivo, the non-spatial, qualitative database, was an indispensable vehicle to track and catalogue the relevant depositions relating to Kilrossanty, which were taken following the 1641 Rebellion. The records have been available online since 2010, courtesy of Trinity College Dublin, as the original documents are no longer accessible to the public (TCD, 2010). The documents have been transcribed, and there is a search function available, however this is not practicable because of the numerous different spellings (and misspellings) of local place names and family names. The 267 entries relating to County Waterford therefore had to be viewed individually to determine how and if they related to Kilrossanty parish. Out of these it was determined that 44 documents made reference to the study area, referring to people living within the area who were involved in various events during the rebellion.

To establish if there were any patterns within these historical documents, they were uploaded into Nvivo, which enabled nodes (or themes) to be highlighted and analysed. Objective information regarding the dates, locations and the value of goods stolen could be established, as well as the more subjective data of the type of actions committed by the perpetrators and also the type of language used by the deponents. Nvivo allowed for analysis of the type, frequency and location of offence committed as well as the tracing the perpetrators' actions and movements.

This allowed data to be presented in graphs and categorising of the individual's ethnicity, using Excel, as well as the spatial analysis within a GIS database which mapped the perpetrators' movements and the location of their activities to provide geographical context.

3.6.3 Geographic Information Systems (GIS)

The use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) can be an important element in simplifying data to ensure patterns are understandable in order to bring new insight into documentary sources (Gregory and Ell, 2007). It also helps bridge the gaps between disciplines for "interdisciplinary integration" (Antrop, 2013, p. 51) by building a common methodology and language in order to communicate results.

The benefits of GIS for interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary landscape studies is advocated by The European Landscape Convention (ELC) to highlight landscape characteristics, such as the physical relief, the settlement pattern, the main land uses, economic activities, residential areas, the presence or absence of features such as hedgerows and terraces, important wildlife habitats and the heritage of past human activity (Council of Europe, 2000a, Article 12). Moreover the National Landscape Strategy for Ireland (Dept of Arts, Heritage & Gaeltacht, 3.2, Action 2 (i), p17) seeks "a data framework on a national GIS platform", which will be the overall structure for a national landscape character assessment.

GIS, specifically the ArcGIS Pro software as used in this study, was integral as an analytical tool throughout all aspects of this research. It allowed for data, once extracted and themed using Excel and Nvivo, to be presented spatially, thematically and temporally. It enabled the effective illustration and communication of the multi-layered aspect of a landscape biography, particularly to a wider audience including those less familiar with the geographic area.

In the case of the formulation of this landscape biography of Kilrossanty parish, GIS was used in the following ways as illustrated in the forthcoming chapters:

- Chapter 4: Landownership information from the Civil Survey, Book of Survey and Distribution and Griffith Valuation was inputted into GIS as attributes, which created layers to represent the different time periods of 1640, 1670 and 1840s respectively. GIS is an effective tool with regards to illustrating attributes and space, whereas it is more challenging to represent temporal changes (Gregory, 2002). To overcome this drawback, it was necessary to compile a series of sequential choropleth maps to enable an understanding of how the pattern of landownership altered on a spatial and temporal level.

- Chapter 5: Gregory and Ell (2007, p. 9) describe how GIS can be used for "softer" sources such as qualitative, textual descriptions. This was the situation for the maps produced to illustrate the location of incidences perpetrated by Kilrossanty inhabitants in relation to their manorial centres, as recounted in the Protestant

depositions following the 1641 rebellion. GIS allowed for the source to be analysed according to its spatial context, which made them more comprehensible.

- Chapter 6: Screenshots of the Six Inch and 25 Inch Ordnance Survey historical maps, from the 1840s and 1890s respectively, were imported in sections into ArcGIS Pro. These segments were then georeferenced against current aerial photography and modern Ordnance Survey maps to enable an accurate comparison of the buildings, roads and settlement clusters. The use of satellite aerial photography was essential for this comparison because the modern online Ordnance Survey maps do not contain much topographical detail, particularly in this sparsely populated region. A series of maps were subsequently produced which allowed an analysis of the form of settlements found to evaluate how the topography of the landscape has contributed to settlement placement and structure. Each building on all three maps was traced to create three GIS layers that, when lain on top of each other, illustrated how the settlements had moved, expanded, contracted or even disappeared between 1840 and the present day.

- Chapter 7: The location of the physical borders that mark the limits of land reclamation on the slopes of the mountain in both historic Ordnance Survey maps were georeferenced into GIS to compare the movement of the lines between the fifty year period of 1840 and 1890. The landscape involved is often without many prominent physical features which made the georeferencing challenging in places, however townland boundary lines and intersections were used which would have remained the same, as well as visible field boundaries in satellite aerial photography were utilised.

3.7 Summary

This Chapter has described the research methodology underpinning this thesis of how the concept of a landscape biography has acted as the core methodological interface, which incorporated a transdisciplinary approach. Within this lay the hermeneutic phenomenological epistemology which is integral to landscape studies, of the immersive experience of the landscape, whilst simultaneously understanding the context in which these experiences were created. This has overlap with the

postphenomenology context of landscape, that of its "aboutness" of an experience, that it is a mixture of "materialities and sensibilities" (Wylie, 2006, p.520). Experiences do not occur in isolation, they are the product of a wider phenomenon.

The practical data collection methods were varied and flexible and largely guided by necessity and availability of sources. The technological analytical tools, used here in a flexible and innovative way, were essential to gain new insight and interpretation of the data sources, as well as ensuring their effective communication to a wide audience, in keeping with its transdisciplinary underpinning. The methodological principles of transdisciplinary and GIS mapping are advocated in the European Landscape Convention as well as the Irish National Landscape Strategy which places the research within the broader policy context.

The following four Chapters present the results of the empirical research, beginning with the landownership pattern and shifts from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Each Chapter offers a deeper background into the relevant sources used.

Chapter 4 - Landownership Patterns

This Chapter presents the empirical research carried out into the historical landownership of Kilrossanty parish. It is divided into two sections which relate to two time periods. The first (Section 4.1) focuses on the transformative shift in the landowning pattern from 1640 to 1670 as documented in the Civil Survey and Book of Survey and Distribution. Despite it spanning only a period of thirty years it represents an era, both nationally and locally, of intense structural change. The second section (Section 4.3) presents the pattern of landownership 200 years later in the second half of the nineteenth century as recorded in the Griffith's Valuation. The research is forced to make a leap in time as the lack of historical documentary evidence relating to the preceding century of the 1700s had either been destroyed or lost as outlined in Section 3.5.1.

Using primary documentary sources from the respective time periods, namely the Civil Survey and Books of Survey and Distribution and Griffith's Valuation, the names of the main landowners were analysed using Excel and inputted as attributes according to their townland boundaries, into GIS to create a series of choropleth maps, which enabled spatial and temporal comparison into their complex interrelations. The ethnicity of the landowners' families was also mapped into categories of Gaelic Irish, Old English and New English to clearly portray the extent of the English colonisation of the region. Identifying these regional landowners reveal the local authors of the landscape and offers an insight into the structural forces that shaped them.

4.1 The Shape of Landownership in the Seventeenth Century

This short timeframe of the years between 1640 and 1670 comprised a fundamental shift in Kilrossanty's landowners and authors, which was reflected on a larger scale in the island as a whole, during this period of substantial political and cultural structural change. Ireland was unique in Western Europe to be a colonised nation rather than enjoying the customary role of coloniser for which other European nations displayed great enthusiasm. There had been an English presence in Ireland since the Anglo Norman invasion in 1169, whose population influx had displaced the indigenous Gaelic

Irish manorial centres both physically and culturally. These first colonisers became known as the Old English and in the intervening 500 years they became culturally intertwined with their Irish neighbours. From the 1550s however, further settlers had been arriving from England creating new Plantations of Protestant communities, and subsequently imposing the discriminatory Penal laws aimed specifically against the indigenous Catholic Gaelic Irish inhabitants. It was this New English ethnic group whose successors subsequently become the English Protestant Ascendancy (De Bhulbh, 1997; Foster, 1988; MacLysaght, 1985).

The landowning status of these three ethnic groups, of Gaelic Irish, Old English and New English, are examined in this Chapter to explore how the national political changes that occurred from the colonisation of Ireland were reflected in the landownership patterns in Kilrossanty. The significant and irrevocable changes in Kilrossanty parish that took place within a short, yet tumultuous thirty year period in the seventeenth century, reflect how all landholding rights were removed from the indigenous Gaelic Irish as the English colonisation of the country advanced. It would be another 200 years before they could repossess a foothold in the landownership and decision-making strata of society. The "geographical reconstruction" (Smyth, 2006) that took place during this period is examined through the ownership and conversely, the dispossession that occurred in Kilrossanty as a result of the infiltration of English colonisers into Ireland. Their attempts to extract as much wealth as possible from the colony corresponded with the growing inequality in social relationships divided by ethnicity and religion (Smyth, 2006).

To identify the landowners is to identify the main decision-makers and authors of the landscape. Land was the major economic resource which determined an individual's place in the socio-economic hierarchy and was also the key to economic, social and political power. Landownership was culturally circumscribed and the system was shaped by the predominant cultural group. The attitude towards land as a resource altered with these transformations in society and economy with the insertion of a new ethnic group (Ketch, 1987).

4.1.1 Sources

The most comprehensive documentary resource detailing the landownership position during the seventeenth century is the Civil Survey, with the accompanying map of the Down Survey and narrative in the Book of Survey and Distribution.

The Civil Survey was compiled by English Cromwellian authorities in 1654-6 following the seizure of land formerly belonging to Gaelic Irish families. It gave details of the landowning situation in Ireland on 23 October 1641 at the outbreak of the Catholic Rebellion (explored further in Chapter 5). Its purpose was to describe and value the land to establish what could be given, in lieu of wages, as payment to the English officers and soldiers who had fought against the insurgents during the Rebellion, as well as to the Adventurers who had helped fund the war. It also determined what land, in their opinion, was "profitable" and "unprofitable" (Nolan, 1979a; Prunty, 2004; Simington, 1942; Smyth, 2006; TCD, 2013).

Using the Civil Survey as a guide, the Down Survey is a map of the country which aimed to record the townland boundaries to enable a more accurate and efficient distribution of land to the English investors and soldiers (Canny, 2001; Nolan, 1979a; Smyth, 2006; TCD, 2013). This is the first time such a large area had been systematically mapped (Prunty, 2004; TCD, 2013). Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2 are the Down Survey maps relating firstly to the barony of the Decies[9] and secondly to Kilrossanty parish. The outline of the parish and townlands are mapped, and although it is generally sparse in internal topography, it does include some symbols to indicate presumably the O'Brien manor house in Kilcomeragh townland and the Catholic chapel on the boundary between Boolattin and Cutteen, as well as some description of the type of land, such as "bog" or "heathy". The numbers in each townland relate to the descriptive information given in the Books of Survey and Distribution.

When examining the Down Survey in the context of the upland landscape of Kilrossanty parish, it is noteworthy that the surveyor of the Down Survey, Sir William Petty, was paid a higher rate for mapping profitable lands (£7 3s 4d per 1,000 acres), compared to

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[9] The Decies was the Gaelic territory of the county named after the inhabiting tribe, An Deise.

the mapping of unprofitable, church and crown lands (£3 per 1,000 acres) (Smyth, 2006). This may have resulted in his surveyors spending less time mapping so-called "unprofitable" territory, or as he was accused by some aggrieved recipients of the land, of inflating the land's value (Smyth, 2006).
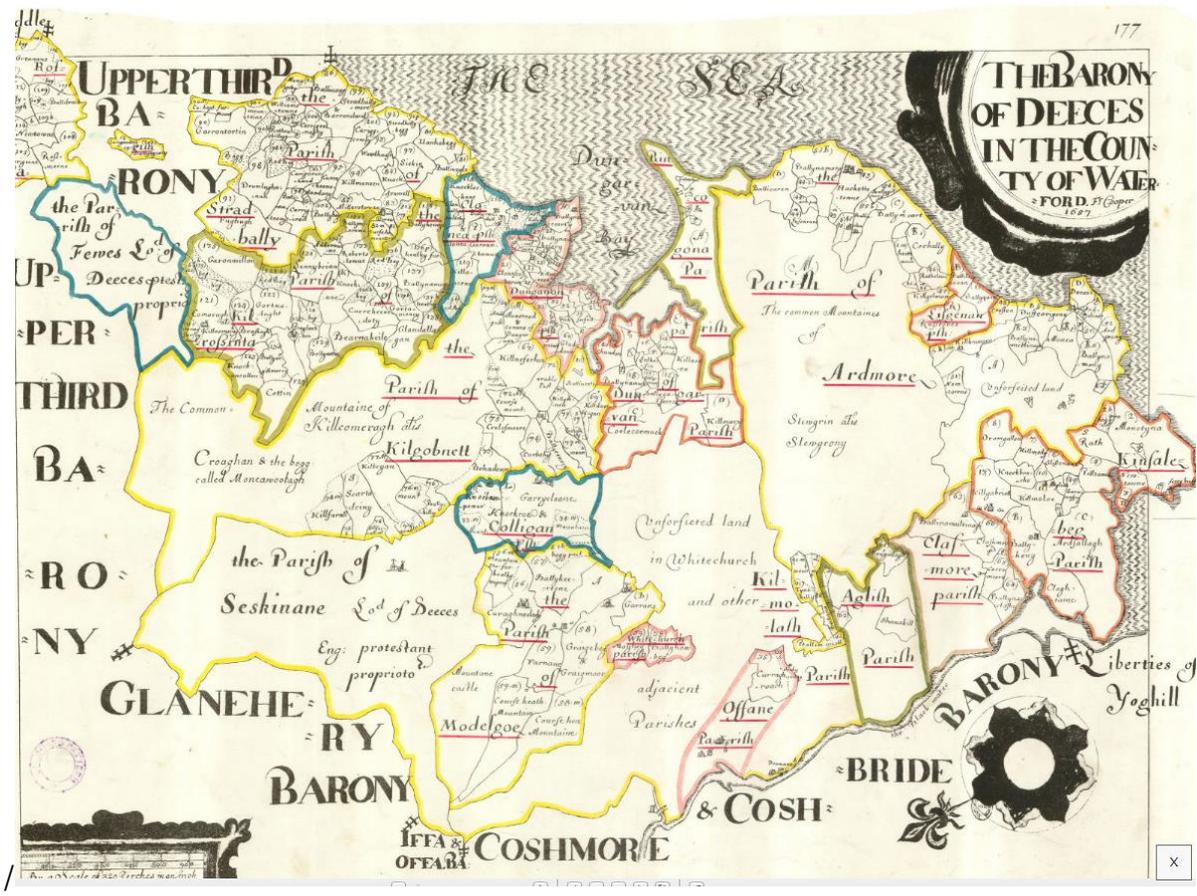
Figure 4.1: Down Survey Map of Decies Barony; note the unusual direction of north in the bottom right corner. Source: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie/
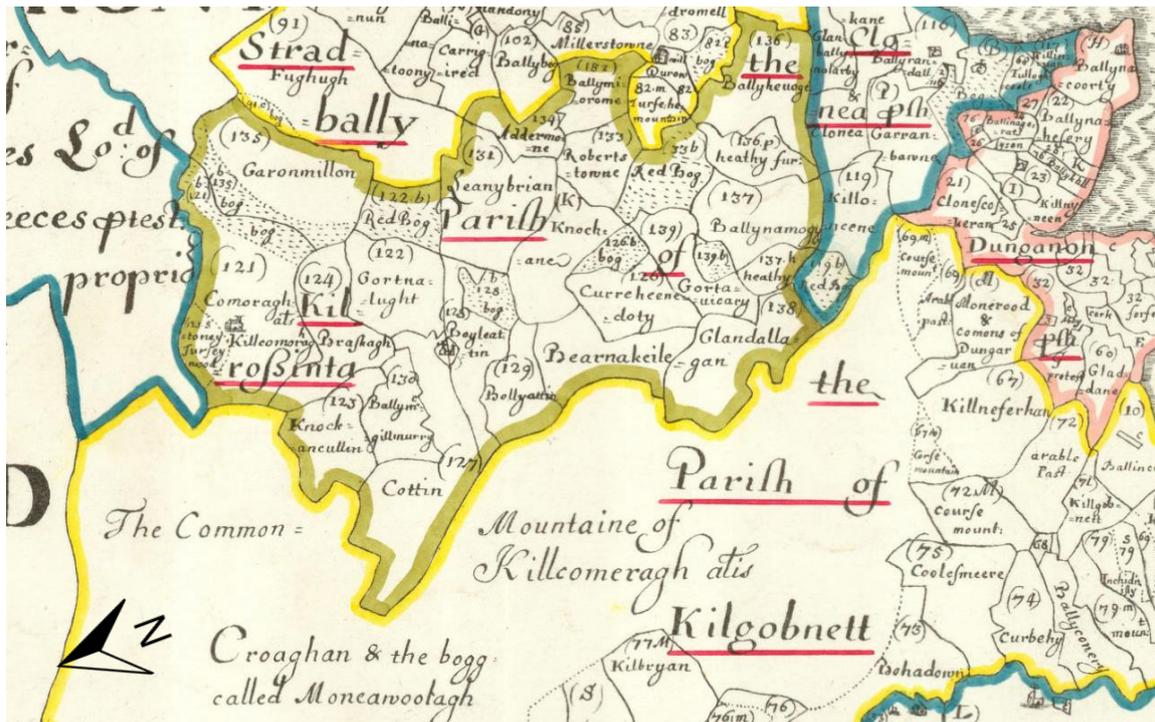
Figure 4.2: Down Survey map detail of Kilrossanty parish; note the direction of north. Source: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie

The Book of Survey and Distribution is the accompanying narrative to the Downs Survey. It details the acreage of each townland, its value and also, crucially for this research, the name of the new landowner in 1670 who had been awarded the territory as reward for their moral or financial support (Books of Survey and Distribution, Co Kerry, Co Waterford 1641-1701).

Taken altogether, these documents were a colonial bureaucratic exercise to describe and define the Irish landscape in order to better understand the newly conquered lands and enable a more efficient and therefore a more profitable management of the island (Smyth, 2006). It imposed an order and control over a territory and its people who were perceived as disordered and chaotic. The term "Irish papists" was used throughout the documents when describing Gaelic Irish individuals as being "deceased" or "transplanted", terminology which helped dehumanise an element of society and compound the ethnic stratification (Smyth, 2006; TCD, 2013).

4.1.2 Method

In order to illustrate the changes in landownership of Kilrossanty parish in the seventeenth century, the proprietors listed in the Civil Survey in 1641 were inputted into ArcGIS Pro as attributes. The data in the Book of Survey and Distribution which detailed the successive landowners in 1670 was also entered as a GIS layer to enable comparison. Each name was then classified according to their ethnicity viz, Gaelic Irish, Old English or New English to review their distribution within the Kilrossanty landscape. The classification of surnames was confirmed by making reference to genealogical works such as MacLysaght (1985, 1996) and de Bhulbh (1997).

The comparison of the structure and outline of the townlands from the seventeenth century to the present day situation was fairly challenging as the boundaries have changed in some cases, or, as in the case with some upland areas, they were not even attributed to a townland at all, presumably because they were perceived to be unused and thus devoid of value (Ketch, 1992). The Civil Survey included a description of the borders of each landholding however, which was used as a guide to be able to layer them on top of a modern map for comparison. A degree of interpretation was necessary for the townlands situated on the higher slopes such as Comeraghmountain, Treenearla Commons and Ballintlea, as those at an altitude of between 350 to 600m were not listed in these seventeenth century documents at all. They have consequently been classified as "Common" in the GIS maps featured within this Chapter.

4.1.3 Dramatis Personae

There are a number of names that reoccur frequently in documentation relating to the landowning class in Kilrossanty. To better understand these families' interconnections and political affiliations, a very brief overview is given to provide some context around how and why the balance of land share shifted.

4.1.3.1 Fitzgerald

An Old English family, the Fitzgeralds originally arrived with the initial Anglo Norman invasion of Ireland in 1169 and were later given the title Earl of Desmond in 1329. They subsequently became the legal custodians of the whole Decies area by Henry IV in 1413

and took Dromana House as their base located just over 30 km to the west of Kilrossanty (Ketch, 1992; Lodge and Archdall, 1789).

During this period of Anglo Norman colonisation, the Fitzgeralds did not settle their territory as intensively as some other Old English colonisers (such as the neighbouring Power family to the east of Kilrossanty), and as a result, some Gaelic Irish families, including the O'Briens, were able to retain a foothold in proprietorship albeit on less valuable land on the higher slopes of the mountain (Ketch, 1992) .

The later English enforcement of the Munster Planation during the 1580s confiscated much of the Fitzgerald territory to the west of Kilrossanty and subsequently imposed a new settler population of New English colonists onto their land (Ketch, 1992).

4.1.3.2 O'Brien

The O'Briens were the only Gaelic Irish landowning family listed in the Civil Survey and Book of Survey and Distribution in Kilrossanty. Originally from Thomond in County Clare, part of the O'Brien clan migrated to the Comeragh area in 1096 to claim the role of King of Munster, which they held until the arrival of the Anglo Normans in 1169 who dispossessed them of their land. The Earl of Desmond (Fitzgeralds) was given the title Lord of the Deise, thereby usurping the O'Briens from their original claim to the land (O'Brien, 2001).

After years of conflict, a compromise was eventually found and a period of relative peaceful coexistence ensued. During this time, the O'Brien and Fitzgerald families proved their loyalty to each other in battle, and in gratitude the Earl of Desmond bestowed some of the lands of the Comeraghs to the O'Briens in 1413 which included townlands situated in Kilrossanty parish. There was however, also a strategic motive to this granting of lands, as a branch of the powerful O'Brien clan in the area was useful to protect Fitzgerald's interests in the area and a useful ally and buffer against the rival, neighbouring Anglo Norman families of the Butlers and de Poers (Lodge and Archdall, 1789; O'Brien, 2001). It was stipulated as part of the grant that the O'Briens were to maintain a small private army not only to safeguard their lands and stock but also to provide service to the Earl of Desmond (O'Brien, 2001).

The O'Briens and Fitzgeralds continued to be interconnected over the years and would go on to intermarry many times in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Significantly, the O'Briens paid rent and court service directly to the Fitzgeralds in their House of Dromana (Ketch, 1992; Lodge and Archdall, 1789; O'Brien, 2001; Simington, 1942).

4.1.3.3 Walsh

The Walshs were an Old English family who arrived in Ireland in the 1170s. The bulk of the family land was located in the Decies, and they held residences in Ballykeroge Castle (situated in Kilrossanty parish) and Pilltown Castle (as mapped in Figure 5.5). This land was originally part of the Desmond (Fitzgerald) estate that had been confiscated in the 1580s as punishment for their part in a rebellion against the English Crown (Lehane, 2014).

Sir Nicholas Walsh Senior (1540-1615) was a prominent political figure and judge, and controversially converted to Catholicism on his death bed. His grandson, Thomas, later declared himself Protestant in 1657 in order to retain their lands (Lehane, 2014; O'Brien, 2001).

4.1.4 Landownership in 1640

The names of landowners in Kilrossanty parish in 1640 according to the Civil Survey and Book of Survey and Distribution are illustrated in the GIS map in Figure 4.3; whilst the proportion of land held by each family is shown in the pie chart in Figure 4.4. The majority of the land at the time (44%) was held by the Gaelic Irish O'Brien family which included the manor house in the townland of Kilcomeragh drawn on the Down Survey map in Figure 4.2. The name of the landowner, Derby O'Brien, was described as "Irish papist deceased"[10] (Simington, 1942, p. 77), whilst his house was described in the Civil Survey as, "Wee find the Mansion howse of the sd Derby O Brien to be Kill Comeragh a considerable slate howse now garrisoned with a lardge Bawne, an outhowse with a good Orchard and quicksett hedges and a mill worth 4li". (Simington, 1942, p. 78).

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[10] Whereas the names of the proprietor stated in the Civil Survey was the situation in 1641, the comments about their circumstances, for example, "Irish papist deceased" or "Irish papist transplanted" reports the actual contemporary situation in 1654 at the time of the document's compilation.
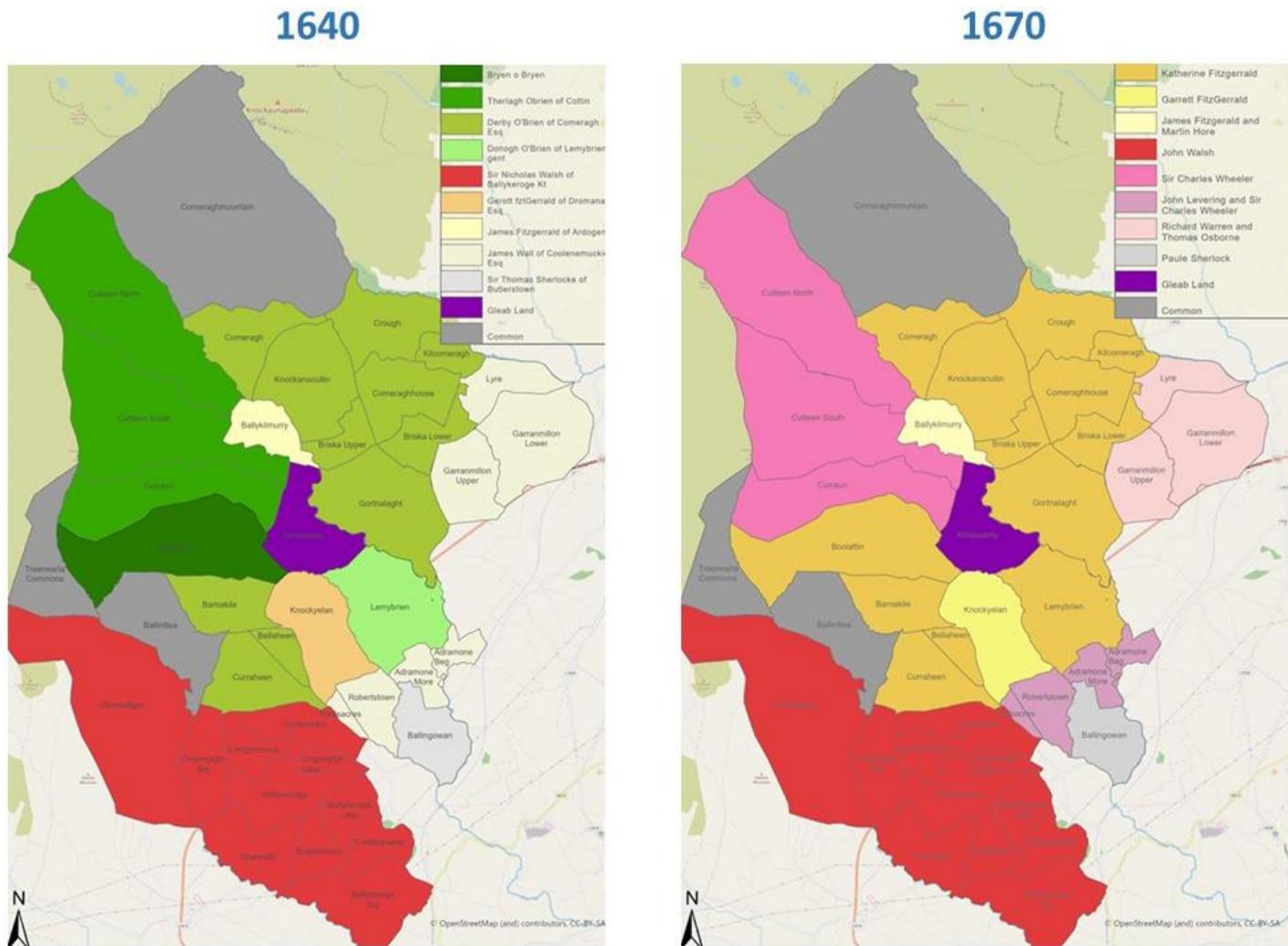
1640

1670

Figure 4.3: Maps comparing the change in landownership in Kilrossanty parish in 1640 and 1670 according to the Book of Survey and Distribution

Figure 4.4: Proportion of landowners in 1640 in Kilrossanty parish as documented in the Civil Survey

The second largest landowner was documented as the Old English Walsh family, headed by Sir Nicholas who held 21% of the land in the parish in the townlands around Ballykeroge in the south lowlands of the parish (around 80m in altitude). At the time of compilation of the Survey in 1654, Sir Nicholas had died and was therefore described as a "deceased Irish papist" (Simington, 1942, p. 80). The conflict in the intervening years seemed to have taken its toll on the property as it was described as:

"There is on this land a ruined Castle and a lardge Bawne; an orchard, pigeon howse and serverall other Cabins" (Simington, 1942, p. 80). And his "Mansion howse" in the townland of Gortavicary was now "defaced" (Simington, 1942, p. 81).

The other smaller landholders in the parish comprised of three other Old English names, Fitzgerald, Sherlock and Wall, whilst common land represented 18% of the total area[11]. Kilrossanty townland, located in the centre of the parish, is marked as "glebe" land, meaning land owned by the church, and remnants of the medieval chapel remain in situ today. The other Old English families of Sherlock and Wall hold land to the east of the parish which is also around 60m to 80m in altitude.

Therlagh O'Brien was recorded as holding the townlands of Cutteen and Boolattin in 1640. The modern day townlands of the same names are on the higher slopes of the

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[11] See justification for "Common" land in Section 4.3.

parish and reach an altitude of around 600m. It is however unclear where the townland boundary would have reached in the Down Survey on the slopes of the mountain, though even at their lowest point they are at around 200m. The neighbouring Comeraghmountain townland also reaches a similar altitude, but does not warrant a townland attribution in the Civil or Down Survey. Brien O'Brien's land just south of Therlagh's has an altitude of between 100m and 200m. Derby O'Brien was the largest landholder out of the family and his land stretched from around 200m to 80m towards the south of the parish. Clues to the type of land can be deduced from the name of the townlands for example, one of the townland's in Derby's area included Briska, the name of which means "brittle land" (Ketch, 1987; Power, 1952).

The landowners in the parish were filtered according to their ethnicity to produce the map in Figure 4.6 and the proportional landholding pie chart in Figure 4.5, which illustrates that the land at this time was held by a mixture of Gaelic Irish (45%) and Old English (35%) families. Common land consisted of 18% of the entire area, using the modern day townland boundaries, and church land remained a constant 2%. However despite the Gaelic Irish possessing the greater quantity of land, their townlands were situated at a higher altitude in the north west of the parish, closer to the mountain slopes, whereas the Old English families held land in the more fertile lowlands of the south and east.
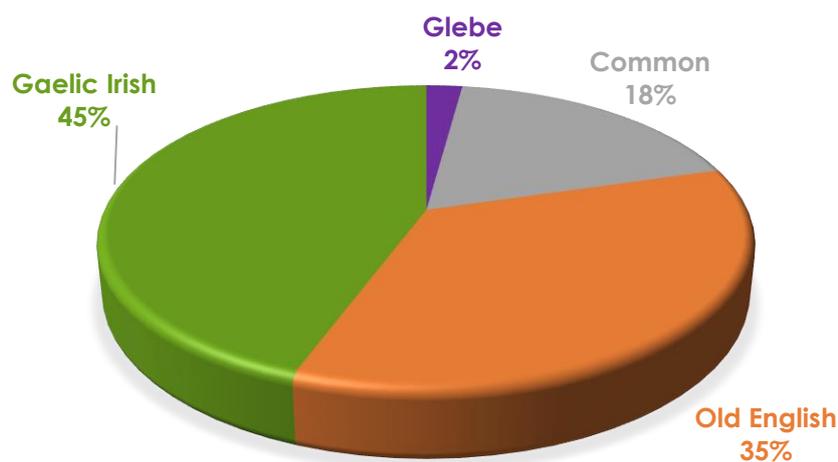
Figure 4.5: Proportion of landowners in 1640 in Kilrossanty parish according to ethnicity
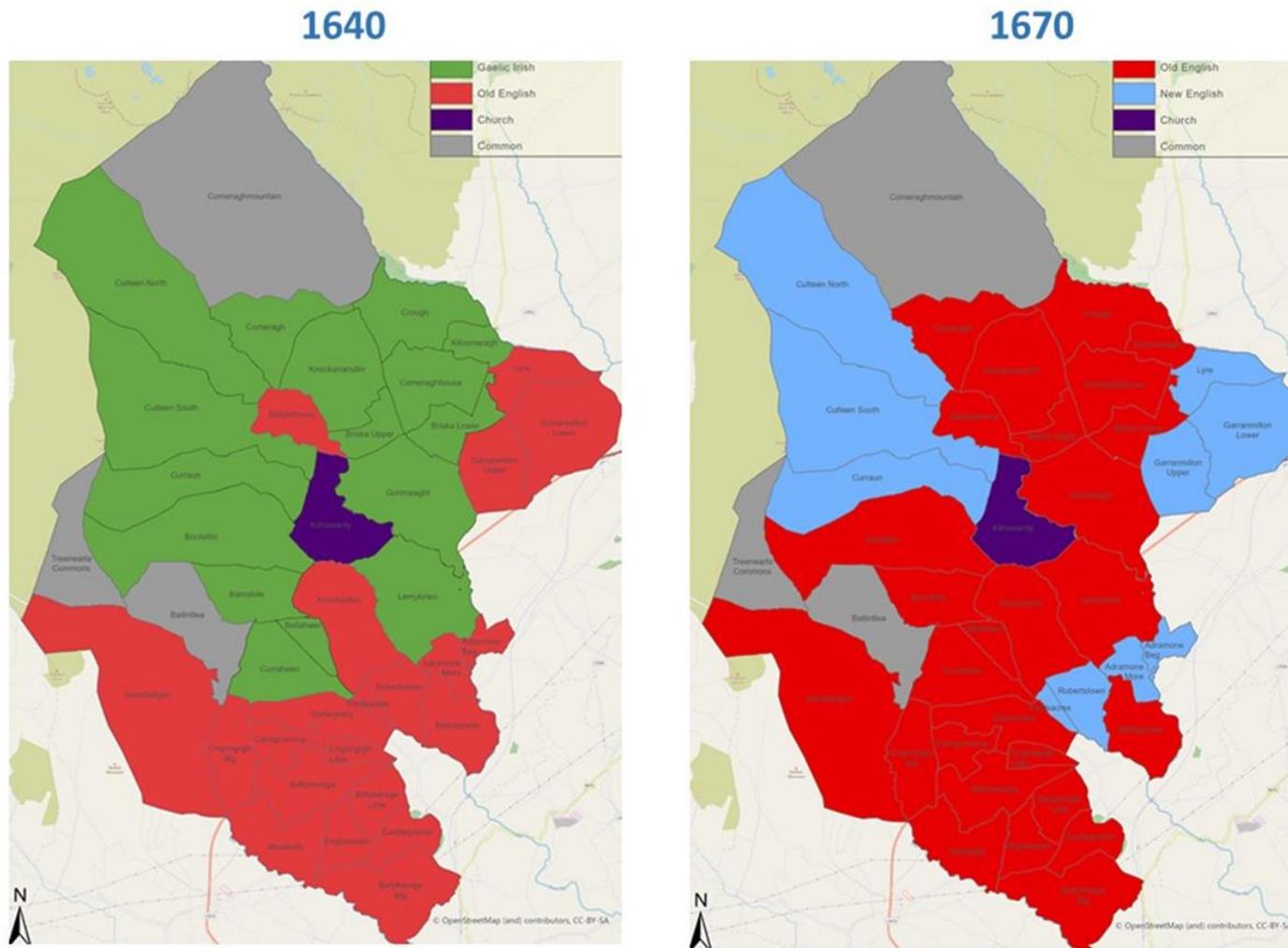
Figure 4.6: Maps comparing the ethnicity of landowners in Kilrossanty parish in 1640 and 1670 from the Civil Survey and Book of Survey and Distribution

4.1.5 Landownership in 1670

The landowners for 1670 recorded in the Book of Survey and Distribution were added as an additional layer in GIS, to enable a direct comparison with the situation in 1640. The map on the right hand side in Figure 4.3 illustrates the distribution of these individuals and again these owners were filtered by ethnicity as shown in the map on the right hand side in Figure 4.6. To understand the shift in proportions of landownership, corresponding pie charts were also produced to illustrate the relevant families in Figure 4.7 and the ethnicity balance in Figure 4.8.

The most significant change in the landownership pattern by 1670 was that the O'Brien family was not listed, meaning there was no longer any Gaelic Irish landownership representation. Therlagh O'Brien's lands in Cutteen and Boolattin were taken over by Sir Charles Wheeler, whilst all of the other O'Brien land was in the hands of the Old English, Fitzgeralds. Despite Sir Nicholas Walsh dying in 1643 during the rebellion (Lehane, 2014), the Old English family managed to hold onto their land intact in and around Ballykeroge, with John, his son, now being declared head of the family.

The new names were New English settlers, for example, Sir Charles Wheeler in 1670 held a significant slice of the parish (20%), comprising a mixture of upland and lowland, including the former O'Brien land in Cutteen townland and two lower townlands near the south of the parish held jointly with John Levering.

The Fitzgeralds were identified as the new major landowners owning 31% of the parish. Katherine Fitzgerald, despite at the time being only 10 years old, was named as owning 28% of the region, and also one of the few female authors to be identified. The Old English ethnic group as a whole was by far the largest landowners in the parish, possessing 55% of the land, whilst the New English held one quarter. The rest remained as Common and Glebe (Church) land.
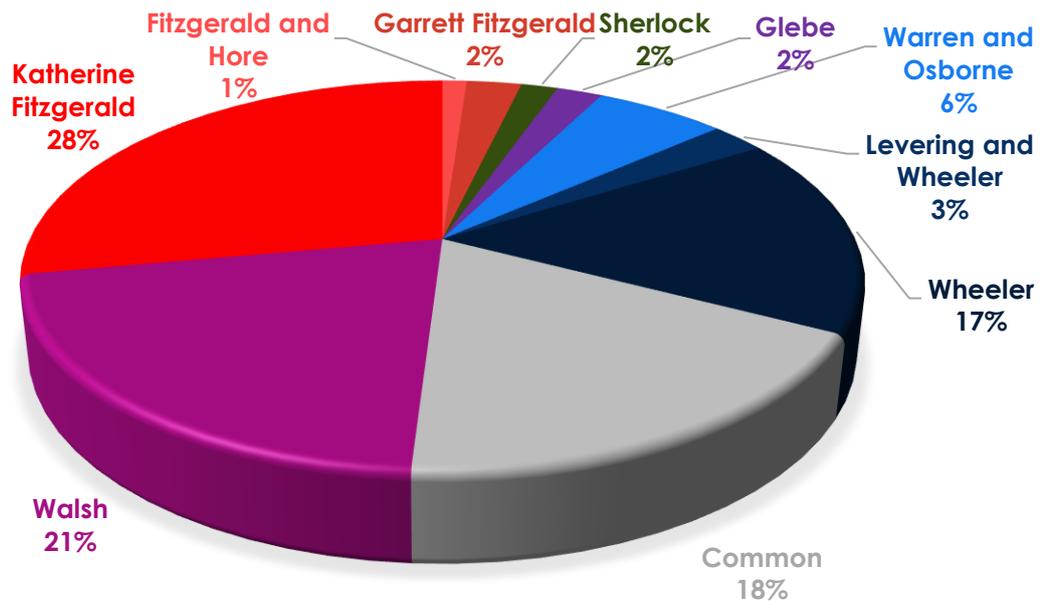
Figure 4.7: Proportion of landowners in 1670 in Kilrossanty parish
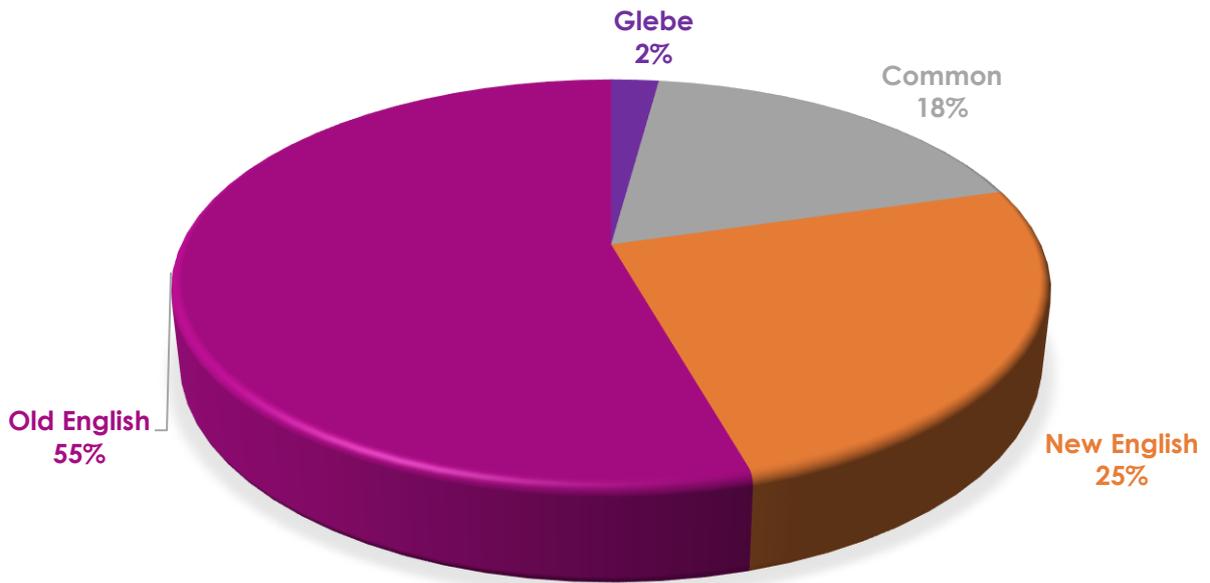
Figure 4.8: Proportion of landowners in 1670 in Kilrossanty parish according to ethnicity

4.2　Summary of Landownership Pattern in Seventeenth Century

This series of maps and charts illustrated the fundamental shift in landownership in Kilrossanty parish, and outlined how the colonising process came to be complete by 1670 with the result that all Gaelic Irish owners were removed from the land and were replaced by English proprietors. It is representative of the Waterford County as a whole where, in 1650, around 56% of the lands were owned by Catholics, whilst afterwards, by 1670, it had significantly reduced to just 6% (O'Brien, 2001).

The catalyst event underlying this significant change was the 1641 Rebellion, with its subsequent repression of rebel forces by Cromwell's forces; Kilrossanty's role in this event is examined in more detail in Chapter 5. As a result of this conflict, two significant pieces of legislation were passed by the English government, namely the Adventurers Act (1642) which aimed to raise loans to finance the battle against the rebels with the promise of repayment with insurgents' land once victory was accomplished; and the Act of Settlement (1652) which stated that anyone who had held arms against Parliament was to forfeit their lands or be transplanted to Connacht (Smyth, 2006). In practice, these Acts were only enforced onto the Gaelic Irish community and resulted in the sweeping confiscation and colonisation of Irish-owned land culminating in the destruction of the Irish Catholic land-owning class for 200 years.

In Kilrossanty, the effect of this biased legislation was that the O'Briens were removed from their land and were ordered to be transplanted to Connaught (Simington, 1915), whilst the Old English Walsh family were allowed to remain in situ. The land in this area of the county was allocated to Adventurers (Smyth, 2006) (those who had lent money to the English government to help finance the suppression of the rebellion), which explained the arrival of new landowners of Wheeler and Levering into the area.

The starting date for this report of 1640 is not one of a standing still position; this was not the beginning moment of the area's colonisation, but more the beginning of the end. The Gaelic Irish O'Briens were only present as landowners in the parish as a result of the goodwill of the Old English Fitzgeralds. The two families had intermarried and intermingled over hundreds of years, but the O'Brien presence in Kilrossanty was strategically beneficial as a buffer, along with the physical boundary of the Comeragh

mountains, between the Fitzgeralds and the other predominant Old English family of the Powers, situated to the east of Kilrossanty. The O'Briens had also been pushed onto the more marginal upland landscape, whilst the Old English families enjoyed the more fertile lowlands, thereby realising a distinction between the quality of land and ethnicity of the owner.

4.3 The Shape of Landownership in the Nineteenth Century

This Section resumes the thread of the landownership pattern in Kilrossanty parish from the seventeenth century, picking it up some 200 years later, in the second half of the nineteenth century. The main landowners, as recorded by the Griffith's Valuation, were mapped using GIS in order to compare with the preceding pattern found in the 1640s and 1670s as described in Section 4.1.

Completed by 1865, the Griffith's Valuation was a rich resource of the landowning picture at a time of great turbulence in the Irish social and political landscape. The Famine had wreaked its path, and the estate system and system of landlordism that had been the modus operandi across Ireland for over a hundred years was just starting to wane, re-opening up the landowning sphere to a wider field including Gaelic Irish Catholics. This is reflected in Kilrossanty, with a number of new Gaelic Irish names appearing. The estate system nevertheless was still alive and well, with the landscape dominated by two main landowning families, Palliser and Kennedy. The latter intriguing as absentee Baronet landlords, despite possessing a Gaelic Irish surname.

As illustrated in Figure 4.9, new actors or authors had taken the stage, and whilst their connections with the seventeenth century authors are yet to be firmly established, the English Parliamentary authority had remained securely in situ for the preceding 200 years. Moreover, the Catholic Church was now emerging as a growing influence which was reflected by their decisive impact on the landscape. The Church was not superseding the English colonial authorities, but was operating alongside, not always harmoniously.

The transdisciplinary approach was developed within this Section, because whilst the events that took place and the authors involved were no longer living, they still formed

part of the collective memory in the region and the landlords' names and characters featured in some of the interviews that were conducted. Contemporary newspaper articles also contributed to an understanding of public opinion.

4.3.1 Griffith's Valuation

The Griffith's Valuation was the most comprehensive historical resource to examine the landowning pattern in the nineteenth century in Ireland. Begun in 1844 and completed by 1865, the Griffith's Valuation was the basis for the creation of a new taxation rate for the entire country. It was a unique detailed survey which examined the slope and altitude of the land, categorised soil samples and then divided each townland into "lots" in order to assign them a certain financial value (Andrews, 2002; Cronin *et al.*, 1997; Duffy, 2007). As outlined in Chapter 6, the Six Inch Ordnance Survey maps were used as a basis for the survey and together this was the first time a mapping and land valuation had been attempted on this scale since the Down Survey in 1654 (Andrews, 2002; Duffy, 2007; Prunty, 2004). It has subsequently been described as "potentially the most useful source for settlement studies and for profiling change at local level into the twentieth century" (Duffy, 2007, p. 154).

Appointed in 1825, Richard Griffith was a civilian engineer whose mission was to ascertain the boundaries of parishes and townlands and where necessary to mark out these boundaries on the ground to point out what needed to be mapped by the Ordnance Survey surveyors (Andrews, 2002). Griffith would take a list of townlands from the high constable of the barony, which he then checked with local landowners, using estate maps where available, and the Established Church's records. He then paid local residents to walk the surveyors around the boundary (Andrews, 2002).

If an area had been accepted by the local community for the last 50 years but was not included in the historical maps from the 1600s, Griffith would incorporate them as a new townland or division them accordingly. It was often the case that townland boundaries in marginal areas, such as mountains or bogs, were unclear. In these cases, Griffith and his surveyors would define a precise location for the border to remove any ambiguity. Large townlands were also divided up if Griffith felt they were too large to

allow accurate valuation (Andrews, 2002). In Kilrossanty parish, this is evidenced by the townlands of Ballykeroge Big, Ballykeroge Little and Adramone More and Beg.

The advantages of the Griffith's Valuation, as a research resource, above other contemporary documentary landowning lists such as the Tithe Applotments or Hearth Money Rolls, was that it was much more comprehensive in its detail. It identified the "Immediate Lessors", that is, the name of the landlord of each townland as well as the "Occupiers", who were the tenants. The name of the "Lessors" (or landlord) were inputted as an attribute into GIS according to the relevant townland in order to illustrate their distribution; the results of which are illustrated in the left hand map in Figure 4.9.

To enable comparison with the landownership patterns from the seventeenth century, the surnames were classified according to their ethnic origin, Gaelic Irish, Old English and New English, and also mapped as shown in the right hand map in Figure 4.9. Genealogical works such as MacLysaght (1985, 1996) and de Bhulbh (1997) were used as guidelines to ascertain the ethnic family origin from their surnames. Quantitative analysis was used to analyse the proportion of landowners in Figure 4.10 and the ethnicity of the landowners in Figure 4.11. The value of the land was also layered within the maps to ascertain the landowners with the most valuable land.

4.3.2 Landlordism

The landownership structure during the nineteenth century was overwhelmingly estate landlordism (Jones-Hughes, 1965; Simms, 1999; Whelan, 1999). Landlordism, particularly at its peak from c.1750 to 1850, had such an overwhelming impact on the Irish cultural and physical landscape that it superseded any type of landscape that preceded it (Jones-Hughes, 1965). It was colonial in its nature and required the mass of the population to be subservient. The overall economic aim of the system was the production of crops and livestock for export to Britain which resulted in it being more widespread in the more fertile regions of the island, particularly therefore in the south and east. In contrast, the geographically and culturally marginal areas to the north and west, remained Gaelic and more poorly endowed (Jones-Hughes, 1965; 1986)

Landlords were the pinnacle of Irish society, they made and enforced the law by occupying the authoritative roles of Members of Parliament as well as enforcers of societal norms by operating as the sheriffs, judges and magistrates (Dooley, 2001; Duffy, 1977; Foster, 1988). At the same time they were also culturally distanced from the vast majority of the Gaelic Irish population, epitomised by the high demesne walls and large grounds, employing a buffer of employees including land agents and bailiffs (Dooley, 2001).

This period of time of the late nineteenth century, was one of transition and was fundamental within the history of Irish landownership. Landlordism had reached its peak of ascendancy and was just beginning its steady decline in influence particularly affected by the heavy trials of the Famine years and increased agrarian agitation (Dooley, 2001; Duffy, 1977). Although the landlords remained predominantly Protestant, there were a number of Catholic landlords existing by the 1870s (Dooley, 2001). The winds of change were becoming stronger with the relaxing of the Penal Laws (implemented between 1695 and 1756), culminating with the Roman Catholic Relief Act 1829, which removed barriers from Catholics being allowed to sit as Members of Parliament and full property rights were granted in The Papists Act of 1778 (albeit with conditions) (Foster, 1988).

Main Landowner
- Sir Edward Kennedy Bart
- Colonel Palliser
- Edward Galwey Esq
- Denis Keeffe Esq
- John Scully Esq
- Robert P Ronayne Esq
- Thomas P Sherlock Esq
- Trus of Mrs Osborne
- Phineas Hunt
- Morgan Barron Esq
- Richard Jebbs Esq
- JP O'Shea Esq
- David O'Neale Power Esq
- Sir Edward Kennedy Bart, Sir John Nugent, Richard Charnley Esq, Lady Cremorne

Ethnicity of Landowner in 1840
- Gaelic Irish
- Old English
- New English
- Mixed

Figure 4.9: Map to show the landowners in Kilrossanty parish according to the Griffith's Valuation (left) and landowners filtered by ethnicity (right)
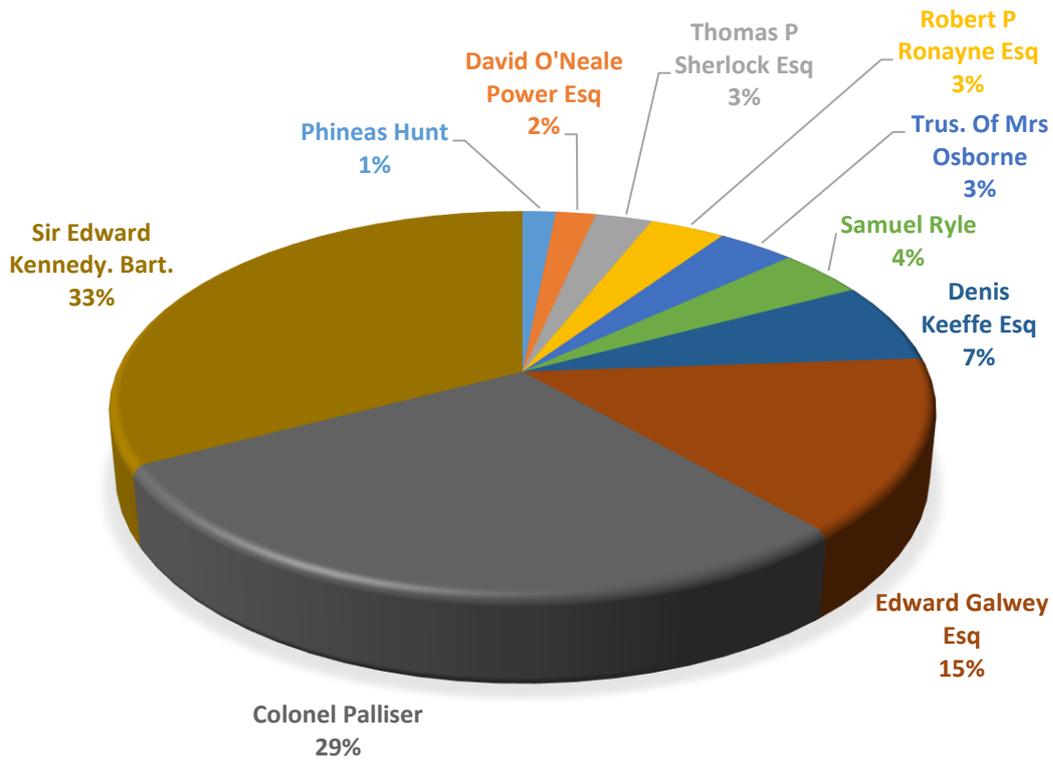
Figure 4.10: Proportion of top 10 landowners in Kilrossanty parish according to the Griffith's Valuation
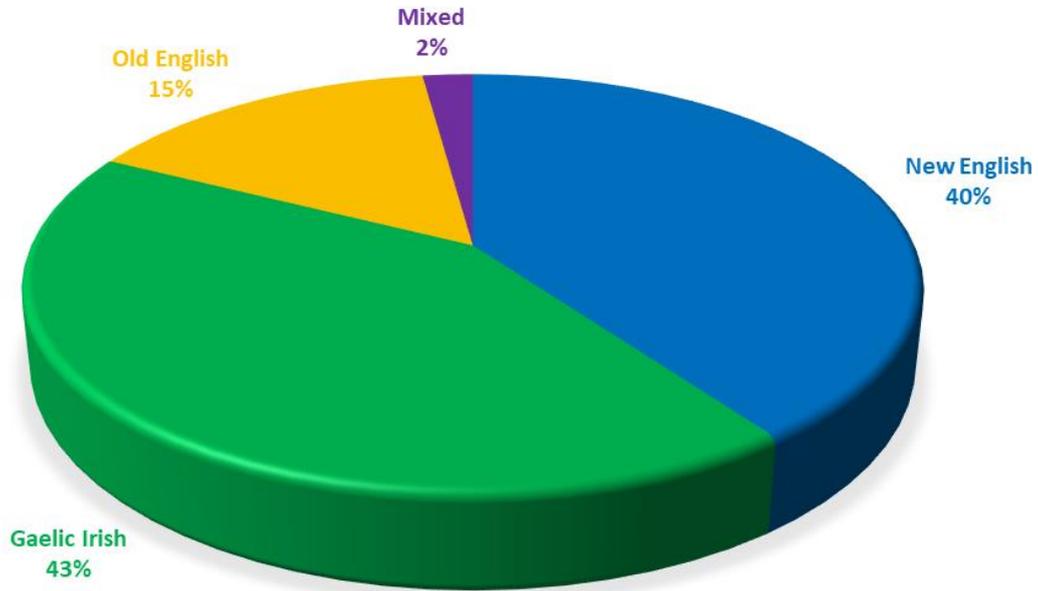
Figure 4.11: Proportion of landowners' ethnicity in Kilrossanty parish according to the Griffith's Valuation

4.3.3 Kilrossanty's Landownership

The left hand map in Figure 4.9 illustrated the landowners of Kilrossanty parish according to the Griffith's Valuation, whilst the map on the right in the same figure, filtered these landowners according to the ethnicity of their surname. Figure 4.10 illustrated the proportion of land held by each individual landowner, whilst, Figure 4.11 showed the proportion per ethnicity of their surname.

The main landowners were Colonel John Palliser and Sir Edward Kennedy Bart who owned 62% of the land in the parish in total, while the remainder consisted of significantly smaller holdings. The third largest landowner in the region was Edward Galwey who held North and South Cutteen, comprising 15% of the parish. These two large townlands spanned the mountainside, reaching up to around 650m in altitude. Palliser land also encompassed some of the highest in altitude of Comeraghmountain townland, reaching up to around 700m, whilst the Kennedy land was predominantly lowland, with a small amount encroaching on the mountain on the southern aspect.

Although the other landholders listed in the Griffith's Valuation held smaller quantities of land in the Kilrossanty region, a number of them were still significant landowners on a national scale. Alongside Kennedy and Palliser, Joseph O'Neill Power, John O'Keeffe, Mrs Catherine Isabella Osborne and Nicholas Richard Power O'Shee (sic) were all listed as landowners in County Waterford who owned 3000 acres and upwards (Hussey de Burgh, 1878). O'Neill Power was a Justice of Peace in County Waterford and High Sheriff in 1873 (Hussey de Burgh, 1878). The Fitzgeralds, who owned the most land in Kilrossanty in the seventeenth century, no longer own any land in the parish (Burtchaell, 1986).

With the exception of the Sherlock name continuing in one townland in the south of the parish, at first glance there was no continuation in the landownership maps from the seventeenth century. A deeper look however revealed a connection through marriage between the Wheeler family (the Adventurer who was granted land in the seventeenth century, see Figure 4.3) and the Pallisers, that the Most Rev. William Palliser, b. 1645 married Mary Wheeler, daughter of Jonah Wheeler of Greenan, Co

Kilkenny (Burke and Montgomery-Massingberd, 2007)[12]. It is possible therefore that the lands in Kilrossanty parish were passed down through to the Pallisers through this marriage.

The Kennedy family's seat was based in County Dublin with a relatively recent baronetcy having been created in 1836 (Cracroft-Brennan, 2014). Though cursory details have been found, further research would be needed to be carried out on the family to establish their roots in County Waterford and their political and religious affiliations. Whereas the Palliser family, owners of Comeragh House, were prominent amongst the collective memory within the local community and newspaper reports, there does not appear to be as much local knowledge regarding the Kennedys. They did own a significant house in the townland of Curraheen, but their presence was not so conspicuous (S.&S. Murphy 2019, pers comm, 19 January; C. Holmes, 2019 pers comm 22 January; T. Riordan, 2018 pers comm, 20 April).

The ethnicity of the parish landowners in the 1850s differed significantly from the picture in 1670 where all Gaelic Irish landowners had been eradicated from the landscape. The parish was, in the mid-nineteenth century, largely divided into two as illustrated in the right hand map in Figure 4.9. The New English contingent, made up almost entirely of Palliser land in the north of the parish, consisted of most of the higher land, whilst the southern half consisted of families of Gaelic Irish origin, predominantly Kennedy holdings. The Kennedy family has been marked as Gaelic Irish because that is the origin of their surname, whereas their religious affiliation and cultural origins are not determined. When the proportions of ethnicity are examined (Figure 4.11), the Gaelic Irish owned 43% of the land, with only 40% held by the New English, whilst a mere 15% of Old English families now owned land in the parish.

There were a number of other landowners listed that had originally Gaelic Irish names, such as O'Shea, Keeffe and Ronanyne. Hunt was marked as a New English name on the map as it was a very common name in England, however, there was a practice of changing Irish surnames into English-sounding ones during the period of Catholic

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[12] Thanks to Sean Murphy for pointing out this connection to me (S.&S. Murphy 2019, pers comm, 22 January).

persecution. There was therefore an element of ambiguity, as it could have been an alternative to the Gaelic O'Fey or Feeney or a derivative of such (MacLysaght, 1996). More research into this particular family line would be necessary to fully understand their origins. Hence the establishment of familial origins has become increasingly elusive compared to that of the seventeenth century.

Land situated in the higher altitudes which was not attributed to any owner or townland in the seventeenth century's Civil Survey and marked as "Common" in Figure 4.3, was by the nineteenth century, held by named individuals. For example, the townland of Treenearla Commons was owned by four families: Kennedy, Sir John Nugent, Richard Charnley and Lady Cremorne. All of these families held their main seat outside of the county, but nevertheless held the land jointly (Burke and Montgomery-Massingberd, 2007; Hussey de Burgh, 1878).

4.3.4 Summary of Landownership Pattern in Nineteenth Century

The mid-nineteenth century opened up a more complex system of landholding, where estates become smaller and more numerous, as shown in the smaller holdings within Kilrossanty parish whose owners may have only acquired their property in the early nineteenth century (Burtchaell, 1986, p. 41; Duffy, 1977). The landownership pattern had changed irrevocably since the 1600s, with only one owner appearing to have had a direct link with that previous period – Sherlock – whilst the Palliser family may have arrived in the area via marriage to Wheeler. The repeal of the Penal Laws, which allowed Catholics to purchase land, reflected the wider range of surnames now present in the landscape.

Palliser and Kennedy were amongst the largest owners in the wider county at the time and both were largely absentee landowners (Ketch, 1986a; O'Brien, 2001). Despite this or perhaps because of this, the Pallisers boasted a good reputation amongst the local communities: the family were reputed to have a benevolent attitude during the harsh times of the Famine by running a soup kitchen, with the local Catholic priest and Church of Ireland vicar (S. Murphy 2012, pers comm, 11 April). A newspaper report described a gathering of tenants of John Palliser of Roxboro (Comeragh House); when he entered the courthouse these tenants,

"rushed forward to shake hands with him and in accents of genuine love to bid him and his good agent hearty and warm welcome. An illuminated address was presented to the agent which stated that the Palliser estates had had no evictions during the past 100 years" ('The Palliser Estates in the County,' 1870).

When talking about Major William Palliser standing for the Tory party in the elections, he was described as "a member of a family distinguished for its soup and tract-distributing propensities and its zeal in propagating the doctrines of Orangeism – 'Church and State and no surrender!'" ('The Dungarvan Election,' 1865).

This contrasted however with anecdotal evidence of families being evicted by the land agents, for example:

"There was a very sad story about one of the families, Powers, he was working at Tay Lodge, Langley's. Langley was the agent for the Pallisers. He was at a threshing and he got caught in the threshing machine…and either his arm or his leg, one of his limbs was pulled clean off and …he was put on a door and taken back to the Twelve Acre Wood area, where he was living and he died in 2 or 3 days and shortly after that his widow and children were evicted by Langley on behalf of Pallisers I suppose…And because she was evicted, Mrs Power and I don't know how many children, 4 I think, they came down to Keatings… gave them, what was said was a hen house, or a fowl house, they cleaned out and let her into that as a temporary kind of dwelling." (S.&S. Murphy 2019, pers comm, 18 January).

The Kennedy family's origins demands further research to establish their timeline in Kilrossanty as well as to establish their religious and political affiliations. It would be of great interest to follow the line of individual landholders such as JP O'Shea and Keeffe to examine how they came to be one of the main landowners in the parish with a Gaelic Irish name. This would enable a much better understanding of the dynamics in the parish and a religious delineation which can no longer be determined just by a surname. To establish why and how the glebe land held by the church in the seventeenth century moved into private hands by 1850 would also be of great interest.

Chapter 5 - 1641 Rebellion Depositions – Catalyst For Change

This Chapter is an analysis of the individual participation and narratives arising from the Catholic 1641 Rebellion as recorded in the witness depositions, which relate to the inhabitants of Kilrossanty parish. By analysing and mapping the information with Nvivo and GIS, the Chapter identifies the rebellion protagonists from Kilrossanty, their ethnicity and the types of crimes in which they engaged. The location of the participants' points of conflict have also been mapped, which enabled an analysis of their underlying patterns and affiliations.

The depositions are an invaluable historical resource as they offer a rare insight into real human stories in the seventeenth century, conjuring up the fear and anger in the aftermath of an incredibly tumultuous and pivotal period in Irish history. They are certainly worthy of study to understand the relationships between communities, both economically and culturally at this time between the three distinct ethnic groups cohabiting at this time, of the indigenous Gaelic Irish, Old English, and New English settlers.

The depositions have previously been examined on a national scale and the range of atrocities and events mapped (for example, in Cannny (2001) and Smyth (2006)), however this is the first time that this methodology has been employed, using the qualitative software Nvivo to analyse the documents; and also is the first time Kilrossanty parish has been examined in this way and in such depth. By mapping the location of the events committed by the Kilrossanty inhabitants in GIS, the events in this parish is set amongst the wider contextual landscape.

The Catholic rebellion itself was a fight for power, against exclusion, for rights of ownership and against forcible dispossession from inherited lands (Canny, 2001; Smyth, 2006). The extent of the atrocities committed at the time and the Cromwellian repercussions meant it was a catalyst for the change in the pattern of landownership in the whole country, which is explored in the previous Chapter 4. The social barriers between the ethnic groups became apparent as the depositions are delved into; of the

Gaelic Irish and Old English subsisting together sharing many common values, including their alliance against the New English settlers, to the Protestant Ascendancy taking root and ousting those who had attempted to defy it, and achieving their long-desired land grab.

The Chapter begins by giving a contextual historical background of the national Catholic rebellion, with an overview of its origins, followed by a description of the depositions as a documentary resource, including some of the themes that they contain. The part Kilrossanty's actors played on a local level is then explored, using GIS as a tool of communication to illustrate the sphere of influence the landscape authors had during this turbulent time. Nvivo was used to theme the type of incidences that were detailed by the deponents, to provide a better understanding of the underlying motives for their actions and the social relations between the three ethnic groups.

5.1 Origins of the Rebellion

Since the 1550s, swathes of settlers from England had been colonising parts of Ireland with Plantations, creating new communities with a predominant Protestant identity, accompanied with discriminatory laws denying political and land-owning rights to Catholics (Clarke, 1991; Corish, 1991; Foster, 1988). The map in Figure 5.1 illustrates the extent of these Protestant Plantations on the island. The pressure of this injustice culminated in October 1641 with a small group of Irish Catholic landowners in Ulster, in the north of the island, formulating a plan to seize the region's principal fortified positions by surprise which would, they hoped, enable them to negotiate for improved rights from a position of strength (Canny, 2001; Corish, 1991). The uprising went as planned initially, but the leaders soon lost control of the popular movement who were fired up with resentment towards the new English settlers. This split resulted in "unofficial" indiscriminate attacks being carried out on New English families and properties (TCD, 2010). The rising quickly spread southwards across the island reaching Munster in November 1641. The rebellion on a national scale resulted in an estimated 4,000 English settlers being directly killed and a further 8,000 dying from their privations (Corish, 1991).
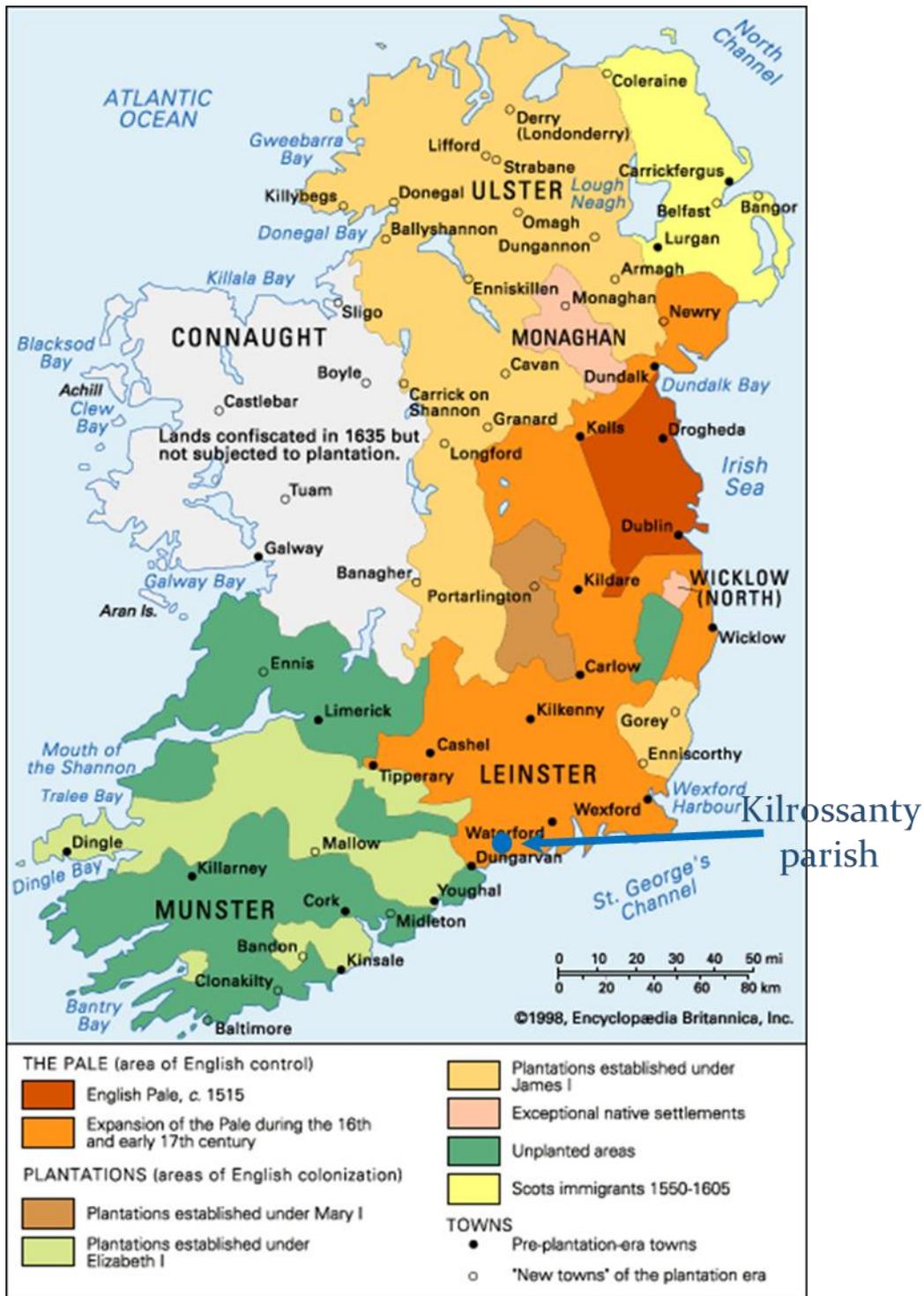
Figure 5.1: Map to show the establishment of Protestant Plantations in Ireland. Source:
https://users.clas.ufl.edu/harlandj/maps/ireland/ire_plantations.gif

The Irish Catholics managed to formalise their activities into a Catholic Confederacy based in Kilkenny which conducted protracted, although ultimately unsuccessful, negotiations between their papal representative and the king. Following his victory over Charles I in the English Civil War, Oliver Cromwell determined to stamp out any further

Catholic insubordination and landed in Ireland in 1649. By 1652 he and his troops had suppressed the uprising and finally completed the complete conquest of the colony (Canny, 2001; Corish, 1991).

5.2   What are the Depositions?

The depositions are sworn statements taken from the mainly Protestant witnesses about their experiences at the hands of the Catholic insurgents during the 1641 rebellion. The testimonies detail their losses, including personal property such as cattle, crops and even wine, debts they may have incurred from non-payment of loans, as well as any alleged crimes committed against them, including assault, strippings and murder (Canny, 2001; Smyth, 2006; TCD, 2010).

The 3140 sworn depositions from across the island were taken from 28 December 1641 up to the autumn of 1647 (Canny, 2001) and follow a standard format of stating the name, address, social status or occupation of the deponent, the circumstances in which they were robbed, the list of the goods stolen, the names of bad debtors that have arisen as a result of the rebellion, the names of those responsible for the crimes, information of other people they may have observed bearing arms and any disloyal traitorous words and any other crimes committed. Some of the depositions simply list the financial losses in varying amounts of detail, whilst others focus primarily on the rebels and their actions (Clarke, 1986).

Whilst the formal function of the Commission recording the depositions was to register claims and to issue certificates of loss and compensation to the deponents, the informal function was also to establish the names of the Catholic perpetrators and their involvement in the killings and atrocities (Clarke, 1986). They were also used as a tool for English Protestant propaganda (Canny, 2001; Clarke, 1986; Smyth, 2006).

5.2.1   Exaggeration and justification - Battle for the memory

From the beginning of the conflict, there was a recognition by the English Protestant authorities that the battle was not only about gaining immediate supremacy on Irish land, power and religion, but there was also a longer term crusade for the collective memory of the events, to use the witness accounts to morally justify future violent

seizures of power and land (Canny, 2001; Clarke, 1986; Smyth, 2006). Hence the witness accounts of the rebellion became a propaganda exercise, to stir up animosity towards Catholics; the numbers and extent of murders were vastly exaggerated in pamphlets widely circulated in London which spun the widespread killings of settlers into a "massacre myth" (Smyth, 2006). These numbers and stories entered the public consciousness and convinced the English Protestant zealots that Irish society was depraved. This perception helped shape English and Protestant ideology and consequently Cromwell's future policy of conquest in Ireland, which included the enforcement of English physical and moral control over the country. This conquest resulted in the forced transplantations of Gaelic Irish insurgents from their landholdings to be replaced with additional English settlers (Canny, 2001; Clarke, 1986; Smyth, 2006). Their original intention may have been to document and quantify grievances of Protestant families, but over time they became documents of physical and ideological conquest (Smyth, 2006).

5.2.2 Bias of Catholic outrages

It should be emphasised that no equivalent Catholic depositions exist which document the trauma and repression experienced by that section of the population before or after the 1641 rebellion (Corish, 1991; Smyth, 2006). These depositions must therefore be placed within the wider context of undeniable incidences of massacres and retaliations committed by English troops. The only difference was that these English atrocities were comprehensively less well documented compared with the Catholic rebellion (Smyth, 2006).

5.2.3 Human voices

Despite their bias and need for interpretation, the deposition documents are an extremely valuable resource for this period because they give ordinary people a voice and offer a rare glimpse of humanity from 450 years ago. The trauma and fear can be felt within the documents, the effects of the extreme violence, strippings, humiliation, rape, murder, killing of pregnant women and small children. Accounts of conversations between the deponents and the insurgents are given and within this can be glimpsed the interconnections and relations between communities and ethnic groups in more

peaceful times (Canny, 2001). A level of interpretation is needed regarding the underlying bias, particularly with the second hand accounts detailing attacks on victims in other areas, and the sometimes gossipy tone the deponents could adopt. Nevertheless, despite this very human trait, the documents give an idea of the terror that gripped the victims and their responses to it.

The common tone throughout the depositions is that these accounts are from people who were victims of an attempted revolution but who knew they would eventually become the victors (Canny, 2001). They emphasise the cultural grassroots boundaries between the Protestant and Catholic communities of an "us" and "them", of "good" and "evil", on both sides (Smyth, 2006).

5.3 Methods

The depositions taken following the 1641 rebellion have been available online since 2010, courtesy of Trinity College Dublin, as the original documents are no longer accessible to the public (TCD, 2010). The documents have been transcribed, and there is a search function available, however this is not practicable because of the numerous different spellings (and misspellings) of local place names and family names. Out of the total number of 3140 depositions, 267 entries related to County Waterford, which had to be viewed individually to determine how and if they related to Kilrossanty parish. Out of these it was determined that 44 documents made reference to the study area, referring to people living within the area who were involved in various events during the rebellion. This represented 16% of the total depositions relating to County Waterford. The significant portion of documents reflect the wider conflict, acting as a microcosm of wider national and international events as the struggle for ideological and political power played out within this small community.

To facilitate the establishment of patterns within these historical documents, they were uploaded into the qualitative software, Nvivo, which enabled nodes (or themes) to be highlighted and analysed. This enabled a clear portrayal of the contributions made to the rebellion by people living within the parish.

Subsequently the information was inputted into the non-spatial database of Excel to create graphs and the spatial database of GIS to illustrate the location of incidences

perpetrated by Kilrossanty inhabitants (Figure 5.4 and Figure 5.6) in relation to their manorial centres, which conveyed a wider geographical context. The summary list of perpetrators and their associated incidents is detailed in Appendix C.

5.4 Kilrossanty's Rebels

The dates of the activities relating to Kilrossanty parish reported in the depositions occurred between 18 December 1641 and February 1642, with a number of more isolated events occurring in the second half of 1642. The earliest deposition was recorded on 15 June 1642, the latest on 7 July 1643.

5.4.1 Protagonists

The two main family names most referred to in the depositions from Kilrossanty was the Old English Walshs and the Gaelic Irish O'Briens. The head of the Walsh family, Sir Nicholas, together with his sons, Thomas and James, were named in 37 depositions out of a total sample of 44, connecting them to a total of 51 different types of reported incidents, including robberies, murder, strippings and two sieges at Cappoquin and Pilltown. The numbers were placed into context with all other perpetrators in Figure 5.2. The graph in Figure 5.3 summarises these findings per family. The Old English Walsh family, together with their servants and soldiers, were implicated in more than three times as many incidences as the Gaelic Irish family of the O'Briens (58 compared to 18).

The Walshs' residence was at Ballykeroge castle (as marked on the maps in Figure 5.4 and Figure 5.6)in the south of the parish and Sir Nicholas was often mentioned acting with Edmond ffennell, one of the insurgent leaders for the local Dungarvan area.
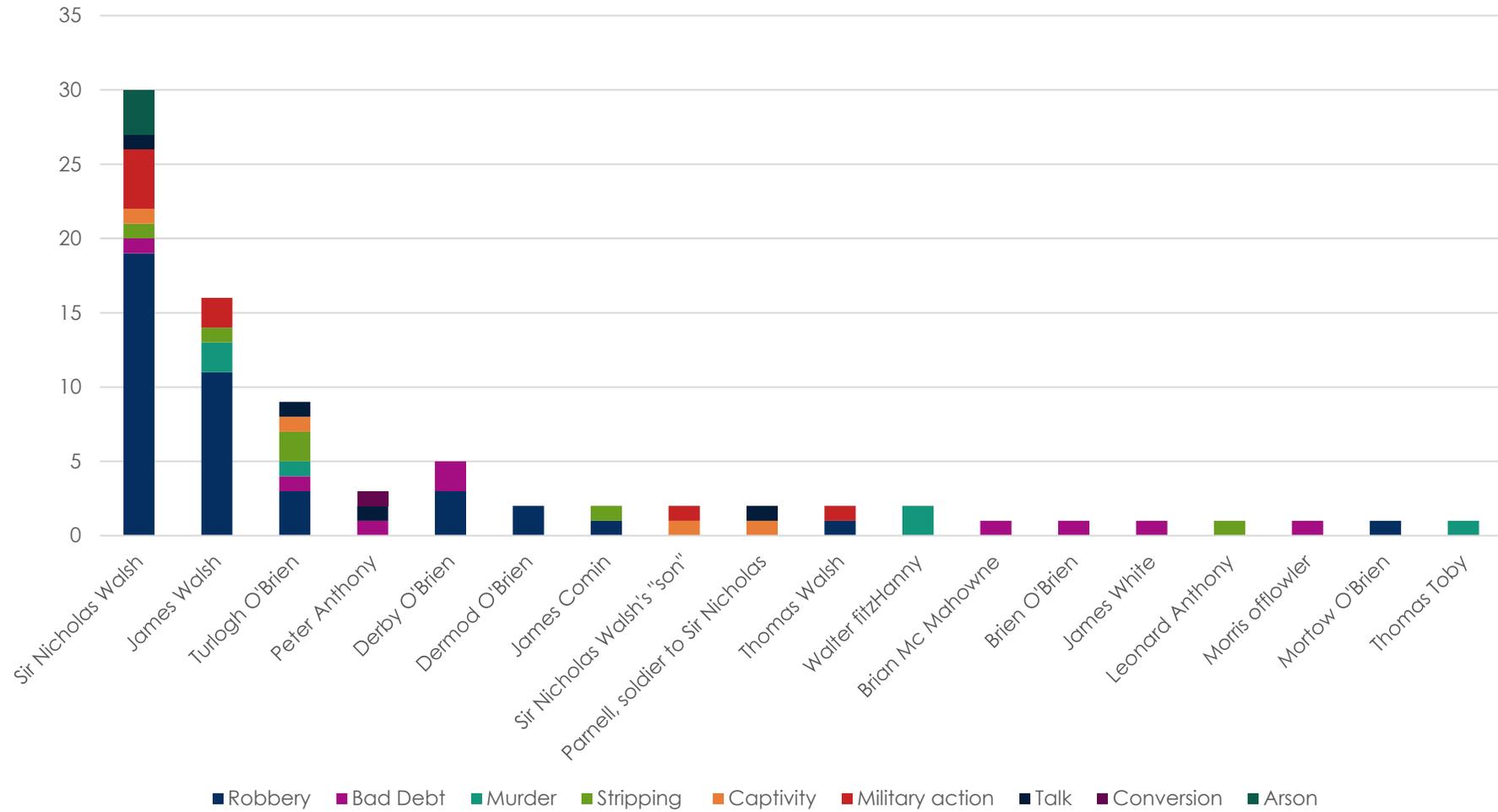
Figure 5.2: Names of perpetrators and the type of crimes each committed in the 1641 rebellion from the Kilrossanty parish
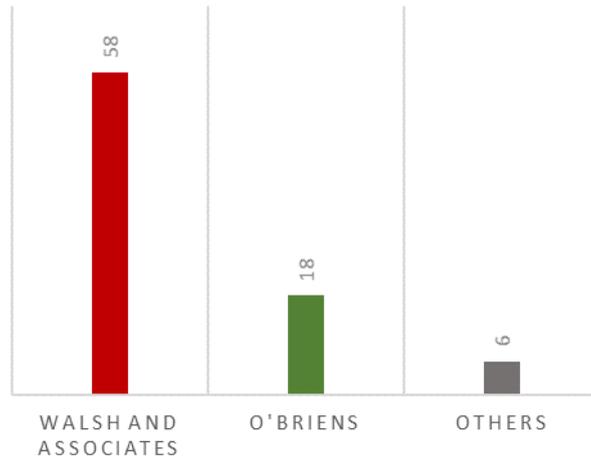
Figure 5.3: Graph to show the number of crimes in which families from Kilrossanty were implicated during the 1641 rebellion from Kilrossanty parish

A further five individuals were named as committing crimes who were directly related to Sir Nicholas Walsh's household: a soldier called Parnell, Thomas Toby, James Comin and Leonard Anthony were all fighting in the same troop lead by the Walshs, whilst Walter FitzHanny was named as his servant.

The members of the Gaelic Irish O'Brien family were named as Brien, Turlogh, Derby, Dermod and Mortow. Derby O'Brien was based in Kilcomeragh, whilst Turlogh O'Brien manor was in Cutteen (O'Brien, 2001), both marked on the map in Figure 5.4 and Figure 5.6. Brien O'Brien is said to be from Boolattin (Issacke Quarrie, MS 820, fols 083r-03v), whilst it is simply stated that Dermod O'Brien is from "Comroe" (Thomas Bayly, MS 820, fols 118r-118v; Phillipp Bagg MS 820, fols 140r-140v). The O'Briens are named in 16 depositions detailing 14 incidents. All the O'Briens were associated with robberies, whilst only Turlogh O'Brien was further implicated in a murder, stripping and imprisonment.

5.4.2 Location of events

The locations of the activities carried out by the inhabitants of Kilrossanty parish were extracted from the sample of 44 depositions and mapped using GIS in Figure 5.4. No incidents were recorded occurring within the parish, and all were located to the west of Kilrossanty, whilst still remaining within the county boundary of Waterford.
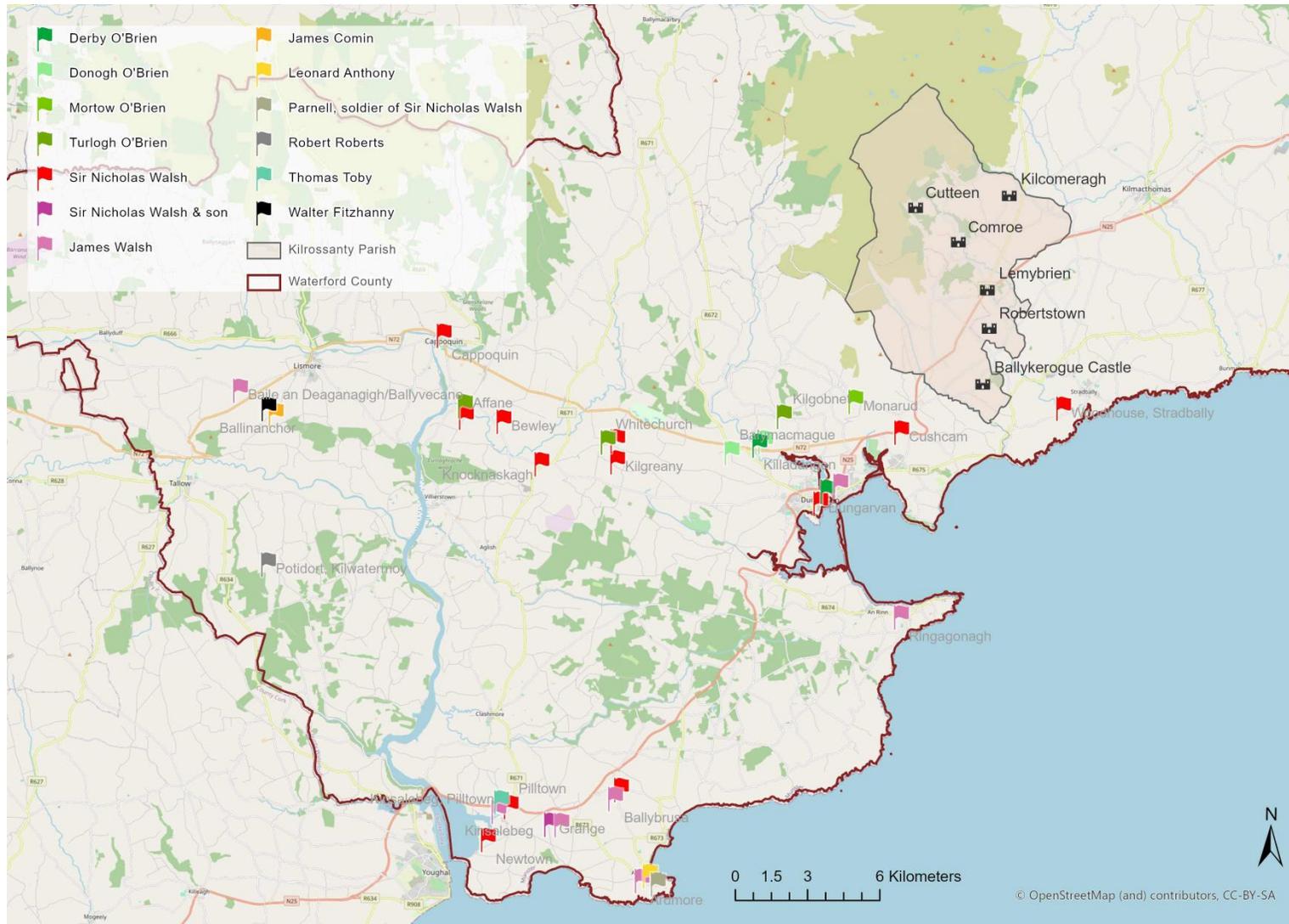
Figure 5.4: The location of incidents carried out by inhabitants of Kilrossanty parish during the 1641 rebellion according to the Deposition documents. Source: 1641 Depositions, TCD

To better understand this pattern, it is useful to understand the wider region. Canny (2001) produced a map showing the quantity and location of depositions in the province of Munster, as reproduced below in Figure 5.5, in an attempt to identify and locate the Protestant settlers in Munster to establish their social and economic situation (Canny, 2001). For context, Kilrossanty parish has been marked on the map. Canny's observation was that where there was a larger amount of depositions in a locality, this represented a greater density of the settler population (the New English section of the community). This can be reaffirmed by returning to the map of Plantations in Figure 5.1, showing the pale green section of Plantations established under Elizabeth I. From these maps it can be determined that the area in which Kilrossanty's insurgents mainly concentrated their activities would have contained a large number of English settlers within the Munster Plantations. This was, incidentally, also a region with a strong availability of natural resources, in the valley of the Blackwater, Lee and Bandon rivers. According to Canny's (2001) map there were more New English settlers located to the north of the parish, however they do not feature in the depositions relating to Kilrossanty, perhaps because the journey to them would have involved traversing the peaks of the Comeragh mountains during the winter months.

The area around Pilltown castle, as also marked on the map in Figure 5.5, was named eight times within the 44 depositions. It was a key defensive location between West Waterford and East Cork, and consequently the focus of a number of skirmishes led by Sir Nicholas Walsh and his sons. Interestingly the Walsh family was the overall landowner of Pilltown castle and had been since the late 1500s, although it had been sub-let a number of times in a complex system, crossing the conflicting forces. The Walshs had leased it to the Dowdall family (who fought alongside the rebellion insurgents (MS 820, fols 090r-090v), who in turn sub-leased it to Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Cork in 1620, who subsequently sub-leased it to Sir Philip Perceval, an influential English politician who had built up a vast estate in Ireland (Lehane, 2014). Walsh's continued interest in Pilltown is understandable therefore, despite him effectively no longer being in possession of the land.
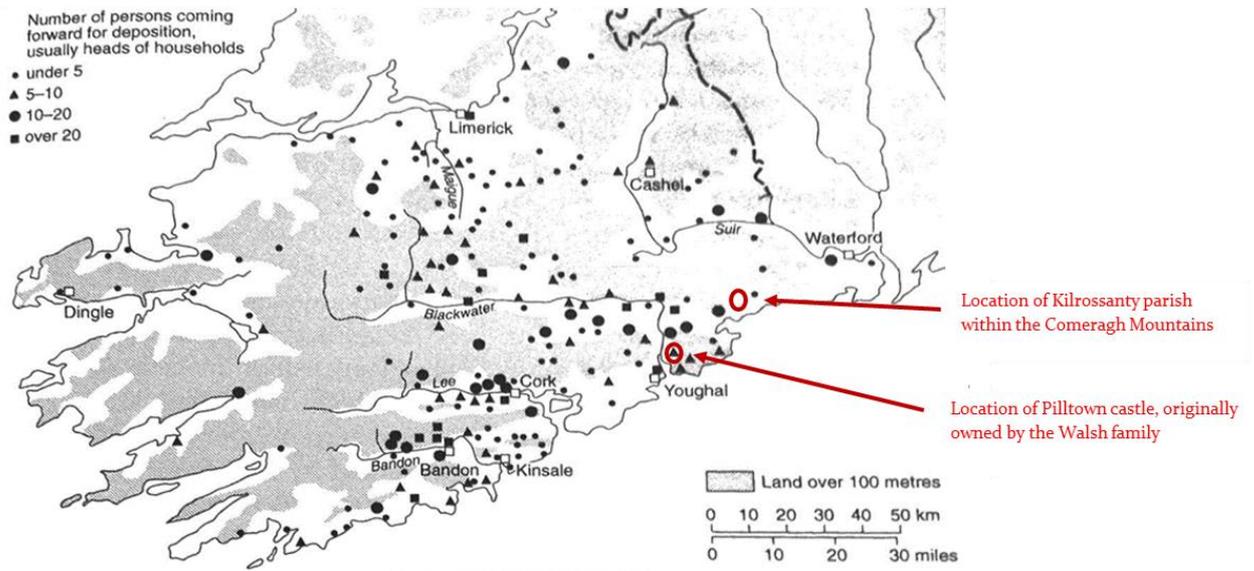
Note: This map reflects the distribution of those Protestants with Munster addresses who made depositions in the aftermath of the 1641 insurrection.

Figure 5.5: The distribution of British settlers in Munster c. 1641, taken from Canny (2001)

5.4.3 Types of crimes

Out of the 44 depositions relating to the region, 82 incidences were reported. Using Nvivo, these occurrences were themed according to the type of event namely, robberies, strippings, murder and bad debts, to better understand their frequency. The events were then mapped for a spatial comprehension. This section outlines the types of incidences and their relevance to Kilrossanty as detailed by the deponents. The crimes were representative of those committed on a national basis, which varied in severity from the default of a debt to murder. The documents also revealed that this was a total conflict in which the whole population was affected. Women's involvement and testimony was also extracted and reviewed to understand their contribution. The rebellion however was not solely an attempt to physically retain or seize land and financial assets, conflicting religious ideologies between Catholic and Protestant communities was at its heart, and how this battle ensued within Kilrossanty's community as detailed within the depositions is explored.

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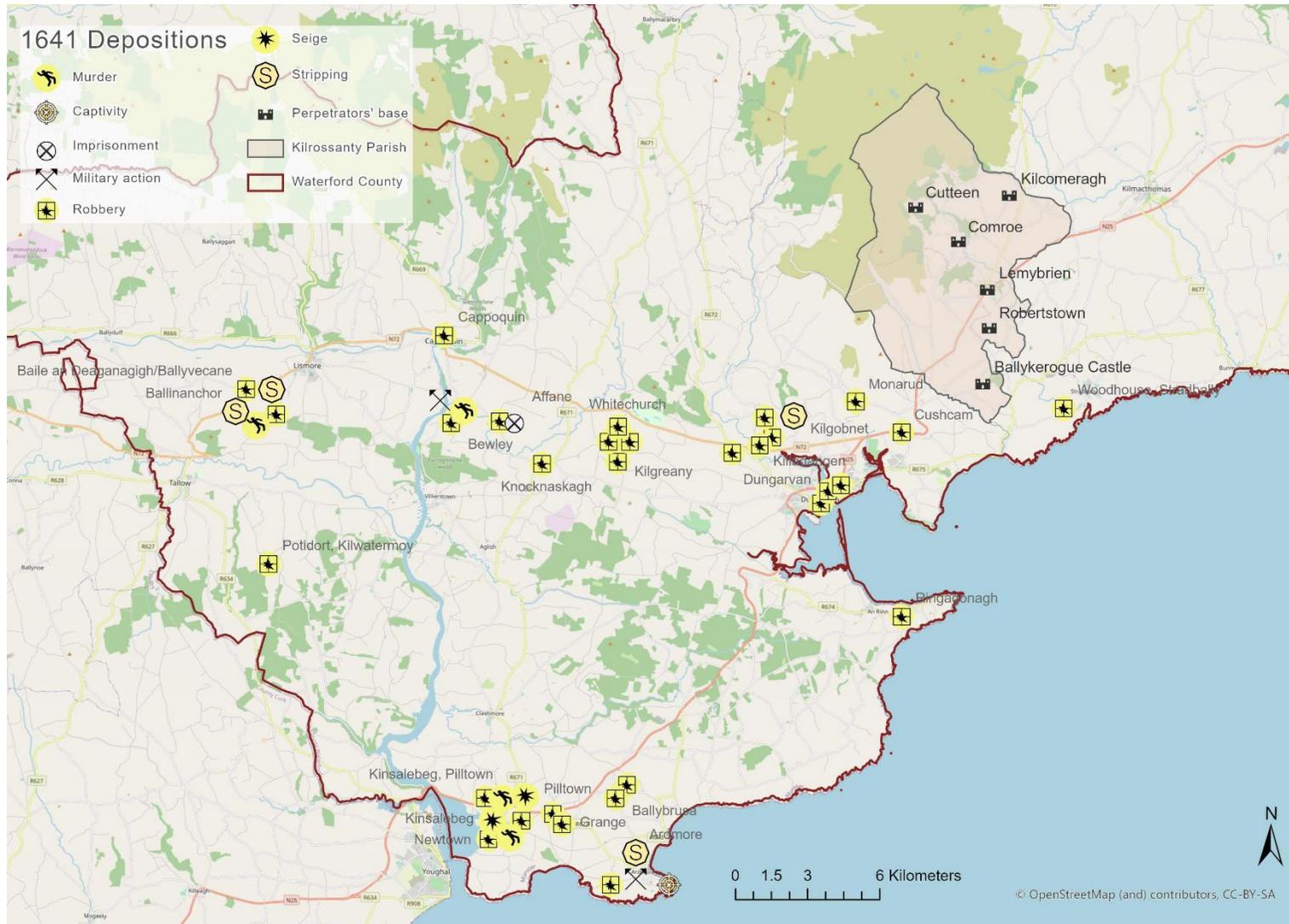
Figure 5.6: The location and type of incidents perpetrated by Kilrossanty parish inhabitants. Source 1641 Depositions (TCD)

5.4.3.1 Robberies

Exactly half of the total number of crimes detailed in the depositions involving individuals from Kilrossanty were robberies, numbering 41 out of a total of 82 incidences. Protestant deponents listed what had been taken from them by the Catholic insurgents, including the value of the goods, with the hope that they would be reimbursed by the English authorities, for example:

"Amos Godsell late of Grange in the parish of lisgenin in the barony of deces within the County of Waterford husbandman (a brittish protestant) duely sworne & examined by vertue of &c deposeth & saith That on or aboute Christmas last & since the begining of this presente rebellion in Ireland he was robbed of his goods & Chattles to the seuerall values following vizt value of 42 li. 2 s. Of his Cowes yonge Cattle & swine at the Grange aforesaid to the value of eight & twenty pounds Of houshould stuffe to the value of thirtie shillings sterling Of corne & malt to the value of two & thirtie shillings sterling The totall of his losses amounts to thirtie one fortie two pounds two shillings He saith And that that his said goods were taken away by Sir Nicholas Welsh his son, & John o ffarnam of Ballyellelane in the said County gentleman (as this deponent is credibly informed)." (MS820, fols. 253r-253v).

"Phillipp Sherwin late of Newtowne in the parish of Kinsalebegg...saith That on or aboute Christmas last & since the begining of this presente rebellion in Ireland she lost & hath beene robbed & forcibly dispoiled of her goods & Chattles to the seuerall values following vizt value of 88 li. Of Cowes one horses and swine at Newtowne aforesaid to the value of fortie & six pounds Of hay to the value of seaven pounds Of houshould stuff to the value of thirtie pounds Of the fruites & profitt of her garden to at Newtowne aforesaid to the value of twelue pounds The totall of her losses amounts to foure score & eighteen pounds The deponent saith that (as she is credibly informed) that Sir Nicholas Welsh of Ballykeroge in the said County knight in the said County k & his forces & Captain Edmond ffennell & his forces robbed this deponent of her said goods" (MS820, fols. 251r-251v).

This was a small community and it was no surprise that the Old English and Gaelic Irish families would be familiar with each other and subsequently enter into these campaigns

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together as a common cause against the New English settlers. This is shown by Richard Oburne's deposition in which he describes how Sir Nicholas Walsh together with Derby and Therlagh O'Brien added the additional insult of drinking his beer and wine before robbing him:

"The Deponent saith that John fitz Thomas of Ballycullane in the said County gentleman caryed away a barrell of beere of this deponents goods and likewise Sir Nicholas Welsh knight Derby o Brien of the Courae & Therlagh o Brien his son of the same John Hore fitz Mathewe of Dungarvan in that said County Esquire Edmond ffennell (a Capteine amonge the rebells John ffitz Gerrald of ffornane in the said County gentleman accompanyed with diuers others in company with them came to this deponents house at White church aforesaid at night & drunk out all his wine & beere & afterwards caried away all his goods." (MS 820, fol 037r-037v)

The robberies did not tend to be isolated events, on numerous occasions, phrases such as, "deposeth and saith That on or aboute the begining of January last & diuers times since the begining of this presente rebellion in Ireland he lost & hath been was robbed & forceably dispoiled of his goods & Chattles" (John Buckner, MS 820, fols 261r-262v), which gave the impression that households were targeted on a number of occasions with the victims living under a constant threat of attack.

5.4.3.2 Strippings

The robberies of Protestant settlers' homes was often accompanied by the entire family being stripped of their clothes, not excluding women, servants and children.

Leonard Anthony of "Cumroe" was accused by Mary Cock that "her sayd husband was robd of part of the premises in the Castle of Ardmore by Captain Edmond ffennell & Capatin James Welsh son to Sir Nicholas Welsh knight & their followers: she further sayth that her selfe, her husband and her only child were stript by Leonard Anthony of the Cumroe gentleman and Henry Dowdall of the same gentleman both in the County of Waterford…" (MS 820, fols 090r-090v).

Katherin Croker also testified that she was stripped and robbed by a group of men including James Comin of Ballykeroge, and Therlagh O'Brien after her household had

been raided and her husband, Edward, himself had been shot and killed, and then stripped "stark naked" (MS820, fols 161r-161v).

The strippings were partly motivated by the robbery of clothes and to reveal any valuables or money that may have been hidden, but the act was also intended to humiliate and dehumanise the victims (Smyth, 2006). Stripping was a great equaliser, once the victims' wealthy clothes had been taken they were revealed to be no different to the Irish. It must also be remembered that these events took place in the coldest time of year, between December and February, which impacted on the physical harshness of the punishment. Though not directly connected to the incident, Sir Nicholas Walsh was part of the troop that robbed John Buckner and then stripped his children, Ann aged 2 and William aged 1, who subsequently "languished" and died about two months later (MS820, fols. 261r-262v).

Six depositions out of the total regional sample included testimonies of strippings; of these Turlogh O'Brien was implicated in two accounts with Sir Nicholas Walsh, his son James and a further two individuals, James Comin and Leonard Anthony. This is reflective of the wider situation of the Old English leaders struggling to maintain discipline and control over the popular uprising of the Gaelic Irish, who would resort to more vicious means going beyond the seizure of cattle, land and property, to the humiliation of strippings and spilling over into personal vendettas or to whom they owed money (Smyth, 2006).

5.4.3.3 Bad debts

As well as declaring physical items that had been stolen, the deponents also listed the amount of "bad debts" that had left them out of pocket. They identified the people to whom they had lent money, which they could no longer be assured of being repaid now that the insurgents were in rebellion. Recounting them in the depositions was an attempt to gain some recompense from the English government for their financial loss. There were nine mentions in the depositions of people living within Kilrossanty parish who owed money to Protestant settlers. Of these only one named the Old English landowner, Sir Nicholas Walsh (George Monnockes, MS 820, fols 113r-113v) as owing money; there were no mentions of any of his sons being in debt. By contrast, the Gaelic

Irish Brien O'Brien was cited, as was Turlough, Derby and Mortow O'Brien who each had two mentions. The other individuals named as owing money to Protestant deponents also had Gaelic names: Brian McMahowne and Morris offlowler; whilst the other Old English names mentioned were James White and Peter Anthony. The predominant pattern that appeared therefore, was of a number of Gaelic Irish families owing money to the New English settlers.

There was an instance where the person who owed money is reported as robbing their lender: Marten Bosten had lent money to Mortow O'Brien, which he had listed in his deposition as a bad debt that could no longer be repaid because O'Brien was in "actual rebellion". He then claims O'Brien had robbed him:

"Debts due from and Teige Ofenan of Cloncos coran in the said county yeoman & Mortow Obriant in the parish of Comro aforsaid County gentleman nowe out In Actuall Rebellion therfore the deponant cannot geet satisfaction the totall of his losses Amounts to one hundred eighteen pounds ten shillings sterl the deponant further saith that the said Beckner he was Robbed in the Daye tyme by John hore fitz Mathew of Dongarvan in the County Aforesaid gentleman Mortow o briant of the comrought in the said County gent." (MS 820, fols 121r-121v)

Whilst it was not reported what was taken from Bosten, it can be surmised that, as was common practice, papers relating to O'Brien's land were being used as security for a high interest loan, with the ultimate aim of seizing O'Brien's land for non-payment of the debt (Canny, 2001). This was a tactic used by the cash-rich new settlers, of lending money to other smaller, usually Irish, landowners who got into financial trouble or did not have a solid title to their estates. The borrowers would concede title to all or a portion of their lands as security on the loan; though they would remain in occupancy essentially paying rent equal to the annual interest due on the loan. Effectively therefore, the ownership would be transferred to the Protestant lender, resulting in the Irish becoming tenants on their own land rather than the landowners (Canny, 2001). It is possible therefore that O'Brien was taking the papers that itemised the debt related to his land to remove any documentary proof, or his papers relating to ownership of his land in Kilrossanty.

Out of twenty inhabitants from Kilrossanty named in the depositions, almost half (nine) owed money to English Protestants. This was a reflection of how intertwined the communities were economically and the reach the new settlers already had, stretching eastwards into the Comeraghs, with, one can assume, the ultimate aim of controlling and acquiring the Gaelic Irish landholdings.

5.4.3.4 Murder

Despite the fact that Sir Nicholas Walsh acted as a local leader of insurgent troops, he was not implicated in any of the depositions for murder. His son, James however was named in two, whilst his servant, Walter FitzHanny and Thomas Toby, also from the manorial centre in Ballykeroge, were implicated in various killings. Turlogh O'Brien was involved in one. Yeoman, Thomas Toby was named as killing a shepherd, Edward Jacob, by "cleaveing his head a sunder" before stripping his body and leaving him naked (MS 820, fol 080r-081v). This took place when three or four hundred armed men arrived to besiege the castle of Piltowne (sic), from January to April. It seems that this murder was outside the siege situation that was taking place but the deposition gave no reason for a motive.

Sir Nicholas Walsh's servant, yeoman, Walter Fitzhanny, was reported to have murdered Edward Croker of Ballyancor, and it was recounted that he was suspected of also killing two other men: "John Travers Cornet to the lord of Dungarvans Trooper and Robert Downing Cornet to the Lord of Brohill" (Katherin Croker, MS 820, fol 161r-161v). FitzHanny is also reported as having murdered Samuel Maynard "The deponent saith that aboute the third of July last one Samuell Maynard Esquire (a brittish protestant) was killed by Walter o Harny of Ballykeroge servant to Sir Nicholas Welsh as he is credibly informed" (William Ledshaw, MS820, fol 134r-135v).

5.4.3.5 Women's involvement

This was a total war, which encompassed all of the population and out of over 3000 depositions in total over the island, one third were from women (McAreavey, 2010). Although no women living in Kilrossanty parish were mentioned in the sample of depositions as having perpetrated any of the incidents, the documents do show that women were not passive bystanders and played active roles on both sides of the conflict.

Eight depositions of the sample were made by Protestant women, as widows of men who had been killed during the rebellion or whose husbands were absent. Mary Steart of Killgrany listed the losses her and her now deceased husband incurred from the rebellion, which included an unpaid debt from Mortow O'Brien "of the Comoragh" (in addition to his debt to Marten Bosten as referred to above). She identified the names of people who robbed her and her husband, which included Sir Nicholas Walsh of Ballykeroge, as well as four of their own servants who apparently turned against their Protestant employers and became actively involved in their dispossession, including a Joanne Veale, "Spinster" (MS820, fol 286r-287v).

Even minor involvement of Catholic women in the conflict were subject to harsh punishments on both sides. Robert Bagg testified that he sent a maid with a letter to nearby Dromana castle who was intercepted, sent to the High Sherriff of Waterford, and subsequently hanged. He went on to state that two other maids, Judith and Ann Plumer, were taken from "Castell of KnockMore" by rebels and hanged by Catholic regional leader Captain Ffennell in Dungarvan (MS 820, fol 103r-104v). Conversely, Catholics were also punished by their own side for not being in total rebellion; Tobias Bruer testified that a woman called Rose, "an Irish woman", was hanged for giving water to English soldiers at a gibbet in the street of Dungarvan (MS820, fol 070r-070v).

McAreavey (2010) has described the depositions as a "literature of trauma" for Protestant women as testimony to the violence to which they were subjected during the rebellion, however the depositions relating to Kilrossanty show that Catholic women were also active participants in the rebellion. Many, for example, were named as individuals who still owed money to Protestant settlers, but who were now in rebellion and therefore not likely to repay the debt (Robert Sanders, MS 820, fol 149r-150v; Mary Steart MS820, fol 286r-287v; Thomas Cooper MS820, fol 283r-283v; Thomas Croker, MS820, fol 196r-196v).

5.4.3.6 Battle for ideology

It must remembered that this was an ideological battle, not just one for land and money, and religious devotion ran deep. John Buckner testified that on one of the numerous occasions that his household was robbed, Turlogh O'Brien brought a message to him

that if Buckner put away his English servants and replaced them with Roman Catholics, yield his arms, and take an oath to not do detriment to their army, then they would leave him alone to live quietly in his home and continue his ploughing and sowing until Easter. Buckner blankly refused to do this and "the rebells robbed him of all" (MS 820, fol 261r-262v). It is noteworthy that this is the same John Buckner, who testified that during another raid, his children were stripped naked in the middle of winter and as a consequence died two months later.

Desecration of Protestant icons also took place; Mary Baulte testified that in Dungarvan, "the vickerage house was burnt…And the said Rebells went in to the said Church of Dungarvan aforesaid & there burnt the Comunion Table the pulpit and all the seats in the aforesaid Church and Made a stable for theire Horses and a prisson for the stript protestants" (Mary Baulte, MS820, fol 044f-045v).

The outrage was strong enough that Peter Anthony "of Kilrosenty in county of Waterford" had converted to Catholicism with his wife and two sons, Paul and Arthur, changing from being "reputed Protestants" to now being "out in Rebellion with Sir Nicholas Wailsh of Ballikeroge", that it was named in no less than five separate depositions (Thomas Powell MS 820, fol 108r-108v; Mary Baulte Examination, MS820, fol 044r-045v; Robert Bagg MS820, fol 103r-104v; Robert Clay MS 820, fol 132r-132v; Tobias Bruer, MS 820, fol 070r-070v).

The belief was strong amongst the Catholic insurgents that this was a just cause, and one fully supported by the King and Queen in their struggle against the growing influence of the English parliamentarians. John Clement relays how he was robbed and taken prisoner and then used as a servant by, Parnell, a soldier of Sir Nicholas Walsh. He asked his "master",

"why the Irish did do such things to the Spoile of the English as they did his master answeared we doe nothing but fight for our religion, for our religion says he was from the begininge of the world & the first religion that ever was & that they went to masse before ever they went to Church also his Master saide that the English have neither Kinge nor Quene for them for if they weare for the English they would have sent them helpe a greate while before that" (John Clement, MS820, fol 309r-309v).

5.5 Summary

The depositions taken after the 1641 Rebellion were fundamental in contributing to the catalyst of change in the national landownership landscape, of which Kilrossanty parish was representative. The statements were successfully used in the ideological battle to demonise Catholics and justify the seizure of land by New English Protestants resulting in the seismic shift in the landowning pattern in the second half of the seventeenth century, as outlined in the preceding Chapter 4.

The documents revealed the interconnections between the ethnic groups within Irish society before the rebellion. The Old English and Gaelic Irish appeared to co-exist relatively peacefully in the parish, subsequently joining forces to campaign together in an attempt to retain and recover their fiscal and social rights. Their resentment towards the New English community, many of whom acted as employers and moneylenders, with what seemed to be a constant acquisitive eye in procuring more land to add to their already extensive holdings, developed into outright violence. This period of time made the cultural boundaries between the ethnic groups deepen causing neighbours to be pitted against neighbours and servants against masters.

The physical survival and biased interpretation of these particular documents has served to perpetuate the hard boundaries and integral resentments of "us" and "them" between Protestant and Catholic which linger today in collective memories, evidenced by, for example, the 12th July banner of the Orange Order Lodge in Portadown depicting the drowning of 100 Protestants during the uprising (TCD, 2010). Despite their bias however, the deposition documents still offer a wealth of rich, personal material of unheard voices, from people not normally heard from, such as the maids being hanged for delivering a message or "Rose" being executed for displaying humanity to a dying English soldier.

The records relating to Kilrossanty parish demonstrated how Sir Nicholas Walsh and his sons, were the local Old English principals of the rebellion who led the Gaelic Irish O'Briens and others against the New English living to the west of the parish. Although the Gaelic Irish had different, more violent, less disciplined crimes attributed to them, they also paid a higher price for their involvement in the rebellion. Two significant

pieces of legislation were passed by the English government as a response to the rebellion, the Adventurers Act (1642) which raised loans to combat the rebellion with the promise of repayment with the Irish rebels' land, and the Act of Settlement (1652) which stated that anyone who had held arms against Parliament was to forfeit their lands or be transplanted to Connacht. In practice, these Acts were only enforced onto the Gaelic Irish community and resulted in the sweeping confiscation and colonisation of Irish-owned land culminating in the crippling of the Irish Catholic (Gaelic) land-owning class for over 200 years.

The result of this legislation and subsequent transplantation was evident within Kilrossanty parish as illustrated in the landownership map of Figure 4.6, where all Gaelic Irish landowners had been swept off their land and replaced with New English families. There is evidence that the Gaelic Irish O'Brien families in Kilrossanty parish did indeed register for transplantation to Connacht, together with their households (Simington, 1915), and while it is uncertain whether they actually made it to their exiled lands, what is clear is that they were dispossessed and with it the colonisation of Kilrossanty was complete.

The following Chapter will explore how these substantial political and cultural changes in the region were reflected in Kilrossanty's physical landscape, particularly in terms of how they affected the patterns of dwelling and settlements.

Chapter 6 - Kilrossanty's Dwelling Space

This Chapter investigates the settlement patterns within Kilrossanty parish by exploring and analysing their growth, decline, movement or even disappearance from the landscape during the late nineteenth century to the present day. A number of examples of settlement characteristics in the region are presented, which explores their spatial form and development. Their structure is analysed in the context of the influence of external higher authorities, local landowning powers as well as the grassroots community and how they impacted upon the physical landscape. This is a reciprocal relationship however, and therefore how the physical topography of Kilrossanty's landscape has influenced its inhabitants is also of significance.

The theme of this Chapter is fundamental because it is anchored in the phenomenological notion of dwelling within a landscape, which "founds, organises and orients landscape" within everyday life (Jackson, 1997, p. 51). It underlies the participatory position of landscape, through the everyday routines, of the "dwelling perspective" and "taskscape" (Ingold, 1993; 2000), concepts which were explored in greater detail in Section 2.2.5. It is from this perspective that this Chapter proceeds, as an exploration of what is revealed by the distribution of buildings and settlements in the region, rather than an outline of the simple quantitative census figures. The research therefore also adopts the hermeneutical and postphenomenological positions of exploring the structural elements that affect the individual's dwelling in the landscape.

The methods employed for the research were transdisciplinary. ArcGIS Pro was used to compare the two historic Ordnance Survey maps created in the late nineteenth century with current aerial photography and modern Ordnance Survey cartography to ascertain the temporal and spatial changes. A series of maps were then produced to facilitate an analysis around the settlements' structure and situation within the topography of the landscape. Interviews within the community provided information on hidden sites as well as stories and background of some of the inhabitants.

The research and findings within this Chapter are the first time that the settlement patterns in this marginal, rural landscape have been examined in this way, of combining GIS and local knowledge and examining the patterns that have been formed by external authoritative forces and local daily life.

6.1 Sources

The main resource to establish settlement patterns within the region was the historical Ordnance Survey Six Inch and 25 Inch maps dated from the 1840s and 1890s respectively. Both these maps are rich in detail illustrating the physical features within the landscape, incorporating individual buildings, field and demesne boundaries as well as showing the distribution and grouping of settlements and farmsteads.

6.1.1 Historic Ordnance Survey maps

A brief overview of the background and origins behind the inception of the historic Ordnance Survey maps is detailed in this Section. They are an important resource because of the meticulous detail included by the English surveyors, as well as offering an invaluable snapshot of a landscape both immediately before and after one of the most tumultuous periods of Irish history of the Great Famine of 1845-49.

6.1.1.1 Historic Six Inch Ordnance Survey Map

The whole of Ireland was first mapped at a scale of six inches to one mile between 1829 and 1842 by the Ordnance Survey of the British Military Force. This was the first of its kind, surpassing any mapping carried out in the coloniser's home ground of England in terms of detail and organisation (Andrews, 1986, p. 51). The Comeragh region was mapped in 1841/2 (Andrews, 2002).

These maps were an attempt at reforming the archaic and unfair system of taxation that existed at the time, the so-called "county cess", which was based on the occupiers' ability to pay a set amount per townland (Andrews, 1986; 2002). Up to this point, the boundaries and size of townlands were often uncertain as types of units were used that originated from the seventeenth century, with the type varying according to what area of the country they were applied. For example townlands in counties Mayo and Clare

were taxed based on the Stafford Survey, which was compiled in the 1630s and for which the original maps were long since lost; whereas Kings County (Offaly) and County Tipperary still used Petty's maps from 1658, whilst Waterford (as well as Kerry and Cork) did not use acres as an item of measurement, but rather "ploughlands", which was calculated as an area that could be ploughed in one year by eight oxen. These units of measurement held no relevance to contemporary farming or land quality and the out-dated system was becoming untenable as the population multiplied and its agriculture became more commercialised (Andrews, 2002).

6.1.1.2 Historic 25 Inch Ordnance Survey Maps

Fifty years after the Six Inch map had been completed, Ireland had changed inordinately both culturally and politically. The shape of landownership had changed dramatically as the trials of the famine had taken its toll on many Irish landlords, who were forced to sell their land and properties under the Encumbered Estates court (1849) (Foster, 1988). Subsequent Land Acts from 1870 meant tenant farmers were given the chance to buy their holdings. As a result, landholdings were becoming much smaller than the traditional Irish estate of a townland or block of townlands and it was found that the original Six Inch map no longer offered sufficient detail to accurately map these reduced holdings. From the 1890s, it was therefore deemed necessary to create a more detailed, national map, which became the 25 Inch Ordnance Survey map at a scale of 25 inches to one mile (Andrews, 2002).

6.2 Methods

Screenshots of the Six Inch and 25 Inch Ordnance Survey historical maps were imported in sections into ArcGIS Pro mapping software. These segments were then georeferenced against current aerial photography and modern Ordnance Survey maps to create layers to enable comparison of the position of buildings and roads which form the settlement clusters. The use of satellite aerial photography was essential for this comparison because the modern online Ordnance Survey maps do not contain much topographical detail, particularly in this sparsely populated region. Each building on all three maps was traced to create three GIS layers, that, when lain on top of each other, illustrated

how the settlements had moved, expanded, contracted or even disappeared between 1840 and the present day.

As part of the overarching transdisciplinary methodology of the research, complementary information from the semi-structured interviews conducted amongst members of the Kilrossanty parish community was used to gather further relevant information about the settlements in which they lived, their location, details on how to gain access and any stories behind them. Some participants offered factual evidence about various existing settlements, such as local family names or tangible features within the landscape, locations of lost settlements or where to find documentary sources; whilst other interviews were more anecdotal, telling stories about families who lived in the area and local folklore.

6.2.1 Ringforts

Data from the National Monuments Service[13] together with the Six Inch Ordnance Survey maps was used to establish the position of ringforts[14] in the region and imported into ArcGIS Pro. They were included in this Chapter exploring settlements and dwelling space in the region as their footprint on the landscape is a reminder that inhabitation is of a much longer duration than the scope of this thesis. Their inclusion is also significant because of their influence and continuing presence on the shape of the landscape. They represent multiple layers being laid down by inhabitants over centuries, all leaving their mark in some way. The building of successive settlements by later generations and communities interrelates with the ringforts, for example current townland boundaries and roads curve around their circumference, whilst in the older maps, roads still gave access to them where they still operated as a functional part of the landscape, possibly for sheltering cattle or sheep.

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[13] Accessible via:
https://webgis.archaeology.ie/NationalMonuments/WebServiceQuery/Lookup.aspx#ENCL

[14] Ringforts (also known as *lios, rath, cathair* or *caiseal*) are unique to Ireland, and are believed to have been built and inhabited from the early Iron Age until the late medieval period (Simms, 1986).

6.2.2 Roads

The settlements of course were made up of communities who would have communicated and interacted, and therefore the interlinking roads and bohreens were included in the GIS layers. Their location was very clear on the detailed historical maps, however the present online Ordnance Survey map only includes the main, larger roads and neglects the smaller bohreens. Identification of these smaller routes was only possible from satellite aerial photography, though tree coverage often obscured the view and made their exact path uncertain.

6.3 Kilrossanty's Settlement Patterns

A series of choropleth maps were produced to illustrate the spatial distribution of buildings in the Kilrossanty parish as shown in Figure 6.1, in each townland for 1842, 1890 and the present day. From this spatial data, the quantity of buildings was also laid out in a chart to enable further comparison between townlands over time in Figure 6.2. It should be emphasised that these figures are the number of buildings existing at each time period within each townland, including farm outbuildings, community buildings as well as individual housing, rather than a population count. It thereby provided an indication of the use of the landscape, and furthermore provided examples of the region's dwelling space and taskscape, following the theory that the quantity and density of buildings would be in direct correlation with human activity within the parish.

This map and chart outlining the number and change in settlements allowed for a number of settlement characteristics to be identified, which reflected the political and cultural structures in force in the region and the wider country. A number of these features are outlined below. The parish consists of 41 townlands, and of these, four have had very few, if any, buildings or habitation: Treenearla Commons, Paulsacres, Comeraghmountain and Carrigeennageragh Little. This was due to their marginal, inhospitable terrain, which consisted of mountain terrain in the higher slopes or bog in the lower.
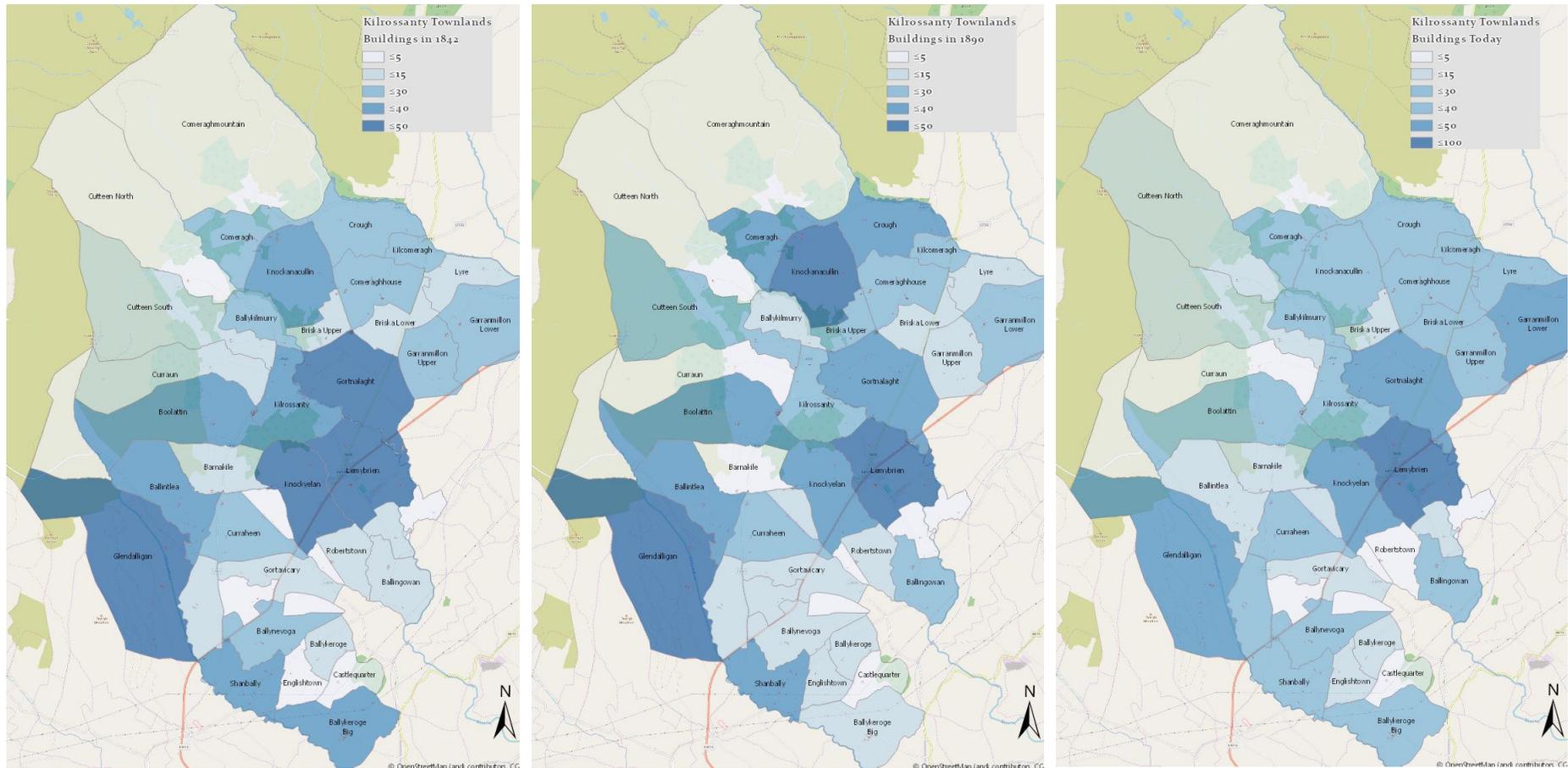
Figure 6.1: Maps showing the distribution of buildings within Kilrossanty parish in 1842, 1890 and present day. Nb the change in legend for the present day buildings as Lemybrien has increased to almost 100 buildings

Number of Buildings: 1842, 1890 and Today
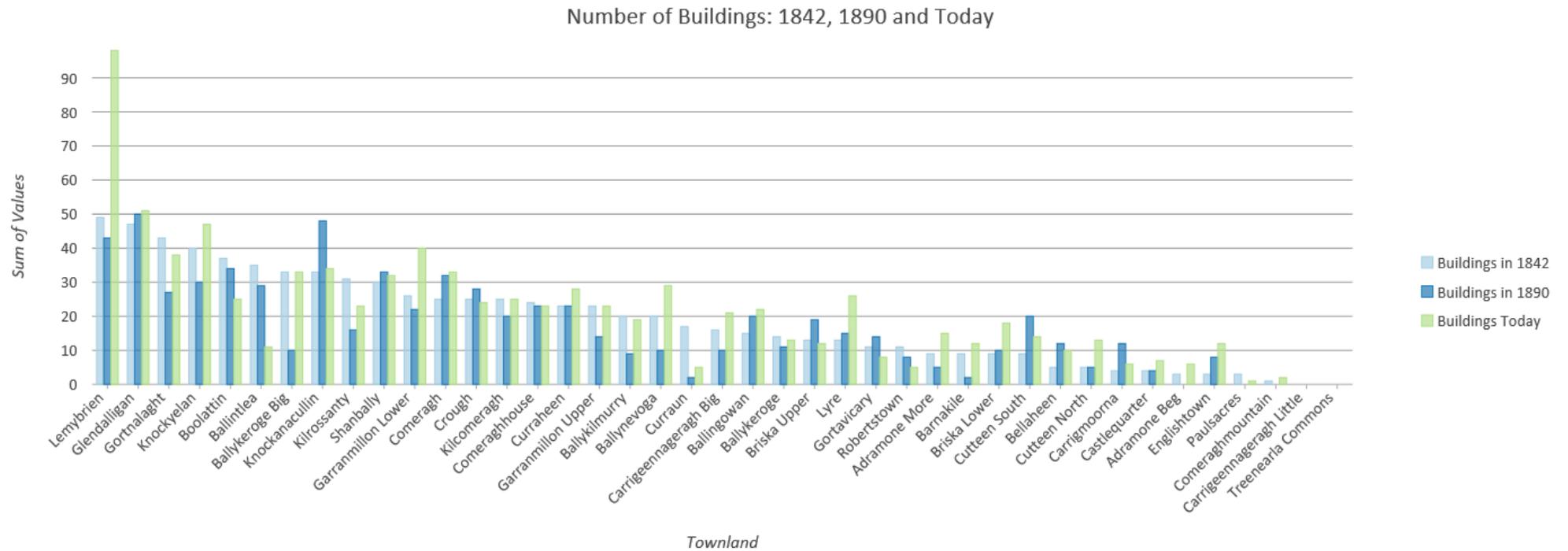
Figure 6.2: A comparison of the number of buildings mapped on 6 inch, 25 inch and aerial photography per townland in Kilrossanty parish

6.3.1 Church-village

The first of these settlement characteristics were related to Kilrossanty and Boolattin townlands, situated in the centre of the parish. The village of Kilrossanty, pictured in Figure 6.3 comprises of an imposing Catholic chapel, built in 1840, with an accompanying cemetery. There is a pub across the road, and a cluster of housing and farm buildings. An agri-business is situated just beyond the pub. The remains of a medieval Catholic chapel together with an even older spiritual site of three holy wells are situated only 650 metres away (Dept of Arts, Heritage and Gaeltacht, 2003). The construction date of the medieval Chapel is uncertain, although Kilrossanty townland was marked as "glebe" land in the Civil Survey dated 1654, meaning that it was land owned by the Catholic Church. Power (1938) declared it of "exceptional size of its locality and period" (Power, 1938, p. 64). The configuration is laid out in Figure 6.4. This village structure takes the form of a "church-village".

Figure 6.3: Kilrossanty village, with the Catholic Chapel on the right hand side built in 1840. The white building on the left is the local pub, with part of Muiris Walsh's farm building in the foreground

Sites of Catholic worship were forcibly abandoned as a result of the Penal Laws (dating from 1695 to 1756), which made adherence to the Catholic faith subject to persecution. Once the harsh religious laws were relaxed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the Catholic Church started to reconstruct its parish network and attempted to bring it back into respectability. Its focus was to provide stable places of worship for its congregants by building huge new chapels in prominent positions, such as on crossroads or bridging points to mitigate the years its flock had been forced to worship in hidden places behind locked doors or at mass rocks. Their new physical presence also had the aim of overshadowing the often more diminutive Protestant chapels within the landscape (Duffy, 1999; Maguire, 2004; Whelan, 1983; 1988).
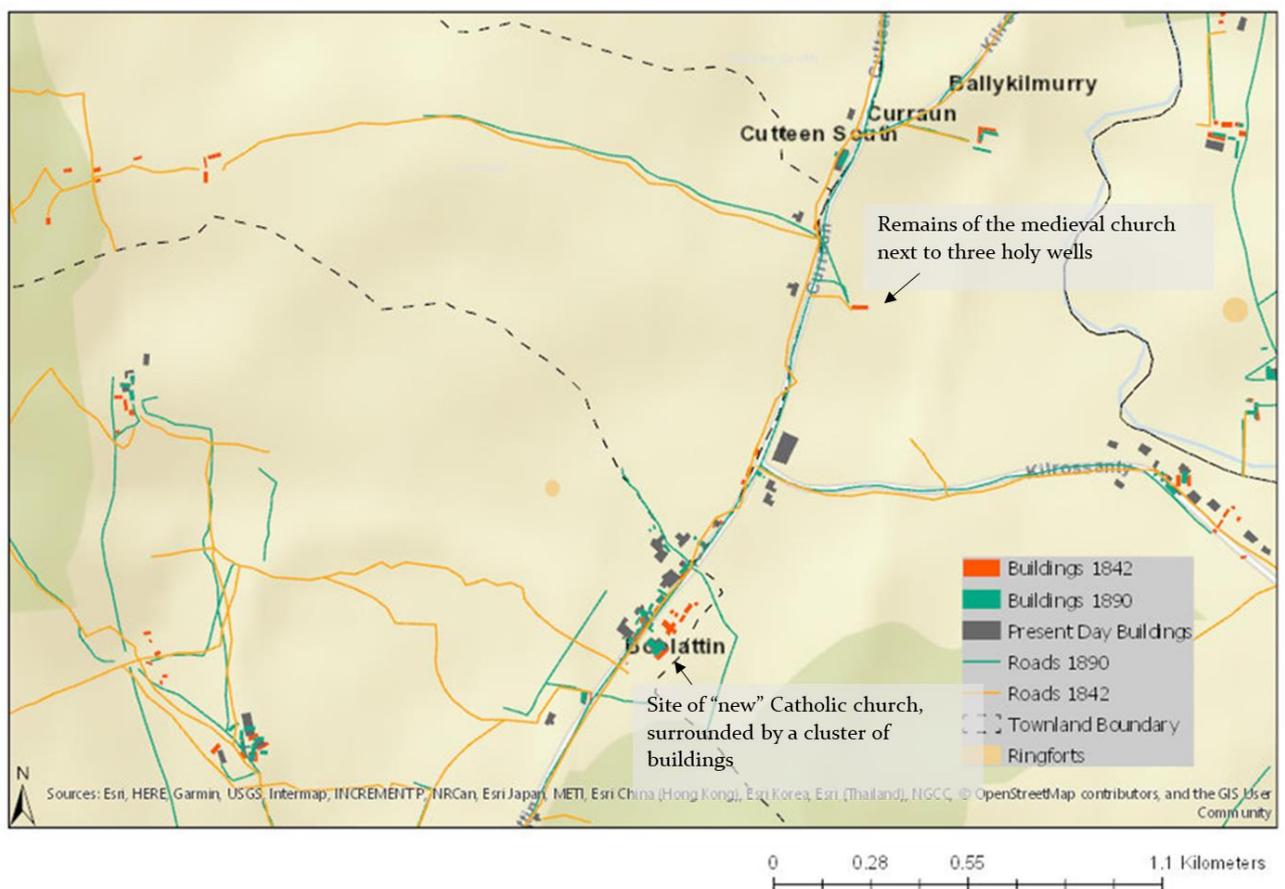
Figure 6.4: GIS map to illustrate the location of the "old" and "new" Catholic chapels to create a Church-Village in Kilrossanty

Once built, these new religious sites became the new nucleus of the village as other functions such as a pub, school, post office, barracks, dispensary and shops were

attracted by the increased footfall in the area (Duffy, 1999; Maguire, 2004; Whelan, 1983; 1988). Whelan (1983, 1988) believes the settlement structure became so prevalent due to the weakness of the older village tradition and the strength of the Catholic institution. This so-called "chapel-village" tended to occur particularly where there were wealthy Catholic sponsors, such as in south Leinster, east Munster, the latter being where Kilrossanty is located. Whilst the allocation of the new chapel sites were of course dependent on the landlord they would not have had any formal planning as an estate village would, but rather developed in a haphazard, organic manner (Whelan, 1983).

6.3.2 Pioneer Settlement

Overall the number of buildings declined in the majority of the townlands in Kilrossanty parish between the 1840s and the 1890s, as illustrated in the table in Figure 6.2; an expected phenomenon during this period spanning the Great Famine. Nevertheless, there were 14 townlands in which the settlements size actually increased. A number of these - Comeragh, Cutteen South, Knockancullin, Crough and Glendalligan – are situated on the higher slopes of the mountain and have the characteristic of a distinct change in vegetation (as shown in Figure 6.1). This movement bucks the trend of general national depopulation and suggested that the pressure on the cultivated land was so great, that families sought to reclaim and cultivate the higher slopes of the mountain in order to survive, despite their poorer condition of the soil. The reclamation of the land is explored in greater detail in the following Chapter 7.

British colonial rule was the overarching authority influencing all aspects of society in the nineteenth century, including its built environment. Its actions, or inaction, surrounding the Great Famine, meant that the Irish population had to search for alternative ways to feed itself, which resulted in previously overlooked land being farmed for the first time, usually on the higher slopes. As a consequence, new settlement clusters were formed, which were later abandoned when they had served their purpose, leaving only remnants in the landscape today. A number of these are identified in Section 6.3.5, for which the location and background was only discovered by conducting the interviews with members of the local community. These settlements

have been described as a "pioneer" or "frontier" settlement (Ketch, 1986a) as well as a "peripheral settlement" (O'Reilly, 2013; Roberts, 1996).

An example of one of the more marginal clusters in Kilrossanty, is the settlement of Ballintlea. The maps in Figure 6.6 and Figure 6.5 illustrate the settlement's position and structure in relation to the landscape. The name Ballintlea means "mountain homestead" which referred to its marginal location on the slopes of the mountain.
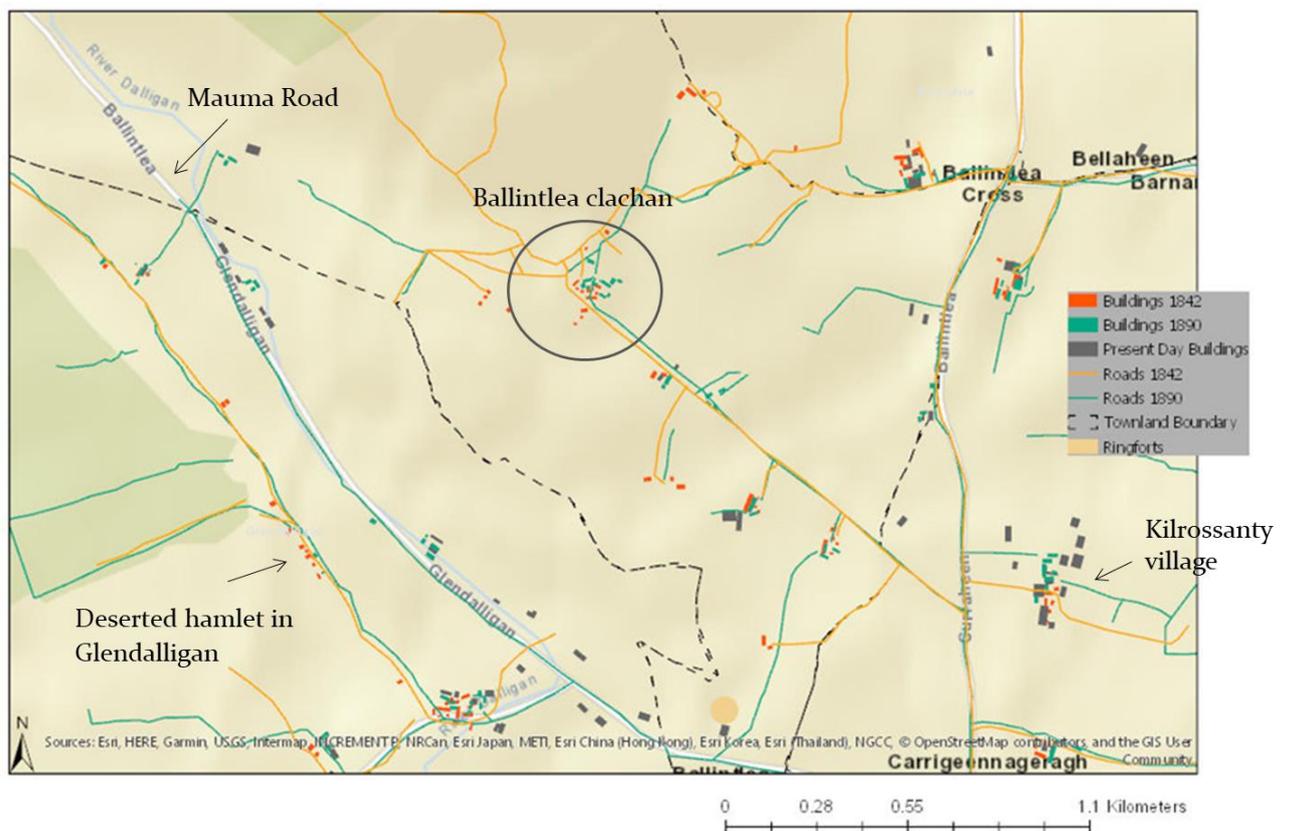
Figure 6.5: GIS map illustrating the layout of the deserted clachan of Ballintlea and hamlet in Glendalligan
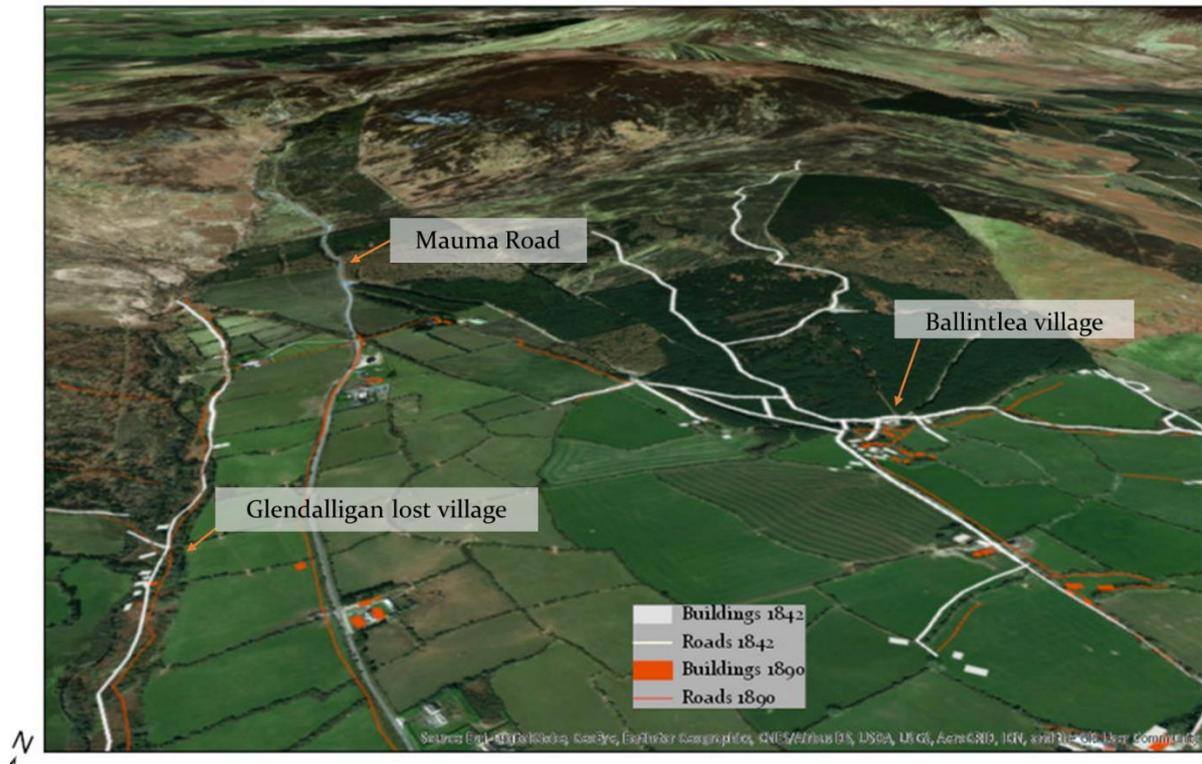
Figure 6.6: 3D GIS map illustrating the location of Ballintlea at the base of the mountains and Glendalligan lost village which disappeared after the 25 inch map, in relation to the Mauma Road

Its structure is reminiscent of a clachan, a settlement form that was identified and researched in Ireland by geographer E.E. Evans (1939b). Generally believed to have existed up to the nineteenth century, this type of settlement constituted of a cluster of farm dwellings and their associated outbuildings, grouped together without any formal plan and could comprise of up to 30 or 40 buildings. They differed from villages by not having a church or pub within the settlement, but the families were reliant upon each other both socially and in exchange of services (Burtchaell, 1988; Johnson, 1958; Proudfoot, 1959). "Although they possess no order plan, and normally lack both inn and church, they are, in a functional sense, villages rather than hamlets. Communal life and the exchange of services are still characteristic." (Evans, 1939a). The system of rundale was often associated with them (Johnson, 1958).

Burtchaell (1988) in his work in County Waterford, stated that the clachan form, defined as a rural agglomerated settlement with no service function, was confined to marginal, hilly land at the limit of human settlement, where community cooperation and

interaction were essential to survive. They were relatively recent developments rather than a link to an ancient way of life, that were created during the population explosion and the subsequent pressure on the land. This definition fits the structure of Ballintlea, of a cluster of buildings in a haphazard form, with no service function on the frontier of the mountain as illustrated in the GIS map in Figure 6.5. There is a very straight bohreen leading up from the road towards Kilrossanty village with the church and pub. The abandoned settlement is now surrounded by forestry land, however there were a number of roads present in the 1840s which ran up to the higher slopes of the mountain, that are no longer in use or are now covered by woodland. Suggestions of reclamation activity is also present by the situation of a limekiln just south of the hamlet as pictured in Figure 6.7.

Figure 6.7 Limekiln situated just south of Ballintlea village, as an aid to the reclamation of mountain land

Ballintlea had one of the biggest drops in settlement size from the 25 Inch map in the 1890s, compared to today (Figure 6.1) and the clachan site is now totally deserted (as pictured in Figure 6.8), with many of its inhabitants having emigrated to the same area of Worcester, Massachusetts in the United States (T. Riordan 2018, pers comm, 20 April; S. Murphy 2019, pers comm, 18 January). This suggests that once this land had served its purpose, it was abandoned. Tom Riordan whose father and grandfather came from Ballintlea, talked about how the settlement's marginality and isolation was difficult for the inhabitants, "Oh Jesus, what they went through was wicked…they'd often suffer with their nerves" was his description of women's loneliness, particularly those who married

into the area, when they were left alone in the cottage with the children while the husband was out playing cards or in the pub in Kilrossanty village (T. Riordan 2018, pers comm, 20 April).

Figure 6.8: Remnants of houses in Ballintlea village

6.3.3   Junction villages

Lemybrien townland has increased in size to now contain the largest number of buildings in Kilrossanty today. Although the size of the settlement reduced slightly during the famine years, in the intervening hundred years since, its size has doubled (as shown in Figure 6.2). State housing in a regular estate form was built in the 1980s and a further housing estate was built in the last ten years. It was here that the focal points of social engagement as well as employment were traditionally situated such as the barracks, creamery, quarry and dispensary, and today it includes the GAA centre[15], a post office/shop and pub. There was no religious chapel of any denomination, the nearest being in Kilrossanty village and near Comeragh House, nor any school. It is situated on a triangular junction where the very busy arterial N25 road (the main

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[15] The Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) is a national sporting and cultural organisation, promoting Gaelic games such as hurling and Gaelic football, with over 2200 clubs in every county in Ireland. It also promotes Irish music, dance and the Irish language.

thoroughfare between Waterford, Dungarvan and Cork) crosses the R676 heading into Carrick On Suir, as reflected in Figure 6.9.
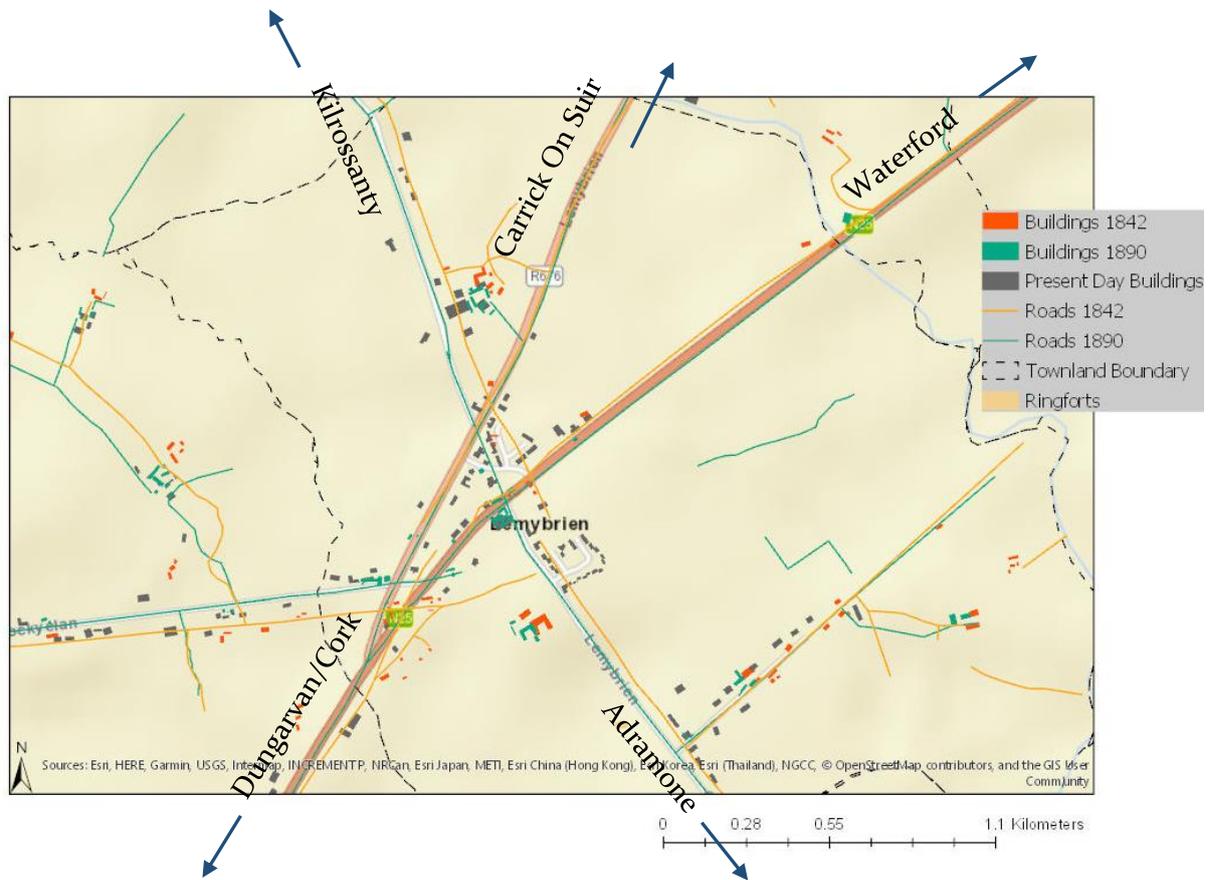
Figure 6.9: GIS map illustrating the Lemybrien junction village

Due to its size and development, Lemybrien possessed a slightly different character compared with other settlements in the parish. In every townland in which an interview was conducted, the inhabitants were known for several generations. When the historic maps were examined and discussed, the interviewee was able to identify the families in the houses and their interconnections amongst the community. In the Lemybrien settlement however, it was remarked that with the new housing estate:

"there were a lot from outside the area, a lot of them are locals. Then again there are a lot of people I have no idea what they are. Not so much in this one here now [the older estate near the post office], but the one up there road here [by the GAA], that's only about 10 years old, so it's probably mostly strangers around there" (P. Veale 2018, pers comm, 26 April).

"They're different kind of people that's in Lemybrien in them new houses, you know what I'm trying to say…They can be from Wexford, Cork, I wouldn't know half their names…" (M. Walsh 2018, pers comm, 3 May).

This settlement is the one which has displayed the most change in the parish, particularly in recent years. The removal of a significant focal point in the village from the closure of the post office in 2018 due to national financial cuts, was a reminder that the structure and character of settlements is not static and will continue to evolve in future years as a result of outside pressure.

Duffy (1999) described how the nineteenth century witnessed a fairly rapid escalation in state involvement beginning with the substantial amount of data collection through censuses and government commissions of enquiry. The Board of Works, the Ordnance Survey, Griffith's Valuation, the Congested Districts Board and the Land Commission were all representative of an increasingly proactive state role, as well as other state institutions such as Bord na Móna (translated as Irish Turf Board) and the Electricity Board having a greater impact on local lives (Duffy, 1999). State involvement continued to surpass landlord and estate-managed settlements with the creation of county councils in 1898, which initiated for example, the building of around 50,000 labourers' cottages in the years up to 1921, usually situated along roads, convenient to large farms where there was work principally in Leinster and Munster (Aalen *et al.*, 1997; Duffy, 1999).

Another settlement further north within the parish, Mahon Bridge, is of a similar triangular shape around a junction, albeit a much smaller size. A shop and café has recently re-opened on the junction which caters for the walkers in the area. Historically there were a number of services located within it, such as a smithy, creamery and a large saw mill nearby; it also had a national school marked on the historic maps just on the other side of the townland boundary, which is not in use today, as mapped in Figure 6.10. Mahon Bridge contains a green "offcut" in its centre, which may have previously been used for grazing (O'Reilly, 2013; Roberts, 1996). The ruins of Derby O'Brien's castle at Comeragh Lodge are situated only around 2.5 kilometres away. Dispossessed by Cromwell, O'Brien and his family were major Gaelic Irish landowners

in the area up to the 1600s, and their castle would have been the focal point to a small manorial settlement, feeding directly to and from this junction (O'Brien, 2001). The character of this junction settlement has changed from what must have been quite a bustling intersection in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to a quiet green where tourists mill about with ice creams.
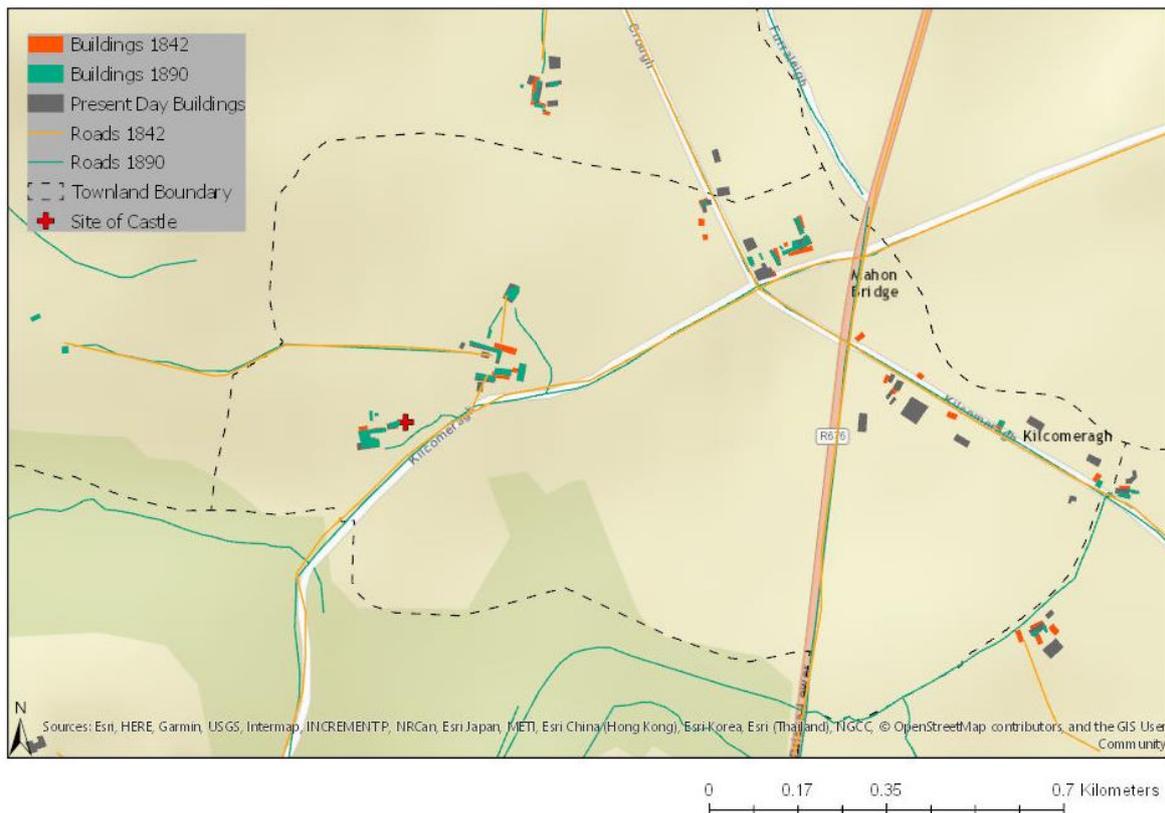
Figure 6.10: GIS map showing Mahon Bridge configuration

6.3.4 Landlordism in the Landscape

By the early eighteenth century, the definitive conquest of Ireland had finally been implemented with the absolute hegemony of the Protestant landlord class. This ideology was reflected in the structure of its settlements, with the local landlord's "Big House" and its demesne becoming the new focal point in rural settlement structures, replacing the former manor house or castle and were usually accompanied by a Church of Ireland chapel (Aalen *et al.*, 1997). These newly-created Church of Ireland parishes were civil as well as religious and the "manipulated landscape of the Classical great houses behind estate walls and the Church of Ireland in its grove of trees acted as an

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image of Ireland's colonial society" (Maguire, 2004, p. 8). In County Waterford alone, 36 demesnes were created displacing the older settlement nodes, including that of Comeragh Lodge (Proudfoot, 1992). Inherent in their design was a desire to impose order with formal and geometric agrarian landscapes to replace the old irregular tower house clusters and parochial centres (Ketch, 1987; Proudfoot, 1992; Smyth, 2006).

The two main landlords in Kilrossanty parish in the late nineteenth century were the Palliser and Kennedy families, whose respective homes were Comeragh House, pictured in Figure 6.11, and Mount Kennedy, pictured in Figure 6.12. Relatively speaking, the houses and grounds were small compared with the "flagship" demesnes in the wider county such as Curraghmore House or Gurteen Le Poer (Burtchaell, 1992).

Comeragh House, the larger and more architecturally in-keeping with a Big House, was inhabited by members of the Palliser family, and its history and occupants are much more widely documented in the region than Kennedy House. It is believed Comeragh House was built around 1825 (Department of Culture Heritage and the Gaeltacht, 2017) and thereby replaced the older settlement node that had previously existed around the nearby manorial house at Comeragh Lodge, as indicated by the red cross on the GIS map, Figure 6.13.

Figure 6.11: Kilrossanty's "Big House", Comeragh House in 2016. Source: https://www.thejournal.ie/pieter-menten-2500370-Jan2016/

Figure 6.12: Kennedy House, formerly owned by the Kennedy landowning family

The original footprint of Comeragh House was reduced significantly in 1923 when it was subject to an arson attack, which was widespread on landlord's houses across the country during the Civil War (Department of Culture Heritage and the Gaeltacht, 2017). Clive Holmes, the current owner of Comeragh House described how the house was reduced in size from forty rooms to around nineteen today (C. Holmes 2019, pers comm, 22 Jan). He explained how the damage inflicted on the house was not as bad as it could have been because of the relative affection held for the owners at the time:

"Because what they did, they burnt in 1922 [sic], someone from the IRA had from Kilmac [the nearby town, Kilmacthomas] had a 'I'm from Kilmac and we bring good tidings and we've had a message to burn your house down tonight, but we think you're a very nice lady, so we're going to bring the team up and they're going to carry out all the furniture and leave it on the grass so it wouldn't be destroyed, we'll be back at 7pm to set fire to it" (C. Holmes 2019, pers comm, 22 Jan).
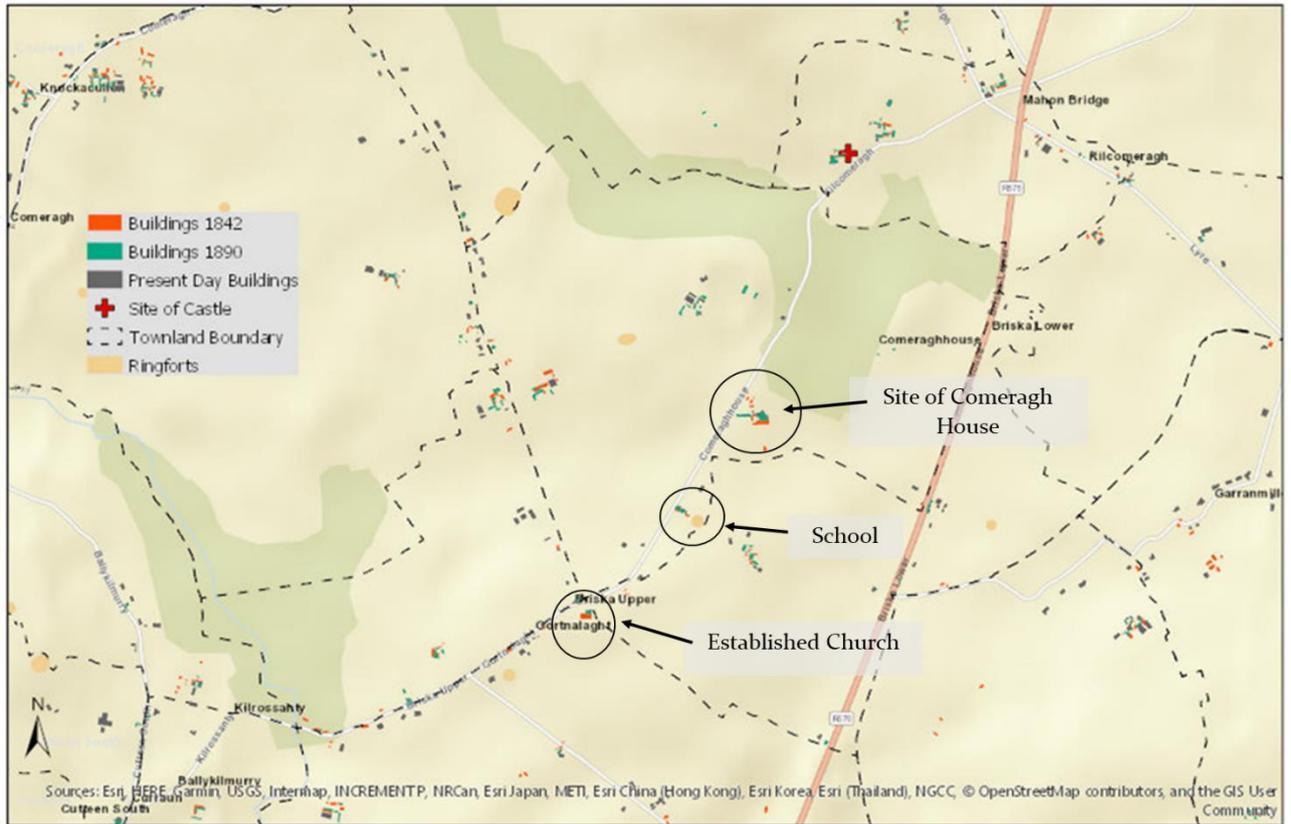
Figure 6.13: GIS map illustrating the location of Comeragh House, school and Established Church

Comeragh House was typical of many of the big houses in the country by being surrounded by imposing, large boundary walls, a physical and ideological separation of their Protestant owners from the predominantly Catholic outside world. Apart from the gated main entrance, there was a small, ornate wooden door set into the wall pictured in Figure 6.14, from which, local folklore has it, food was distributed during the famine years, (S. Murphy 2012, pers comm, 11 April). It was perhaps this type of anecdotal benevolence which saved the house from being completely destroyed.

Figure 6.14: A small, ornate door built into the wall surrounding Comeragh House.

The house is located in the foothills of the Comeragh Mountains, which meant its topography was not amenable to the large ornate grounds or deerparks which were characteristic of other Big Houses. The representation of the estate grounds in the Six Inch Ordnance Survey map from 1842 does show however that Comeragh House had its own ornamental garden as illustrated in Figure 6.15, although it had disappeared fifty years later in the subsequent Ordnance Survey map, as in Figure 6.16. If the detail was an accurate representation, then it may be surmised that the land could have been found to be more useful growing food rather than flowers. The highly designed, ornate gardens that are in the map, would have contrasted starkly against the backdrop of the untamed, brown mountain landscape, a stark reflection in the landscape of the difference in societal standing. The detail however, could just be an esteemed landscape, one that was illustrated to highlight the difference from the surrounding terrain.
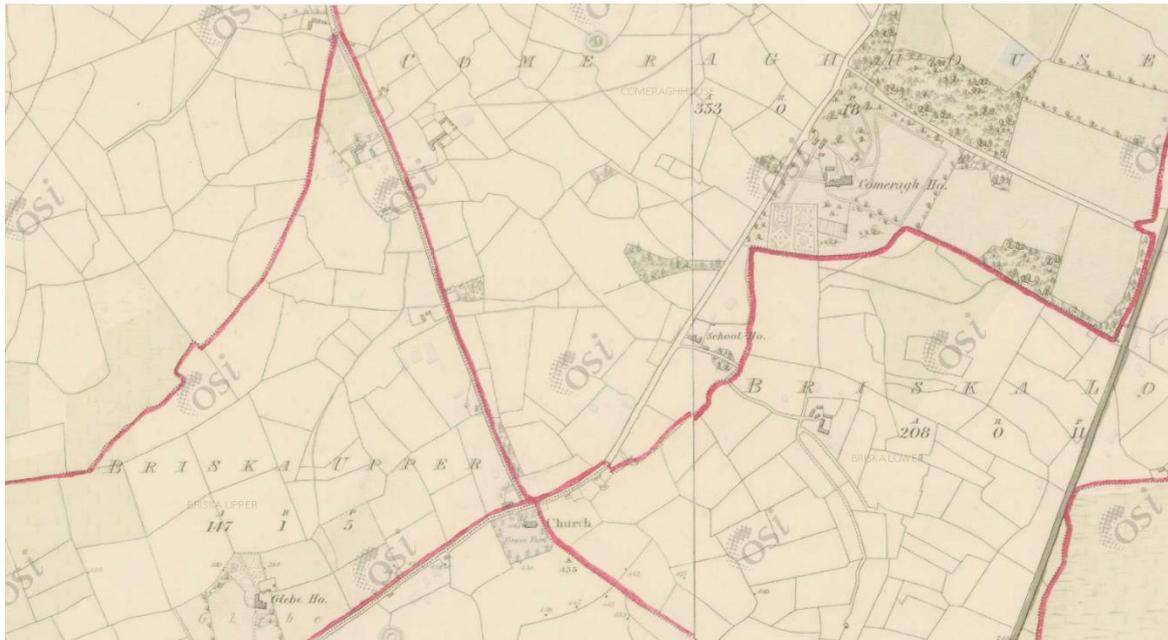
Figure 6.15: Comeragh House demesne in the Six Inch Ordnance Survey map (1840s), showing the ornate layout of the gardens

Figure 6.16: 25 Inch Ordnance Survey map of Comeragh House from the 1890s, the ornate gardens have now gone from within the grounds

The Palliser landlords' spiritual needs were met by the establishment of the Church of Ireland chapel a short walk away. The older map also marks a school house (see Figure 6.15), most likely also Church of Ireland, to service the local Protestant children in this

area. The Catholic school was built later, about 2.5 kilometres away, situated near the ruins of the medieval chapel. There is a reference to this Protestant school in the Schools' Collection of recounting a Mr Coleman's words who was born in Coill Kilrossanty in 1810,

"You had no National School at this time but of course private teachers went to the houses, the Pallisers of Comeragh House subsidised a school for the tenants at Mahon Bridge and we were all invited to attend free of charge. It was there he learned his first lessons and though Protestant as the school was the Catholics were well educated in Irish and England" (Power, Patrick, 1937, TSC Vol 0648, p.15).

6.3.5 Deserted Settlements

An enormous decline in the rural population across the country occurred in the decades following the Famine as a result of widespread emigration. It is estimated that around 282,000 houses were left vacant in the fifty years from 1851, with a further 200,000 cabins abandoned, most of which belonged to the poorer classes (Duffy, 1999). The demographic decline continued beyond this period, well into the twentieth century, resulting in, "Withdrawal, contraction, retreat, reorganisation, rationalisation, stagnation, decay" (Duffy, 1999, p. 211). This largescale abandonment resulted in a shift in the fundamental character of the settlements with remnants of buildings situated alongside prehistoric monuments or modern bungalows (Duffy, 1999). Many fields and farms were left to become overgrown, becoming a "land of ruins", where families had emigrated leaving half-roofed outbuildings, rusting corrugated roofs and derelict ruins (Duffy, 2007, p. 114). Whelan (2004, p. 3) referred to this abandonment in the landscape as the "presence of absence".

The remains of these deserted buildings, which comprised of small settlements and individual houses, were still very evident within the current landscape in Kilrossanty, and consisting of a significant and important part of the palimpsest. The roads and bohreens that lead to the vacant holdings often still existed, although their use had narrowed to providing access for farmers and animals, which has ensured their enduring presence in the landscape. Some of these faded, though extant sites are described below. Their diminished existence was often only known by members of the local

community, and rarely by the wider world. It was only as a result of conversations with local people that awareness and access was given. The exception to this was Glendalligan, which was discovered by the comparison of historical Ordnance Survey maps to the modern map.

6.3.5.1 Glendalligan

The Six Inch map dating from the 1840s showed a road situated in the townland of Glendalligan, running parallel to the river Dalligan, with a few buildings running alongside, in a ribbon-like formation. By the 1890s, in the 25 Inch map, the number of buildings had declined, while a new road (Mauma), which ran parallel had now been built that continued across the peak of the mountain. The present day Ordnance Survey map, showed no road by the river and also no buildings in its vicinity. The GIS map in Figure 6.5 illustrates the situation of the former hamlet alongside the river and Figure 6.6 shows the road on a 3D current topography map to contextualise its proximity to the mountains.

Local knowledge of this settlement appears to have been lost, despite asking a number of people in the area including one whose family ancestry stretches back the furthest in the townland (P. Barron 2019, pers comm, 13 January; S. & S. Murphy, pers comm, 18 January). Parts of the bohreen that must have connected the old settlement, still do exist as pictured in Figure 6.17, although the area where the buildings were situated was too overgrown to visit by foot. It was attempted to view them from above by using the drone, however the vegetation obscured the view.

Figure 6.17: Remnants of a bohreen leading to the deserted settlement in Glendalligan townland

6.3.5.2 Moroney's cottage

Situated in the townland of Comeraghmountain, and known locally as Moroney's cottage, this two room cottage, pictured in Figure 6.18) was inhabited until the 1930s, and is still owned by a family originally from the area. It was believed that it could have been a mountain ranger's cottage for the Palliser landlords (S. Murphy 2019, pers comm, 22 January). It still retained a local value as it was understood that a new roof was built and paid for by some "American cousins" (S. Murphy 2019, pers comm, 22 January). The interior was still generally intact, with crockery on the shelves and a bed was still visible through the window. This cottage was not mapped on either of the historical maps, being situated on the edge of the line of cultivation, however inhabitants were listed in the 1901 census.

Figure 6.18: Moroney's cottage - situated on the cusp of cultivated land in Comeraghmountain townland

6.3.5.3 Casey's in Curraun

The remains of a farmstead are situated in Curraun townland at the end of a long, overgrown bohreen, a short distance from Kilrossanty village and very close to the medieval church, mapped in Figure 6.19. Interviews revealed that the farm was owned by the Casey family, the brother of whom was a local priest, Father Casey in the 1920s, who was described as,

"Now Father Casey evicted some of the people…they pushed them all down into the old graveyard above. And they pushed them all down there and he was a lot of the cause of this, they keep that quiet you know what I mean. It's a very sore point, for some of the family here in the parish" (M. Walsh 2018, pers comm, 3 May).

"His brother had a farm, he had an acre for every day of the year, his brother and he would have you bust you broke…that was your man that was still in the bar, he had kids and he would go to town in a pony and car and come home and get a meal or whatever for the pigs. And he'd be half drunk and he'd pull in in the yard and take off the tackle and off the cosh and he'd ring the house and was just catch…the cart he'd leave down on the ground til tomorrow morning and they was hungry, mismanagement you know what I mean. … The Land Commission took it over, which was a good thing. It would be still a good thing if it was managed right" (M. Walsh 2018, pers comm, 3 May).

Today the bohreen is only used by the farmers and cattle and the farm itself has just been left to pasture as shown in Figure 6.20.
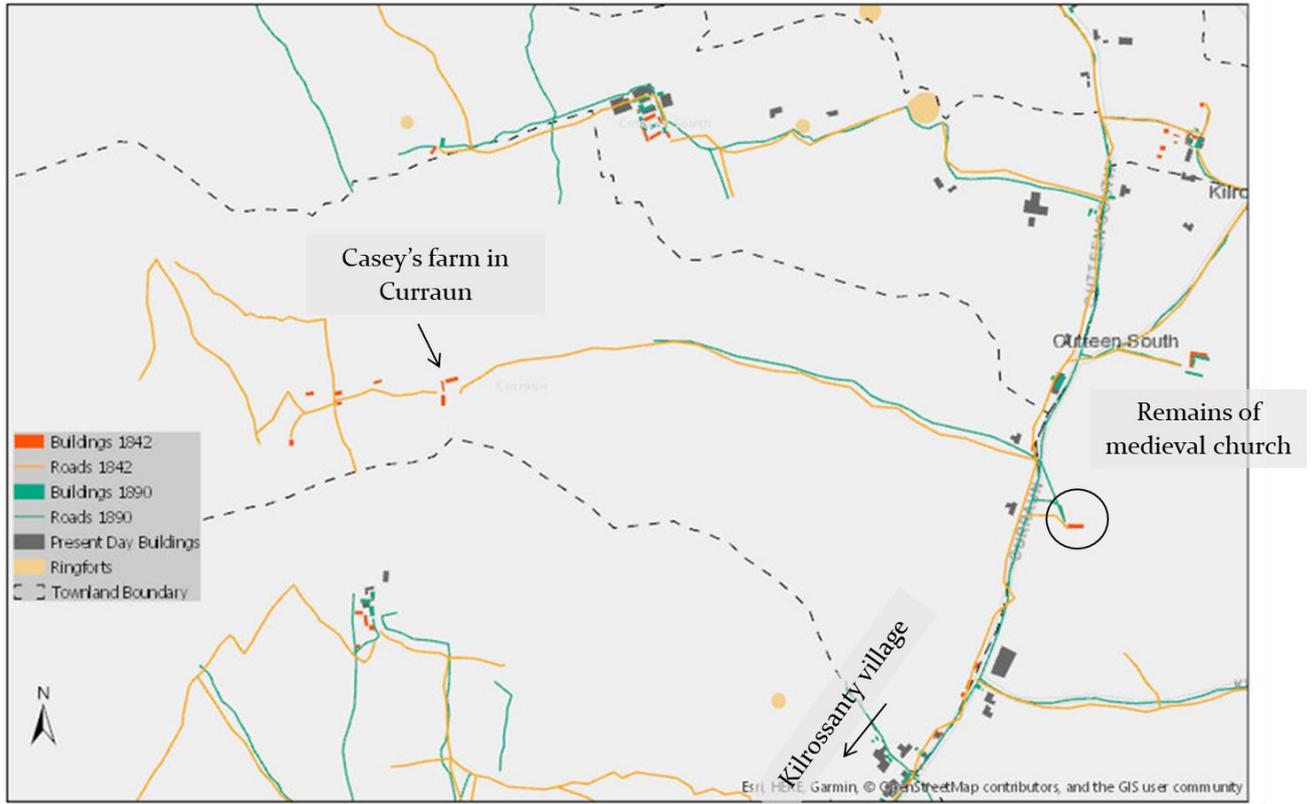
Figure 6.19: GIS map illustrating the location of Casey's farmstead in Curraun

Figure 6.20: The remains of Casey's farmstead in Curraun

6.3.5.4 Doody's Farm

Locally known as "Doody's farm", after the last family who owned it (S.&S. Murphy 2019, pers comm, 19 January), the imprint and outline of the farmed land is still clearly visible within the landscape today as shown in the drone footage in Figure 6.21, and there are substantial remains of stone walls from the farm buildings in the present day landscape, as pictured in Figure 6.22. The layout in the 25 Inch map in Figure 6.23, suggests that the farm was created by the reclamation of the poorer mountainous land.
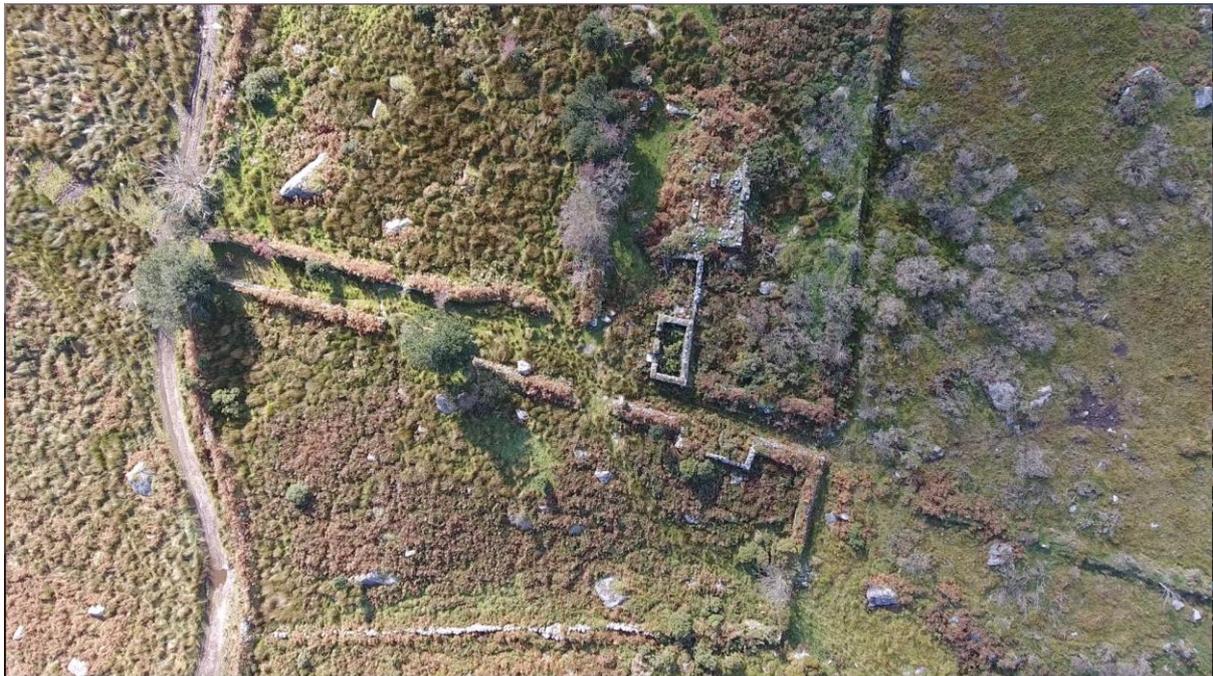
Figure 6.21: Drone footage showing building remnants of Doody's farm

Figure 6.22: Remains of Doody's farmstead in Comeraghmountain townland with Ned Curran's farm just visible in the background.

Figure 6.23: Section of the 25 inch OS map showing the Doody farm enclosure. Note the surrounding blank space.

6.3.5.5 Ned Curran's Farm

Situated around 1.5 kilometres north of Doody's farm, beyond the line of cultivation, are the physical remains of another farmstead, which is known colloquially as Ned Curran's farm, as pictured in Figure 6.24. The triangular-shaped outline of the property is marked out against the mountainside as shown from drone footage taken of the area in Figure 6.25. Its occupants were listed in the later 1901 census, whilst anecdotally it is believed Ned Curran worked at Comeragh House and the house was occupied until the 1920s (S. Murphy 2019, pers comm, 22 January).

Figure 6.24: Remains of Ned Curran's cottage in Comeraghmountain townland

Figure 6.25: Drone footage of Ned Curran's farm outline in the landscape

6.4 Conclusion

The overview of settlement patterns in Kilrossanty and the patterns found within their development explored in this Chapter, illustrated how the landscape is ever-changing. The structure, position and character of the settlements have altered and will continue to transform, depending on the larger forces or authorities that influence them and shape the landscape, combined with the details and routines of everyday, quotidian life.

The marginal nature of Kilrossanty's landscape has resulted in these shifts remaining visible within the layers of the palimpsest, abandoned buildings and hamlets co-existing with ringforts and modern twenty-first century houses and farm buildings.

The stories behind the dwellings and their inhabitants are best captured through the knowledge of the local community; the movement, perception and inhabitants of these settlements and landscape is explored further in the following Chapter.

Chapter 7 - The Perceived Landscape

As by the mountain side I strayed
one evening in May,
To view its glens and purple heights
alas now far away,
To view the Mahons silvery stream,
flowing by the ancient mill
And its waters breaking into foam
beneath Comeragh's Rugged Hills.

It's long years since I bade farewell,
for it was my sad fate,
Our lands oppressed by tyrant laws,
I had to emigrate,
And in my waking thoughts by day,
my eyes with tears doth fill,
For the scene now haunts me far away
by Comeragh's Rugged Hills.

The village church close by that hill,
again I seem to view,
It stands so neat and beautiful as
when I bid adieu,
The boys with whom I used to play,
I seem to see them still,
Though some are sleeping peacefully
beneath Comeragh's Rugged Hills.

Whilst on my pillow I recline in a
foreign land to rest,
The thoughts of my dear native home
still throb within my breast,
When silence overcomes me,
my dreams they seem to fill,
Of my dear native, happy home,
by Comeragh's Rugged Hills.

Comeragh's Rugged Hills written by Pat Keating, Commandant of the Kilrossanty Company, West Waterford Brigade, shot in battle by the Black & Tans on 19 March 1921.

Five operational principles were outlined to guide the formation of a landscape biography as described in Section 3.2 as part of this research's methodology. Out of these, the authorship of the landscape was deemed as the most prominent issue in all biographical approaches. The preceding three Chapters have explored how the authors, both "elites" and "non-elites", have impacted the physical and the socio-political structure of Kilrossanty's landscape. This Chapter has a change in focus, by exploring how the local landscape has impacted upon its inhabitants and authors (as they are not always one and the same), and the subsequent value that has been placed upon it, the *perceived* landscape.

The study of landscape and its biographical interpretation is the reciprocal nature of landscape and its authors, and the role the landscape plays in the biographies, genealogies and identity of its inhabitants (Roymans *et al.*, 2009). The perceptions authors have of a landscape is a mental construction, that is, a phenomenon formed in people's minds, which Samuels (1979) referred to as landscapes of impression and expression. The life history of the landscape is intertwined with the life history of its authors. The historical transformations of a region helps form a community's identity, its collective memory of the materiality and ideological landscape and the requisite value that is placed upon it. How communities have "expressed something of themselves, their ideas and their identities in the landscapes they occupied, used and reshaped, and how they (conversely) derived their identity and existence from the landscape as 'formative agent'" (Kolen *et al.*, 2016, p. 123).

This Chapter explores elements in which aspects of the landscape have been ordered and re-ordered, the change in use and re-use that has contributed to the authors' perception of their landscape and how this perception has resulted in its reuse and rearrangement of place. It begins by exploring how Kilrossanty was represented in the historic Ordnance Survey maps from the late nineteenth century, highlighting the cartographic bias conveyed by the surveyors and their institution. The physical division with the landscape on the slopes of the mountain was mapped to illustrate its shifts during this period and what it may have represented for the landscape's authors.

The significance of these cartographic biases into the twentieth century's upheavals and national conflict occurring during the fight for independence is explored, with the use

of testimonies from former IRA soldiers. The spiritual landscape is then explored and how it has shifted and manifested in the landscape spatially and temporally according to the prevalent authority and local beliefs. How the layered landscape is expressed in its place names is outlined and finally an overview of the current inhabitants' views of their own dwelt-in landscape.

7.1 Methods

The unearthing of the perceptions of a landscape, relies on author testimonies. The interviews conducted within the local community revealed themes of the inhabitants' impression of their landscape, as well as highlighting the existence and location of some abandoned buildings and settlements, particularly on the slopes of the mountain. The interviewees also relayed anecdotes of the former inhabitants' relevance and connections within the wider community and some of the collective memories that surrounded the people and the dwellings. For historical testimonies, the databases of the Bureau of Military History Collection, 1913-1921, containing witness statements from IRA combatants in Kilrossanty, as well as entries from the National Folklore Collection that date from the 1930s were used. The historic Ordnance Survey maps were also georeferenced into current aerial photography using GIS to enable the mapping of the limit of enclosed fields on the slopes of the mountain.

7.2 Silences in the Map

The origins of the historic Ordnance Survey maps from 1840 and 1890, were outlined in Section 6.1.1, in which their creation by the British military and their overt objective of reforming Ireland's current system of taxation, by quantifying its landscape was detailed. This section will explore further how the historic Ordnance Survey maps represented Kilrossanty parish and how they can be interpreted by acknowledging and reviewing their bias and "coded messages" (Pickles, 1992, p. 217). By subjecting these maps to interpretation, they offer an understanding of how the surveying colonial authorities perceived the landscape and its inhabitants and the value it placed upon them.

All maps can be subject to interpretation and contain some distortion which requires "reading" as if they were texts revealing a message which the surveying authority either

intentionally or otherwise chooses to convey according to their own values (Akerman, 2009; Bender, 1999; Edney, 1997; 2007; 2009; Harley, 1987; 1988a; b; 1992; Pickles, 1992). The absences or omissions within a map have been called "silences" (Harley, 1988a; b) or "white space" (Edney, 2007) and are also an integral part of a map's "language". If they can be identified, they can often reveal the cartographic authority's motivations or what they deemed sufficiently important to include or exclude.

The Ordnance Survey in Ireland was carried out by a division of the British military as an imperial tool to enable the effective governance of its existing imperial territory during the nineteenth century (Andrews, 2002; Doherty, 2004; Edney, 1997; 2007; Smith, 2003). It provided detailed information about estates and land valuation and therefore offered a way of cataloguing its colonial assets (Andrews, 2002; Doherty, 2004). The principles and methodology carried out in Ireland by the Ordnance Survey were so effective, it was adopted in its expanding empire, most notably in India (Doherty, 2004).

The cartography helped improve national security by assisting with the effective governance over a colony; by better understanding the terrain, it was better able to exert its power and authority with the aim of achieving, "a massive intellectual campaign to transform a land of incomprehensible spectacle into an empire of knowledge" (Edney, 1997, p. 2). The mapping can also be interpreted as acting as a form of panoptic surveillance, with the intention of inducing "in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power" (Foucault, 1975, p. 201). The soldier-surveyors were highly visible in their work, they walked across the whole island, employing local people for their knowledge of the territory, to define the outline of townland boundaries particularly where they had not been previously mapped, as was the case in the uplands, and also to translate and advise on place names.

The clean lines portrayed within the maps represented a "taming of the wilderness" and a homogenisation of the landscape and its people, with all regional differences obscured (Duffy, 1977; 2007; Edney, 1997; 2009). It affirmed the political status quo, by attempting to remove the unsightly aspect of the Irish rural population and any sign of discontent or upheaval (Doherty, 2004). It also imposed an order and discipline onto the landscape and by extension its people (Edney, 1997). Its bias also lay in emphasising the elements of the landscape they deemed more important than others. The cartographers were

attempting to portray a sanitised, idealised version of the colony that appeared structured, ordered and peaceful, which did not reflect the religious and social tensions in the Irish countryside at this time in the late nineteenth century. These biases and messages within Kilrossanty's topography are teased out over the following Sections.

7.3 A Divided Landscape

The parish of Kilrossanty contained a physical division on the slopes of the mountain within its landscape in which there is a very visible difference in use and vegetation (as pictured in Figure 7.1). This line in the landscape is the limit of farmland that consists of enclosed fields, traditionally tilled for arable crops and potatoes as well as for pasture, whose appearance is in contrast with the open mountainside, which allowed for cattle, goats or sheep to be grazed, but was not ploughed or planted. There were however, small patches of tilled, improved land above this line as shown in the previous Chapter 6 of Doody's and Ned Curran's Farms.

Figure 7.1: Drone footage showing the line of cultivation still present in the present day landscape in Glendalligan townland

This line was very clearly represented in the historic Ordnance Survey maps as pictured in Figure 7.2 of the Six Inch map and Figure 7.3 of the 25 Inch map of Glendalligan townland in Kilrossanty parish. The cartographic surveyors defined the land as either

"cultivated" or "uncultivated" (Andrews, 2002) and for ease these terms including the "line of cultivation" to differentiate between the two types of landscape, will be used going forward.

On the cultivated, lower slopes, situated on the right hand side of the Six Inch map, the Ordnance Survey contained great detail in terms of field outlines, building shapes as well as roads and bohreens; whilst on the other side of this line of cultivation (on the left), the area is comparatively empty. The only topography included in Figure 7.2 were the townland boundaries, altitude markers, rivers and a few tracks.

Fifty years later as shown in the 25 Inch map in Figure 7.3, the demarcation was even more abrupt, roads and rivers end as they entered the mountainous space, despite the existence of the newly constructed "famine road" (marked as Mauma Road on the map), which continued across the mountain to a neighbouring parish. At the top of the map, it was printed, "The blank portion of this plan is published in Six Inch scale only" and no further attempt was made by the cartographers to insert any new topography into this space. Of significance is that the "uncultivated" higher section did not include any evidence of human habitation within the maps.
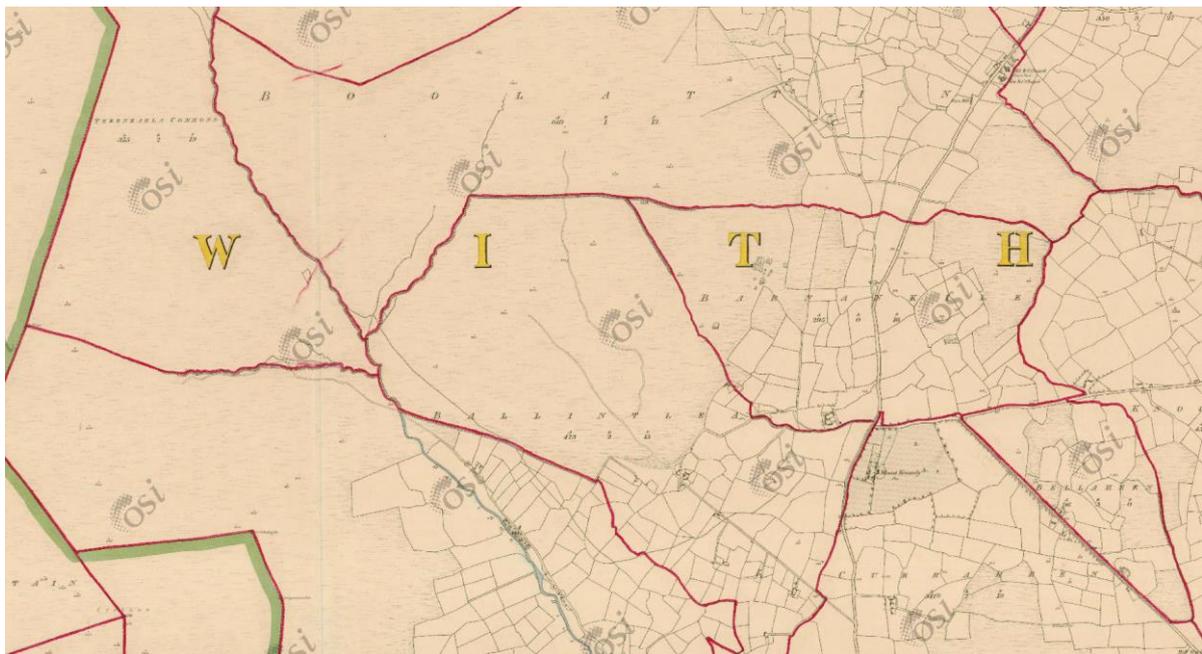
Figure 7.2: The edge of cultivation as portrayed in the Six Inch OS map (1840s) in Glendalligan townland, Kilrossanty parish
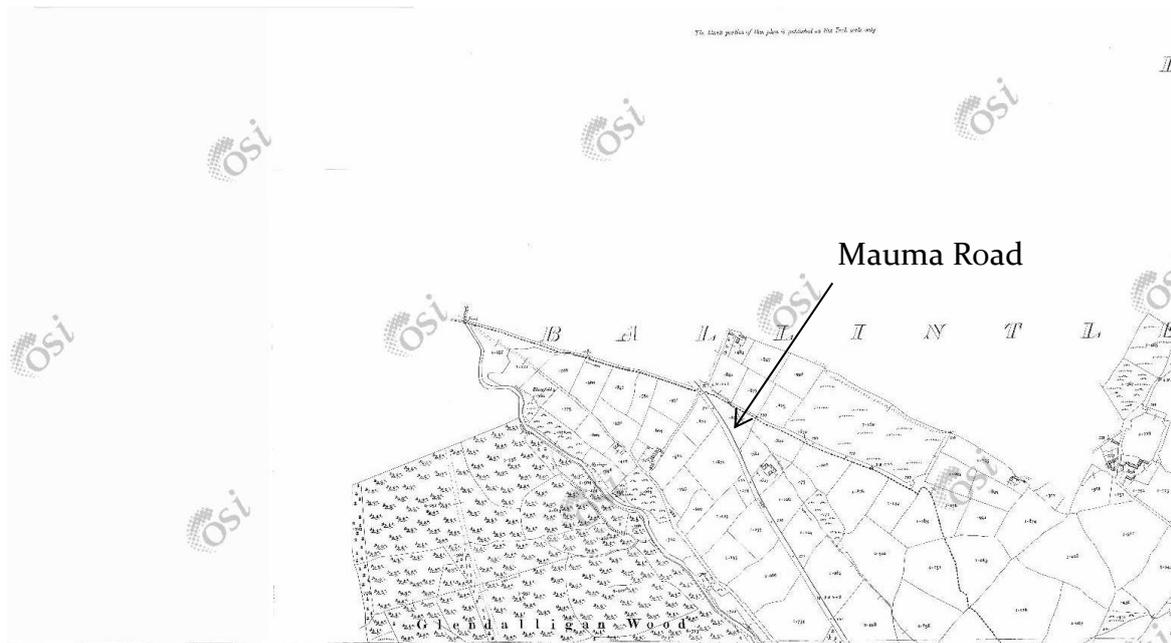
Figure 7.3: The edge of cultivation as portrayed in the 25 Inch OS map (1890s) in Glendalligan townland, Kilrossanty parish

This was not a new phenomenon in Irish cartography including the maps representing Kilrossanty. William Petty in his Down Survey of 1656-68, divided the land between "profitable" and "unprofitable" thereby differentiating between the lowland and upland terrain. Whilst Petty and his surveyors traversed the boundary of each existing townland and property in the country, there was little interior detail of buildings or roads, as portrayed in the section representing Kilrossanty parish in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2 (Andrews, 1986; 2002; TCD, 2013). The higher slopes of the mountain were also not included within the townland network as they were perceived to be of no economic value (Books of Survey and Distribution, Co Kerry, Co Waterford).

The line of the edge of cultivation or enclosure as it was represented in the 1840 Six Inch map was traced using GIS and then the process repeated with the line as it was mapped in the 1890's 25 Inch map. They were then overlain on top of each other to view how the line had changed over the fifty years between the two maps. Initially the line was mapped from an overhead perspective in 2D to establish the quantity of land reclaimed and then subsequently in 3D to enable comparison with the topography of the landscape. The resulting maps are presented in Figure 7.4.
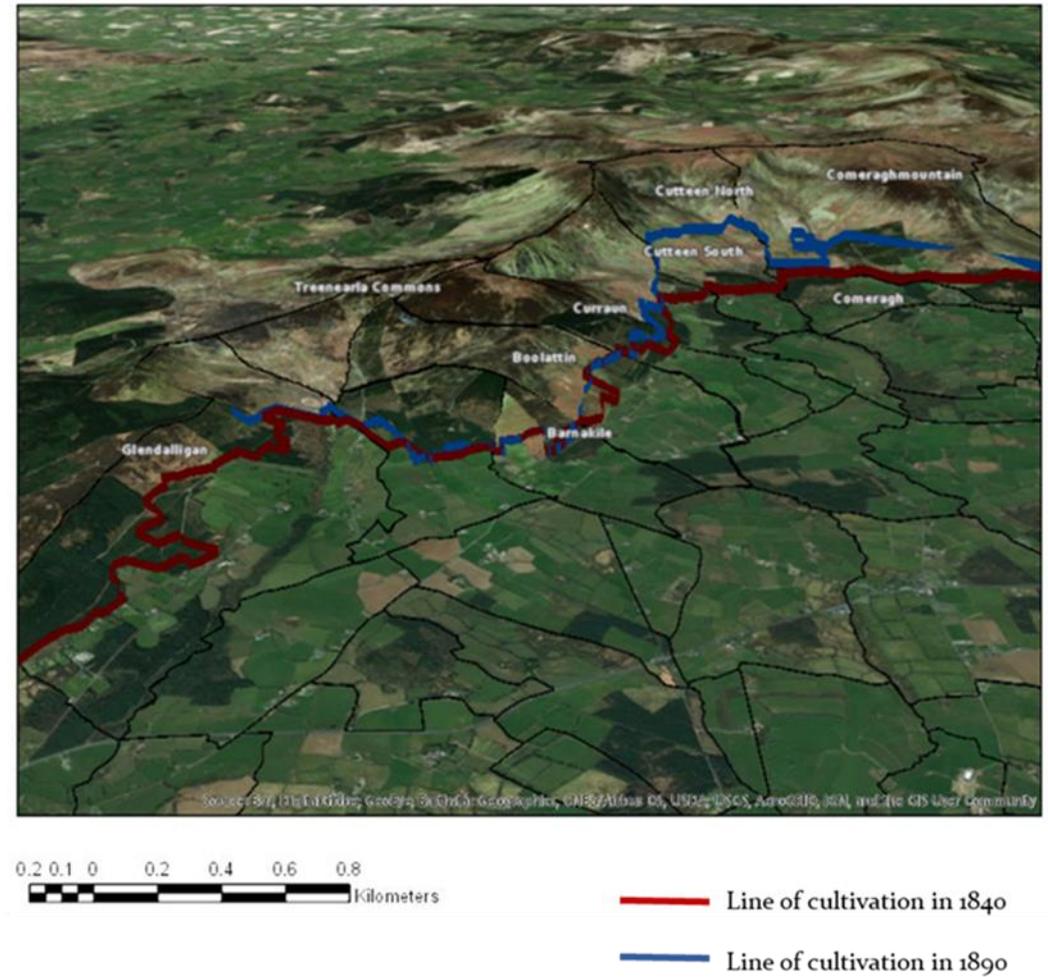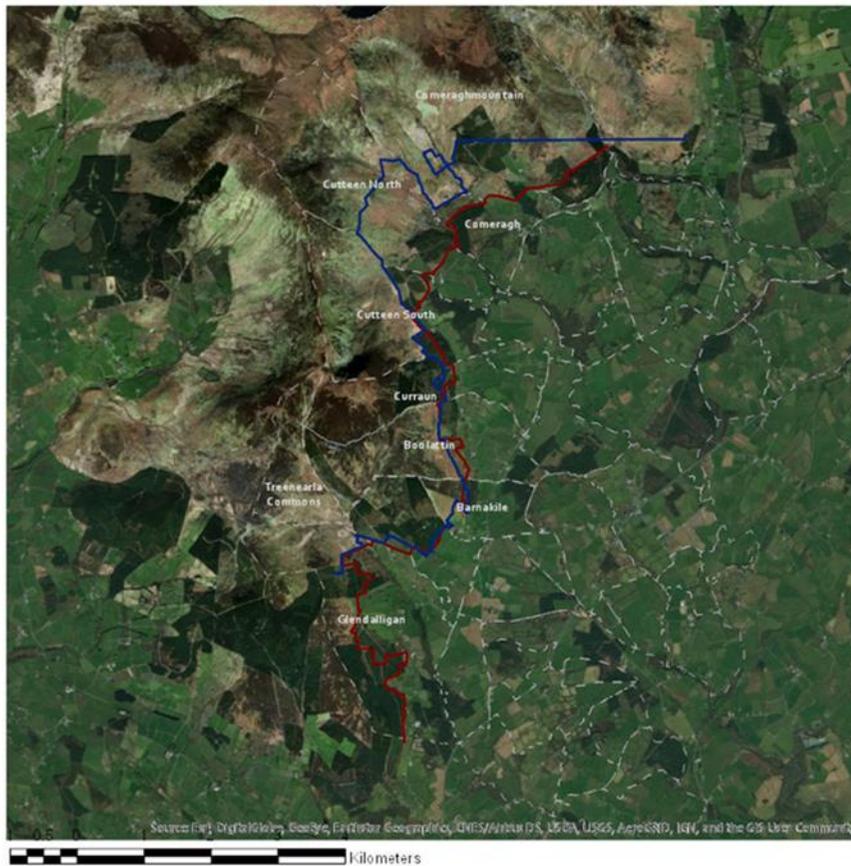
Figure 7.4: GIS maps illustrating the line of cultivation in 2D and 3D for the entire parish

By mapping the position of the line in both maps in GIS, it was possible to quantify how much land on the slopes of the mountain had been adapted for cultivation between the period of 1842 and 1890. The total area of Kilrossanty parish is around 71 km², of which just over 26 km² was above the established line of cultivation in 1842, which meant just under 37% of the region was not enclosed farmland. Fifty years later, a further 5 km² of mountain land had been cultivated, the largest area of which was in the townland of Cutteen North, at the highest point there was an encroachment of 1.7 km up the mountainside. There is a straight line at the top of the left-hand 2D map in Figure 7.4 representing how the line of cultivation was portrayed in the 1890 map. This however does not represent the actual limit of cultivation or enclosure in the landscape but is the extent to which the upland topography was mapped, hence its abrupt ending at the edge of the page.

These maps and figures present an undeniable, significant process of the repurposing of the landscape, of the land being reclaimed and improved over the second half of the nineteenth century onto the higher slopes of the mountain. This process was not unique to Kilrossanty, the reclamation of upland territory was occurring across the country during this period due to the recent massive population growth (Aalen *et al.*, 1997; Barry, 1999; Foster, 1988). The population of Ireland had practically doubled in the preceding sixty years since the 1780s and for most, land was the only resource, aided by the increased availability of labour to work the land. This reclamation was often encouraged by landlords to relieve pressure from the farm holdings in the lowlands with incentives offered to carry out the back-breaking work of improving the poorer quality soils of the uplands (Andrews, 2002; Connell, 1950; Costello, 2020).

There was anecdotal evidence that this occurred in Kilrossanty, in the townland of Comeraghmountain, in which the landlord of the time, John Palliser (1760-1833), attempted to create a new settlement, indulgently called Newtownpalliser, by encouraging members of the local community to reclaim part of the mountainous landscape. The only documentary evidence found of this, ultimately unsuccessful endeavour, is from the Grand Jury map of 1818 (Larkin, 1818). The area has since been covered by forestry, called Twelve Acres Wood, although it was claimed that when the

forest was last harvested and replanted in the 1950s, traces of divisions and stone walls could be made out although these have since been re-covered (S. & S. Murphy 2019, pers comm, 19 January).

Costello (2020) characterised three different factors that resulted in the population expansion into the upland terrain, namely planned, organic or targeted growth. Planned expansion into the mountainside was identified by their straight boundaries on the landscape, irrespective of the topography. Organic growth however, followed the more favourable aspects of the land for cultivation, such as following the physical contours and circumventing problematic rocky outcrops for example. This type of expansion was often a feature when it was conducted by the individual tenant-farmers. Targeted expansion involved settlements occurring in isolated locations, separate from the main body of improved farmland. In terms of Kilrossanty's irregular shaped line of cultivation, the majority of the expansion appeared to be organic growth. There was not a large amount of reclamation as represented in the two maps in the townlands of Glendalligan, Barnakile and Boolattin. The townland of Cutteen North however, experienced the largest expansion in its reclamation of land. The east and west boundaries of the area of reclamation followed the townland boundary, and does not cut into neighbouring Cutteen South or Comeraghmountain. Both Cutteen North and Cutteen South were owned by the same landowner, named as Edward Galwey according to Griffith's Valuation (as illustrated in Figure 4.9). There is therefore the possibility that the reclamation work was carried out at the individual tenant-farmer's initiative, rather than Galwey, as the townland boundary would have been crossed.

Doody's Farm was also an interesting example of organic expansion, as pictured in Figure 6.23 in the 25 Inch cartography, of an opportunistic farmer creating cultivated land in what he deemed to be favourable conditions. Whereas Ned Curran's farm appears to be an instance of targeted expansion as it is situated far from the main body of improved farmland (pictured in Figure 6.25 and Figure 6.24).

The following Section will explore how this physical border in the landscape and the "silences" of its lack of mapped detail, also represented an ideological division for the British-led forces going forward in the twentieth century.

7.4 Cartographic Invisibility in the Twentieth Century

The poem at the beginning of this Chapter depicted an example of layers of perception of Kilrossanty; of the materiality of the "glens and purple heights", "the Mahon's silvery stream, flowing by the ancient mill", the "neat and beautiful" village church of "Comeragh's Rugged Hills". The piece was written by a local man, Pat Keating, who was forced to emigrate because of "tyrant laws". He returned home to become an active member and well-respected Commandant of the local division of the Irish Republican Army, only to be shot in battle in 1921 during the War of Independence, joining the "boys with whom I used to play"... "sleeping peacefully beneath Comeragh's Rugged Hills". The poem offers an example of a landscape of impression which promoted a nostalgic and nationalist sentiment, which in turn created a landscape of expression in which the authors physically re-used and repurposed the landscape in the nationalist fight, which epitomised the juxtaposition "between a world imagined, and world lived-in" (Samuels, 1979, p. 69).

The cartographic invisibility of some sites on the higher slopes of the mountain in the nineteenth century facilitated their covert re-use in the twentieth century during the War of Independence from 1919 to 1921. The homogenisation of the landscape by the Ordnance Survey maps in which a uniform 'clean' view of the territory was presented meant much of the region remained unknown and unfamiliar to the British-led troops fighting a guerrilla conflict against local Irish nationalist forces.

Kilrossanty and the Comeragh mountains became a "Refuge of Rebels" (Murphy and Murphy, 1981) during this conflict and were used for military training, the hiding of people and arms, as well as a refuge from the fighting. The higher slopes also offered some high strategically advantageous vantage points, much needed when the local forces were often heavily out-matched in terms of weaponry and manpower, when compared with the British military. Such was the invisibility afforded to the region that captured weapons and even armoured cars could be hidden in the region according to Moses Roche, Captain of the Kilmacthomas Company (Bureau of Military Archives (BMA) 1913-1921, witness statement, 1129).

One of the sites used in the region by the Irish nationalist forces was Ned Curran's house as described in Section 6.3.5.5 (S. Murphy 2012, pers comm, 11 April; Murphy and Murphy, 1981) . Witness statements from the IRA combatants at the time documented in the online Bureau of Military History Collection, 1913 – 1921 (BMH), described it being used as a prison:

"Men sentenced to imprisonment by the local IRA court in nearby Stradbally were sent to 'gaol' and imprisoned in a house situated in the Comeragh Mountains near to the village of Comeragh, about 1½ miles north of Kilrossanty…This house, known as 'Scrubs' (or called after Wormwood Scrubbs internment camp in Wales [sic]), was often used by the West Waterford Flying Column in their activities, because of its remoteness and inaccessibility." (Roche, Moses, BMH, WS1129, p.9).

The landscape offered a natural protective base for the local battalion headquarters to be situated:

 "The billeting area [for the West Waterford flying column consisting of around 30 men, mostly "on the run"] was invariably at Kilbrien or in the Kilrossanty country, because we had the Comeragh mountains directly behind us into which we could retire if hard pressed by the enemy. The terrain here also offered us splendid opportunities for putting up a really good defence if we were attacked in strength by the British. To illustrate the excellent nature of the cover provided in this area I can remember the military carrying out widespread searches in Kilrossanty one night. They came to within half a mile or less of the position which the column had taken up on being warned, but they failed to discover our whereabouts. They were perhaps lucky that night, because from the vantage points we held we could have raked them with fire if they had come further into the mountains" (Power, Edmond, BMH, WS1130, p.10).

"The column had its base, usually, at Comeragh, which is on the eastern foothills of the Comeragh Mountains. This position was particularly suitable because of the protection afforded by the mountain district into which we could, and did, retire with safety when hard-pressed by much superior enemy forces. The Comeragh area also had the

advantage of enabling us to see the military moving down in the lower ground, especially at night, when the light from their lorries could be easily seen" (Power, Patrick, BMH, WS1199, p.3).

In retribution for an embarrassment imposed upon the British troops,

"a party of upwards of 200 troops, accompanied by bloodhounds, came out from Waterford and occupied Kilmacthomas Workhouse. They then proceeded to search the foothills of the Comeragh Mountains for what they were told was a 'large body of IRA'. We had knowledge of all this and were waiting for them to move further into the Comeraghs where we were positioned to give them a very warm reception. Some sixth sense must have warned them not to proceed too far, because, when less than a mile from where we awaited them, they turned back for Kilmacthomas" (Power, Edmond, BMH, WS1130, pp. 15-16).

The familiarity of the area by the local members of the IRA meant they were able to take routes unknown by the outsider troops:

"I have mentioned Comeragh frequently because this district, from which the neighbouring range of mountains is named, afforded almost complete immunity from surprise attacks by the enemy. It was possible for us to see, from Comeragh, enemy forces moving down in the lowlands and, should they show signs of approaching our position in strength, we could cross the mountain range by paths, known only to ourselves" (Kirwan, Andrew, BMH, WS1179, p. 18).

The "silences" in the Ordnance Survey maps of the higher slopes of Kilrossanty may therefore have been an additional beneficial factor in helping the local nationalist forces in their fight against the British military during the War of Independence. The cartographic surveyors had attempted to exert power through the mapping of the area in order to create "an empire of knowledge" (Edney, 1997, p2). However their perception of the upper slopes of the mountain was based upon their low economic value, which

meant their knowledge of the region was further hampered, particularly when compared with the superior local community's understanding of the upland landscape.

7.5   Sacred Landscape

There are numerous built structures in Kilrossanty's landscape which are infused with religious or spiritual meaning. This section explores how the religious identity of the community has been expressed within the physicality of the landscape as well as spiritual meanings being impressed upon particular sites. It also outlines how their significance has changed in some cases, often according to the prevailing ideological authority, but also for reasons that have long been lost.

Ireland's history has been entangled with ideological conflict in the battle for dominance of Catholicism and Protestantism (such as that detailed in Chapter 5 exploring Kilrossanty's inhabitants' involvement in the Catholic Rebellion of 1641). This was played out in Kilrossanty's physical and ideological landscape, with layers of reuse and shifts in meaning as the exertion and influence of ideological power and superiority has waxed and waned. The ideological differences have also helped shape the community's identity and attachment to their landscape which has been partly expressed by the physical built iconography.

These human-made features endow a symbolic meaning to a place which differentiates them from ordinary spaces and fosters a greater sense of identification with an area than otherwise would be the case. The existence of numinous historical features in the landscape and their contribution and interaction with a community's cultural evolution contributes to a collective attachment to the landscape (Foley, 2011; Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2004; Varner, 2009; Walsham, 2012). The rituals associated with them also helped legitimise contemporary Irish identity and provides a tangible and experiential connection to Irish heritage and tradition (Bishop, 2016).

The parish name Kilrossanty, the townland within it and also the medieval chapel ruins within that, derives from "Cill Rosanta", which has been translated as "Cill" meaning Church, and "Rosant" which refers to the locality on which it was built of a shrubby or woody area (O'Donovan, 1841; Power, 1938). It has also been translated as Church of St

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Rosenta or Roxentius, though the origins of this name is unclear (Power, 1952). Kilrossanty townland is also marked as "gleab" or glebe land in the Book of Survey and Distribution of 1654-6, thereby indicating its historical ownership by the Catholic Church (Books of Survey and Distribution, Co Kerry, Co Waterford 1641-1701).

Hints are given from the placenames of other "early church sites" elsewhere in the parish of Cill Loinin or "Lineen's Church" in Crough townland, Cill Bhreac translated as "Speckled Church" in Ballykeroge, which also had a Tobar and Caol na mBráthar, a "Well" and "Narrow (Place) of the Friars". There was a Páirc an tSéipéil "Chapel Field" in Ballynevoga and a Gort an Bhiocáire translated as the "Vicar's Garden" in Gortavicary, which was described as an "ancient endowment of the vicarage of Kilrossanty". Kilcomeragh is also translated as Cill an Chumaraigh "The Church of (the) Comeragh" (Power, 1952, pp. 73-77).

7.5.1 Syncretism of Pagan and Christian Sites

There are three holy wells in the Kilrossanty parish dedicated to St Brigid, the Virgin Mary and Jesus, although an entry in the National Folklore Collection dating from the 1930s, claimed this third well was dedicated to St Patrick (O'Neill, James Mrs, TSC Vol 0572, p.113). They are situated within the same enclosed space of the ruins of the medieval Catholic church in the townland of Kilrossanty, which is located in the centre of the parish. The wells are pictured in Figure 7.5 and their spatial situation in relation to the current Catholic chapel are mapped in Figure 6.4.

Figure 7.5: The remains of Kilrossanty's Medieval chapel, the Holy Wells are situated in the space just behind through the gap in the wall. Note the fresh flowers in the bottom right corner indicating the graveyard is still in use.

Together with the adjacent ruins of the medieval church, the wells were included in the religious rites of the Catholic community with "rounds" or "stations" to enact religious devotions, particularly on St Brigid's feast day of February 1st. Accounts from 1938 in The Schools' Collection (TSC) in the National Folklore Collection, described the ritual and the wells' curative properties:

"going around the old cemetery three times and say the rosary each time. Then at each of the wells are said five Pater Aves three times. At each well people take three drinks, and put in medals, money, buttons or pieces of cloth. Many people get cured of sore eyes, pains or aches, they bathe the parts in the water, and trusting in God they get cured" (Dunphy, Josephine, 1938, TSC Vol 0648, p.128).

"About twenty years ago a woman washed her suffering baby in St. Patrick's well, and another woman wiped her sore eye with the cloth used in washing the baby. The baby got cured, and the woman got blind of one eye. The water of the wells runs down through the bogs and out to the road. Tinkers once got some of the water to make tea, and they put it into a kettle, and left it to boil for an hour or longer, and it would not boil. Some boys took buttons out of the wells, and if they did they got sore hands which

did not heal until they put the buttons back again, and then they got all right" (Dunphy, Josephine, TSC, Vol 0648, p.128).

The rituals around the holy wells were mentioned in the letters accompanying the surveying of the land as part of the Ordnance Survey cartography, the "rounds were completed, an offering would be made in the form of a piece of cloth or rag being pushed into the crevices in the western gable. The surveyors noted that "there are no less than thirty persons engaged in their rounds and devotions at this moment" (O'Donovan,1841).

A cup still sits next to the well, alongside other placed items with a religious nature, evidence that the wells are still in use as a devotional space as illustrated in Figure 7.6. Their continued use was indicated in a focus group with members of Kilrossanty's community held in 2012, "The well waters were believed, and still are, to provide cures. People from the local communities visit St Brigid's and the two other wells annually and on St Brigid's Eve, someone might leave out a scarf or a garment. This would later be used to cure an ache" (Hercules Focus Group, 12 April, 2012, facilitated by Emily Shakespeare).

Figure 7.6: One of Kilrossanty's Holy Wells, dedicated to St Brigid. Each well has some sort of saucepan or cup or rags tucked into the surrounding fence indicating that they are still being used as a sacred space

The origins of the adjacent Catholic chapel are uncertain, though it was estimated that it was built "as late as the fifteenth century" (Power, 1938, p. 64), with the central arch being added at a later, unknown time. It was remarked that it was of "exceptional size of its locality and period" (Power, 1938, p. 64) considering its rural location. "A wild and sequestered spot it must have been when some recluse seeking solitude, or missionary athirst for souls first raised his little *cill* by the wildly rushing Tay" (Power, 1938, p. 64).

From the description of the practice of the "rounds" or "stations", the holy wells and chapel ruins have been amalgamated into the one sacred space. This is indicative generally of pagan holy wells being syncretised into Christianity, of the restructuring and rearrangement of meaning within the landscape. Up until the advent of Christianity into Ireland, the natural environment was a tool for interpreting divine intention and meaning (Walsham, 2011; 2012). The new incoming Church sought to attach their messages to old pagan beliefs and incorporate holy wells into their own stories in an attempt to appropriate the spiritual power of existing sacred sites to signify their primacy and territorial control (Brenneman and Brenneman, 1995; Evans, 1957; Foley, 2011; Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2004; Varner, 2009; Walsham, 2012). The reputation of Ireland as insula sanctorum, the island of the saints, became established by the tenth century and the wells with healing properties from their fresh water supply, took on often ubiquitous Christian names such as St Patrick, often at the expense of the local saint or pagan name, "re-narrating the landscape with a new protagonist" (Taylor, 1995, p. 43). Thus medieval Catholic chapels were frequently situated upon or near pre-Christian sacred sites (Giollàin, 2005). The holy wells were then appropriated by the Christian faith by attributing a Christian saint although the pagan rituals such as hanging rags or pattern days still endured (Bishop, 2016; Brenneman and Brenneman, 1995; Giollàin, 2005; Taylor, 1995; Walsham, 2011).

St Brigid is the patron saint of Kilrossanty, who was syncretised from the pagan goddess Brigid, an Otherworld queen renowned for powers of fertility and healing and for her patronage of the smith's fire and arts of wisdom and poetry. She was especially identified with milk, dairy products and the cow, as well as sheep (Brenneman and Brenneman, 1995, p. 97). Her Christianisation continued with this symbolism and

association with earth and water hence many holy wells across Ireland were dedicated to her. The difference being she became a chaste and virginal saint, transformed from a fertile, promiscuous goddess. Her cross (in swastika form) still retains the symbolisation of the fiery sun, representing the sacred smith and his fire (Brenneman and Brenneman, 1995).

In the post-modern era the perception has been in part been lifted out of the spiritual sphere into the secular, as tourist attractions (Brenneman and Brenneman, 1995; Giollàin, 2005) or therapeutic landscapes of a healing sense of place, possessing a dimension of peace and tranquillity which has gained a reputation for providing not only physical, but mental and spiritual healing (Foley, 2011).

7.5.2 Church of Ireland

Built in 1805 and renovated in 1871, the Board of First Fruits Church of Ireland chapel is situated in the townland of Gortnalaght (Department of Housing Local Government and Heritage, 2021b). It is positioned around 800m away from Comeragh House along the same road, and members of the Palliser landlord family are buried in the adjoining graveyard.

Figure 7.7: Kilrossanty parish's Church of Ireland chapel

The architecture is typical of these types of chapels and has a more diminutive impact upon the visible landscape than the Catholic chapel in Kilrossanty village, as it is hidden behind walls and trees as shown in Figure 7.8. The vegetation may not previously have been so high or overgrown but its hidden profile is reflective of the denomination's waning influence over the previous decades. Services are now only held twice a month in the chapel, by clergy who share their time with other parishes due to the smaller number within the congregations compared with the Catholic chapels (St Carthages Cathedral, 2020).

Figure 7.8: View of the Church of Ireland chapel from two directions on the road, partially hidden by the low walls, tall trees and vegetation

7.5.3 Modern Catholic Church

By contrast, the Catholic chapel, built in 1840, in nearby Boolatin, is more imposing in its situation and architecture as pictured in Figure 7.9 (Department of Housing Local Government and Heritage, 2021b). It is surrounded by a cluster of buildings consisting of housing, farm buildings and a pub, as a nucleus of a chapel-village as explored in Section 6.3.1.

Figure 7.9: Catholic chapel situated in Kilrossanty village

Its beginnings were not easy as recounted by a Mr Coleman, born in 1810 and recorded by 15 year old Mary Keating,

"He saw the two present churches Kilrossanty and Fews rise bit by bit and finally finished under the personal supervision of Fr. Power of Furraleigh, who was a great priest, and a great congregation from far and near gathered and paid subscriptions at the opening Mass in 1841. The subscriptions were to pay off the debt. They were all bound that day with peace and plenty and little did they think of the dark clouds that were to come and of the distant rumblings of famine and disease, the collapse of agriculture business and even the very banks came crashing down in noisy ruin. It came in 1846, what a climax, some debt still remained on the church which was instantly demanded. Poverty had stricken the land, appeals were in vain, the people had no money and Fr. Power contributed almost every farthing of his own money to save the situation. To recover the balance he decided to go on a journey to the Eternal City and give a series of lectures with the object of raising the necessary funds. He never returned, death claimed him unawares in Rome and he passed away at a comparitive (sic) young age, yes, and he died of a broken heart far away from home and the people he laboured for" (Keating, Mary, 1937, TSC Vol 0648, p. 15).

7.5.4 Ringforts to Fairy forts

The archaeological vestiges of ringforts in Kilrossanty have been previously explored within this work in Chapter 6 in the context of Iron Age dwellings and their representation of one of the multiple layers of dwelling and taskscape spaces within the landscape. Their value and meaning has shifted from a physical settlement to a more spiritual one and they are often described with terms such as "fairy forts" or "fairy lios". Fairies were held in awe and punishment was invariably given to humans who meddled in their world (Uí Ógáin, 1992). There are a number of examples of the repercussions from interference into the fairy forts, in recent times (Magan, 2017) perpetuating the folklore. There are also a number of stories of how the human interference in these structures brought on the wrath of the fairies,

"One evening a man with a hump on his back was passing a lios near my home in Ballingown, Kilrossanty and he heard the fairies singing 'Monday, Tuesday, Monday, Tuesday'. So he told them to add Wednesday on to it and they did, so they took the hump off him for adding on Wednesday. When this man was going home he met a friend of his who had a hump also. He told the man how he got rid of his own hump. The second man went to the lios hoping they would remove his hump also. He heard as before the fairies singing, "Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday" and he shouted Thursday, but the four words would not suit the air of the song. Instead of removing his hump they put the hump they took off the other man on him also. He had two humps on him then instead of one" (Kiely, Margaret 1938, TSC Vol 0649, p. 141).

"Near my home a lios is situated. It is said that in this lios, there is a hole shaped like a chimney. It is said that down in this hole a crock of gold is hid. Anyone would not go down for the gold because everynight fairies are seen there" (Keating, Peggy, 1937, TSC Vol 0648, p. 63).

"A field from my house Langley's lios is situated. Every night about ten oclock lights like stars are seen around the lios. Two lights like motor lights are seen about five yards from the ground over the flat roof. Some people say that a woman used to cast lights and the lights are seen since" (Kirwan, Alice 1937, TSC Vol 0648, p. 63).

Though the belief was not universal, "There were supposed to be fairies in the líses and things, there were no such thing. Ah my parents wouldn't have said anything [if I was playing in them as a child], I don't think they would have believed it. We used to pick blackberries in the autumn, and we'd go into the lís and pick blackberries in it. And they didn't disappear out of our pockets!" (K. Whyte, 2018, 8 May, pers comm).

7.6   Place Names

"Placenames then are the last faded ghosts and echoes of power and words of power

we have let lapse almost into oblivion" (Robinson, 1997, p. 161)

The Irish multi-layered historical, cultural and physical landscape is reflected and preserved in its toponymy. By examining Kilrossanty's place names, hints and snapshots of a physical and perceived landscape are presented, describing a region's natural and human-made features as well as the land's connection to people and events, "Names create landscapes: an unnamed place on a map is quite literally a blank space" (Duffy, 2007, pp. 63-64).

In the first instance there is the Gaelic form of the name, which can provide a glimpse into an intimate human relationship with the landscape. This Gaelic name was subsequently overlaid and replaced by an anglicised version, which is generally still widely used today, originating from the process of colonisation that began from the surveying and cartography of the land with the Down Survey from 1640. The standardisation of the names was as a result of the new English bureaucracy reshaping and forming its world to fit its image of "what a 'proper' language, economy and society should sound, work and behave like" (Smyth, 2006, p. 336). It was a "fundamental cultural act, with language being a crucial marker of cultural identity" (Duffy, 2007, p. 64). The dual nature of their toponymical structure also indicated the underlying tensions surrounding Irish identity (Duffy, 2007; 2017b; Prunty, 2004).

In a pragmatic sense, Kilrossanty's place names can offer hints and indications of the topography of the landscape, how it was historically used or significant features that may or may not continue to exist on the surface, as well as highlighting the familial and genealogical connections to the land. This section therefore lists Kilrossanty's townland names giving the existing form that is generally still used, the Gaelic version, followed by a translation according to Canon Power in his work, *The Place-Names of Decies* (1952). His was the first work that was "ever written in detailed and systematic interpretation of the place-names (Barony, Parish, Townland and Infra-Townland) of a county or ancient Irish kingdom" (Power, 1952, p. 11). His research into the Decies region

analysed and interpreted each of these names from conversations with "dozens of sheanachies[16] in every parish of Decies" (Power, 1952, p. 12); thereby recording, "those ancient men of beautiful minds, whom I met and talked with on the roadside or in the fields, by the turf fire on winter evenings, or along the cliffs and up the Comeragh, Knockmealdown or Galtee slopes on Sundays in summer" (Power, 1952, p. 13).

The names have been divided up into thematic categories of what they revealed regarding the characteristics or type of land, hints of land use, family names which are affiliated with the land and human-made features that occur within each individual townland.[17] This was not an exercise in analysing or identifying the etymology of each name, but more an exploration of the townland names and selected "sub-denominations" as Power called them, which contributed further layers to the landscape biographical knowledge.

Characteristics of the Type of Land

Existing Form	Gaelic Form	Translation
Adramone	Eadar Dhá Mhóin	(Place) Between Two Bogs
Ballintlea	Baile an tSléibhe	The Mountain Homestead
Barnakill	Bearna an Chuill	Gap of the Hazel Copse
Bellaheen	Beilithín	Little Old Tree
Brisca	An Bhruisce	Brittle Land
Comeragh	Cumarch	Abounding in Hollows and River Confluences
Crough	Crua	Stiff-soiled Townland
Curraheen	Curraichín	Little Wet Place
Curraun	Corrán	Peaked Hill
Knocknacullen	Cnocán an Chuilinn	Little Hill of the Holly
Lyre	Ladhair	River-Fork

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[16] A seanchaí is a traditional Gaelic storyteller or historican, the word is often anglicised to *shanachie*.

[17] With the exception of Ballynevoga or Baile Naomhóige, whose meaning is described as "uncertain" (Power 1952, p74)

Land Use

Existing Form	Gaelic Form	Translation
Boolattin	Buaile Aitinn	Furze Booley (Milking Yard)
Carrigeennageragh	Carraigín na gCaorach	Little Rock of the Sheep
Cutteen	Coitín	Commonage
Gortavicary	Gort an Bhiocáire	The Vicar's Garden "ancient endowment of the vicarage of Kilrossanty"
Kilcomeragh	Cill an Chumaraigh	The Church of (the) Comeragh
Kilrossanty	Cill Rosanta	St Rosenta's (Roxentius') Church
Treenearla Commons	Coimín na dTrí nIarla	Commonage of the Three Earls

There are two place-name elements that suggest booleying may have taken place in the region, of Boolattin in Gaelic form, Bualie Aitinn, translated by Power (1952) as Furze Booley or Milking Yard. Costello (2020, p.114) also refers to "Shanbally" or "Old Homestead" Sean Bhaile, which is estimated to have been in use since the seventh and eighth centuries to denote a winter or permanent habitation. However overall the existence of the practice of transhumance seasonal movement in the Kilrossanty region is uncertain, and would require much more extensive research including archaeological surveys and oral history to firmly establish its presence in the landscape.

Genealogical Links to the Land

Existing Form	Gaelic Form	Translation
Ballingowan	Baile an Ghabhann	The Smith's Homestead (or Town)
Ballykeroge	Baile Uí Chiaróg	O'Keroge's Homestead
Ballykilmurry	Baile Mhic Giolla Mhuire	Mac Gilmurry's Homestead
Carrigmoorna	Carraig Múirne	Muirne's Rock
Englishtown	Baile Gallda	Foreign Homestead
Garranmillon	Garrán Mhealdúin also Garrán na Fionnóige	Mealdúin's Grove and Grove of the Scald-Crow
Glendalligan	Gleann Dealgain	Dealgain's (?) Glen). Thought to be a personal name, a derivative also from dealg, a thorn.
Knockyelan	Cnoc Uí Fhaoláin	O'Phelan's Hill
Lemybrien	Léim Uí Bhriain	O'Brien's Leap*
Paulsacres	Acraí Phóil	Pauls Acres
Robertstown	Baile Roibeárd	Roberts' Town
Treenearla Commons	Coimín na dTrí nIarla	Commonage of the Three Earls

* "Léim in topography is often applied to the gush of a stream through a narrow passage between two rocks. Popular story (Folk-Etymology) accounts for the name thus: - O'Brien of Comeragh, 'rising' for a hop, step and jump, from some point of the mountain above, reached, at his first landing, a place in Kilrossanty where, for conviction of the incredulous, the imprint of his heels may still be seen on a stone; thence in the second stride (the 'step') he carried himself to the spot in the present townland where marks similar to those in Kilrossanty are pointed out. Whiter the 'jump' finally carried him the writer did not stay to enquire" (Power, 1952, p. 76).

Physical Features

Existing Form	Gaelic Form	Translation
Castlequarter	Ceathrú an Chaisleáin	
Gortnalaght	Gort na Leacht	Garden of the Monumental Cairns
Shanbally	Sean Bhaile	Old Homestead

Delving into the sub-denominations of field names offered less pragmatic names of landscape descriptions and more insight into local legend and folklore, for example:

Gaelic Form	Translation
Coumeage, Coum Eug (Éag)	Death Hollow –There is a steep cliff, dangerous for sheep
Bóithrín an Chapaill Chaoich	Little Road of the Blind Horse – "A legend accounting for the name is to the effect that an ancient resident of Cutteen owned an aged horse which, though blind, was so sagacious that, with laden panniers of seaweed on his back, he would guideless, make his way from Stradbally Cove to his owner's home. On one occasion the panniers fell into the ford since called Áth an Trioscair ("Seaweed Ford") (Power, 1952, p. 75)
Bearna an Mhadra	Dog's Gap – "This is a well-known pass, for pedestrians only, over the Comeragh Mountains. Local folklore connects the 'Gap' with a wild legend related in the life of St Declan. Declan was invited to dinner by a pagan, Dercan by name, who, in hatred of the Christian name, had a dog, cooked to simulate mutton, placed before the saint. The saint however, by supernatural power, detected the attempted imposition, and local tradition adds – as soon as he made the Sign of the Cross over the dish, the dog, restored to life, leaped off the table, and, dashing through the open door,

	fled through this gap which has ever since borne his name" (Power, 1952, pp. 70-71)
Ballán na gCorp	Round Green Place of the Dead Bodies – "This was a circular patch, free from heath, where funerals crossing the mountain waited while the 'bearers' rested. A rounded green or white cleared patch amongst the heather is locally called a 'ballan'" (Power, 1952, p. 70)
Móin an Pheidléara	The Pedlar's Bog – "from a pedlar who was murdered and buried here" (Power, 1952, p. 77)

There are two names in Barnakill townland that refer to a battle fought by the castle, owned by the O'Briens, in 1643 "between the Parliamentarians under Sir Charles Vavasour and the Irish, in which the latter were defeated": An Fhoidhir, translated as The Trench, This is portion of the earthwork in which the Irish entrenched themselves before the battle"; and Páir an Chatha, Field of the Battle (Power, 1952, p. 74).

7.7 Community's Perception

By engaging with the community and the current authors of Kilrossanty, elements of their impression of their landscape were revealed. The people interviewed for this research had lived and worked the landscape for the majority of their lives and in some cases could trace their ancestors in the region for at least two centuries. The participants were deeply ingrained within their landscape, and all articulated how it would be inconceivable for them to contemplate living anywhere else apart from Kilrossanty (P. Veale, 2019, pers comm, 13 Jan; K. Whyte, 2018, pers comm, 8 May; T. Riordan, 2018, pers comm, 20 April; M. Walsh, 2018, pers comm, 3 May).

The topography influenced their actions and movements, it was a marginal, difficult landscape to inhabit, "Oh Jesus, what they went through was wicked" was a description of the women's loneliness left alone in the cottage with the children while the husband was out playing cards (T. Riordan, 2018, pers comm, 20 April). "They'd go too far [the men drinking in the pub] and the wife wouldn't be seen for three days, she dreaded it,

dreaded it. And the men weren't able to take the drink because…they were hungry" (M. Walsh, 2018, pers comm, 3 May). The prevalence of suicide amongst men, particularly in their middle ages was also acknowledged by a number of interviewees, "I'd say suicide was going on everywhere, but it wasn't published like it is now. I'd say it was all swept under the carpet. In those days there was no such thing as post-mortems" (K. Whyte, 2018, pers comm, 8 May).

The marginal aspect of the landscape contributed to the insular nature of the community, regarding the more recent local authority estates that had been built in the parish, "there were a lot from outside the area, a lot of them are locals. Then again there are a lot of people I have no idea what they are. Not so much in this one here now, but the one up there road here, that's only about 10 years old, so it's probably mostly strangers around there" (P. Veale, 2018, pers comm, 26 April); and, "They're different kind of people that's in Lemybrien in them new houses, you know what I'm trying to say…They can be from Wexford, Cork, I wouldn't know half their names…" (M. Walsh, 2018, pers comm, 3 May).

7.8   Conclusions

This Chapter explored a number of elements within Kilrossanty's landscape to establish how its ordering and re-ordering was perceived by its varying authors and affected the value they placed upon it. Just as there are the same number of perceptions as there are beholders which cannot all be captured, these themes were chosen to capture the more significant elements that have helped form the community's collective memory and contributed to their identity. The representation of Kilrossanty's landscape in historical cartography by the British surveying authorities, placed an emphasis on the more fertile, and therefore more economically valuable lowlands. The bias of the silences in the maps of the higher slopes may have contributed to a disparity in knowledge of this region which gave the guerrilla forces of the IRA a strategic advantage during the War of Independence. The spiritual authorities of the Catholic Church and the Church of Ireland have contributed layers to the landscape, particularly with the syncretisation with the pagan holy wells.

The layered place names that were a result of English imperialism, offered hints of the landscape palimpsest and the changes in its use and re-use. The Chapter was culminated by the portrayal of the landscape by today's authors and their perception of more recent changes.

The Chapter explores elements in which aspects of the landscape have been ordered and re-ordered, the change in use and re-use that has contributed to the authors' perception of their landscape and how this perception has resulted in its reuse and rearrangement of place.

Chapter 8 - Kilrossanty's Landscape Biography Model

The preceding four chapters explored the thematic elements within Kilrossanty's landscape of landownership, the 1641 depositions, dwelling space and the mental construction of the landscape in the minds of its inhabitants and authors. This Chapter draws upon these themes explored within the empirical data to create a landscape biographical model for Kilrossanty. The features laid out within the model can also be used as a template and subsequently adapted for other landscapes in Ireland. Its development was based upon the relevant characteristics of previous regional landscape biographical studies conducted in other countries and their specific landscapes, which enabled the identification of the appropriate threads applicable to Ireland's unique landscape and historical background, particularly as an early English colony. This is the first time the landscape biographical approach has been applied to this country.

In keeping with the five operational principles of a biography (Kolen *et al.*, 2016; Roymans *et al.*, 2009), the model placed an emphasis on the historical transformations through which the region, and country, had passed, as well as focusing closely on the identification of the authors of the local landscape. In order to better reflect the societal and political strata that existed and developed through colonisation and beyond into national independence in the country, the authors have been divided into categories of macro, meso and micro.

The landscape biography model outlined in this Chapter, together with its possible purpose within national and local Irish government approaches to landscape were the subject of a paper published in Landscape Research Journal (Shakespeare and Russell-O'Connor, 2021), a copy of which is included in Appendix E.

8.1 Landscape Transformations

The transformations of the landscape are at the heart of a biography as they provide a vertical view of the buried physical and social landscape, remnants and hints of which each layer emerge in the course of the research (Kolen and Witte, 2006; Roymans *et al.*, 2009; Van der Knaap and Van der Valk, 2006; Van Manen *et al.*, 2016). The physical

imprint is enmeshed within the value systems or épistémè of the time, which form the multi-layered palimpsest (Cosgrove, 1998; Palang *et al.*, 2006).

The historical transformations for Kilrossanty have been condensed and classified into individual layers, illustrated as blocks in Figure 8.1, together with a brief explanatory description of the period. The blocks coloured blue are the temporal phases which are covered within this thesis. They were not unique to this region, but were the same transformations through which the whole country has passed. For illustration and simplicity, the blocks are uniform, regardless of the length of time of each era or the variable impact they had on the landscape; for example, the historical period of 'Gaelic Ireland' would have contained numerous phases and nuances that would be impossible to incorporate into this diagram. Moreover the transfer from one block to another would not have been so clearly defined and inevitably contained much more ambiguity, contestation and sometimes violence, in the prevailing authorities' transfer of influence. These non-linear transformations are unique to Ireland and reaffirms why an adherence to the UK's LCA guidelines is not suitable for this landscape.

1921	Independence	Following a period of violence and upheaval, the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed in 1921 creating the self-governing Irish Free State, whilst six counties remained part of the United Kingdom
1780+	Resurgence of Catholic Church	Following the repeal of the Penal Laws, the Catholic church grew in strength and influence enabling it to reconstruct its parish network and iconography
1845-50	Great Famine	A period of mass starvation and emigration triggered by over-reliance on the potato crop. It resulted in the population falling by ca. 25%, never recovering to former levels
1691-1849	Protestant Ascendancy	The political, economic and social domination of Ireland by a minority group of Protestant landowners, many absentee landlords
1695-1756	Penal Laws	A series of discriminatory laws, initiated by Cromwell, designed to disenfranchise adherents of the Catholic religion from political and economic power
1649-1653	Cromwellian conquest	Following the Irish rebellion of 1641, Oliver Cromwell re-occupied the country, confiscating large amounts of land held by Irish Catholics and transporting thousands to the West Indies
1580s	Plantations	Created by the confiscation of Irish-owned land by the English Crown and the subsequent colonisation by individual settlers from England and Scotland
1169	Anglo Norman invasion	A deposed King allied with Anglo-Norman forces and Henry II of England to reclaim his position, promising land as payment, resulting in large swathes being acquired, over which the Kingdom of England claimed sovereignty
Pre-1169	Gaelic Ireland	The political and social order and predominantly pagan culture, consisting of a highly decentralised hierarchy of kings or chiefs, governing clans
400-600 CE	Christianisation	Christian worship is believed to have been introduced to pagan Ireland by interaction with Roman Britain, mythologised by one of its missionaries, St Patrick

Figure 8.1: Diagram illustrating the significant historical transformations experienced by Kilrossanty parish and Ireland as a whole, with a very brief description of each corresponding stage. The layers in blue corresponds to the temporal periods which are covered within this thesis.

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Each transformation layer has left its mark on Kilrossanty's physical and cultural palimpsest and the slow pace of change in the marginal area of Kilrossanty has ensured that the layers here are more permeable. Physical remnants and social values endure and compete or exist in parallel against the succeeding ones, for example ringforts are still present alongside evidence of manor houses, neighbouring the landlord's estate. The Christianisation of the region is still visible in the continued existence of the holy wells that today are attributed to Saint Brigid, though most likely appropriated from the pagan goddess Brigid (as outlined in Section 7.5).

Of great influence on the landscape for the subsequent 800 years was the invasion of English forces from 1169, followed by the colonisation of the land by the English Crown in the form of the Plantations. Whereas Kilrossanty was not situated within a Plantation, its influence is evident in the journeys and battles described in the 1641 depositions relating to Kilrossanty inhabitants in the Catholic Rebellion. The English colonisation of Ireland continued its influence on the landscape through the Cromwellian invasion in the seventeenth century, penal laws, landlordism and its actions or inactions resulting in the Great Famine. The resurgence in power and influence of the Catholic Church from the late eighteenth century had a great impact on every Irish landscape. The most recent transformation block included within the diagram was Irish national independence from 1921, although this would not be the final stage to date, for instance, Ireland's membership of the European Economic Community from 1973, and now the European Union, could arguably be the current transformation block. The complex history of Ireland cannot be illustrated in one simple diagram, however the aim is to identify the main top-down influences and transformations of the landscape, in which its authors operated.

8.2   A Life History created by Authors

The "authorship" of landscapes remains one of the most prominent issues in all biographical approaches (Kolen and Renes, 2015b; Kolen *et al.*, 2018; Samuels, 1979). The research into the themes selected for this biography, particularly of landownership and the 1641 depositions, identified the landscape's main authors and also revealed the necessity for their categorisation in order to be able to break down these complex layers

or 'kaleidoscope' of authors (De Jong, 2015). They were therefore categorised into three groups: macro, meso and micro; which have been summarised in Figure 8.2. These terms are an adaptation from Samuels's (1979) discriminatory terminology of '*elites*' and '*nobodies*' to differentiate between the large-scale physical developments made by wealthy, powerful individuals (men) such as Robert Moses, Victor Sassoon or John D. Rockefeller, compared with the actions of individual inhabitants; as well as De Certeau's (1984) "walkers" and "ordinary practitioners". By creating these three categories, it is acknowledged that all authors' imprints upon and within the landscape is of significance; and whereas the footprint made by an individual labourer on the local landscape is physically smaller, it is no less culturally significant, than, for example, the imposing outline of a Catholic chapel towering over the village dwellings. The labelling of the authors as such, allows the distinction between the details of everyday experience and the larger forces which shape them (Bender and Winer, 2020, p. 6).

Author Categorisation (top-down influence)	Description of Author Group
Macro	Prevailing authorities in the region, with a national and international reach. Generally ideological and political institutions e.g., English government or Catholic Church
Meso	Larger land owning families in the region, the local political decision-makers
Micro	Individuals who inhabited and worked the land, not decision-makers, their actions and presence may not have been documented

Figure 8.2: Outline of the categorisation of an Irish landscape's authors of macro, meso and micro. The influence of decision-making would have been solely top-down.
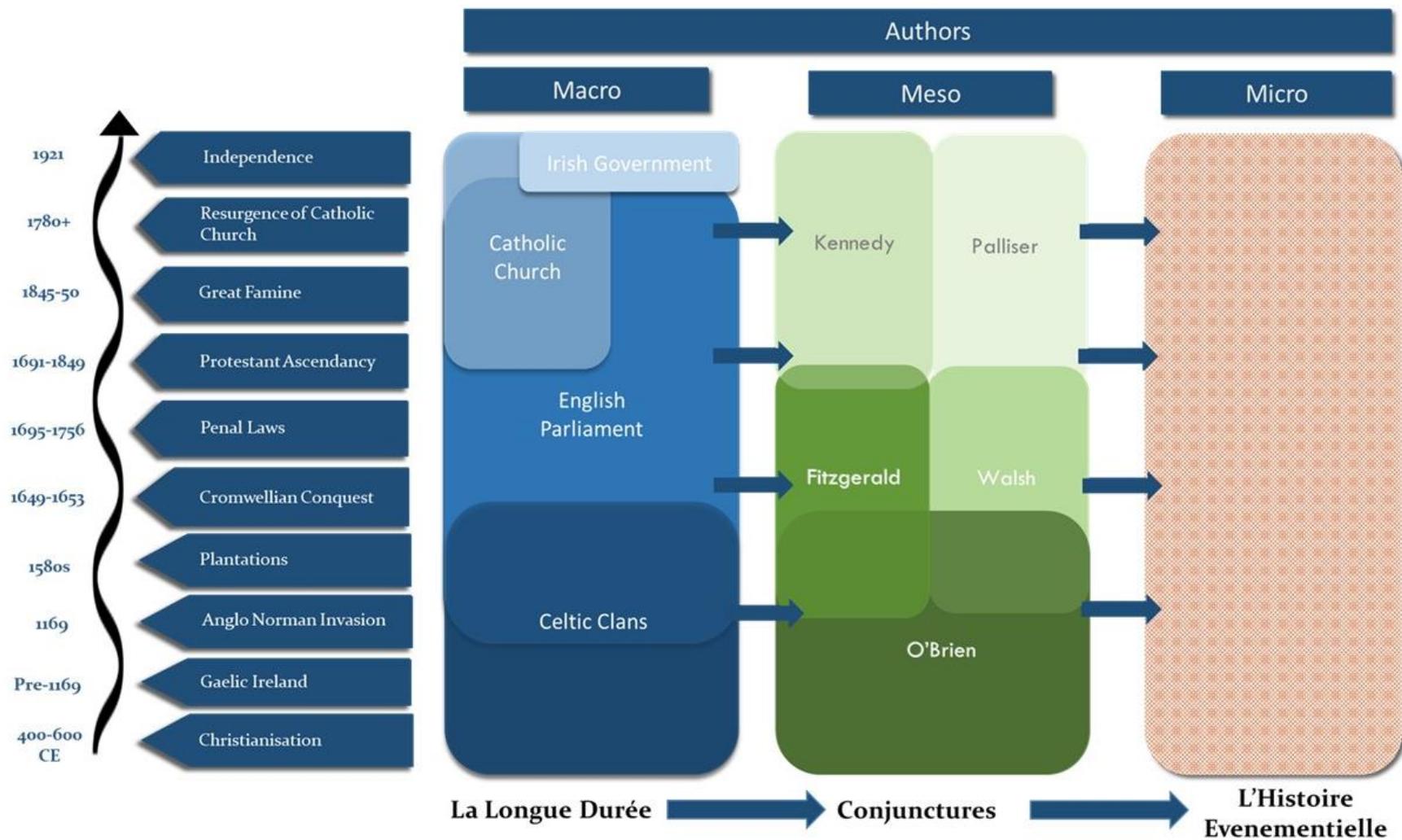
Figure 8.3: Diagrammatic form of the Irish landscape biography, including the historical transformations, the categorisation and identification of the main authors and their positioning according to Braudel's (1963, 1966) planes of time.

Figure 8.3 is a diagrammatic form of the Irish landscape biographical model which has incorporated the elements of the historical transformations from Figure 8.1, the categorisation and identification of authors relating to Kilrossanty from Figure 8.2 and then placing them within their temporal context.

The identification and categorisation of authors of this Irish landscape require some additional historical context. Ireland was unique in Western Europe, as a colonised nation, rather than enjoying the customary role of coloniser for which other European nations displayed great enthusiasm. There had been an English presence in Ireland since the Anglo Norman invasion in 1169, whose population influx had displaced the indigenous Gaelic Irish manorial centres. These first colonisers became known as the Old English and in the intervening 500 years became culturally intertwined with their Irish neighbours. From the 1550s, further settlers had been arriving from England creating new Plantations of Protestant communities bringing with them discriminatory laws against Catholics aimed specifically against the indigenous Gaelic Irish inhabitants. It was this New English ethnic group whose successors subsequently become the English Protestant Ascendancy (De Bhulbh, 1997; Foster, 1988; MacLysaght, 1985).

The macro authors were the prevailing authorities in the area, whom whilst they operated on a national and international stage, still considerably influenced events and the landscape on a local level. Unlike other biographies of New York, Shanghai or Carlsberg (De Certeau, 1984; Koren, 2015; Riesto, 2015; Samuels, 1979), there were no individual, named planners in Kilrossanty, but were more ideological and political institutions, such as the English government or the Catholic Church. The predominant macro authors on the landscape have altered over time alongside the historical transformations in which they played their respective parts. The indigenous Irish Celtic Clans were the primary major authors whose significant influence on the landscape palimpsest endures, as already noted, in the form of inter alia, ringforts, manorial settlements and deforestation. English colonial forces later imposed their authority on the country from 1169 until independence in 1921, bringing with them landlord's houses and infrastructure such as roads and railways. The religious authority of the Catholic Church wielded a meaningful influence upon the landscape of Kilrossanty and Ireland as a whole, particularly during the institution's resurgence from the late eighteenth

century. In Kilrossanty, this was evidenced for example, by the prominently placed chapel in Kilrossanty village and a holy cross positioned on top of the mountain overlooking the parish. One of the clearest examples of the Irish Government's influence on the landscape from national independence in 1921, existed in the establishment of social housing, such as the labourer's cottages and more recently, housing estates, as well as the ubiquitous modern bungalow (Aalen *et al.*, 1997; Duffy, 2007).

Whereas the macro authors would have had an influence over all landscapes on a national scale in Ireland, the meso authors' sphere would have largely been confined to a limited area within the parish and its immediate environs. For the purpose and simplification of this illustration, Kilrossanty's meso authors therefore have been condensed to the five largest landowning families, namely, O'Brien, Fitzgerald, Walsh, Palliser and Kennedy. These families were the largest landowners in the region waning or gaining in influence over varying periods of time. The O'Briens were representatives of the Gaelic Irish ethnic group; the Fitzgeralds and Walshs were Old English, whilst the Pallisers and Kennedys were New English. Whereas all of the families would have been classed as relative 'nobodies' within the wider national and international landscape, their relative position as 'elites' within the local environ of the parish was securely established. If this model of identifying the authors within a landscape biography were to be placed within any other region in Ireland, these major landowning families would be relatively easy to pinpoint, as the meso authors were invariably the political decision-makers, and so their actions and presence within the cultural and physical landscape is usually well documented.

It is worthy of note that the names of the meso authors tend to be restricted to the particular figures that history has decided to retain for posterity, usually wealthy, politically powerful males. Women's roles on a macro level would have been slim to non-existent, and whilst their presence is more noticeable on a meso level, (for example, as prominent figures within the landowning Fitzgerald family), the recording of their contribution to the landscape remains marginal. They would however, comprise half of the micro authors, albeit infinitely more challenging to identify, with their 'multiplicity of personal life stories' (De Jong, 2015).

The micro authors are those who inhabited and worked the land; they would not have been landowners or decision-makers and therefore their presence or actions may not have been formally recorded or included as part of the surviving records. Although they are often overlooked, their contribution to the landscape is significant consisting of, for example, individual dwellings, including structure remnants on the slopes of the mountain and the carving of paths and roads that exist between the settlements. To capture and record this myriad of undocumented connections and influences is of course impossible, however glimpses can be caught by tapping into the local community's knowledge of stories handed down through generations, facilitated by employing the transdisciplinary approach.

An invaluable surviving documentary source which also identified the micro authors at a pivotal moment in the Irish historical landscape, were the depositions arising from the 1641 Catholic rebellion (TCD, 2010). These remarkable documents, not only offer accounts of events during this period, they also give a rare insight into real human stories conjuring up the fear and anger in the aftermath of an incredibly tumultuous period in Irish history, giving names and voices to micro authors who otherwise would have been forgotten. The documents pertaining to Kilrossanty and their relevant authors are detailed in Chapter 5.

All three levels of authors are connected, consisting of a top-down approach; the macro feeds into the meso, national laws and customs are created and imposed upon the meso authors. In turn, the meso ensure that these cultural and legal rules are enforced by the micro authors on a local level. The influence would have largely only been in one direction, the smaller meso and micro players, particularly in a marginal region such as Kilrossanty, would have had very little to no influence on the overarching authorities in the period this thesis covers.

It is impossible however to acknowledge every author, which is an inherent weakness of the landscape biographical concept as, theoretically a true, complete version can never be achieved without a total inclusion and acknowledgement of all authors. Whereas incorporating authors' voices into the study develops a greater contextual flavour, an interpretative filter should be applied to acknowledge the inherent bias present in a landscape such as this, where ideological conflict has occurred.

8.3 Temporality of the Biography

The metaphor of a "biography" is slightly misleading as the term is most commonly used temporally in terms of a person's life, with a firm beginning and end. A landscape biography however is never-ending, dynamic and cyclical with no definitive start or finish point and is non-linear (Van der Knaap and Van der Valk, 2006; Van Manen *et al.*, 2016; Vervloet *et al.*, 2010); it is "to be understood as a narrative of transformation of meaning through time, rather than that of a life cycle" (Van Londen, 2006, p. 171). A longue durée approach allows for the extended temporal dimension of landscapes when compared with human life cycles (Crumley *et al.*, 2017; De Jong, 2015; Ingold, 2000; Kolen and Renes, 2015b; Roymans *et al.*, 2009).

To encompass the numerous transformations, a landscape biography is generally conducted over an extended time period, la longue durée, to enable a comprehensive examination of the underlying structures and patterns, the shaping of events rather than the individual events themselves (Crumley *et al.*, 2017; De Jong, 2015; Ingold, 2000; Kolen and Renes, 2015b; Roymans *et al.*, 2009). As Braudel (1963, p. 10) described, "The stage on which humanity's endless dramas are played out partly determines their story-line and explains their nature. The cast will alter but the set remains broadly the same". This temporal emphasis is approached differently in this Irish biography by placing a sharper focus on the 'cast' as well as the 'set'. To summarise Braudel's historical timescales:

1. *L'histoire evenementielle* refers to a rapid succession of events and of individuals' successive actions. Braudel however preferred to avoid this stance as he believed it lacked perspective as it concentrated on "contemporaries whose lives were as short and as short-sighted as ours" (Braudel, 1966, p. 21).
2. The intermediate stage of "*conjunctures*", which would rarely last longer than a few generations with a slow, but yet perceptible rhythm, a "social history, the history of groups and groupings" such as the study of a war (Braudel, 1966, pp.20).
3. The almost imperceptible passing of time of *la longue durée*, from which the structures and traditions of a subject can be discerned, "that of man in his relationship to the environment, a history in which all change is slow, a history of constant repetition, ever-recurring cycles." (Braudel, 1966, p. 20).

Figure 8.3 illustrated how the research planes of time were used in relation to the categorisation of authors. The research did cover approximately 250 years of history and the respective changes in landownership, settlements and cultural attitudes, and therefore did incorporate la longue durée in the measurement and recording of history as defined by Fernand Braudel (1966; 1963). The physical topography of Kilrossanty also suited longue durée principles because of the imperceptibly slow nature of change occurring in this marginal, sparsely inhabited, upland landscape. The lack of historical documentary sources, particularly for the eighteenth century also meant a bigger picture outlook was favourable to transcend the gaps in evidence.

It did however deviate from this established practice by incorporating elements of conjunctures and l'histoire evenementielle. This was necessary to capture the authorship of those with a smaller footprint, what this landscape biography has termed the meso and micro authors. This was evident with the focus on for example, the depositions from the 1641 Rebellion in Chapter 5. The individuals' accounts during a significant period of upheaval occurred over a relatively short period of time (eleven years from the commencement of the rebellion until the completion of Cromwell's conquest) and are contemporary voices retelling individual events. This Chapter therefore approached it as l'histoire evenementielle, and by doing so highlighted the main authors during this tumultuous period. The incorporation throughout the thesis of anecdotes and memories of members of the local community, meant l'histoire evenementielle timescale was unavoidable and also desirable.

8.4 Conclusion

This Chapter outlined the landscape biographical model for Kilrossanty compiled as a result of the empirical research which focused on landownership, settlements, the 1641 depositions and the subjective perceptions of the landscape. By identifying these, it allowed for the historical transformations and main authors to be identified and categorised. Such a simplistic model of course cannot encompass the entire history of a nation, nor the authors of its landscape and their relationship and conflict. It can however, offer a starting point for a landscape biography to be applied to other regions

in Ireland, as the structure of the transformations and author categorisations are relevant to landscapes across the country.

The discussion of the methodology, its empirical results and the possible replication of the model in other regions are discussed in more detail in the following Chapter.

Chapter 9 - Learning From the Landscape Biography

To draw together the conclusions of the research laid out in the previous Chapters, the original research question outlined in Chapter 2 should be revisited. Following the critical evaluation of the relevant literature relating to landscape, landscape biography theories and practice, as well as the Irish historical context, the question was asked, how therefore, can a landscape biography for an Irish landscape, be created?

In order to answer this question, the research focused on the micro-region of Kilrossanty parish as a case study or testing ground, to build a suitable model for future use in other Irish landscapes. The approach necessitated a fresh transdisciplinary methodology that was shaped around Ireland's unique historical perspective, whilst building upon the foundations of previous biographical studies in other countries, such as Jean *et al.* (2021); Kolen and Renes (2015b); Kolen *et al.* (2016); Palang *et al.* (2006); Roymans *et al.* (2009); Samuels (1979). The evaluation and analysis of relevant historical records, maps and information pertinent to the geographic area were analysed creatively (as posited by Augsburg (2014) and Bernstein (2015)) in order to maximise the potential of the available historical documentary sources and supplemented with local community knowledge.

From these sources, it was possible to create and analyse a series of GIS maps illustrating the historical physical, temporal, spatial and cultural changes in the landscape, based upon historical landownership, settlement patterns in the region, the activities of the inhabitants during the 1641 Catholic Rebellion, as well as an assessment of the landscape's use and re-use, as well as evaluating the value attributed to Kilrossanty's landscape. The people-place relationship was explored by conducting a number of interviews with members of the local community.

By evaluating all these themes and layers that encompassed Kilrossanty, it was possible to create a landscape biography model that illustrated the historical transformations of the region and also the identification and categorisation of the authors into macro, meso and micro. This can be used as a template for future research into other landscapes in Ireland. This new approach for an Irish landscape, is proposed as a possible alternative

or complementary addition to the current local authority adherence to the more rigid Landscape Character Assessments and/or Historic Landscape Characterisations and to reinvigorate the discussions around the National Landscape Strategy and landscape in Ireland.

This Chapter therefore is a reflection and evaluation of this overall research aim and objectives. It positions the research context within the wider frame of landscape studies, the precedence of landscape biographies that have been carried out in other territories, as well as its relevance within planning policy in Ireland. The lessons learned from the research's methodology in Chapter 3 are outlined, as well as the key empirical findings from the research conducted which were outlined in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7. Chapter 8 was the culmination of the research to bring diagrammatic order to this landscape biography in terms of its historical transformations and the categorisation of its main authors, which and whom had been identified through the research laid out in the preceding Chapters. The conceptual biographical model is examined particularly in the local context of Kilrossanty, and how the layers or themes within the preceding Chapters can fit within it, and subsequently the potential and relevance for its replication for other landscapes in Ireland.

9.1 Kilrossanty as a Template

The research into a landscape biography was applied to the specified micro region of Kilrossanty parish in County Waterford. The area was initially selected because of the researcher's familiarity with the area and members of its community which had been developed by the focus groups and interviews conducted as part of the Hercules Interreg-funded Sense of Place project in 2012. This previous research into the area had revealed that its marginality meant vestiges of layers of the landscape palimpsest were often visible and accessible, compared with a more developed area, comparable with Robinson's (2008) description of a "deep place".

The initial proposal for the thesis incorporated the whole of the Comeragh Mountains, although as the research began it was soon realised that the area would be too large to cover in any depth to produce quality results. Spatial boundaries were necessary and therefore it was narrowed down to the civil and religious denomination of Kilrossanty

parish. This was the region most familiar to the researcher and consisted of a mixture of upland and lowland, which had the potential to introduce interesting elements of land use and perceptions. The existence of clear parish and townland boundaries in Ireland, which have survived largely in situ for centuries, were extremely helpful as regards its temporal mapping and investigation.

The parish of Kilrossanty was a suitable region in which to test out a landscape biography for the first time in Ireland. Its slow pace of change meant remnants of significant historical features remained visible within its palimpsest, compared with other regions where a greater amount of physical development has taken place. This was complemented with a cohesive, strong sense of place within its community, which facilitated an effective transdisciplinary approach. This was clearly not a region that was particularly threatened by urban encroachment or large-scale change or development, such as some of the other areas that had been the subject of a biographical study, for example Drentsche Aa or Carlsberg (as outlined by Elerie and Spek (2010) and Riesto (2015) respectively). Nevertheless, it had been subjected to great changes historically as Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 have described and was a suitable template to sketch out the biographical methodology for Ireland.

Additional interest in the region arose from the location of Kilrossanty in County Waterford in the south east of the island. This is a county which would not traditionally be perceived as an Irish "cultural hearth" (Wylie, 2012, p. 369). This perception is generally reserved for the western reaches of the island, such as Connemara or the Aran Islands, and hence County Waterford is often overlooked in terms of historical studies. This previous neglect made the area worthy of a fresh focus.

9.2 Ireland's Landscape

The structure of Chapter 2, which reviewed the existing literature and research, took the form of an inverted pyramid, beginning from the general overview of previous landscape studies, followed by a more focused discussion of the history, theory and practical application of the landscape biographical concept. The attention was then turned to Ireland's landscape and how it had previously been studied academically and the extent to which it had been referred to and applied in Irish governmental policy.

The specificities of regional landscape studies was summarised, and in particular how Kilrossanty parish as a subject matter had been researched. The aim of this review was to position the research of this thesis within the overarching contextual framework to determine its relevance and applicability both theoretically and practically.

9.2.1 The Thesis Position within Landscape Studies

Due to its ambiguity and lack of a clear, defining definition of landscape as a concept, threads were teased out from the existing literature as laid out in Section 2.2, which, it was determined, were the most relevant to this landscape study of Kilrossanty. They are worth repeating here,

- its integrating, interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary nature together with the necessity of embracing a range of disciplines to attempt to capture landscape's 'essence';
- the ever-changing multi-layered palimpsest;
- its subjectivity and shift in meaning depending on the observer;
- 'ways of seeing' (Wylie, 2007) the landscape, particularly involving the concept of colonialism and ideology which are most relevant to Ireland; and
- landscape as a lifeworld as the lived-in and dwelt-in experience of the landscape.

Reflecting upon this large body of work which has explored the theoretical definition of landscape from numerous perspectives, Ingold's (1993) theory on dwelling space and taskscape had great synergy with the type of research carried out within this thesis. It chimed particularly regarding the emphasis on authors and their activities in creating and inhabiting a living and working place, rather than an abstract environment or space viewed from the outside. The methodology, outlined in Chapter 3, also synthesised with this perspective on a landscape, in terms of the necessity of applying the transdisciplinary approach to capture the details and experience of the individuals who "dwell" and create a "taskscape" within a region. The "taskscape" incorporates the visible materiality of a landscape such as paths and buildings, and also its intangible elements, in which the inhabitants and authors have ascribed their own meaning and perspective. This "dwelling perspective" has affinities with the lifeworld concept, and

therefore justifies the phenomenological part of the methodology, which enables a better understanding of how the landscape is so inextricably intertwined with human activity. Ingold's (1993) stance on the temporality of landscape has had a significant influence upon the course of this research, in that it cannot be contemplated as a string of sequential events, but rather the past, present and future are entangled and one cannot be viewed in isolation without the others being taken into account. Thus, the thesis is laid out in thematic Chapters rather than a chronological account of events that took place in Kilrossanty.

9.2.2 Landscape biographies

The theoretical deconstruction of landscape studies in Section 2.2, allowed for the landscape biography approach to be positioned and defined within the overarching subject matter, which determined its applicability as an approach for Kilrossanty's landscape, as well as its potential for other Irish regions.

The existing literature detailing biographical studies that had been carried out in other countries, provided the framework and background for this research. The studies included in the review were of landscapes situated, for example, in the Netherlands (Bloemers, 2010; De Kleijn *et al.*, 2016; Kolen and Renes, 2015a; Roymans *et al.*, 2009), Copenhagen (Riesto, 2015) and the UK (Gillings and Pollard, 2015). Each of course were subject to their own set of authors and national transformations, however this selection were all Western European countries, and most importantly, were positioned within a very different historical perception in relation to their colonial past. Therefore it is argued, despite it being geographically distant and ecologically dissimilar to Ireland, the landscape biography study of regions such as Fort Liberté in Haiti (Jean *et al.*, 2021) has actually more in common with Ireland's transformations and author categorisations, than its closest European neighbours. The historical and cultural layers in both Haiti and Ireland's landscape have been formed and characterised by conflicting and competing forces that have in turn superseded and attempted to submerge and subvert the indigenous powers throughout its varying transformations, subsequently followed by a national political independence.

9.2.3 Irish landscape studies

The first and probably the greatest challenge when this research was initially being compiled, was the lack of prominence and precedence of dedicated literature solely focused upon Irish landscape studies. With the exception of Duffy's (2007; 2017a; b) historical and cultural work and Robinson (Robinson, 1997; 2007; 2008) having dedicated half a lifetime to a region in western Ireland, extensive research into the interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary multi-layered, human-environment interaction form of Irish landscape is limited.

The intention by this statement is not to diminish all the extensive and valuable work on inter alia, settlements (Aalen *et al.*, 1997; Evans, 1957; 1973; McCourt, 1971; Whelan, 1983; 2004; 2012), landownership (Foster, 1988; Smyth, 2006) and estate design (Dooley, 2001; O'Kane, 2004a; b; 2016a; b), religion (Walsham, 2011; 2012; Whelan, 1983; 1988) and local history (Burtchaell, 1986; 1992; Ketch, 1986a; b; 1992; Sile Murphy, 1982; Sean Murphy, 1982; Murphy and Murphy, 1999; 1981). It is simply to remark that the subject matter is not usually placed within the landscape context, and often regards landscape as a space rather than a place; within the theoretical context that spaces are more open and less undefined, while places are often charged with meaning and emotional association (Tuan, 1977, p. 3).

9.2.4 Irish landscape policy and application

The review of how landscape has been approached in terms of Irish governmental policy revealed how lacking it has been in its application as a concept both on a national and local level. For example, Action 2 (i) within the National Landscape Strategy pertaining to one of its objectives of "Develop a Landscape Character Assessment" specifies that it will create, "A data framework on a national GIS platform to provide the structure for on-going collection, monitoring and review of the landscape's *physical* - including soils and water catchment - scientific, ecological, biodiversity and cultural data" [my emphasis] (Department of Arts Heritage and the Gaeltacht, 2015, p. 17). This research argues that there should not be a sole emphasis on the physical but a comprehensive account of a landscape that also includes the intangible, which Wylie (2006, p. 520) terms the "sensibilities", as well as its authors. Highlighting the authors' contribution

would also have a positive impact upon another of the NLS's objectives of strengthening public participation. Action 17 aims to "Raise awareness among and encourage direct involvement by civil society, voluntary organisations and the commercial sector in augmenting and analysing the information within their local Landscape Character Assessments, to develop a detailed picture of the qualities, values, condition, character, strengths and threats to the landscapes where they live, work and spend time, and from which they derive their living" (Department of Arts Heritage and the Gaeltacht, 2015, p. 23). The biographical approach to a landscape with a strong transdisciplinary focus on its current and past authors' "dwelling" and "taskscape" would add a greater depth to this objective.

The greatest obstacle to achieving these objectives however, is that the momentum of the National Landscape Strategy has stalled partly due to governmental departmental changes and arguably also a wider lack of appetite and understanding of the definition and importance of landscape as a concept, compounded by the challenges imposed by Covid-19.

The existing policies have placed a strong focus on the development of landscape character assessments and historic landscape characterisations with their rigid classifications, which, particularly in the case of the LCAs, are guided by the UK system and categories. It is argued moreover that by relying on these methods, the emphasis is placed predominantly on the one-dimensional physicality of the landscape and fails to address the underlying complexities of the cultural and historical landscape, including the movement, displacement and absence present in the Irish landscape. It is proposed that introducing a landscape biographical approach to the Irish landscape will offer a greater contextual assessment of the dynamic nature of the relationship and connection between a community and its landscape, including the effects of the country's colonisation.

It is in this gap that this thesis is positioned, adding to the existing literature on Irish landscapes as well as offering a complementary addition to the current governmental policy, which maintains a sole focus on the more rigid, one-dimensional landscape character assessments. It is proposed by this thesis that a landscape biography is a more

appropriate vehicle or "interface" to use for an Irish landscape because it is better able to capture the idiosyncrasies and complexities of these cohabiting and competing communities of colonised and colonisers and their respective traces in the landscape.

9.3   Methodological Guidelines

Chapter 3 outlined a methodological framework, including the practical methods necessary to achieve the objectives. At the outset of this research, there were no firm methodological guidelines to follow that would enable the creation of a landscape biography for Ireland, and following the review of the literature detailing other biographical studies in different countries, it became apparent that there was no "one size fits all" structure that could be applied to this complex, multi-layered concept. Thus, as part of this thesis, a new methodology was structured which was based upon Kolen *et al.* (2016) and their concept of a landscape biography being an interface, as it is in computer terminology of being the connecting device which is used to interact (in this research) with the operating systems of transdisciplinarity and hermeneutic phenomenology and postphenomenology. The diagram illustrating the methodological structure has been replicated below as Figure 9.1 for ease of reference.

For the methodology to be replicated to other regions, the landscape biography interface would remain, together with the transdisciplinary approach, whilst the epistemological elements would be interchangeable depending on the disciplinary nature and bias of future researcher(s), which would in turn steer the practical methods of the study.

Each of these elements will be explored in more detail in turn.
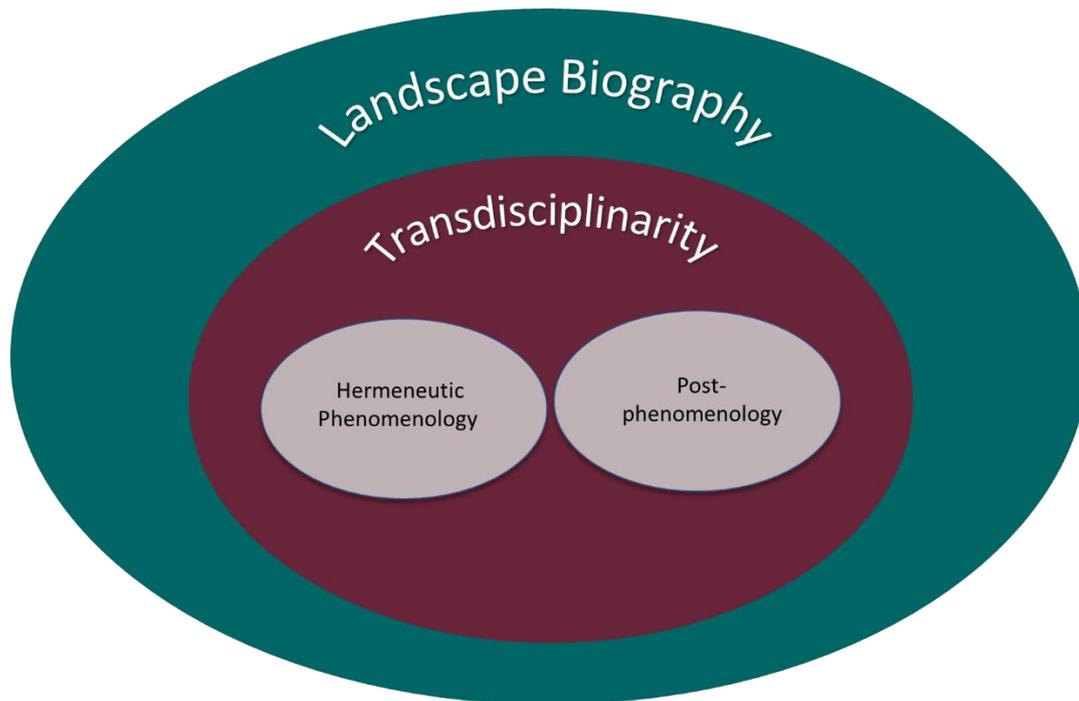
Figure 9.1: Diagram to illustrate the thesis methodology as outlined in Chapter 3

9.3.1 Landscape Biography Interface

The methodological foundation for this research was the landscape biography "interface" which acted as the communicating mechanism allowing the operating systems to function and interact. The research followed the five operational principles, advocated by Roymans *et al.* (2009) and Kolen *et al.* (2016), as the starting guidelines, namely, a historicising approach, a life history created by authors, the long-term dimensions of landscape transformations, ensuring the relevance of the landscape biography and operating beyond disciplines. These offered some general structure and a framework for the research to be conducted within.

9.3.2 Transdisciplinarity

Within the landscape biography interface lies the transdisciplinary approach, which was a symbiotic and essential element of this research. It felt self-evident to enter into a collaboration with Kilrossanty's community to be able to "read" and understand the landscape more effectively, particularly one where the population tends to be so deep-rooted and enduring as is the case in this region. By tapping into this memory and using

their voices and listening to a few of the "multiplicity of personal life stories" (De Jong, 2015), the research moved into semi-autobiographical realms because the community was, in part, telling their own story.

The transdisciplinary approach for this study was partly achieved by conducting informal semi-structured interviews with members of Kilrossanty's local community. They offered practical information about features such as abandoned buildings within the landscape, directions to get to hard to find sites as well as anecdotes about their former inhabitants. This was particularly of benefit in providing insights into some micro authors. The information often filled the gaps within the historic or contemporary official records, either as a result of the information gaps that had occurred from the wholescale destruction of archival records in 1922, together with the general lack of relevant material related to this marginal region whose economic value was historically been deemed of low value.

The transdisciplinary approach was also in play with the consultation of documentary narratives such as the National Schools' Collection, the Bureau of Military Collection, as well as the recorded depositions from the 1641 Catholic Rebellion.

All of these sources offered insights into the community's perception of their landscape and their identity. Irish landscapes and their inhabitants lend themselves well to this approach as there exists a strong social fabric, which retains collective memories and nurtures a strong sense of place. The voices within this research, together with their neighbours, are the landscape's authors and are deeply ingrained within *their* landscape, topography influences their actions and movements, whilst their imprint onto the land creates a local collective memory.

Transdisciplinarity is intrinsic to effective landscape studies, and particularly for biographies of "collecting narratives and meanings" (Bloemers, 2010; Kolen and Renes, 2015b). The focus on the landscape's authors, their perception and actions, in Samuels's (1979) terminology, the landscapes of impression and expression. Whilst it adopted an opposing standpoint to De Certeau who observed Manhattan from out of the "city's grasp" high up in the World Trade Centre (De Certeau, 1984, p. 92), whilst watching "the ordinary practitioners" living what he believed was "below the thresholds at which

visibility begins" (De Certeau, 1984, p. 93). This research aimed to avoid a study where it is solely a researcher examining from above the elements that make up the landscape, but instead aimed to include the grassroots viewpoint, a type of complementary bottom-up approach.

Whereas any study of landscape would not be complete without including the voices of its authors, in practice, synthesising the pluralistic elements of its approach is not without its challenges, which are important to acknowledge to achieve an understanding and achieve a workable methodology for future studies.

The researcher's positionality must also be considered and recognised in this context of the data collected. The interviewer is white, female and English, whilst the interviewees were a mixture of male and female, all were Irish and claimed ancestry to the same region for several generations. It is acknowledged that, although the interviewer was already known to the participants from previous work, the responses given were likely filtered for an 'English outsider', particularly when discussing previous societal conflicts.

Specific skillsets were required for the interaction with participants, with their interviews to encourage their participation and then to establish their trust and build a rapport that could promote a flow of valuable information and knowledge. This researcher had an established prior connection with the region, having worked and met with some of the participants before, including holding focus groups, interviews and conversations exploring their sense of place, which opened other doors for further interviews. If this had not been the case then extra visits would certainly have been needed to build a relationship sufficient to have an adequate knowledge share.

The information and knowledge gained from the participants was of course subjective and at times extremely sensitive. The community is a geographically small and closely-knit, and the participants knew each other and as observed in Section 3.5.2.3, there was crossover in stories and anecdotes, retelling past events. Some of these stories could be enormously damaging to relations within the community group, and therefore the role of ethical considerations and confidentiality was taken extremely seriously and good common sense judgement was used in what to include and exclude in the research findings and analysis, particularly following the OHNI's ethos of "Above all do no harm"

(Oral History Network of Ireland, 2021). There were therefore a number of elements within the interview data that the researcher decided to not include in this thesis, as although they would have contributed to the portrait of the cultural perception of the region, the sensitivity and potential damage they could have caused to the community fabric was too great a risk.

The guiding principle of transdisciplinarity is that information gathered from academic and non-academic sources are to be treated with equal weight and discernment (Mobjork, 2010; Shuttleworth, 2017; Shuttleworth and Palang, 2017; Tress and Tress, 2001; Winder, 2003). During the course of the research however, it was apparent that judgement was required to assess the gathered information and its reliability and applicability to the research of conducting the landscape biography, necessitating a process of "quality control" (Gibbons *et al.*, 1994; Nowotny *et al.*, 2003). Of course there can be no wrong answer in terms of sense of place or belonging and the situation of features in the landscape were indisputable and valuable including the stories behind them, which can be interpreted as local folklore. It also transpired that if a story was found to not be completely factually correct when cross-referenced with documentary sources, it often was the first time an event had been brought to my attention and therefore still very much of use.

One of the challenges however of a transdisciplinary study, is to decide on how and where to establish the relevant parameters to the data collection, namely where does one stop? In principle, there could be a limitless process of interviewing, "a dialogic process, an intense (and perhaps endless) 'conversation' between research actors and research subjects" (Nowotny *et al.*, 2003, p. 187). In the case of this research, practical factors constrained the number of interviews with Covid-19 restrictions as well as the academic evaluation that sufficient knowledge from the interviews had been attained to adequately complement the knowledge attained from the traditional documentary sources.

9.3.3 Hermeneutic Phenomenology

A prominent feature of transdisciplinarity is that it embraces an "epistemological pluralism" (Mitchell and Willetts, 2009). The landscape biography interface also allows

for this flexibility in approaches. This flexibility however can translate into complexity when trying to pin down and focus on appropriate methodologies. As illustrated in the methodological diagram in Figure 9.1, this research adopted primarily the hermeneutic phenomenological as well as the postphenomenological approaches.

Hermeneutic phenomenology was appropriate for this research because the philosophical grounds of phenomenology is the study of the lived experience, which is appropriate for landscape studies of that immersion within our environment of the lifeworld. It is a world to live in, not just one to observe. This aspect is fundamental for the research carried out in Chapter 5 in the exploration of the experiences of those people during the 1641 Catholic Rebellion, Chapter 6 of Kilrossanty's dwelling spaces, and especially in the work in Chapter 7 of the varying perspectives of how the landscape has been perceived.

Temporally, phenomenology also synergises with the landscape biographical model laid out in Chapter 8, that time is not a string of linear now moments, but that the present lifeworld is held together by its past and future. The thematic structure of the biography suits this as well as the application of Braudel's (1966; 1963) planes of time. In general terms, the longue durée element is necessary to view the structural changes initiated by the macro authors, conjunctures for the significant generational events predominantly enacted by the meso authors, whilst l'histoire evenementielle is appropriate to view individual activities, particularly of the micro authors.

The incorporation of the hermeneutic circle approach allowed for the individual's, or author's, actions to be interpreted within the context of a background or historicality in order to achieve better understanding. This therefore emphasised the value of identifying the historical transformations, which were similar to the prevailing societal norms of the épistémè, within which the authors acted and were shaped. This contextual element was particularly applicable to Chapter 4 and the shape and patterns of landownership which did not incorporate any micro authors, but only the actions of the historical institutional macro and local authoritative meso authors.

The postphenomenological application within the research actually overlapped with the principles of the hermeneutic circle interpretation, in that it placed authors' actions

within a wider post-structural frame, which helped to structure the longue durée events alongside conjuncture and l'histoire evenementielle. It too is about contextualising authors' actions into Wylie's (2006) "aboutness".

If a landscape biography was carried out by a different researcher with their own bias and discipline expertise, then other epistemologies could be incorporated within the model. A more pragmatic approach for example, would certainly be more applicable if there was an emphasis on the geology, pedology or overall ecological elements within the research. However, for it to remain a biography of the landscape, as a narrative and story, the societal layers would still need to be incorporated into the research, which would retain the phenomenological approach. The physicality element of the landscape would be a part of the hermeneutic circle and postphenomenology as they could offer some insight into, for example, the background into land use and perceptions, which would synergise with Wylie's (2006, p. 520) description of the combination of landscape's "materialities and sensibilities".

9.3.4 Methods

Similarly with the methodology, the development of a landscape biography allowed for scope in the creativity of its methods. This was advantageous as it offered flexibility in how it was structured, and how less conventional sources could and should be utilised to reveal the layers of the landscape's palimpsest, and was necessary to synthesise physical and cultural data. This flexibility however, did bring some challenges with the lack of guidelines and structure, in for instance, where to begin the research and where it should end. Consequently a process of trial and error was engaged when evaluating the practical methods and sources that were best suited for the biography.

The frustrating lack of documentary sources, particularly relating to the period of the eighteenth century was due to archival gaps, both locally and also in Ireland as a whole. In addition, Kilrossanty was considered a marginal area with a small population and therefore was often overlooked or considered not worthy of recording. Other less marginal areas would be likely to have more relevant documentary sources. Nevertheless sources such as the nineteenth century Ordnance Survey maps and the associated Griffith's Valuation, offered great intricate detail of the physical and

ideological landscape, which only occurred because of the bureaucracy and process of colonisation.

In the original thesis proposal, it was anticipated that UAV drone footage was to be used in a more substantial way than actually transpired in the resulting study. It was ultimately determined that whereas it was beneficial for illustrative purposes, for example, clearly showing the contrast in landscape, it was not so useful in highlighting hidden features even if their location was known beforehand. It was attempted to find the abandoned settlement in Glendalligan with the drone, but it was not possible due to overgrown vegetation and also the large area that needed to be covered. The large physically ubiquitous area, without many substantial landmark features, made the drone flying challenging, as it was difficult for the pilot to judge distances and direction. Nevertheless, its use offered a necessary visual overview of the landscape for a reader not familiar with the area.

As referred to above, creative methods for a biography also required creative analytical processes, which is why the technological tools of Excel, Nvivo and GIS were used for temporal and spatial comparison. These allowed for effective analysis, interpretation and presentation. They also allowed for quantitative data to be organised and extracted from qualitative sources.

9.4 Biography Layers

Research was conducted into Kilrossanty's historical landownership and settlement patterns, involvement within the Catholic Rebellion in 1641 and the representation and perception of the local landscape from a variety of viewpoints. Documentary research and fieldwork were combined with interviews within the local community to create a transdisciplinary methodology and conceptual model to illustrate a landscape biography of Kilrossanty. These themes or biographical layers were compiled using the available sources for Kilrossanty, which would also, theoretically, be available for other Irish landscapes. In actuality, it is likely that there would be a greater quantity of relevant sources for other regions that were less marginal.

The themes for this landscape biography of Kilrossanty, which comprised each of the prior Chapters were:

- the considerable temporal shift of landownership from the hands of Gaelic Irish families to the wholescale possession of the Old and New English settlers in the seventeenth century, followed by a comparison to the landowning position in the nineteenth century;

- individual participation and narratives arising from the Catholic 1641 Rebellion, a pivotal moment in the subsequent colonisation of the island;

- the change and movement of settlements in this upland landscape as the result of national and local socio-economic influences;

- an exploration of the reciprocal relationship between the landscape and its inhabitants, particularly how the landscape influenced the diverse groups of authors, and its relevant rearrangement and reuse of the landscape.

As previously outlined, there were no hard and fast rules about which elements to focus on to compile a landscape biography. It has previously been applied specifically to archaeological sites and monuments to explore their life histories and the changing in perception (Edmonds, 1999; Gillings and Pollard, 2015), short term developments in highly urban areas like New York (Samuels, 1979), or ecologically valuable areas like wetlands (Gomez, 1998). Whereas wide-ranging transdisciplinary projects such as Drentsche Aa with a substantial research team produced an online cultural digital atlas including a field names project (Elerie and Spek, 2010). Riesto (2015) explored the micro-region of Carlsberg and its change in use and perception from an industrial community to a leisure offering. Jean *et al.* (2021) looked at archaeological surveys to capture the historic built development in Fort-Liberté in Haiti. The intrinsic theme to all the research projects however are about capturing the physical and perceptual layers within the landscape's palimpsest, and their relationship with each other and their reciprocal relationship with their inhabitants.

These particular themes in the thesis, were chosen because they portrayed a combination of the structural shifts, the historical transformations, how they occurred and how they affected the landscape, as well as the individual, household-level authors and activities. The research used the available records which enabled the identification

of the authors within their varying categories or macro, meso or micro, which subsequently allowed for the Irish landscape biographical model to be conceptualised.

These next Sections will summarise the empirical research conducted in Chapters, 4, 5 6 and 7 and position the themes that they represent into the landscape biography conceptual model laid out in Chapter 8. It will also place them within the context outlined by Van der Knaap and Van der Valk (2006) who described four perspectives that lend a landscape biography its "power" by incorporating a physical dimension, a chronological dimension, a dimension of socially determined meaning and an institutional dimension.

9.4.1 Landownership Layer

The first part of Chapter 4 presented the historical landownership patterns of Kilrossanty parish, as documented in the Civil Survey and Book of Survey and Distribution from 1640 to 1670 through a series of choropleth maps. It then identified and mapped the landownership position as recorded in the Griffith's Valuation from the late nineteenth century. In both time periods, the ethnicity of the landowner was recorded and mapped, according to their family name.

Most notably, the maps illustrated the significant shift in ethnicity of the landowners in the seventeenth century in Kilrossanty. In 1640, 45% of landowners were Gaelic Irish families, 35% were Old English, whilst the remaining was classified as Common or Glebe land (Figure 4.5). By mapping the proprietors with GIS, it was possible to show that the despite there being proportionately more Irish landowners, their territory was situated on the higher slopes of the parish, and more likely to be poorer, less profitable agricultural soils. By 1670, thirty years later, the entire parish had transferred into English hands. This pattern was largely replicated in the wider county of Waterford and the island (Burtchaell, 1986; Canny, 2001; Smyth, 2006).

Within the landscape biographical transformations model, this period spanned the temporal layer of the Cromwellian conquest, paving the way for the succeeding transformations of colonial rule to take place. In terms of the authors, it displayed how the change of macro authors directly altered the meso authors of the landowning

families. This act of colonisation represented an historical transformation of the final removal of the Celtic Clans macro authors to be replaced with the authority of English Parliament. This was reflected on the meso author level by the shift away from the O'Briens to the dominance of the Walsh and Fitzgerald families.

There was a challenge within this research, which was ultimately not resolved, to connect the two time periods in the landownership Chapter, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, mainly due to the lack of documentary sources. More research would need to be carried out to join the threads of the two periods. Glimpses have been made of possible connections, for example it was believed that the Pallisers were descendants through marriage from one of the Adventurers who were rewarded with land in Kilrossanty.

By the time of the compilation of the Griffith's Valuation in the late nineteen century, the type of names had changed once more. The research revealed, as illustrated in Figure 4.11, that 43% of landowners have Gaelic Irish or Catholic-affiliated names, whilst 55% were attributed to English or Protestant-affiliated names. Sherlock is the only family name that appeared in both this period and the nineteenth century.

The period covered the Protestant Ascendancy transformation in the landscape biography model, and the landownership pattern reflected the easing of the Penal Laws to allow Catholics to own land. The majority of the land was documented as being owned by Sir Edward Kennedy Bart and Colonel Palliser (as illustrated in Figure 4.10). Further research could be carried out to determine the origins of these main landowners and their familial connections with the area. Searches in the National Archives of Ireland and a conversation with the current owner of Comeragh House as well as local historians unfortunately did not reveal the location or even the existence of the local estate maps for the Pallisers (S.&S. Murphy 2019, pers comm, 18 January; C. Holmes 2019, pers comm, 22 January). An article in the Munster Express stated that the Palliser books and papers were destroyed when the house was burnt in 1923 (Phelan, 2003), whilst Clive Holmes believed "they had been stolen by the locals" (C. Holmes 2019, pers comm, 22 January).

The shifts in landownership away from Irish Catholic to English Protestant, affected the physical, vertical dimension of the landscape, with the change of the meso authors' dwellings away from the previous structures of the manor houses to be replaced with the construction of the Big Houses and their surround walls as well as new places of worship. Some of these physical changes are explored in Chapter 6 exploring the region's dwelling space. The changes also involved the institutional and social dimensions to the landscape, with the authority moving violently from a Gaelic and Old English society to a New English rule, accompanied by the associated institutional infrastructure and societal norms, as the fabric and make up of society moved to be dominated economically and politically by the New English.

9.4.2 The Catalyst - Catholic Rebellion of 1641

Using the technological tools of GIS and Nvivo, Chapter 5 mapped and analysed the individual participation and narratives that arose from the 1641 Catholic Rebellion as recorded in the witness depositions that related to actions carried out by inhabitants of Kilrossanty. These narratives which were recounted offered rare personal experiences of a pivotal moment in the colonisation of the island. This research provided a contribution to knowledge as this was the first time the depositions have been analysed in this way particularly on a local level.

This Chapter differed from the others that have comprised Kilrossanty's biography as the Catholic Rebellion and its repercussions acted as a catalyst event which resulted in the passing from one macro author to another, that is, from the final demise of the Celtic clans to the predominance of English Parliament. The Chapter detailed the authors' actions and movement at a household level as opposed to the changes at a structural and institutional level, as outlined with the landownership patterns in the previous Chapter. Instead, it presented a unique and valuable opportunity to report the specific actions of some historical micro authors and, by mapping their actions and movement, it allowed us to view their mutual interaction as well as the interaction with their landscape at a time of an important structural transformational shift.

By including this Chapter, it offered a rare example of the micro authors affecting the meso, which disrupted the macro authors, inverting the usual top-down influence with

the author categorisation in Figure 8.2, which was not the case in the other Chapters or biographical themes in this thesis. The research therefore reflected a socially determined dimension of a biography, which marked the occasion that one societal authority superseded another, together with the corresponding institutions, notions, rules and organisation leaders.

The narrative therefore operated on an histoire evenementielle temporal plane as it chronicled the course of individuals' activity who originated from Kilrossanty parish. These individually small actions all culminated however, in a structural shift in the political and cultural environment on the local and national scale. Whilst the witnesses recorded were predominantly from the New English ethnic group and contained their inevitable bias, they were nevertheless human stories and the community's voices. The research therefore synergises with the methodological transdisciplinarity of incorporating and appreciating the value of non-academic knowledge alongside traditional academic data (Mobjork, 2010; Shuttleworth, 2017; Shuttleworth and Palang, 2017; Tress and Tress, 2001; Winder, 2003). Their stories certainly fit within the definition of a "multiplicity of personal life stories" (De Jong, 2015).

9.4.3 Dwelling Layer

 Chapter 6 explored the settlement patterns within Kilrossanty parish, by outlining their temporal and spatial changes in the form of their expansion or contraction, as well as their disappearance, particularly in relation to the topography of the landscape. Many of the changes occurred as a result of the direct influence of the prevailing dominant socio-economic forces. Within the context of this biographical thesis, these are the macro authors, such as the Protestant Ascendancy with the imposition of the phenomenon of landlordism, as well as the debilitating enforcement of the Penal Laws on the Catholic Church followed by their subsequent relaxation. Moreover the actions by the macro and meso authors, particularly during the Great Famine, and the continuing poverty and hardship into the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, resulted in the abandonment of some of the settlements as individuals and families migrated out of the area. The macro authors' influence was extremely far-

reaching on a local level, and was exemplified within the lasting settlement patterns in Kilrossanty.

Although it was these absolute macro and meso authors who generally dictated the form and structure of the settlements, it was nevertheless the actions and movement of the micro authors who created the smaller buildings including the form of the cluster settlements such as Ballintlea. They were also the authors of the bohreens and paths between the settlements and farmland. The nature of their usage and their perceived importance has changed as well; when a settlement disappeared, so too did the track leading to it go out of use, apart from farmers and animals. Some, such as the bohreen leading to Glendalligan (as in Figure 6.17), have become completely overgrown and are inaccessible. As dependence on the car has increased, the main paved roads are the most travelled, and the abandoned sites are circumnavigated.

The history of the study of rural Irish settlements and their patterns dated back to Estyn Evans in 1939 and has been continued since with different regional and temporal focuses, in the context of the authoritative and socio-economic influences. Burtchaell (1986; 1992) and Ketch (1986b; 1986a; 1987; 1992) in particular have focused on the settlements of County Waterford and Kilrossanty respectively and provided the contextual background for this research. This research differed by exploring the participatory position of Kilrossanty's landscape with the authors' everyday routines. Thus the title and theme of this Chapter was drawn from Ingold's (1993, p.152) "dwelling perspective", "as an enduring record of – and testimony to – the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in so doing, have left there something of themselves". The existence of the settlements as dwellings therefore, comprise, and are as a result of, the activities carried out by their inhabitants and authoritative elements, which have interrelated with their landscape, each other and the non-human activity. Their actions are in effect, Ingold's (1993) "taskscape". This landscape biography categorised the interrelated authors and groups to place some definition and substance around their varying reciprocal influences on the landscape. It is for this reason that the research did not include the individual population data contained within the censuses, but instead focused on the quantity and types of settlements, as a reflection of the dwelling perspective and taskscape activity in Kilrossanty parish. From this, some

of the patterns were established of how the interaction between the authors have made a physical impact on the landscape.

There is a temporal fluidity to Ingold's dwelling space, which does not follow a straight-line chronology. This too is the case with Husserl's (1936) phenomenology of not comprising of a series "now-moments", but rather the present, past and future are all linked and each impacts and affects the other. From a practical point of view, the temporal parameters of the Chapter were constrained by the availability of the documentary resources, which resulted in a general focus on the historic Ordnance Survey maps of the late nineteenth century, supplemented with the transdisciplinary methodology of information gathered from the local community.

This temporal fluidity was reflected in Kilrossanty's material landscape where, in places, the traces of historical physical settlement features sit alongside each other. There is an ever-present reminder of former authors, amongst which the current community live and take for granted. There are, for example, tangible imprints in existence with the remnants of Barnakile castle, estimated to have been built in the fifteenth century and scene of a decisive battle in the seventeenth century, now situated in farmland. The numerous Gaelic-Irish rural settlement forms of the ringforts dating from 500 CE to 1500, also shaped today's landscape, as these former individual holdings are thought to have been the origins of the townlands, whose structural borders remain largely extant today. The shape of fields and roads also often follow their circumference. More recent traces are also present of the abandoned buildings, described in Section 6.3.5 which are subject to what Cal Flynn terms "rewilding", as "humans draw back and nature reclaims what once was hers" (Flynn, 2021, p. 7).

This "rewilding" is an indication of the future element of the fluid temporality on the dwelling space. Duffy (1999) had listed twenty factors that affected the character development of settlements since the mid-nineteenth century inter alia, emigration and internal migration, public authority intervention, road network changes, afforestation of marginal landscapes, 1963 planning legislation, "bungalisation", Common Agricultural Policy inducements to agricultural practices from the 1970s, EU and tourist emphasis on conservation from the 1980s. Of these, he declared public intervention, by

the state or local authorities, as the most important influence in settlement legacy in the twentieth century, not just of building and landscape, but also legalisation and policy directives such as the 1963 and subsequent Planning Acts (Duffy, 1999). Many of these bureaucratic influences are major influences on this landscape and will continue to be in the future.

9.4.4 Perceptual Layer

Chapter 7 approached the landscape from a different viewpoint compared with the preceding three Chapters. Its focus shifted away from exploring the authors' physical impact upon, and activities within, the landscape, and towards its perceived value(s) of space and place from some differing perspectives. Its inclusion added a further layer to the multi-dimensional feature of the landscape biography, as laid out by Kolen *et al.* (2016, p. 125) thereby integrating the "layeredness" of a landscape. It explored how physical features were used and re-used and within that, their value and perception was ordered and re-ordered. The elements explored within the Chapter were as follows:

- The bias contained within the historic Ordnance Survey maps dating from the 1860s and the 1890s which revealed the values of the macro authors, the English surveying authorities, portraying "silences" in the higher slopes terrain of Kilrossanty parish.
- The change in land use on the slopes of the mountain, as previously uncultivated land was incorporated into enclosed farmland, at the instigation and actions of the meso and micro authors.
- The re-use and difference in perception of the upland spaces in the early twentieth century, as a covert hiding place for the local IRA troops during the War of Independence in "their" landscape. A perception at odds with the British soldiers, who viewed the unfamiliar space with apprehension.
- The spiritual layers in Kilrossanty and the changing perceptual values assigned to sites in the parish, reflecting the wider competing and conflicting ideological power structures of the macro authors.
- The change in use and re-use of the sacred landscapes and ringfort sites has similarities with the studies by Kopytoff (1986) and Appadurai (1986) exploring the change in meaning and value of archaeological objects.

- The layered place names reflected the change in significance and attachment to the land, and offered hints of the layers, perceptions and events that took place within the physical landscape. Their approximate translation into English as part of the late nineteenth century colonial cartography reduced or removed the micro author historic connection between identity and place to a standardised displacement of ownership to the macro and meso English colonial authorities.

- Elements of the current community's perception of their landscape as extracted from the interviews, of the strong attachment to the region and an element of contestation of the landscape continuing to exist in the present day, of attitudes towards newcomers moving into the new housing estates.

Establishing the perceptions of the landscape required a strong transdisciplinary and phenomenological approach, which was necessary to enable a better understanding of the community's attachment and attributed value of its landscape. The research therefore consisted of a combination of sources, to establish the varying historic viewpoints. This included using sources which gave a voice to the historical authors, such as narratives from the Folklore Collection and accounts from the Bureau of Military Archives. The combination of folklore, interviews, oral narratives and cartographic evidence effectively encompassed the transdisciplinary methodology. Their positioning within the context of the prevailing societal norms in which they occurred was also required, which involved applying the hermeneutic circle interpretative element of the methodology, as well as the postphenomenological approach to comprehend the "materialities and sensibilities" of the landscape (Wylie, 2006, p. 520).

Due to the ever-changing and nebulous nature of the authors and their subjective matter, it was challenging to establish the perceived value of a landscape, firstly where direct communication is no longer possible with the inhabitants and also to capture them from the myriad of voices, as described in Meinig's (1979) *The Beholding Eye: Ten Versions of the Same Scene*. However despite these challenges, its inclusion was a necessary and valuable aspect of the landscape biography in order to collect "narratives and meanings at each point in time that is referred to" (Bloemers, 2010; Kolen and Renes, 2015b), to be able to represent the multi-vocal character of the past (Roymans *et al.*, 2009, p. 356). It also enables the "*chronicle* of life and dwelling" [my emphasis] (Ingold,

1993, p. 189). A landscape biography is a way of examining the landscape-human relationship, of a landscape's memories, as Ingold (1993, p. 189) states, "To perceive the landscape is therefore to carry out an act of remembrance". The re-use, rearrangement and re-use of this landscape also has similarities with Jean *et al.* (2021) biographical research of Fort-Liberté in Haiti, as the colonising forces imposed new values on existing material features within the landscape.

The perceptual accounts weave in and out of the historical transformations of the biography, with a temporal coverage from the Christianisation of the region to the twentieth century national independence, as well as beyond to the present day. They therefore illustrate how the biography is not chronological, but more thematic, that the history of a landscape is held together by its past and future.

9.5 Multi-layered data reflecting a multi-layered landscape

The research analysed in the preceding Sections represented some of the features of a multi-layered landscape, featuring both tangible and non-tangible characteristics of the palimpsest. To compare and better analyse these layers, GIS was a powerful tool as it was able to synthesise physical, social and cultural data to reveal patterns that may not be immediately accessible with simple narratives. Maps were presented within this research to illustrate the patterns of landownership or settlements for example. This Section is a brief showcase of how GIS has the ability to reflect the multi-layered landscape by incorporating a number of attributes relating to Kilrossanty and overlaying them to see what spatial analysis arises. It also highlights how these layers could be developed in future research.

Figure 9.2 displays two maps, both using data taken from the Griffith's Valuation and the historic Ordnance Survey maps. The left hand map shows the financial value of each townland as recorded in the Griffith's Valuation in a choropleth map as pure raw data, with the amounts ranging from £8 to £331. The line of cultivation or enclosure as it was mapped in the Ordnance Survey maps dated from the 1840s and 1890s respectively (as described in Section 7.4), has been included as a layer to illustrate where the landscape and therefore the type of agriculture and land use changed, from the more fertile lowlands with the greater economic value, to the less valuable mountain land. As

generally expected, the higher value land is below the line of cultivation, with the exception of the two uninhabited townlands of Paulsacres and Carrigeennageragh Little. Glendalligan townland also has a high value but spans both lowland and upland.

The right hand map is the same choropleth map but has been normalised so the townland value is presented as a ratio according to the geographic size of the individual townlands. The pattern subsequently changes substantially, and offers a more realistic view of the value of the land per area. This time the value of the land on the higher slopes of the mountain within the parish, above the line of cultivation, is clearly much lower than the townlands situated beneath it and there is a distinctive demarcation between the lower valued land on the higher slopes compared with the lower townlands and presumably more fertile territory.

The same map of townland value can then be overlaid with the ownership recorded in the Griffith's Valuation records, as illustrated in Figure 9.3. This therefore reveals who was the owner of the more valuable land, namely Colonel Palliser and Sir Edward Kennedy, notably the two largest landowners of this period. Further future research could include ecological data such as soils or geology, which could then be overlain with the respective land use.

The maps in Figure 9.4 have taken selected physical features from the National Monuments Service (NMS), such as the location of manor houses, spiritual sites, ringforts and archaeological evidence of habitation, and mapped them in relation to the townland boundaries and the line of cultivation from 1841. There are three archaeological sites according to the NMS which indicate habitation above this line of cultivation, although the source does not offer details on their structure. All the ringforts are situated below the line of cultivation, presumably where the terrain was more hospitable for living and cultivating. The cluster of ringforts in the north of the parish was situated in the region which had the Gaelic Irish O'Brien ownership for the longest duration until their displacement in the 1640s. The manor houses are evenly spaced out across the parish, most likely representing the shared ownership of the parish between the O'Brien family and the Old English Walshs.

Figure 9.2: The left hand map shows the value of each townland as recorded in the Griffith's Valuation, overlaid with the line of cultivation to indicate the type of landscape and land use. The right hand map shows the townland value, with the normalisation of the size of townland so the value in the context of its area
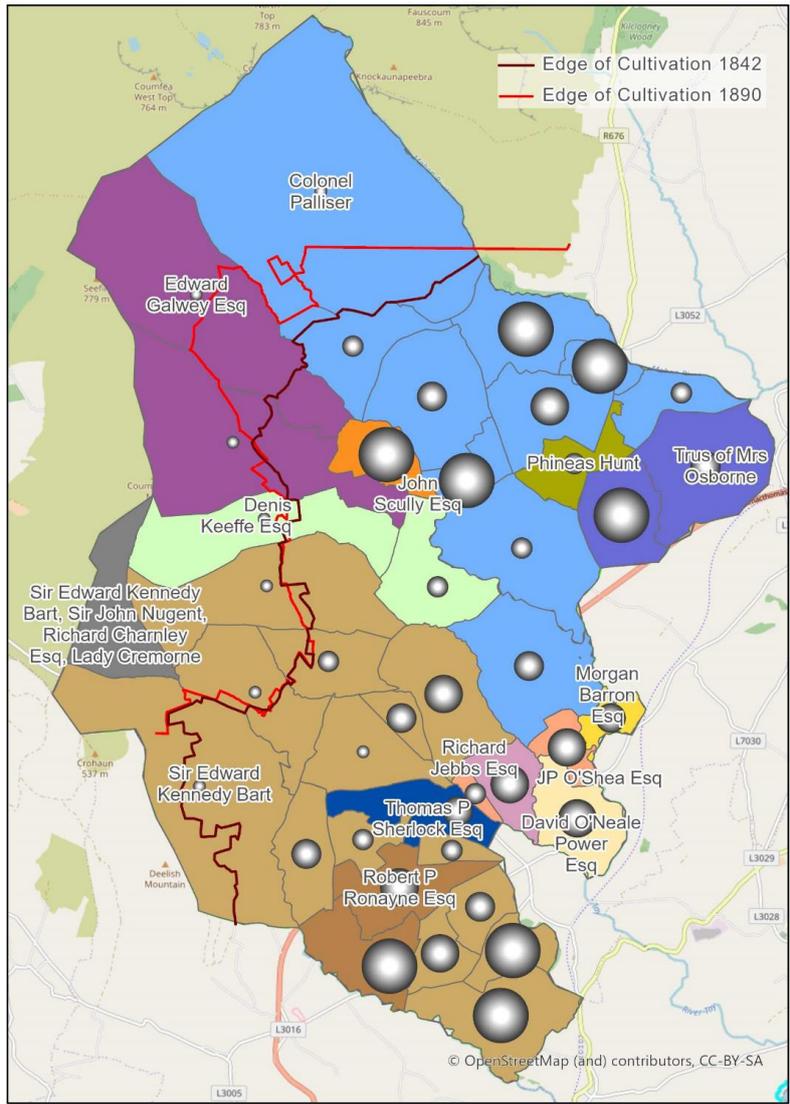
Figure 9.3: Landownership of Kilrossanty from the Griffith's Valuation with the value of each townland indicated by the circles
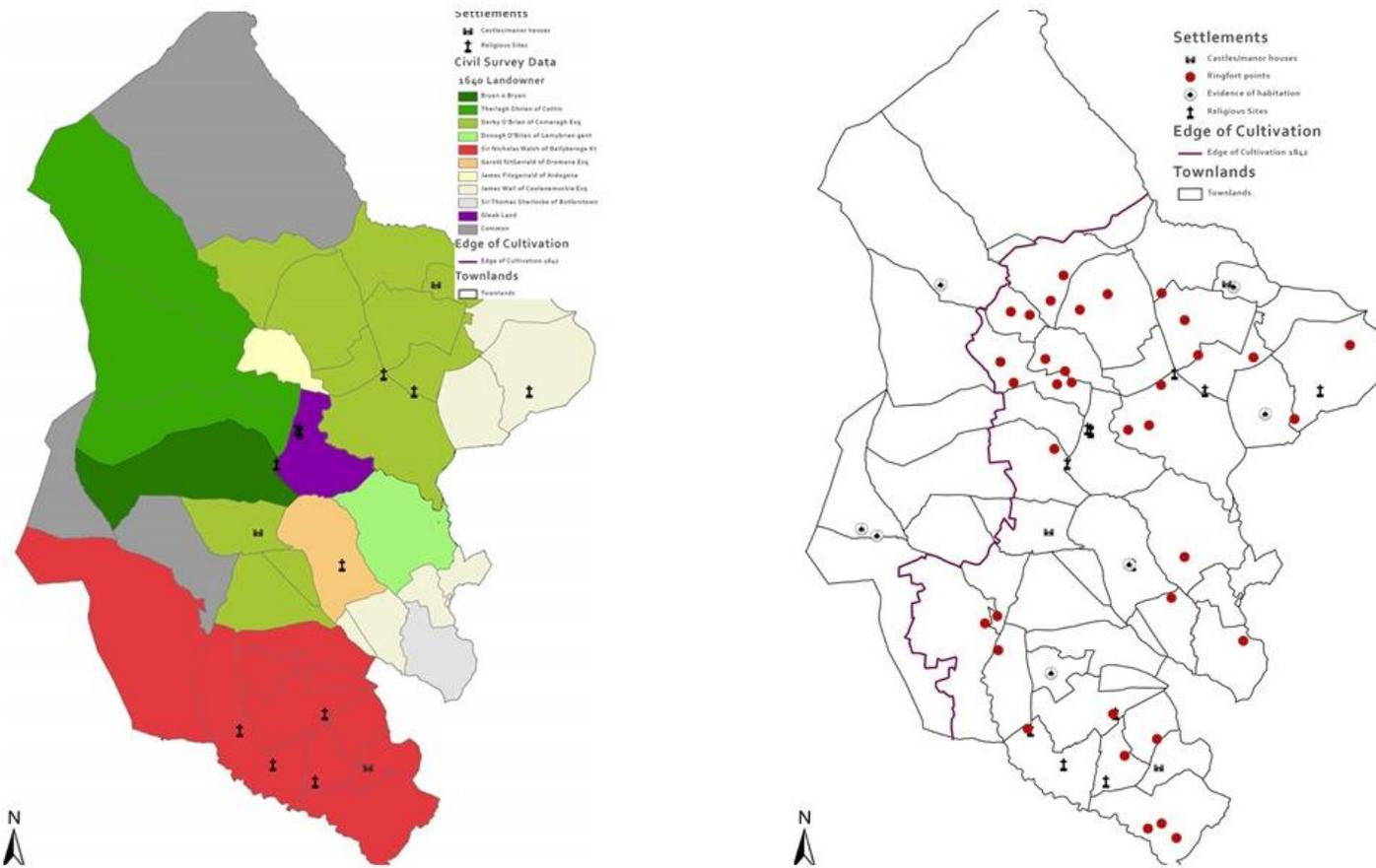
Figure 9.4: Left hand map shows the landownership as according to the Civil Survey, overlaid with the location of the spiritual sites and manor houses. Right hand map illustrating the situation of selected features as recorded by the National Monuments Service

9.6 Kilrossanty's Landscape Biography – The Model

As a result of the empirical research in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, a conceptual model was drawn up to facilitate the creation of a landscape biography in Ireland which was outlined in Chapter 8. The model is reproduced below in Figure 9.5 for ease of reference. It was influenced by the emphasis Samuels (1979) highlighted regarding the "authorship" of a landscape as well as the historical transformations or formations created by Roymans *et al.* (2009) and Palang *et al.* (2006). The intention of the model was to create a clear structure around this research into Kilrossanty, which would then have the potential of being used as a template for replication in other regions in Ireland.

An effective landscape biography provides a broader view of the long-term history of a place as chronicle of life and dwelling by outlining the long-term physical and social structural shifts within a landscape. Each resulting stage leaves a layer of remnants and hints on the landscape's palimpsest, with each making a best attempt to wipe away the remnants of the former (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Ingold, 2000; Kolen and Witte, 2006; Kolen *et al.*, 2018; Palang *et al.*, 2006; Roymans *et al.*, 2009; Van der Knaap and Van der Valk, 2006; Van Londen, 2006). Every landscape therefore is an accumulation, "the past endures…" (Meinig, 1979, p. 44). In previous biographies, these layers or historical stages have been referred to as 'formations' (Palang *et al.*, 2006) or 'transformations' (Roymans *et al.*, 2009) and draw parallels with Foucault's (1970) épistémè. The identification of these stages provided an understanding of the underlying power-knowledge systems that influenced and formed the social apparatus within which each generation have acted, and also have been influenced. Each transformation recognises the prevailing successive political and ideological background environment and authoritative structure in which the authors, being the dwellers or actors within the landscape, have acted, which includes their consequent impact upon the landscape.

Understanding the background and context, means the study is not solely phenomenological, but has also incorporated the hermeneutic circle; to understand the post-structural postphenomenological "aboutness" of this landscape. It also revealed the prevailing political power over the space, of the political or ideological authorities.
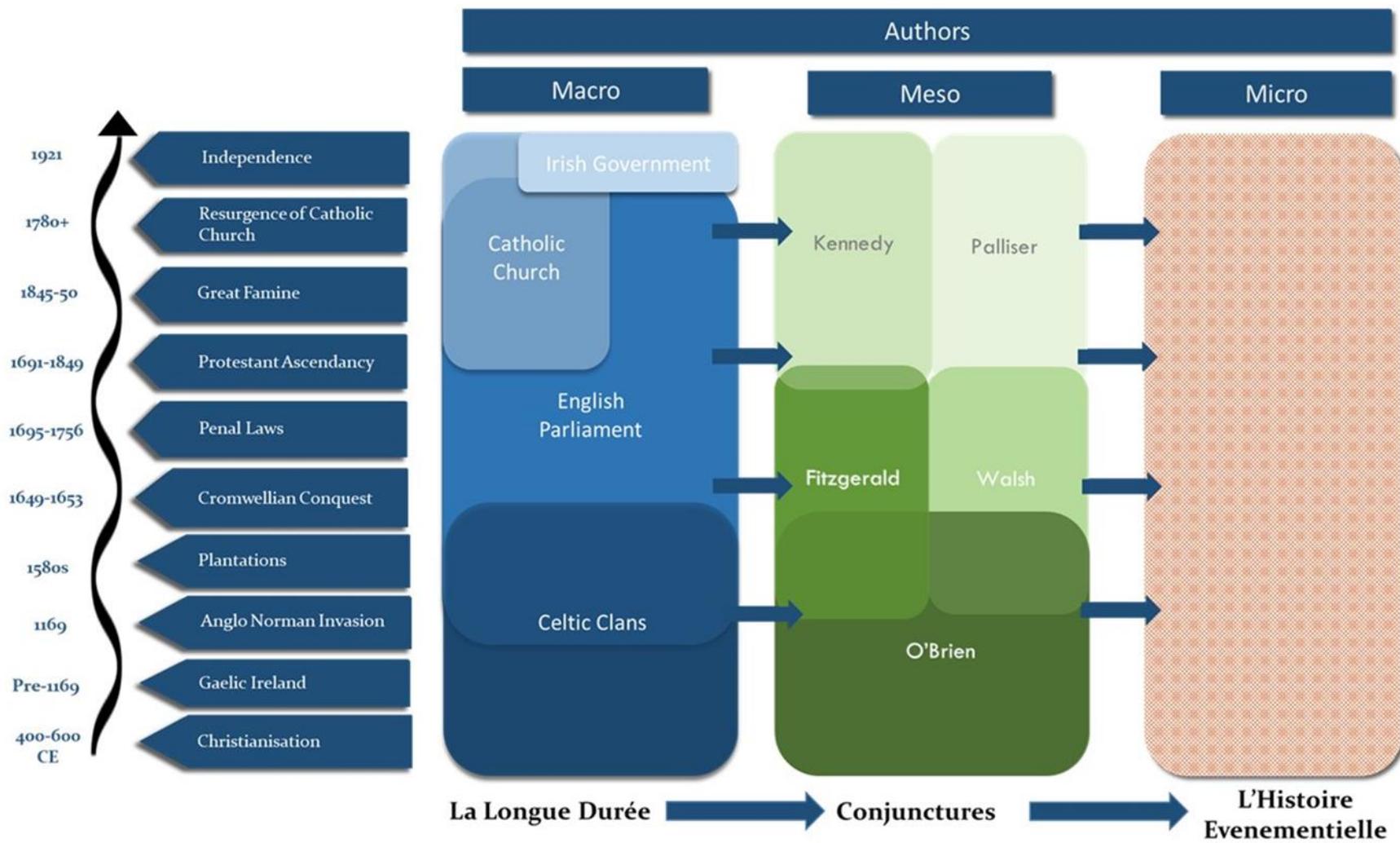
Figure 9.5: Diagrammatic model of an Irish landscape biography as outlined in Chapter 8

Recognising the authorship of a landscape remains one of the most prominent issues in all biographical approaches (Kolen and Renes, 2015b; Kolen *et al.*, 2018; Samuels, 1979), and has accordingly been adapted to fit the Irish landscape in this research. In so doing it focused the thesis on the human impact and reciprocal interaction with the landscape integral to landscape biographies. The biographies, genealogies and identity of the authors are influenced and intertwined with the biography of the landscape. Although identifying all the authors is impossible, the categorisation of them into macro, meso and micro, acknowledged the different roles each section of society had to play in the relationship in the development of the landscape. On a practical level, the categorisation of the authors also helped place structure around the varying layers of the complex interchange and shifts in dominance between the Gaelic Irish, Old English and New English as well as the ideological contestation between Catholic and Protestant institutions. The research into the meso and micro authors involved a significantly phenomenological approach of an immersion of a lived-in world and the immanent relationship between the landscape's inhabitants and their dwelling-space.

The production of a diagrammatic model of the historical transformations and categorisation of authors in the Kilrossanty landscape, means it could be used as a template for other regions in Ireland. The transformations would remain the same for any other region, although there would be differing emphases on various phases, for example, areas in Ulster in the north-east of the island, would have a much greater emphasis on the Plantations period in the historical transformations than this micro-region of Kilrossanty had. The macro authors would also remain the same, whereas it would be the names of the meso and micro which would change according to the region being researched. This also highlights the necessity of any biographical research into other regions would need to be transdisciplinary to be able to effectively capture a selection of the myriad of authors. The creation of the model opens up possibilities for other biographies in other countries, particularly those who have experienced colonisation as a methodology to approach complex, layered histories. It also highlights how following the UK guidelines for an Irish landscape character assessment is not sufficient.

9.7   The Future of Landscape Biographies in Ireland

This thesis has presented a methodological framework and model for conducting a landscape biography in Ireland. This Section will reflect upon the "what next?" for the research, which can be considered on two levels. Firstly, as a standalone research project of a landscape biography of Kilrossanty parish, and what, on reflection, could be done to improve or enhance this individual study. Secondly, how the landscape biography methodology and methods laid out within this thesis can be replicated in other regions in Ireland, and moreover how and to what extent it can be incorporated on a practical level into a refreshed Irish landscape strategy, in order for it to be implemented and accepted as a complementary form of landscape assessment.

One of the strengths of interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary landscape studies, which includes this biographical research, is the scope and flexibility as regards the possible wide subject range that could be incorporated. This however, whilst being one of its greatest strengths, can also simultaneously be its most challenging feature. The possible all-encompassing nature of a landscape biography did mean that it was difficult to pin down a suitable perspective and direction, in order to pick through its "fuzziness" to create a coherent methodology and comprehensive narrative of the landscape. It has previously been outlined that any landscape study is beholden to the researcher's bias and disciplinary expertise for its direction and focus. This of course was similarly the case regarding the temporal and spatial parameters placed around this research.

It should be acknowledged that this study would be enhanced if further disciplines and directions were to be incorporated in future research. The incorporation of further layers could include the natural sciences, exploring the ecology of the region, such as its geology, pedology and edaphology, which could reveal further insights into the regional land use. This study has been limited to English language sources, whereas a knowledge of Irish would have possibly expanded this documentary base, as well as being beneficial in building confidence with the interviewees, and created a greater connection with the community. The movement of individuals and families would also have been worthy of study, of their migration out of the area though also, in some cases, returning. Migration was a significant cultural element within Irish communities including

Kilrossanty's, and mapping their movement with GIS would have opened up possibilities of research, including the connections with the diaspora. Whilst the research touched upon the interpretation of place names and what they revealed about the historical human-landscape relationship, a dedicated transdisciplinary study to field names would be beneficial to record this history on a local level, whilst also would likely offer a rich tapestry of the cultural and socio-economic landscape.

It must also be recognised that Kilrossanty is not an island, and much work could be carried out regarding its interaction with neighbouring settlements including the urban service areas of the local towns and cities, to explore the patterns beyond the parish boundaries.

Expanding the temporal boundaries of this study would also be beneficial, particularly exploring the changes into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, to incorporate and illustrate the ongoing nature of landscape changes. A look at its changing domestic architecture as well as changes in types of landownership following national Independence and the involvement of the Land Commission in distribution of the land. The perspective of landscape values would also be interesting to view from the rise in tourism in the region. All would contribute to the biographical layers that could be translated and analysed accordingly particularly through the use of GIS.

The open-ended nature of landscape studies does mean however, that it is difficult to make the decision of when and where to stop. The challenge was addressed in some way within this research by creating the conceptual model of the transformations and categorising the authors, which thereby arranged some geographical and thematic structures around the study.

Whereas in other countries, implementing a landscape biography has become increasingly recognised as a useful tool for collaboration between heritage managers and spatial planners for heritage management, local government planning and tourism policy, in Ireland it has not yet been considered. As has been previously laid out, the biography would have great advantages of being incorporated into a refreshed National Landscape Strategy. The potential pragmatic challenges should be acknowledged however. From a practical real-world perspective, there are barriers to the addition of

a biographical approach to local authority current planning of Irish landscapes, primarily because it cannot easily be fitted into a quantifiable spreadsheet, compared with other more tried and tested methods of a Landscape Character Assessment or Historic Landscape Characterisation. Although it is useful as a layered narrative to explain complex interactions between people and their environment, it can also be more time consuming and therefore expensive to compile, digest and present. Its acceptance as an approach therefore would need some education around the importance of landscape and subsequent buy-in from national and local governmental authorities.

A way forward would be introducing and communicating the biographical concept to the working group lobbying the government to move the NLS along, which has started with the publication of the paper summarising this research in the Landscape Research Journal (Shakespeare and Russell-O'Connor, 2021).

On a local level, the reciprocal transdisciplinarity has been broached by contacting the authors of a blog https://kilrossantyremembers.wordpress.com, which has a solid reach in the community of local stories, made up of documentary sources as well as testimony and folklore. They have invited contributions from this research in the form of a blog post, for example, publishing the maps produced of the participants of the 1641 Catholic rebellion. This is also a useful way of continuing to engage with the community, particularly with those who remain apprehensive about the dangers of Covid-19.

9.8   Contribution to Knowledge

The most significant contribution to knowledge which is central theme within this overall thesis, is that this is the first time a landscape biography has been compiled which focuses on an Irish landscape. The identification and categorisation of its authors into macro, meso and micro, together with the articulation of the historical transformations have been constructed for this research to enable replication and clarity into the process, and also to ensure that it is specific to this country's historicity and palimpsest. The research is approached over the more traditional biographical longue durée, as well as incorporating individual events and actions of histoire evenenmetielle.

A new methodology was therefore required, which built upon the foundations of Kolen *et al.*'s (2016) landscape biography interface, which was constructed to combine the paradigm of transdisciplinarity and epistemologies of hermeneutic phenomenology and postphenomenology.

Local historians have researched Kilrossanty parish history in great depth and much of their literature has been referenced in this work, as well as having long conversations with them, however it is a fresh approach to the themes of landownership and settlements patterns. It is also the first time the 1641 Catholic rebellion depositions being mapped on this regional level with these methods, as well as using Nvivo as an analytical tool.

9.9   Final Comments

The purpose of this thesis has been to create a landscape biography, which is specific to Ireland's landscape. It has achieved this aim by researching historical layers using Kilrossanty parish as a case study or testing ground. These layers enabled the historical transformations to be pinpointed, as well as identifying and categorising the authors, with their respective impact upon the landscape. An illustrative model was created to enable future researchers to apply the transdisciplinary methodology to other Irish landscapes. The biography has provided a holistic and integrative alternative to approaching the study of the landscape in Ireland. It is argued within this thesis that the landscape biography methodology as laid out in this research, is a more appropriate method to approach Ireland's historical background, particularly in light of its position as a former colonised country. The subsequent historical political and ideological conflict with its innate complexities that have arisen from the country's past, means that the current emphasis on the more rigid national and regional LCAs and HLCs, as advocated in the National Landscape Strategy are insufficient and too one-dimensional to adequately capture these nuances that exist in the Irish landscape.

The research into landscape biographies has shown that there cannot be an international one-size-fits-all template, but rather, each approach must be adapted to the country it is being applied to. This research has developed a template for Ireland, which could act as a guiding authority to enable future national and regional landscape

assessment.   It is acknowledged however, that landscape biographies are not without their pragmatic challenges; their compilation and design can be time consuming and expensive, and does not produce a quantifiable product that fits easily into planners' projects. Nevertheless it is hoped that this work into Irish biographies could enable and encourage a fresh way of looking at Irish landscapes, whilst acting as a template or guide into future work into other regions, and subsequently be positioned as a complementary offering to the current classifications of LCAs and HLCs in order to better reflect the rich national landscape.   It also provides the basis for new guidelines away from the current UK classifications.

The development of the biography for Ireland also enables the landscape to be viewed as a multi-layered complex palimpsest, of change and transformation, reflected in its material and intangible features with a myriad of authors who inhabit these competing and conflicting influences. It allows the approach of Irish landscapes to be viewed as a place, not simply a space, with communities which enjoy a strong social fabric, as a home rather than just a brick and mortar house. The landscape and its authors deserve a fresh, unique approach, to fully appreciate its rich and intriguing history and people.

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Appendix A: Example of Interview Topic Guide

Topic Guide for Interview with Tom Riordan
20th April 2018

What do you do for a living?

How long you have lived here, have you lived anywhere else?

Were your family from the area?

Do you know who was the first person in Ballintlea? Or when it first became a village?

Do you know why Ballintlea was abandoned?

You mentioned before about women marrying into the area suffering from their nerves because of the isolation….

Given the chance, would you live anywhere else?

Use 5 words to describe your land/area

Do you know of any other abandoned settlements/lost communities in the area?

Any interesting features in the area? eg. Mass rock, holy well, ringfort?

How has your local area changed, since your parents' or grandparents' time?

Would you be interested in participating in a field name project?

Do you have any photos/films you'd like to share?

Who else would be good to talk to?

Appendix B: Oral History Interview Agreement - Participant Consent Form

Thank you for giving your time and help with this research project. The aim is to explore the historical and cultural landscape of the Comeragh Mountains and how people have affected the physical landscape and also how the landscape has affected people's way of life.

This agreement constitutes a release of digital recordings and any and all rights therein to Emily Shakespeare, on behalf of Waterford Institute of Technology. The recordings, transcripts of the recordings, and any accompanying materials and all rights therein will be the property of WIT, and will be available for use by the Institute unless restrictions on use are specified below.

I, the undersigned have read the above and voluntarily offer Emily Shakespeare and Waterford Institute of Technology full use of the information contained on the digital recording which I made with Emily Shakespeare and the transcript of this recording. In view of the scholarly value of this research material, I hereby assign all rights, title and interest pertaining to it to Emily Shakespeare and WIT unless restrictions are specified below. This agreement also includes the right of Emily Shakespeare and WIT to publish transcriptions and/or abstracts of this recording in electronic format on the Internet.

Please note all recordings and interviews will be held confidentially, and material will be held up to five years according to WIT's Data Protection Policy, which can be accessed on the website: www.wit.ie/InformationCompliance/DataProtection/ and from the Data Compliance officer (tel.: 051-302608 email: dataprotection@wit.ie).

I am happy to be contacted again in the future regarding this research.

I understand I can withdraw from any interview with no reason and with no consequences.

Restrictions:

Interviewee's signature: _____

Interviewee's name: _____

Address & tel: _____

_____

_____

Date of recording (or of writing): _____

Recorded by: _____

Appendix C: Summary table of perpetrators, incidents and their location during the 1641 rebellion obtained from the deposition documentation

Perpetrator	Incident	Area
Sir Nicholas Walsh, Thomas Walsh, son and heir	Seige, robbery	Cappoquin
Turlogh O'Brien	Military action, Robbery, camped in house before laying siege at Cappoquin	Affane
Sir Nicholas Walsh	Robbery	Bewley
Sir Nicholas Walsh and son	Robbery x 3	Grange
Sir Nicholas Walsh and James Walsh	Robbery	Ballybrusa
Sir Nicholas Walsh and tenants Thomas Toby	Robbery x 2, siege Murder	Pilltown (parish of L..)
Sir Nicholas Walsh and eldest son Derby O'Brien	Robbery x2	Dungarvan
Sir Nicholas Walsh, Derby O'Brien, Turlogh O'Brien	Robbery	Whitechurch
Sir Nicholas Walsh	Robbery	Knocknaskagh
Sir Nicholas Walsh	Robbery x 2	Kilgreany
Sir Nicholas Walsh	Robbery	Cushcam
Sir Nicholas Walsh	Robbery	Newtown
Derby O'Brien, Donogh O'Brien	Robbery x 2	Killadangan
James Comin, Turlogh O'Brien Walter Fitzhanny	Robbery, stripping Murder, stripping	Ballinanchor
Motow O'Brien	Robbery	Monarud
Robert Roberts	Robbery	Kilwatermoy
Turlogh O'Brien	Robbery, stripping	Kilgobnet
Parnell, soldier of Sir Nicholas Walsh, James Walsh, Leonard Anthony	Military action, captivity, stripping	Ardmore
James Walsh	Robbery	Ringaganagh

James Walsh	Robbery	Ballyvecane
Donogh O'Brien	Robbery	Ballymacmague
Thomas Toby	Murder	Kinsalebeg

Appendix D: Dissemination of Research

Date	Achievement
19 May 2017	Poster presentation at WIT Research Day
1 December 2017	Awarded ethics approval for research by WIT Research Ethics Committee
2 March 2018	Awarded funding from Irish Upland Forum as part of their 2018 Research Grant
27 March 2018	Awarded funding from Landscape Research Group Research Fund themed Borders, Boundaries and Landscape Justice
28 February 2019	Report produced for Irish Upland Forum entitled *Hidden in Plain Sight: A Transdisciplinary Approach to a Landscape Biography of Kilrossanty Parish, Comeragh Mountains, County Waterford – Settlement Patterns*
6 April 2019	Presentation of work at Irish Upland Forum Conference, Co Antrim, entitled *Settlement Patterns of a Parish in Comeragh Mountains*
30 April 2019	Report produced for Landscape Research Group entitled *Investigating the Relationship Between the Imposition of Colonial Power and the Landscape in the Comeragh Mountains*
Summer 2019 issue	Article published in Mountaineering Ireland magazine entitled *The Hidden Comeraghs*
25 October 2019	Presentation of work at Border Heritage: Understanding Borders, People and Identity Through Time and Space Conference, Ulster University, Derry-Londonderry, entitled *A Divided Landscape. Ideological Borders within an Irish Upland Landscape*
18 June 2020	Invited to present at Landscape Research Group conference, *A Future of Our Own Making* (rescheduled to online conference due to Covid 19). Presentation entitled *A past of our own making: creating a landscape biography of a rural upland parish in Ireland.*
11 August 2021	Publication of manuscript entitled 'A Biographical Approach to Ireland's landscape: Creating a New Methodology' in Landscape Research Journal (Appendix E).

A biographical approach to Ireland's landscape: creating a new methodology

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ABSTRACT

Landscape biographies have gained in popularity as a holistic assessment tool to enable local government planning and promote a community's identity. To date, the approach has never been applied to the Republic of Ireland's unique historical and cultural landscape. This paper addresses this omission by building upon former biographical approaches in other countries and adapting and applying them to the region of Kilrossanty in County Waterford as a case study. The new methodology intends to complement the current official approach to landscape assessment in Ireland which focuses solely on Landscape Character Assessments. The paper argues that the complexities of the Irish historical background require a more layered approach for which a biography is more appropriate. By conducting transdisciplinary fieldwork, an Irish landscape biographical model has been produced focusing upon the landscape's structural transformations and identification of its authors who have been categorised to better reflect the societal and political strata of this previously colonised country.

KEYWORDS
Waterford; landscape biography; planning; transdisciplinary; Ireland; landscape character assessment; authors; transformations

Introduction

Landscape biographies have gained in popularity in recent years as a holistic assessment tool to enable local government planning and also to promote a community's sense of place and identity. The approach, however, has yet to be applied to the Republic of Ireland's unique historic and cultural landscape. This paper aims to address this omission by exploring how previous biographical approaches can be adapted and applied to Ireland, by using the region of Kilrossanty parish, situated in County Waterford in the south-east of the island, as a case study. The research intends to complement the current governmental approach to landscape in Ireland as outlined in the National Landscape Strategy (2015–2025) (Department of Arts Heritage and the Gaeltacht, 2015), which focuses heavily on the preparation and completion of Landscape Character Assessments (LCAs) and Historic Landscape Characterisations (HLCs). This paper argues that a biographical approach to Ireland's landscape is more appropriate for its complex background, being the sole western European nation to be colonised; and that these social and political complexities and nuances cannot be adequately covered by a rigid LCA or HLC.

Fieldwork was conducted into Kilrossanty's historical landownership and settlement patterns, involvement within the Catholic rebellion in 1641 and the representation and perception of the local landscape in the historic Ordnance Survey maps. Documentary research was combined with interviews within the local community to create a transdisciplinary model that illustrates how a landscape biography in Kilrossanty, and subsequently other Irish landscapes, can be approached.

The research teased out characteristics of landscape biographies conducted in other countries to identify the appropriate threads applicable to Ireland's unique situation. The resulting model places an emphasis on the historical transformations through which the region, and country, has passed, as well as focusing closely on the identification of the authors of the local landscape, who have been divided into categories of macro, meso and micro, to better reflect the societal and political strata that existed and developed through colonisation and beyond into national independence in the country.

Landscape biographies

A landscape biography is an integrated and holistic approach to studying the reciprocal human-environment interaction, which aims to transcend traditional divisions between disciplines and period specialisations (Crumley et al., 2017; Kolen & Renes, 2015; Lorimer, 2015; Roymans et al., 2009). It is a relatively new concept, widely accepted to have been introduced in 1979 by the human geographer Marwyn S. Samuels (Huijbens & Palsson, 2015; Kolen & Renes, 2015; Kolen et al., 2018; Purmer, 2015; Roymans et al., 2009; Stoye, 2015). Samuels (1979) focused on the human impact on the landscape or its 'authorship', which remains one of the most prominent issues in all biographical approaches (Kolen & Renes, 2015; Kolen et al., 2018; Samuels, 1979) adapted to fit the Irish landscape in this research.

An effective landscape biography provides a broader view of the long-term history of a place as a chronicle of life and dwelling by outlining the long-term landscape physical and social structural shifts in a region that change over time. Each resulting stage leaves a layer of remnants and hints on the landscape's palimpsest, with each making a best attempt to wipe away the remnants of the former (Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988; Ingold, 2000; Kolen et al., 2018; Kolen & Witte, 2006; Palang et al., 2006; Roymans et al., 2009; Van der Knaap & Van der Valk, 2006; Van Londen, 2006). In the oft-cited words of Meinig (1979, p. 44), 'one aspect which is so pervasive as to be easily overlooked: the powerful fact that life must be lived amidst that which was made before. Every landscape is an accumulation. The past endures'. In previous biographies, these layers or historical stages have been referred to as 'formations' (Palang et al., 2006) or 'transformations' (Roymans et al., 2009) and draw parallels with Foucault's (1970) épistémè. The identification of each transformation recognises the prevailing successive political and ideological background environment and authoritative structure in which the authors, being the dwellers or actors within the landscape, have acted. It also provides an understanding of how it shaped and influenced their actions and consequent impact upon the landscape. Ireland's main transformations are identified and outlined within this paper.

To encompass these transformations, a landscape biography is generally conducted over an extended time period, la longue durée, to enable a comprehensive examination of the underlying structures and patterns, the shaping of events rather than the individual events themselves (Crumley et al., 2017; Ingold, 2000; De Jong, 2015; Kolen & Renes, 2015; Roymans et al., 2009). As Braudel (1963, p. 10) describes, 'The stage on which humanity's endless dramas are played out partly determines their storyline and explains their nature. The cast will alter but the set remains broadly the same'. This temporal emphasis is approached differently in this Irish biography by placing a more even focus on the 'cast' as well as the 'set'.

The term 'biography' is usually used in terms of a person's life, which has a firm beginning and end, whereas a landscape is never ending, dynamic and cyclical with no definitive start or finish point (Van der Knaap & Van der Valk, 2006; Vervloet et al., 2010). It is rather, 'to be understood as a narrative of transformation of meaning through time, rather than that of a life cycle' (Van Londen, 2006, p. 171). It has been furthermore described as a portrait or a story rather than a straight-line chronology (Kolen & Witte, 2006; Lorimer, 2015; Roymans et al., 2009). This approach however does bring with it inherent obstacles as a methodology, and with some justification, been accused of 'fuzziness', in part due to the all-encompassing nature of its approach and lack of clear overriding definition and guidelines applicable to all landscapes (Kolen & Witte, 2006). Whereas this holistic

flexibility is welcome to better understand landscape dynamics, it also produces challenges in its approach. Where does the study start and where does it end, temporally, spatially? From which perspective and direction should it be approached? These decisions are reliant on the researcher(s), and therefore beholden to their bias and disciplinary expertise, which potentially limits its scope and usefulness. It is also less quantifiable from a planning perspective compared with an LCA. Whereas it is useful as a narrative to explain complex interactions, by its nature therefore it can be more time consuming to compile and digest.

Nevertheless it has become increasingly recognised as a useful tool for collaboration between heritage managers and spatial planners for heritage management, local government planning and tourism policy (Crumley et al., 2017; Cuijpers & Bekius, 2006; Elerie & Spek, 2010; De Kleijn et al., 2016; Riesto, 2015; Spicer et al., 2020; Van Londen, 2006; Van Manen et al., 2016; Vervloet et al., 2010), in a range of landscapes located in inter alia North America (Gomez, 1998; Meredith, 1985), UK (Gillings & Pollard, 2015; Pollard & Reynolds, 2002), Iceland (Huijbens & Palsson, 2015), China (Koren, 2015), Estonia (Soovali-Sepping, 2015), France (Clout, 2006), Denmark (Riesto, 2015), Italy (Van Manen et al., 2016) and New Zealand (Spicer et al., 2020) and most notably in the Netherlands (Bloemers, 2010; Crumley et al., 2017; Hupperetz, 2015; De Kleijn et al., 2016; Kolen & Renes, 2015; Roymans et al., 2009; Van Londen, 2006; Vervloet et al., 2010). This paper explores how this methodology can also offer a positive, complementary contribution to Ireland's current landscape assessment policy.

Ireland's current landscape assessment approach

Ireland became a signatory of the European Landscape Convention in 2002, and subsequently produced its National Landscape Strategy (2015–2025) (NLS), with its stated aim to support sustainable landscape change and 'better promote landscape protection, management and planning' (Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, 2015, p. 10). It places a strong emphasis on developing a national landscape character assessment that will be prepared on a local and intra-local authority level based on national guidelines to inform and guide landscape policy. An outline Historic Landscape Characterisation is also to be included to follow published guidelines (Lambrick et al., 2013). Due in part to government departmental changes, the implementation programme of the NLS has stalled, with the first phase of production of LCA guidelines overrunning its timeline of 2020. Nevertheless, the majority of administrative councils have compiled their own LCAs; however with the lack of consistent national approach or methodology, the resulting reports have recorded variable depth and detail (Department of Agriculture Fisheries and Food, 2013; Julie Farmer Associates, 2009; An Taisce, 2014).

In the absence of Irish guidelines many of the local authority LCAs have followed the UK version (Tudor, 2014) as a template despite the divergence in historical backgrounds and opposing positions of colonisation and the corresponding effects on the landscape. This paper lays out how a biographical approach can better capture these idiosyncrasies of competing and cohabiting communities of colonised and colonisers and their traces in the landscape. The current focus on LCAs and HLCs and the subsequent rigid classifications places the emphasis on the superficial physicality and remnants of features in the landscape, whilst this biographical research better describes the physical and cultural conflict and divisions that occurred in the landscape, giving it a much more contextual assessment of the dynamic nature of the relationship and connection between a community and its landscape.

Methodology

The research into a landscape biographical methodology in Ireland was applied to a region in southeast Ireland. Kilrossanty parish is situated on the slopes of the Comeragh Mountains (Figure 1) and is a combination of upland and lowland terrain, with the highest point reaching an altitude of around 700 m, down to 80 m at its lowest point where it almost touches the Irish Sea on its southern border. It

Figure1. Kilrossanty parish is located on the south-east slopes of the Comeragh mountain range near the southern coast of Ireland (Map data © 2019 Google Ireland).

Figure2. Kilrossanty parish spans both upland and lowland terrain. © Emily Shakespeare.

consists of 41 townlands[1] and covers an area of 71 km². It is a marginal landscape (Figure 2) and as a result, physical and cultural changes occur slowly here and evidence of former layers within the palimpsest endure within the landscape with a number of abandoned settlements and archaeological remnants visible and accessible within the landscape (Figure 3). Its seclusion is not total however, with a busy arterial road cutting the parish into two, connecting the cities of Waterford and Cork.

Figure3. Previous layers of the landscape's transformations are often clearly visible in the region. © Emily Shakespeare.

The region was chosen due to the lead researcher's familiarity with the area, having been involved with an earlier project on sense of place which facilitated the fieldwork and interview sampling. Furthermore, previous classification of similar upland landscapes in Ireland has focused solely on its physical geography and ecology, neglecting the human-environment interaction, which this research sought to address.

The fieldwork concentrated on themes that best represented an Irish historical landscape with its particular characteristics. As observed previously, the disciplinary and temporal parameters surrounding the research reveal the researchers' historical-geographical bias, already constrained by the practicalities of conducting research into Ireland, following the large-scale destruction of national archives in 1922. The timescale therefore focused on the mid-1600s and the late nineteenth century. These periods experienced significant shifts in the socio-economic development of the island, most notably the English colonisation and its subsequent political and cultural consolidation. GIS was used as an illustrative and analytical tool for the temporal and spatial patterns of the selected themes that comprised the biography, namely:

- The significant shift in ethnicity of the landowners in the seventeenth century, transferring from around 45% Gaelic Irish ownership in 1640 to being entirely in English hands thirty years later in 1670 (Figure 4). A comparison with the situation in the nineteenth century was also mapped. Landowners were the pinnacle of political and social authority in Irish society and therefore a good reflection of the presiding power structures and their influence on the local political and societal landscape.

- The movement and change of settlements were mapped and analysed in relation to the region's topography in response to socio-economic forces; for example, the steep population growth in the early nineteenth century caused previously uncultivated land on the higher
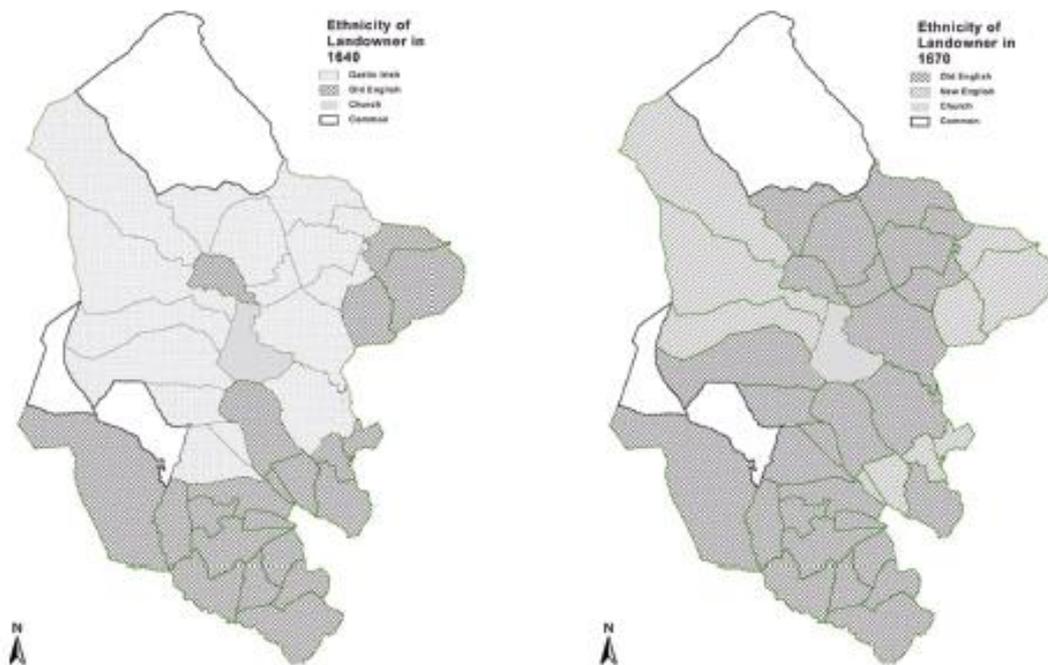
Figure4. Comparison of the landowning situation in Kilrossanty parish in 1640 and 1670. In 30 years, ownership of the land had passed entirely into English hands. © Emily Shakespeare.

slopes to be farmed and inhabited. The influence of the change in the prevailing authorities on the settlements' structure is also examined, for example, the resurgence of the Catholic Church and landlordism, as well as their abandonment caused by population movement.

- Individual participation and narratives arising from the Catholic 1641 rebellion as recorded in the depositions were mapped and analysed using GIS and Nvivo. These narratives recount rare personal experiences of a pivotal moment in the colonisation of the island.

- An example and analysis of the perception of the landscape is explored in the form of the historic Ordnance Survey maps dating from the 1860s and 1890s and how there was a clear divergence between the English authorities and Gaelic Irish inhabitants, highlighting the difference between differing authors' perceptions.

A transdisciplinary approach was adopted for this study by conducting informal semi-structured interviews with members of Kilrossanty's local community. This offered a dual benefit of providing information about features and authors within the landscape that were not included in the historic or contemporary official records as well as gaining insights into the community's identity, particularly the micro authors. Irish landscapes lend themselves well to this approach as there exists a strong social fabric, which retains collective memories and nurtures a strong sense of place. The information gathered through the interviews helped fill information gaps occurring from the destruction of archives and from the general lack of relevant material related to this marginal region whose economic value has historically been deemed of low value.

The researcher's positionality must also be considered and recognised in this context of the data collected. The interviewer is white, female and English, whilst the interviewees were a mixture of male and female, all were Irish and claimed ancestry to the same region for several generations. It is

acknowledged that, although the interviewer was already known to the participants from previous work, the responses given were likely filtered for an 'English outsider', particularly when discussing previous societal conflicts.

Characteristics of an Irish landscape biography

In order to create a clearer 'framework of reference' (Van Manen et al., 2016) for this study, the relevant characteristics of previous regional biographical studies have been applied and adapted where appropriate to the fieldwork carried out in Kilrossanty, to create a model specifically for the Irish landscape. This Irish model places an emphasis on the identification of the landscape's historical transformations and the authors who had a reciprocal impact upon the landscape's palimpsest over 250 years.

Landscape transformations

The historical transformations for Kilrossanty have been condensed and classified into individual blocks as illustrated in Figure 5, together with a brief explanatory description of the period. They are not unique to this region, but are the same transformations through which the whole country has passed. For illustration and simplicity, the blocks are uniform, regardless of the length of time of each era or the variable impact they had on the landscape; for example, the historical period of 'Gaelic Ireland' would have contained numerous phases and nuances that would be impossible to incorporate into this diagram. Moreover the transfer from one block to another would not have been so clearly defined and inevitably contained much more ambiguity in the prevailing authorities' transfer of influence. These non-linear transformations are unique to Ireland and reaffirm why an adherence to the UK's LCA guidelines is not suitable for this landscape.

Year	Transformation	Description
1921	Independence	Following a period of violence and upheaval, the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed in 1921 creating the self-governing Irish Free State, whilst six counties remained part of the United Kingdom
1780+	Resurgence of Catholic Church	Following the repeal of the Penal Laws, the Catholic church grew in strength and influence enabling it to reconstruct its parish network and iconography
1845-50	Great Famine	A period of mass starvation and emigration triggered by over-reliance on the potato crop. It resulted in the population falling by ca. 25%, never recovering to former levels
1691-1849	Protestant Ascendancy	The political, economic and social domination of Ireland by a minority group of Protestant landowners, many absentee landlords
1695-1756	Penal Laws	A series of discriminatory laws, initiated by Cromwell, designed to disenfranchise adherents of the Catholic religion from political and economic power
1649-1653	Cromwellian conquest	Following the Irish rebellion of 1641, Oliver Cromwell re-occupied the country, confiscating large amounts of land held by Irish Catholics and transporting thousands to the West Indies
1580s	Plantations	Created by the confiscation of Irish-owned land by the English Crown and the subsequent colonisation by individual settlers from England and Scotland
1169	Anglo Norman invasion	A deposed King allied with Anglo-Norman forces and Henry II of England to reclaim his position, promising land as payment, resulting in large swathes being acquired, over which the Kingdom of England claimed sovereignty
Pre-1169	Gaelic Ireland	The political and social order and predominantly pagan culture, consisting of a highly decentralised hierarchy of kings or chiefs, governing clans
400-600 CE	Christianisation	Christian worship is believed to have been introduced to pagan Ireland by interaction with Roman Britain, mythologised by one of its missionaries, St Patrick

Figure5. Diagram of the significant historical transformations experienced by Kilrossanty parish and Ireland as a whole, with a very brief description of each corresponding stage.

Each transformation block left its mark on Kilrossanty's physical and cultural palimpsest and the slow pace of change in the marginal area of Kilrossanty has ensured that the layers here are more permeable. Physical remnants and social values endure and compete or exist in parallel against the succeeding ones, for example, ringforts are still present alongside evidence of manor houses, neighbouring the landlord's estate built in the nineteenth century. The Christianisation of the region is still visible in the continued existence of the holy wells that today are attributed to Saint Brigid, though most likely appropriated from the pagan goddess Brigid (Brenneman & Brenneman, 1995).

Of great influence on the landscape for the following 800 years was the invasion of English forces from 1169, followed by the colonisation of the land by the English Crown in the form of the Plantations. Whereas Kilrossanty was not situated within a Plantation, its influence is evident in the journeys and battles described in the 1641 depositions relating to Kilrossanty inhabitants. The English colonisation of Ireland continued its influence on the landscape through the Cromwellian invasion in the seventeenth century, penal laws, landlordism and its actions or inactions resulting in the Great Famine. The resurgence in power and influence of the Catholic Church from the late eighteenth century had a great impact on every Irish landscape. The most recent transformation block included within the diagram was Irish national independence from 1921, although this would not be the final stage to date, for instance, Ireland's membership of the European Economic Community from 1973, and now the European Union, could arguably be the current transformation block. The complex history of Ireland cannot be illustrated in one simple diagram, however the aim is to identify the main top-down influences and transformations of the landscape, in which its authors operated.

A life history created by authors

The research into the themes selected for this biography, as previously outlined, identified the landscape's main authors and also revealed the necessity for their categorisation in order to be able to break down these complex layers or 'kaleidoscope' of authors (De Jong, 2015). They were therefore categorised into three groups: macro, meso and micro; which have been summarised in Figure 6. These terms are an adaptation from Samuels's (1979) discriminatory terminology of 'elites' and 'nobodies' to differentiate between the large-scale physical developments made by wealthy, powerful individuals (men) such as Robert Moses, Victor Sassoon or John D. Rockefeller, compared with the actions of individual inhabitants; as well as De Certeau's (1984) 'walkers' and 'ordinary practitioners'. By creating these three categories, we are acknowledging that all authors' imprints

Author Categorisation (top-down influence)	Description of Author Group
Macro	Prevailing authorities in the region, with a national and international reach. Generally ideological and political institutions e.g., English government or Catholic Church
Meso	Larger land owning families in the region, the local political decision-makers
Micro	Individuals who inhabited and worked the land, not decision-makers, their actions and presence may not have been documented

Figure 6. Outline of the categorisation of an Irish landscape's authors of macro, meso and micro. The influence of decision-making would have been solely top-down.

upon and within the landscape are of significance; and whereas the footprint made by an individual labourer on the local landscape is physically smaller, it is no less culturally significant, than, for example, the imposing outline of a Catholic chapel towering over the village dwellings.

Figure 7 is a diagrammatic form of the Irish landscape biographical model by incorporating the elements of the historical transformations (from Figure 5), the categorisation and identification of authors relating to Kilrossanty (from Figure 6) and placing them within their temporal context.

The identification and categorisation of authors of this Irish landscape require some historical context. Ireland was unique in Western Europe to be a colonised nation rather than enjoying the customary role of coloniser for which other European nations displayed great enthusiasm. There had been an English presence in Ireland since the Anglo Norman invasion in 1169, whose population influx had displaced the indigenous Gaelic Irish manorial centres. These first colonisers became known as the Old English and in the intervening 500 years became culturally intertwined with their Irish neighbours. From the 1550s, further settlers had been arriving from England creating new Plantations of Protestant communities bringing with them discriminatory laws against Catholics aimed specifically against the indigenous Gaelic Irish inhabitants. It is this New English ethnic group whose successors subsequently become the English Protestant Ascendancy (De Bhulbh, 1997; Foster, 1988; MacLysaght, 1985).

The macro authors were the prevailing authorities in the area, whom whilst they operated on a national and international stage, still considerably influenced events and the landscape on a local level. Unlike other biographies of New York, Shanghai or Carlsberg (De Certeau, 1984; Koren, 2015; Riesto, 2015; Samuels, 1979), there were no individual, named planners, but were more ideological and political institutions, such as the English government or the Catholic Church. The predominant macro authors on the landscape have altered over time alongside the historical transformations in which they played their respective parts. The indigenous Irish Celtic Clans were the primary major authors whose significant influence on the landscape palimpsest endures, as already noted, in the form of inter alia, ringforts, manorial settlements and deforestation. English colonial forces later imposed their authority on the country from 1169
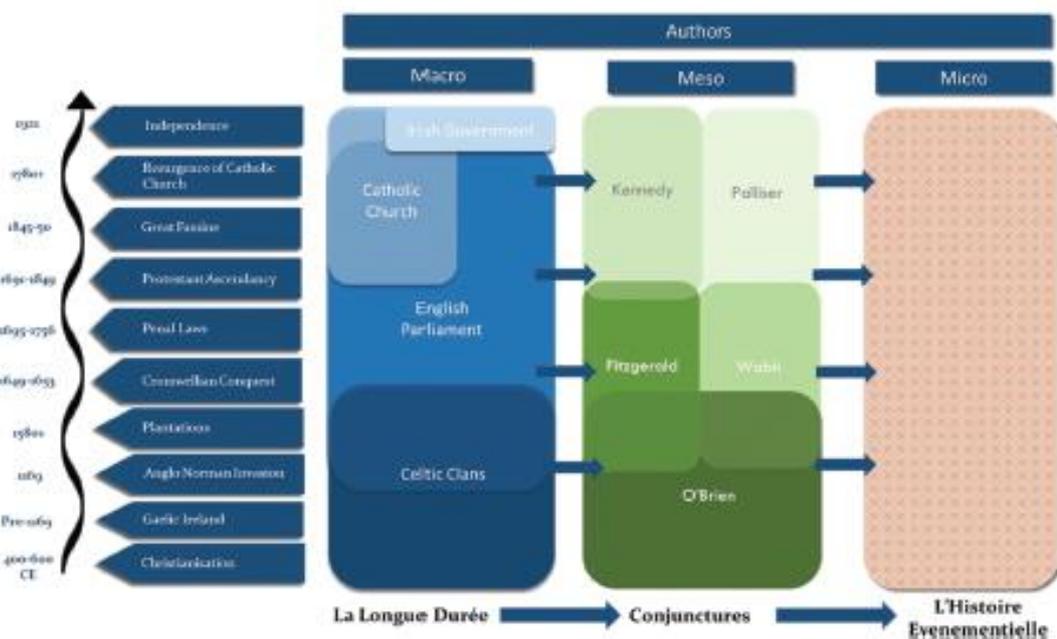

Figure7. Diagrammatic form of the Irish landscape biography, including the historical transformations, the categorisation and identification of the main authors and their positioning relating to Braudel's (1963, 1966) planes of time.

until independence in 1921, bringing with them landlord's houses and infrastructure such as roads and railways. The religious authority of the Catholic Church wielded a meaningful influence upon the landscape of Kilrossanty and Ireland as a whole, particularly during the institution's resurgence from the late eighteenth century. In Kilrossanty, this is evidenced by the prominently placed chapel in Kilrossanty village and a holy cross positioned on top of the mountain overlooking the parish. One of the clearest examples of the Irish Government's influence on the landscape from national independence in 1921 exists in the establishment of social housing, such as labourer's cottages and more recently, housing estates, as well as the ubiquitous modern bungalow.

Whereas the macro authors would have had an influence over all landscapes on a national scale in Ireland, the meso authors' sphere would have largely been confined to a limited area within the parish and its immediate environs. For the purpose and simplification of this illustration, Kilrossanty's meso authors therefore have been condensed to the five largest landowning families, namely, O'Brien, Fitzgerald, Walsh, Palliser and Kennedy. These families were the largest landowners in the region waning or gaining in influence over varying periods of time. The O'Briens were representatives of the Gaelic Irish ethnic group; the Fitzgeralds and Walshs were Old English, whilst the Pallisers and Kennedys were New English. Whereas all of the families would have been classed as relative 'nobodies' within the wider national and international landscape, their relative position as 'elites' within the local environ of the parish was securely established. If this model of identifying the authors within a landscape biography were to be placed within any other region in Ireland, these major landowning families would be relatively easy to pinpoint as the meso authors were invariably the political decision-makers, and so their actions and presence within the cultural and physical landscape is usually well documented.

It is worthy of note that the names of the meso authors tend to be restricted to the particular figures that history has decided to retain for posterity, usually wealthy, politically powerful males. Women's roles on a macro level would have been slim to non-existent, and whilst their presence is more noticeable on a meso level, (for example, as prominent figures within the landowning Fitzgerald family), the recording of their contribution to the landscape remains marginal. They would however, comprise half of the micro authors, albeit infinitely more challenging to identify, with their 'multiplicity of personal life stories' (De Jong, 2015).

The micro authors are those who inhabited and worked the land; they would not have been landowners or decision-makers and therefore their presence or actions may not have been formally recorded or been part of surviving records. Although they are often overlooked, their contribution to the landscape is significant consisting of, for example, individual dwellings, including structure remnants on the slopes of the mountain and the carving of paths and roads that exist between the settlements. To capture and record this myriad of undocumented connections and influences is of course impossible, however glimpses can be caught by tapping into the local community knowledge of stories handed down through generations, facilitated by employing the transdisciplinary approach, for example:

> There were families living in the area known as Twelve Acres Woods, and when all those people were gone and emigrated … there was a very sad story about one of the families, Powers, he was working at Tay Lodge, Langley's. Langley was the agent for the Pallisers. He was at a threshing and he got caught in the threshing machine … and either his arm or his leg, one of his limbs was pulled clean off and at that time, it was early 1880s, he was put on a door and taken back to the Twelve Acre Wood area, where he was living and he died in two or three days and shortly after that his widow and children were evicted by Langley on behalf of Pallisers I suppose. And because she was evicted, Mrs Power and I don't know how many children, four I think, they came down to Keatings … [who] gave them a hen house, or a fowl house, they cleaned out and let her into that as a temporary kind of dwelling. (SS., personal communication, 19 January 2019).

An invaluable surviving documentary source that also identifies micro authors at a pivotal moment in the Irish historical landscape, are the depositions arising from the 1641 Catholic rebellion (TCD, 2010). These remarkable documents, not only offer accounts of events during this period, they also

give a rare insight into real human stories conjuring up the fear and anger in the aftermath of an incredibly tumultuous period in Irish history, giving names and voices to micro authors who otherwise would have been forgotten:

> The deponent saieth that Mathew Hore fitz John gent the yonger of Dungarvan Edward Hore of the same merchant Thomas Morly of the same merchant Thomas Hore of the same merchant Thomas Collens of the same merchant were those that stript the said deponent and hir Child and theire followers were they that stript hir and hir Child and dispoyled hir of hir goods and divers others that were in the Castell of Dungarvan were Wounded by the aforesaid Rebells & further the deponent saieth that Shusana Rowswell gentlewoman & hir three Children & Mrs Roberts and hir five Children whose Husband is Now in Actuall Rebellion & divers others were stript in the aforesaid Towne their Names this deponent knoweth not she further saieth that the vickerage house was burnt & And the said Rebells Went in to the said Church of Dungarvan aforesaid & there burnt the seats the Comunion Table the pulpit and all the seats in the aforesaid Church and Made a stable for theire Horses and a prisson for the stript protestants. (Mary Baulte, MS820, fol 044f-045v).

All three levels of authors are connected, consisting of a top-down approach; the macro feeds into the meso, national laws and customs are created and imposed upon the meso authors. In turn, the meso ensure that these cultural and legal rules are enforced by the micro authors on a local level. The influence would have only been in one direction, the smaller meso and micro players, particularly in a marginal region such as Kilrossanty, would have had very little to no influence on the overarching authorities.

It is impossible however to acknowledge every author, which is an inherent weakness of the landscape biographical concept as, theoretically a true, complete version can never be achieved without a total inclusion and acknowledgement of all authors. Whereas incorporating authors' voices into the study develops a greater contextual flavour, an interpretative filter should be applied to acknowledge the inherent bias present in a landscape such as this where ideological conflict has occurred.

The community's identity

The reciprocal nature between the landscape and its inhabitants, means that the landscape plays an active role in the biographies and genealogies of people (Roymans et al., 2009). The historical transformations, together with the substantial upheaval that invariably accompanies them, binds communities and generations together and forms a community's identity and collective memory of the landscape and its particular features (Kolen et al., 2018; Roymans et al., 2009). A biography therefore incorporates a view of landscape as a mental construction, that is, a phenomenon formed in people's minds, harking back to Samuels (1979) landscapes of impression and expression. Hence it can articulate a community's identity, particularly when transdisciplinary sources of information are incorporated such as field names, customs and anecdotes and are treated with requisite importance (Van der Knaap & Van der Valk, 2006).

In Kilrossanty's case, by engaging with the community or the landscape's current authors, interesting elements of their identity were revealed. The people interviewed for the biography had lived and worked the landscape for the majority of their lives and in some cases could trace their ancestors in the region for at least two centuries. The participants were deeply ingrained within their landscape, and it was inconceivable for them to even contemplate living anywhere else apart from Kilrossanty (P., personal communication, 13 January 2019; K., personal communication, 8 May 2018; T., personal communication, 20 April 2018; M., personal communication, 3 May 2018).

The topography influenced their actions and movements, it was a marginal, difficult landscape to inhabit, 'Oh Jesus, what they went through was wicked' was a description of the women's loneliness left alone in the cottage with the children while the husband was out playing cards (T., personal communication, 20 April 2018). 'They'd go too far [the men drinking in the pub] and the wife wouldn't be seen for three days, she dreaded it, dreaded it. And the men weren't able to take the drink because . . . they were hungry' (M., personal communication, 3 May 2018). The prevalence of

suicide amongst men, particularly in their middle ages was also acknowledged by a number of interviewees, 'I'd say suicide was going on everywhere, but it wasn't published like it is now. I'd say it was all swept under the carpet. In those days there was no such thing as post-mortems' (K., personal communication, 8 May 2018).

The marginal aspect of the landscape contributed to the insular nature of the community, regarding the more recent local authority estates that have been built in the parish: 'there were a lot from outside the area, a lot of them are locals. Then again there are a lot of people I have no idea what they are. Not so much in this one here now, but the one up there road here, that's only about 10 years old, so it's probably mostly strangers around there' (P., personal communication, 26 April 2018); and, 'They're different kind of people that's in Lemybrien in them new houses, you know what I'm trying to say ... They can be from Wexford, Cork, I wouldn't know half their names'. (M., personal communication, 3 May 2018).

Planes of time

The emphasis on the landscape's authors together with the constraints of the narrow range of available historical documents, necessitated a move away from a solely, structural longue durée focus and an incorporation of Braudel's other planes of time, conjunctures and l'histoire evenementielle, thereby embracing the differing elements of 'geographical time, social time and individual time' (Braudel, 1966, p. 21). As illustrated in Figure 7, the temporal planes are situated in relation to the type of authors. The macro authors are generally responsible for the structural shifts within the landscape over la longue durée. Whereas the meso authors follow the history of the main land-owning, local decision-making families thereby epitomising the conjuncture plane of time described as the 'social history, the history of groups and groupings' (Braudel, 1966, p. 20). The micro authors typify l'histoire evenementielle, the small events and individual human life cycles, such as those described in the Protestant victim depositions following the 1641 Catholic rebellion and stories from the local community.

Conclusion

This paper presents a new methodology for assessing Irish landscapes by applying a biographical approach. Previous biographical studies have been adapted and developed to fit the unique Irish position with a focus on the historical transformations and authors' reciprocal impact upon the landscape's multi-layered palimpsest. This research has categorised the landscape's authors into macro, meso and micro, which allows for a greater emphasis and specificity on the human-environment interaction, both over the longue durée and also following individual events and actions, which can be applicable to other regions in the country.

Future biographical studies could include a wider disciplinary reach, into the natural sciences, exploring the ecology of the region, such as its geology, paedology and edaphology, which could reveal further insights into the regional land use, as well as further work on landscape perceptions. Expanding the temporal boundaries of this study would also be beneficial, particularly exploring the changes into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The wide potential in its subject range is one of the biography's strengths, whilst also being its most challenging feature.

As a holistic and integrative method, it is argued that a biography is a more appropriate method to approach Ireland's position as a colonised country, with its subsequent conflict and innate complexities, than the current emphasis on national and regional LCAs and HLCs, advocated in the National Landscape Strategy. It is further proposed that the current adherence to the landscape assessment guidelines based upon UK landscapes cannot give a true reflection of an Irish landscape. It must be acknowledged, however, landscape biographies are not without their pragmatic challenges; compiling a landscape biography can be time consuming and expensive and does not

produce a quantifiable product that fits easily into planners' projects. Nevertheless, this work into Irish biographies could be a guide and supporting buttress to the formation of guidelines and classifications of future LCAs and HLCs in order to adequately reflect the rich national landscape.

Note

1. Townlands are the smallest administrative unit in Ireland originating from twelfth-century landownership, with boundaries that have remained largely consistent to the present. They range in size from less than an acre to several hundred acres, numbering around 60,000 across the island.

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Notes on contributors

Emily Shakespeare is a PhD candidate at Waterford Institute of Technology, researching a transdisciplinary landscape biography of Kilrossanty parish in the Comeragh Mountains. She was awarded funding from the Irish Upland Forum and Landscape Research Group in 2018.

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Appendix F: Skills Training Plan

Skills type	Skill deficiency	How training was achieved	Status
Research skills and techniques	Research methodologies	Generic skills course at WIT eg. Introduction to Research Methodologies, How to do the Literature Review Collaboration with other PhD candidates	Complete
	Aerial drone technology	School of Engineering, Co-Supervisor Robin Stubbs, aRCH, BIM research team, co-supervisor guidance via Robin Stubbs and Ken Thomas	Attended UAV Use seminar April 2017. Footage acquired Oct 2019 with Ann Power, licenced UAV pilot within WIT.
	GIS and general mapping applications	ESRI training courses – Fundamentals of ArcGIS 10.x for Desktop with follow-on courses AutoCAD training	Attended ArcGIS Pro 2 day course May 2018, follow up training via Lynda.com (LinkedIn Learning) No longer necessary
	3-D modelling	School of Engineering, Co-Supervisors Robin Stubbs, Ken Thomas and BIM research team, aRCH	No longer necessary.
	Evaluation of ecological and physical aspects of landscape	Principal Supervisor, Jane Russell-O'Connor, Fossitt Guide and Heritage Council Best Practice Guide, BArch (WD144): History of the House module, A History of Public and Ritual Buildings module	Fieldwork sessions completed with Jane Russell-O'Connor

	Historical evaluation, cataloguing, collection and analysis of data	Principal Supervisor, Jane Russell-O'Connor, Bernadette Guest, Heritage Officer, Waterford City & County Council MA in Arts and Heritage Management (WD549). Irish Arts, Heritage and Cultural Studies module	Session with County Archivist and National Archives personnel. Tropy software online course completed Archival skills developed from collecting material from UCC (Nov 2018), National Archives (Nov 2018) and Valuations Office (Dec 2018) Development of interview techniques from conducting series of interviews between April 2018 and Jan 2019
Research Environment	Funding streams and commercial and academic application of research	Industry and college seminars, eg. Heritage Council, local authorities Create links with other national and international academic landscape groups eg. UL, Tallinn University, Centre for Landscape and Culture, Landscape Research Group	Awarded research funding grants from Landscape Research Group and Irish Upland Forum. Attended Identifying Grants and Funding Sources workshop at WIT Ongoing
	Local research environment	Renew links with Joanne Rothwell, Archive Officer, Rose Ryall, Environmental Officer and Bernadette Guest, Waterford City and County Council as well as Comeragh Community Development Group, Ballymacarbry Community Centre Ltd and Roisin O'Grady, Heritage Officer, Tipperary County Council	Renewed links with Comeragh Community Development Group and existing community contacts, snowball sampling effective for requisite number of interviews

Research Management	Qualitative research software, eg NVivo	Generic skills course at WIT QSR International – Fundamentals of NVivo 10 for Windows Online Course and Moving on with NVivo 10 for Windows Online Course	Attended NVivo course August 2016 and updated with Lynda.com Tropy software online course completed
Personal Effectiveness	Self-motivation / Time management	Generic skills in WIT	Member of AIARG Conference organising committee in January 2017
	Acquire background knowledge	Seminars/conferences/lectures inter alia: Tipperary County Museum Lecture Series, Irish Uplands Forum events, Centre for Landscape Studies Conferences National Landscape Forum	Attended numerous conferences
Communication Skills	Academic writing skills	Generic skills course at WIT Principal supervisor, Jane Russell O'Connor Write and publish journal articles in inter alia: Landscape Research and Landscape History, WIT Research Day 2017, Irish Uplands Forum conference, National Landscape Forum	Reports submitted to LRG and IUF, which were well-received. Article published in Landscape Research Journal January 2022
	Referencing	Principal supervisor, Jane Russell O'Connor Generic skills course at WIT	Endnote training 15 Dec 2016
	Support the learning of others	Principal supervisor, Jane Russell O'Connor	Support to fourth year Architecture students in their project on an abandoned village in Kilrossanty, 2017.

			Established and currently host a monthly landscape researchers' postgraduate and practitioners online group for connection and exchange of research
Networking and team working	Develop networks within the academic arena	Creating and developing links and networks with industry-related professionals, academics etc. Develop links with Bernadette Guest, Heritage Officer, Waterford City & County Council and Julia Walsh Drohan, Education Officer and Rosin O'Grady, Heritage Officer in Tipperary County Council Improve links with Heritage Council Involvement with School of Engineering Research Groups Generic skills course at WIT	Developed links with academics within landscape eg. Barry O'Reilly, Mary Tubridy, LRG, IUF, National Landscape Forum Meetings with Waterford and national archivists Attended WIT Humanities Symposium Member of aRCH group in WIT Working in the Landscape Research Group, coordinating landscape researchers and practitioners networking, organising relevant events and other landscape research projects.
Career management	Identify key milestones in future career in landscape evaluation	Generic skills course at WIT Career guidance facility at WIT Networking at conferences, workshops, academic events, Landscape Research Group	Attended Managing your Online Profile Generic Skills workshop 4 May 2017

	Assess career opportunities and enhance self-promotion	Generic skills course at WIT: LinkedIn – Managing your online profile Create links with other national and international academic landscape groups eg. UL, Landscape Research Group, Natural Resource Wales	Acquired position of Communications Manager at the Landscape Research Group in February 2021.