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Author(s): Thomas Johnson Westropp

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## XI.

A STUDY OF THE EARLY FORTS AND STONE HUTS  
IN INISHMORE, ARAN ISLES, GALWAY BAY.

By THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A.

PLATES V.-VII.

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"THE Aras of the Sea," as the "Book of Rights" records, were in early times regarded as a part of Munster, an appanage of the kings of Cashel. They lie so far cut off from that province (and even farther from the province of Connaught, to which they have been reassigned since the later sixteenth century) that they rather form a little world of their own. This isolation, though modified in later days by a steamboat service, has maintained so many touches of primitive times and remains of early buildings that they are a veritable treasure-house to students of the language, beliefs, and buildings of early Ireland and its primitive condition. At one time its stone huts were second in interest only to those of Corcaguiny and Iveragh in County Kerry; its forts hold the first rank, and, indeed, have usurped more than their just share of attention as representative structures of their class to the outer world.

Having laid before the Academy a study of the chief fortress, Dun Aengusa, we may be allowed to follow up the subject as exemplified in the other forts of the same island and some typical huts. Here, as before, we will study critically the existing remains, and bring to bear on them all available records in endeavouring to discover what features are early, what justifiably restored, and to eliminate as far as possible the distrust naturally engendered by the wholesale restorations of the year 1884. Unfortunately the many sources which yield so full an account of the unrestored Dun Aengusa fail us for the most part. It is as if writers exhausted by the complexity of that fort passed by the rest with a feeling akin to contempt. By ill chance my own notes of 1878 on these other forts were hurried and mere general statements, without even sketch-plans or detailed camera-sketches, so are almost valueless compared with those on Dun Aengusa and the churches. Even of these, my views of Dubh Cathair and Dun Onaght are lost, and that of Dun Oghil too

poor for use. No views even of portions of the masonry or steps are in the Ordnance Survey Letters; there are the noble views of the two lesser duns and a defaced one of Dubh Cathair in Lord Dunraven's Notes<sup>1</sup> and a sketch of a trilithic door of a fort, near Baile na séan, by Mr. Kinahan. More material for the huts is extant; views of the Cloghaunnacarriga by Petrie, some plans of others by Mr. Kinahan and Mr. Kilbride, and a camera-sketch of the first taken in 1878. The plans of the forts are poor, and in some cases incorrect when compared with the old descriptions and present remains. The caher of Killeany we describe, giving a view of its wall for the first time, as also that remarkable cloghaun in the same townland near Pouldick cove.<sup>2</sup>

The forts, like Dun Aengusa, give signs of early rebuilding in some instances. One promontory fort, noted by O'Donovan, we failed to reach on any of our visits. It is, however, probable that O'Donovan missed no feature of interest, and that little now remains to be seen.

As to the huts, the question of their age is complicated; some seem very early, and were so regarded in 1685; others are hardly distinguishable from work little over a century old. As in Kerry, so in Aran, such huts long continued to be made; but as a rule massive work may be assigned to an early period. That any are of pre-Christian times we are unwilling to assert. The cells on Skellig Rock and at Temple Gobnet in Inishere are almost certainly Christian, and those at the former probably date from the seventh and eighth centuries; none on Aranmore seem more primitive than the last, and many have the rectangular interiors which occur also at Skellig. Some of the slab-huts are as primitive as dolmens; but, on a small scale, slab-houses were made down to recent times as pig-sties, dog-kennels, and lamb-shelters. The larger dry-stone house near Temple Benen seems late indeed, and the cloghauns near it, and those that stood in the Dubh Cathair and remain in Dun Onaght, are late and rectangular, one with late-looking ambries. Of cells in the walls of forts (other than at Dun Aengusa) we only found a small one in Dubh Cathair; but it was too much filled with loose stones to examine fully. O'Donovan notes a second in the unnamed promontory fort near the latter place.<sup>3</sup> Dun

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., Plate VI.

<sup>2</sup> Page 198.

<sup>3</sup> Cells in walls are rare in Aran and unknown in County Clare, but occur on the coasts of Mayo and Kerry in many stone forts. As we have occasion to use Mr. G. H. Kinahan's interesting articles on Burren and Aran in Hardwicke's "Science Gossip," vol. for 1875, we may here note some necessary corrigenda:—Page 83, the forts in Burren are rarely (not "often") on "conspicuous heights"; "the number of remains and sites of antiquity" do not "seem small," but are surprisingly numerous; "most of the large ones (forts) seem to have chambers in the wall," page 84; no such feature is known to have existed in any of the forts of Burren; same page, the path to a fort there named is straight, not "serpentine," and the abattis from 50 to 100 feet, not "two to three hundred yards." But the articles have many field-notes and sketches of value apart from the preface. The series begins on the geological features of Burren and round Gort in 1872.

Oghil, like Dun Aengusa, has no old huts. 'There are no warders' huts or cells or any passages in the wall of any fort in the islands.

As to the features there are two kinds of steps: the ladder kind, occurring also in several forts in the kindred district of the Corcomroes in Clare, and the sidelong flight, rare in that county. Nothing like a plinth, or like the narrow set-back ledge found in Clare and Corcaguiny, is known in Aran. In some cases the sidelong flights are in couples rising from a landing in a recess, as at Staigue and many other forts.

Of Fort Gateways, save the trilithon and those at Dun Aengusa, all are defaced; but it is notable that the ancient faces of the gateway of the inner ring of Dun Oghil unmistakably show a wide passage, too wide to be covered by lintels, unless there were detached piers built of small masonry supporting the latter, as is the case at Dun Aengusa.<sup>1</sup> Killeany caher had its jambs built in layers continuous with the facing of the wall, as is most usual in the forts of Mayo, inland Galway, Clare, and in some degree in Kerry. The entrance at Dun Onaght seems like that of Dun Oghil; but the masonry at the outer ope may have been restored.

The walls of Dun Onaght, Dun Oghil, and Killeany have a well-made batter, unlike Dun Aengusa and Dubh Cathair, the last being the worst-built in Inishmore, as Dun Onaght is the best. Upright joints occur in the three; so far as I know Dun Conor is the only other Aran fort with this feature. The walls of all, save Killeany and perhaps the duns at Bailenashane, are usually of two or more sections, each with an outer face, and in some cases an inner one, but, as a rule, of smaller stones than the outer ones. Dubh Cathair has (as restored) three terraces and a sort of terrace across a hollow; Duns Oghil and Onaght have only two. Of rarer features, Dubh Cathair has an abattis of slabs, unlike the sharp pillars of Dun Aengusa and Ballykinvarga — also a winding way, but probably rather modern, as it leads to a blank wall. None of the forts have springs within their ambit; but good water is found near the great ring at Teampull na naemh at Kilmurvey and near Duns Oghil and Onaght.

HISTORICAL NOTES.—At a risk of repetition, but as briefly as we are able, let us consider the general history of the islands. Early legend asserted, what is probably a geological fact, that "Lough Lurgan,<sup>2</sup> or Galway Bay, burst out" at a very early if doubtful date in Irish history, the remnants of the outer land being the isles of Aran. About the beginning of our era,

<sup>1</sup> And probably at Dun Conor, where the width of the gateway was ascertained as 2 feet 5 inches outside and 3 feet 6 inches inside, the passage being 6 feet 3 inches.

<sup>2</sup> The name survives only in the North Sound, Bealach locha-lurgain. Perhaps before the "bursting" it was a long, shin-bone-like creek (lurga), running up to the river from Loch Oirbsen (Corrib).

legend (in the tenth century, if not earlier) attributed a settlement in Aran to a fugitive tribe of Firbolgs, "the sons of Umoir," Aenghus at Dun Aengusa in Aran, Conchiurn (or Concraidh) in Inismedhon (Inismaan, the Middle Island). Some fancy that Murbech Mil, a third chief, settled at Kilmurvey, a few hundred yards from Dun Aengusa; but the place intended was probably some other seashore on the coast of Galway or Clare. Conchiurn had become Conchobhair by the seventeenth century; but local legend identified him with (and attributed his great fort to) Conor na Siudaine O'Brien, King of Thomond, who was slain in 1267.

The descendants of the mythic hero Fergus mac Roigh and the great Queen Maeve, the Corca Modruadh, replaced the Clan Umoir in northern Clare, of which Aran was a part. There was an Eoghanacht tribe in Corcomroe, the Eoghanacht Ninuis, and it held the islands at the dawn of history. If the late "Life of St. Endeus" rest on solid records, Corbanus, their chief, deserted the islands on the arrival of St. Enda about 480.<sup>1</sup> Enda's monastic settlement lay in the east of Inishmore; but there was another ecclesiastic who established himself in the west—Breacan, son of Eochu Bailldearg, a Dalcassian prince of Thomond (then mainly Limerick and northern Tipperary, with a precarious suzerainty over Clare): he settled where Temple Breacan and his grave preserve his name. The Dalcassians, after 350, under Lughad Meann and Conall Eachluath, Kings of Thomond, seized Clare from Connaught, probably settling the plain from Inchiquin to Quin, and getting nominal supremacy over the free tribes, the Tradraighe, Corcavaskin, and Corcomroe. One might expect that this attached Aran to Munster, for Enda asked his brother-in-law, Aenghus, King of Cashel, for the Isles, but the King had never heard of them till then. As an appanage of Cashel they remained, though they were released from certain tributes in A.D. 546. The late "Life of Endeus" does not mention the forts, and is quite devoid of local colour. Aran became a centre of learning and religion; it was a resort of students from all parts of Ireland, and from the Continent, as the grave inscribed "septem Romani" (no less than our written records) testifies.<sup>2</sup> Of its Irish *alumni*, to select only a few, Kieran of Clonmacnois, Fursey, Brendan the Voyager, Colman macDuach, perhaps Benen, disciple of Patrick, Caimin, brother of Kevin of Glendalough, and Columba, the apostle of the Hebrides, studied in its cells.

Successors of Enda are recorded at intervals from 654 to 1400; but the

<sup>1</sup> Augustin MacGraidin's "Vita Sancti Endei," written about 1380, a work unusually devoid of topographical and archaeological interest.

<sup>2</sup> The Calendar of Oengus, "Thrice fifty currachs of Roman pilgrims." "150 pilgrims from over the sea." "Seven monks of Egypt." There was also an inscription of "Bran the pilgrim" found at Temple Breacan.

series is very imperfect. The monasteries were burned in 1020, plundered by the Danes in 1081, and by the English, under Sir John Darcy, with a fleet of fifty-six vessels, in 1334. The Clan Teige O'Brien, of Tromra in County Clare, became the ruling lay chiefs in probably the thirteenth century, when their relative Conor na Siudaine, King of Thomond, is alleged to have "built" (i.e., as usual, "rebuilt" or "repaired") Dun Conor. The clan built O'Brien's Castle in the chief ring fort of Inishere, and a Franciscan House at Killeany in 1485. They kept Galway Bay free from pirates, and were in close alliance with "the City of the Tribes" at its head; their power culminated in 1560, when they were strong enough to invade Desmond; for, twenty-five years later, the O'Flahertys had driven out the chief and annexed the island. In vain the Galway merchants prayed the Government to reinstate Clan Teige; the Armada was expected, and the English left the O'Flahertys in possession. The dispossessed O'Briens sustained their claim even after the great civil war of 1641, but never established it. The Elizabethan authorities garrisoned a castle of Arkin at Killeany; it was repaired, and a new garrison placed there in 1618, and again, after its surrender to the Cromwellians, in 1651. It was rebuilt in the following year. As to the Firbolg descent of the inhabitants, the inquisitions only exhibit names from Connemara and Clare, evident immigrants with the O'Briens and O'Flahertys. There is also a strong strain of Cromwellian blood, as the garrison, left to itself, merged into the native population. In 1641 the O'Flahertys raided Clare from Aran, and captured Tromra Castle from the Ward family, to the destruction of their leader twelve years later. Roderick O'Flaherty wrote his well-known account of Aran in 1685, and the ruins were conserved by the Board of Public Works exactly two centuries later. It is very remarkable how absolutely silent all history and records are on the subject of the ring-walls. A legend of about the year 1000, an allusion in 1685, and a wild theory and imaginary sketch in 1790, sum up the annals of Dun Aengusa before the nineteenth century. The other forts of Inishmore are never even mentioned. They were of no interest to monk or politician, and even the intelligence and wide mind of O'Flaherty only thought of them for a moment, and did not preserve us even the name of a single fort with which this paper is concerned.

As to the divisions, Aranmore in the sixteenth century seems to have been divided into *Trian Muimhneach*, *Trian Connachtach*, and *Trian Eoghanachtach*.<sup>1</sup> These doubtless represented the divisions assigned, the first to the representatives of Breacan and the men of Thomond, the second to the

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<sup>1</sup> Inquisition P.R.O.I., taken 1594 at Arkyn. *Tren-Moynagh*, *Tren-Connaught*, and *Tren-Onaght*. The second was held by Tuam in right of the old see of Annacoyne (or Annadown), to

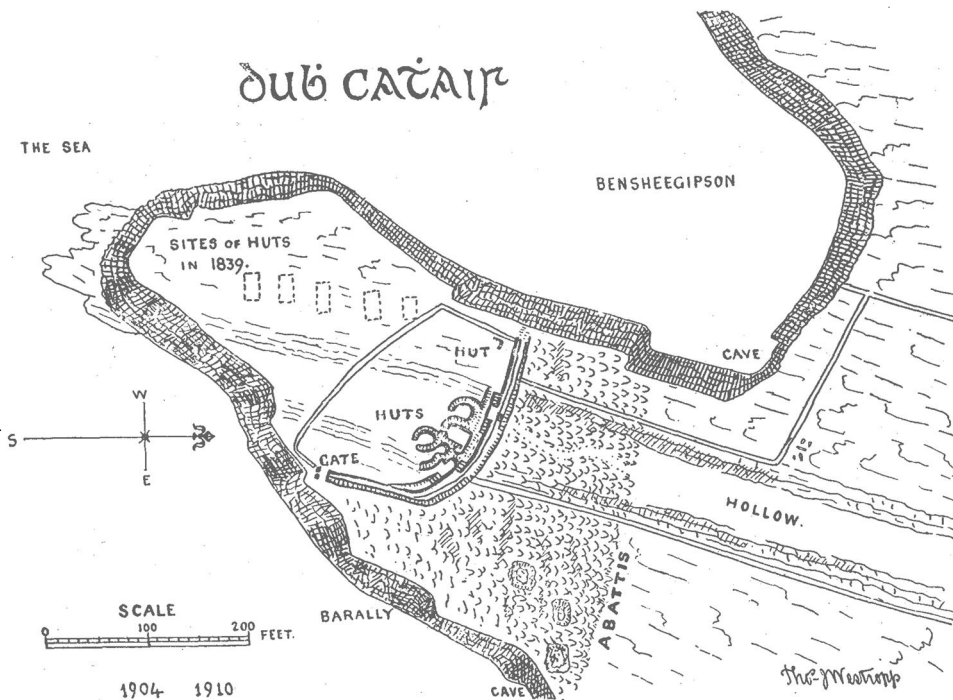


see of Tuam, and the third to the representatives of the Eoghanacht Ninuis in Corcomroe, which was a virtually independent state doing nominal homage to the Princes of Thomond and the over-kings of Cashel.<sup>1</sup>

### DUBH CATHAIR.

(Ordnance Survey Map, 6 inches to 1 mile, No. 110.)

The most remarkable stone fort on Aranmore after Dun Aengusa, and one of the most remarkable in Ireland, had its restoration been more prudent and better recorded, is the Black Fort, Dubh Cathair, or locally Dun doo 'haar, the fort of the black caher, wrongly called Doonaghard on the map. It is very



Plan of Dubh Cathair, Aranmore.

inaccessible, being fenced off by a long series of tottering, dry-stone walls, and almost impassable laneways, filled with loose stones, the best approach, though circuitous, being along the coast from opposite Killeany. It lies on a high

whose abbot belonged Canonaght or Ferren na prioraght and Balleboght, also the ruined religious house of Monastroconnaught (Manister Kieran), and lands of Ardlone, Turtagh, Farrenconnaught Slevin, Balleconnell, Cloghaneprior, Onaght, Farrane Cannonaght, Ochill, Creaghcarragh, Reynboy, Carrilmore, Killeyn, and its parish church, Ballogalle, Arkin and Sawuskerton (? Carrowkerton). Turtagh is probably Turlaghmore in Onaght.

<sup>1</sup> See the "Book of Rights" (ed. O'Donovan).

headland, about 110 to 120 feet high,<sup>1</sup> to the south of the valley extending from Kilronan to the south-east, and is a conspicuous object from Dun Oghil and the central upland of the island. Its site is remarkable, the strata having formed two arched curves to either side; the sea drilled caves through these till the arches collapsed, originating two long bays, with a slightly hollow headland between; the hollow can be traced inland for a considerable distance between the two curved ridges. The view of the fort from the headlands or bay-heads to either side is very impressive, for (though scarcely a third of the height, "300 feet," stated by O'Donovan in the Ordnance Survey Letters) the cliff on which it stands is perpendicular or overhanging.<sup>2</sup> The rocks, dark grey, black in the shadow, are formed of huge strata of limestone, practically level, their seams often marked and their darkness relieved by close-packed rows of sea-gulls. The boom of the waves into the great caverns can be heard through the rock inland with startling effect.

We first meet with an abattis,<sup>3</sup> formed of low stone slabs, set upright, in crannies of the rock, and far more passable and less ragged and worn than those at Ballykinvarga or Dun Aengusa. There is hardly any earth, save in the bottom of the hollow, and that, usually, 6 or 8 inches deep, and a mass of sea-pink. The band in the hollow varies from 114 to 126 feet, the last being through the middle, beside the winding path.<sup>4</sup> The latter, a zigzag band of green sea-pink, is probably of late origin, as it leads up to the intact wall, and the entrances were far to either side. No tall pillars occur, though several such, as regular as if cut to the square, lie just outside it; one 7 feet long and exactly a foot square, with straight ends, is a surprising piece of nature's work, square and fair as a timber beam. The wall is of rude and altogether poor and small slab masonry, bulging in and out, like the middle rampart of Dun Aengusa, overhanging its base in many places, and sorely needing the modern buttresses of the restorers. It is over 18 feet high at the head of the path, and overhangs 18 inches. There are set slabs and perhaps hut sites among the blocks, but the age of the huts is probably very late. The abattis extends 70 to 80 feet eastward past the end of the bay, as if the fort had once been wider; or at least the wall may have stood on the actual landward end of the headland, and the ground of the approach have been protected along the cliffs.

<sup>1</sup> This approximation is based on photographs; taking the fort wall as 20 feet, it gives 120 feet for the cliff; taking a man as 6 feet, it gives over 110 feet for the height. <sup>2</sup> Plate V., fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Lord Dunraven's "Notes on Irish Architecture" (1875), plate vi. The only detailed view, and it unfortunately partly defaced, of the fort before the restoration. In later times, so far as I know, the only views published are those (by present writer) by Dr. A. Guebhard, "Camps et Enceintes" (Congrès Préhistorique, iii.), pp. 999 and 1017.

<sup>4</sup> This was noted by Petrie as "a serpentine way difficult to trace" ("Military Architecture of Ireland," mss., R.I.A., p. 65).



When Petrie visited it in 1821, there was a perfect gateway at the end of the rampart to the west. This, with a great square "slice" of the cliff, collapsed before 1839, when O'Donovan visited the spot. This latter writer<sup>1</sup> assigns the date of the Dun to 1000 years before Dun Aengusa,<sup>2</sup> and had little doubt as to its having been built by the Tuatha de Danann, or the remnant of the Firbolgs, immediately after the battle of Moytura. The wall formed a segment of a circle 220 feet long, 20 feet high, and 18 feet thick; it was of rough large stones, far from being perpendicular, and without "any attempt at masonic art." Compared with Dun Conor it must have been raised in the very infancy of society. The "Rinn" was 354 feet long, 220 feet broad at the wall, and 110 feet at the south end, where it forms a terrific cliff 300 feet high. Inside were rows of stone houses "of an oblong conical form," but nearly destroyed; one row extended along the wall and was built against it. The other ran north and south for 170 feet, where it branched into two rows, one to the edge of the cliff at the south-west, the other to that on the south-east, but these rows were nearly washed away by storms. The great storm (the famous "great wind" of January, 1839) had recently done them great damage, hurling the waves "in mountains" over the high cliffs, and casting up rocks of amazing size on to the summits to the east. The shower of spray fell quite across the island. He gives a map which shows no steps, but Dunraven marks two flights. The cloghans, or huts, near the wall included one 12 feet across inside, and perfect (it was probably hut "E" of our plan). The largest, No. 2, was near the wall, and 18 feet long by 13 feet wide.<sup>3</sup> (I cannot suggest its identity, though the sketch plan coincides fairly well with the remains.) The gateway was on the east side, near the margin of the cliff. As may be seen, O'Donovan notes no features in the fort; but, from its condition before the restoration, this is evidently a mere oversight. Ferguson<sup>4</sup> and several writers who describe Dun Aengusa omit all account of the Black Fort.

<sup>1</sup> Ordnance Survey Letters, County Galway, p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> He repeated this view to the British Association in 1857. "Aran Isles" (Martin Haverty), p. 14. The abattis, no doubt, favours an early date, but the fort in present form is too complex to be dated to very early times, apart from all question of the endurance of the sea-torn headland.

<sup>3</sup> W. F. Wakeman, in "Aran, Pagan and Christian," 1862 (Duffy's Hibernian Magazine, N.S., vol. ii., p. 567), says that O'Donovan counted twenty huts here. "Poulgorrum under the cliff could swallow a ship to the top masts." Rev. W. Kilbride, in "Iararna," 1868 (Royal Hist. and Archæol. Soc., vol. i, ser. 3, p. 112), says all the huts in Dubh Chathair were oblong; but O'Donovan's plan contradicts this. Sir William Wilde mentioned that he had sketched the most remarkable hut on his visit, before 1857, but they had been much dilapidated since then ("The Aran Isles," 1859, p. 14).

<sup>4</sup> University Magazine, 1853, vol. xii, part i., p. 497, he had "come from Dhu Cahir and the Atlantic side," but barely alludes to "the lonely, crumbling pagan fortress, and the utter solitude of the dark, marble-ribbed desert."

About 1870 Lord Dunraven<sup>1</sup> gives us the only other description of value. Repeating O'Donovan's figures for its length, and the length and height of the headland, he notes that the wall had two faces or sections, each 8 feet thick and 16 to 18 feet high, the top being nowhere perfect. The stones were laid as headers, the masonry poor, the eastern gateway utterly ruined. He noted (what O'Donovan overlooked) that there was a chamber in the wall, and adds :—"Scarcely any of the inside face of the walls now remains."

The author in the "Irish Builder"<sup>2</sup> seems to confuse notes on the walls of the Black Fort with those on Dun Onacht, following (even in the error of the cliff's height) the "Letters." He independently, in June, 1877, noted the abattis, inside which were the remains of several buildings, one a beehive cell, part of the roof remaining, but the facing was nearly all gone. In the rampart was a small chamber, 3 feet 8 inches by 3 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 8 inches. One hut (inside the fort) had a midden of bones and periwinkle shells. Mr. Kinahan's notes in 1875 barely name the fort;<sup>3</sup> my own notes and views in 1878 are of little (if any) value—"a big, broken wall across the head, with a lot of low stones set in front over a hollow. It has no doors, and all the inside is upset; but it had huts just inside the wall, and, I think, a terrace, too." The view was only a general one of the headland and distant wall.

The total result, as bearing on the existing features, is that the wall exhibited two sections, a chamber in its thickness, two flights of steps, traces of a terrace, four huts along the wall base, with two outstanding, and the defaced remains of a gateway at the east end, close to the cliff.

As restored, it exhibits an imposing interior, with two lines of terraces, and a lower one in the central hollow.<sup>4</sup> There are three flights of steps from terrace to terrace, the centre being sideways, the others ladder flights. There are two sidelong flights to the west of the huts, and one to the east, from the ground-level to the middle terrace, and a short flight to the lower one. The wall at the east end forms two sections, 8 feet 6 inches inside, and 6 feet outside; between them is a stone set with its edge just outside the wall face, a late feature found in Scottish brochs, the forts at Fahan and near Dingle, and a few others (like Moherarooan, and the square caher of Cragballyconal) in Clare; 9 feet from the end of the wall are two large set slabs, evidently the facing of the south pier of the gateway; they stand hardly 9 feet from the cliff edge. Measuring first from the north gate-pier, we find that the wall running northward makes an abrupt turn westward, about 54 feet away, and that the

<sup>1</sup> See his Plate vi.

<sup>2</sup> Volume xxviii for 1886, p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> Hardwicke's "Science Gossip," vol. for 1875, p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> See Plate V, No. 2.

whole of this latter reach is 214 feet long, part near the west cliff having been destroyed and more fallen with the rock. At 31 feet the low terrace begins near the bend. A ladder flight of 8 steps is formed, from 12 to 15 feet from the bend (from which we shall now measure) : the lowest terrace ends in steps at 30 feet ; the highest rampart disappears at 39 feet ; the sidelong steps from the lowest to the middle terrace, and from the latter to the upper, are at 92 feet and 95 feet on the middle terrace ; the ladder steps on the upper with 7 steps, from 143 to 146 feet ; the sidelong flight below, from 154 feet ; the rampart remaining here. Near the foot of the middle lower steps is the chamber in the wall. The thickness at various points is :—Middle terrace, 4 feet to west, 5 feet 6 inches at middle, 3 feet to east ; upper terrace, 3 to 4 feet, generally 4 feet 8 inches in middle ; rampart, 7 to 8 feet in middle ; general thickness, exclusive of lower terrace, 14 feet 6 inches to east ; 18 feet 2 inches in middle ; height, 15 to 18 feet 6 inches, where measured.

The hut sites along the headland have completely disappeared ; of those near the wall there was a dolmen-like house of slabs, 5 feet and 6 feet long and 5 feet high, 15 feet from the wall, near the modern fence. At about 154 feet from the bend and 12 feet from the wall, in the hollow, is a circular hut 18 feet across, then an irregular one 30 feet by 14 feet, with a side cell to the north-east 6 feet by 8 feet 8 inches, and D-shaped in plan. Close to this is the long shapeless hut, a sort of passage, 9 feet wide, ending in a rounded cell. In this are two small low ope, the northern so nearly filled that we could only look into the cell. The lintel is only 7 feet long, the ope 20 inches high and 28 inches wide, at 15 feet from the steps of the lowest terrace. The southern door leads into another rounded hut, 12 feet by 15 feet, with an irregular passage 23 feet long. South of this again is a somewhat circular hut, with (as usual) walls 3 to 4 feet thick and 18 feet by 21 feet outside. I saw no traces of middens in the fort, but the whole interior is strewn with shells, usually (as I have often seen happen) dropped by sea birds. So far as I can judge, most of the ladder steps are old ; the sidelong flights are mostly, if not entirely, rebuilt, but probably on the site of similar flights. Much of the small inner facing, especially to the curved eastern end, is new. The lower parts of the huts are ancient, with the two small "creep" doors already named. In the more eastern part of the main wall I think there is a sloping mark, as if a sidelong flight had once run up to the terrace and been closed up and its steps removed, either by early restorers or in the extensive works of 1884. I was sorry to see here, and in other forts on Aranmore, that the curses of Irish archæology, the idler and rabbit-hunter, have again begun to tear into the terraces and to lever stones out of the wall faces.

FORTIFIED HEADLAND.—O'Donovan (followed by later writers) records  
[27\*]

another fortified headland to the north-west of the last.<sup>1</sup> The cliff had fallen in, and storms had reduced the remaining part of the wall to a shapeless ruin. A small chamber, not unlike that at Dun Aengusa, remained in the thickness of the wall. It was 3 feet 8 inches long and high by 3 feet 4 inches wide. The use of such cells is very problematic, save for storing some very precious small possessions. To the east of the fort are the remains of a cloghaun, 18 feet 6 inches in diameter, the wall 6 feet 7 inches thick. No such fort is marked on the maps to the north-west of Dubh Cathair; but a short headland at Poulbrickenagh has a cloghaun to the east of it, and is probably the place intended. There may be some confusion in O'Donovan's notes.<sup>2</sup> I can only regret that the difficulty of exploring the fine south coast (from useless tottering walls, extended to the cliff edge) did not permit me to verify the "Letters" in this case. I saw no object resembling a fort along the cliffs from Bensheefrontee to Whirpeas; but among the endless walls and rock- ledges this proves nothing.

Bensheefrontee, the headland next to the west of Dubh Cathair, is apparently walled in an unusually massive style. A vast and regular pile of large slabs runs across the neck, the space to either side being clear. There is no evidence of human work, and (though only credible to those who have seen the blocks in Clare and Galway<sup>3</sup> which have been thrown up by the sea, and especially those by the gale of January, 1839, along the coast to the other side of Dubh Cathair) the band is possibly natural.

Still further westward the long, bold headland of Nalhea, Aedh's cliff, seemed so likely a site that I, at some trouble, examined it. However, the wall shown on the maps proved a slight modern one, and there was no trace of older work or anything to reward one for traversing the complicated and rugged bohereens, save the beautiful outlook along many miles of foam-girt precipices extending to the Brannocks past Dun Aengusa, which presides over all at the highest point of the view.

#### DUN-KILLEANY. (O. S. 119.)

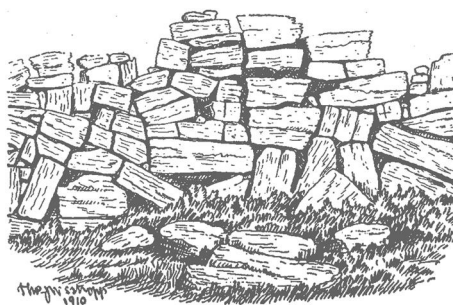
This ring-wall, though it has suffered to a very great extent, was once of better masonry, and in some respects more typical than the great "Duns" of

<sup>1</sup> Ordnance Survey Letters, County Galway, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> They were taken in April, 1839; the letter was written on August 26th.

<sup>3</sup> As near Ross in south-west Clare, Dunamoe in County Mayo, and elsewhere. As a less incredible fact, Lord Dunraven notices a large mast wedged into the face of the cliff near Dun Aengus, 70 or 80 feet above the sea. The destruction of the street of huts in Dubh Cathair, and the sweeping away of all their debris, render the flinging of these great stones up on the cliffs at this most exposed spot the less incredible. Also waves gain strength when the wind chases them sideways down a long range of coast, and rush over a projecting headland, even if of considerable height.

the island. It stands on a low, rocky knoll, on the edge of the ridge, in the townland of Killeany, and seems to have been very little altered since 1839, when O'Donovan first recorded it.<sup>1</sup> The caher is much overthrown, but portions of the facing of large blocks, laid very irregularly, but exhibiting one characteristic upright joint, are standing. Many of the slabs are 6 feet thick. There are a large base course, two faces, and large filling; the outer facing remains in reaches to the west, north-west, and south-east. The wall is greatly overthrown by rabbit-hunters inside. The garth measures 81 feet north and south and 51 feet east and west, the wall being in parts 7 feet high and 8 feet thick, but only 4 feet high at the gateway, where the blocks as a rule are 2 feet by 1 foot 6 inches by 9 inches, but some 4 feet to 6 feet long. The gateway faced the south-east; the jambs were built in courses, and the lintel was 4 feet 6 inches by 21 inches by 10 inches, showing that the ope was very narrow; it seems to be but little over 3 feet wide and 4 feet high. No foundations remain in the garth.



CAHER NEAR KILLEANY.

O'Donovan calls it a "cyclopean Bolgie fort of small dimensions," 72 feet in diameter, the wall 7 feet high, but too crumbled to allow its thickness to be ascertained.

## DUNS NEAR OGHIL. (O.S. 110.)

Mr. Kinahan records another "Dun" near Oghil, which had a well-preserved trilithic gateway which he sketched;<sup>2</sup> it is 70 feet in diameter, with a wall 8 feet thick; the doorway is 3 feet high, and 3 feet 5 inches wide, facing the south-east. In the same townland, not far away, is a cashel 60 feet in diameter to the south-west of Cloghaunaphuca. The larger dun seems to measure 110 feet by 220 feet approximately; it is a very dilapidated oval fort, half a mile from Dun Oghil, called "M'Doon," the strongest fort on the islands, with two or three other small cahers. All of these are now extremely dilapidated. The chief "Dun" was described by O'Donovan in 1839; it lay

<sup>1</sup> Ordnance Survey Letters, p. 251.

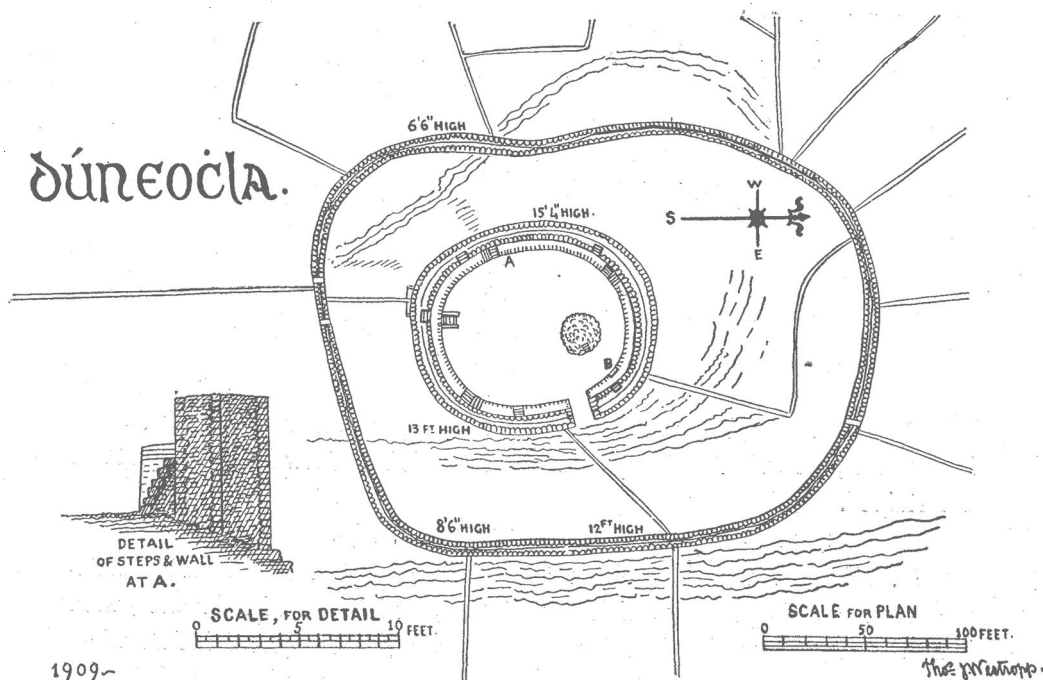
<sup>2</sup> Hardwicke's "Science Gossip" (1875), p. 84. We copy his sketch as little known.



south-west from Dun Oghil fort, and was even then much destroyed for building houses. It was built of very large stones, the wall 7 feet high, but neither its thickness nor the width of the fort could be ascertained; it stood on a rock-ledge 20 feet high.

#### DUN EOCHLA. (O. S. 110.)

Dun Eochla, or, as is usual with English speakers, Dun Oghil, is the most prominent fort in the island after Dun Aengusa, indeed more so than the latter, so far as those landing at Kiltonan are concerned. It stands on the brow of the central hill, not on the actual summit, but on the edge, perhaps for some shelter from the fierce westerly gales. The name is lost, for O'Donovan's Dun Kimbi or Dun Tamain is a play of imagination, and those chiefs were connected not with Aranmore but with Lough Hackett and Tawin Island. It forms one of a line of four stone ring-walls, which, with many stone huts, formed an extensive early settlement at Baile na Séan.



Plan of Dun Eochla, Aranmore.

Oghil derived its name, Eochoill, from an oak wood; so late as 1821 dwarf-oak scrub grew in the crags not far away.<sup>1</sup> It has been identified with the Lemchoill where St. Enda landed, but this last was evidently on the shore.

The Dun is a fine double enclosure, and is seen at its best from the

<sup>1</sup> John O'Flaherty, *Trans. R. I. Acad.* xiv. (Antiq.), p. 133, and *O. S. Letters*, Oghil. There is probably an allusion in Caeilte's song to russet oaks in Aran (*Silva Gadetica*, ii., p. 109).



eastern slope below, where its full size can be appreciated. The builders took advantage of a natural platform for the centre fort and, in part, of a low rock-ridge for the outer wall to the east, but to the south-west the latter wall disregards defensive lines and drops into a grassy depression in a very irregular manner. O'Donovan<sup>1</sup> describes the site in 1839, giving the dimensions of the inner fort as 91 feet north and south, 75 feet 6 inches east and west, the wall being of three sections, 13 feet to 16 feet high, and 11 feet 6 inches thick, the two outer divisions being of equal height, 8 feet 8 inches thick, the inner much broken, and 2 feet 7 inches thick. To the south the outer section rose 7 feet 9 inches higher than the terrace, which was 7 feet above the garth. A flight ran from the terrace to the south; another ladder 4 feet 1 inch wide, of which some seven steps remained, led up to the terrace. To the west of this spot above the ladder some steps ran to the left: they were 4 feet 1 inch broad, and 2 feet 9 inches deep; he gives their heights, which amount to 4 feet 5 inches. Another flight (now built up) ran from the ground to the terrace at the north-east side: it had three steps, the topmost broken by the falling stones, while some 20 feet from the last was the broken gateway. The north-east section was internally much ruined. In the area to the north was a round heap of stones, evidently a hut, as it had oblong and oval cells, while to the south-east was another building nearly destroyed. The outer ring had two sections, 5 feet 7 inches thick, 7 feet 9 inches to 12 feet high: it lay distant from the inner fort, 50 feet to the east, 90 feet to the north-east, 50 to the south-west, and 39 feet to the south; the outer gateway was defaced. This seems the only good description before the restoration. Lord Dunraven only adds a few details: the triple wall of the inner fort is 15 feet 5 inches high to the west, and 14 feet to the east. He notes the south-west flight as running up to the platform of the terrace, the south flight from the terrace to the top of the wall; its first step was of two stones, the second of one, the third of three. The north-east flight led up to the terrace and was nearly destroyed. The wall was 10 feet high inside at the south-west steps, their height 5 feet, and width 2 feet 4 inches, each being 6 inches high and wide. He shows ladder-steps near the gateway, combined flights of steps to the south-west, and ladder-steps to the south. He gives R. Burchell's view and plan of the south-west steps; he also names three sections. The author of the notes (1877) in the "*Irish Builder*" says the masonry is of stones lying on their sides, not with their ends showing, as at Dun Aenghus. This is not absolutely correct, though there is "stretcher" masonry at the gateway, and in the lower part of both

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<sup>1</sup> Ordnance Survey Letters, p. 230.

walls.<sup>1</sup> The banquette was usually 3 feet high, but 6 or 7 feet lower than the upper wall. The wall was 20 feet thick; the inner division being 2 feet 6 inches, the middle 10 feet, and the outer 7 feet. Three flights of steps south-west, south, and north-east gave access to the banquette: the southern led from it to the top, and the north flight had been nearly destroyed. My own notes on the fort (1878) are valueless.

As it now stands, we may note that the outer ring<sup>2</sup> had two sections visible at least to the north-west, where there is trace of a terrace. It was of large blocks to the south and south-west, some 6 feet long and 18 inches thick, set lengthways at the base, but usually as "headers" above; the square ends being visible, the interstices (as at Dun Aengusa) being packed with spawls of stone. It is 8 or 9 feet high, resting on a low ridge, and much ivy grows out of it, as at Dun Conor. There are gateway gaps with no traces of old work, one to the north-east and two to the south. The interspace between the walls is 59 feet to the east, 89 feet to the north-east, and usually 40 to 50 feet elsewhere, the plan not being an oval, as in the Ordnance Survey Letters and Lord Dunraven's notes, but very irregular. There are only a modern house ruin, and late traverses or rather field walls in the interspace.

The inner wall<sup>3</sup> had two divisions, now indistinguishable, and a terrace; it was from 11 feet to 15 feet high. It has a regular batter, like the Clare, Mayo, and Kerry forts, but this (save to the north and east) is distorted in parts. The jambs of the gateway are ancient below, of great long stones, 9 feet 7 inches by 2 feet 3 inches, where largest. No lintels lie about, but several seem to have lain down the abrupt ridge before the gateway in former years, rendering it probable that there had been an inserted gateway like that at Dun Aengusa.

The passage was 7 feet 9 inches wide in 1870; as restored it is 8 feet 7 inches wide inside. In the interior we note the following features:—A terrace 5 feet to 6 feet 4 inches high, and from 2 feet to 3 feet 6 inches wide (nowhere 7 feet wide, as stated in some books); the wall rises 5 feet or 6 feet above it. Going northward from the gateway, we find traces of two flights of steps, one above the other, to the north-east; the upper only retains three steps now as in 1839: one is of two stones; they are less than 2 feet wide. Of the lower flight the bottom steps remain, but the recess (defaced in 1877) has been built up by the restorers. The upper is 12 feet 9 inches, the lower 13 feet 8 inches from the gateway. The next is to the north-west, about 55 feet (round the wall) from the gateway. Five ladder-steps, 3 feet 2 inches long,

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<sup>1</sup> As his fine photograph shows, it also proves that a long reach of the outer wall to (I think) the west, was either entirely levelled to the bare crag, or only three to four courses remained (Plate VIII.). This is now rebuilt.

<sup>2</sup> Plate VI., fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Plate VI., fig. 1.

run up the terrace, with several new steps at right angles, as if the "reach" of the ladder-steps had been miscalculated, or the terrace raised after they were built. These steps are not shown on the plan of 1839, in its description, or in that of 1877. Further to the south, 4 feet 9 inches from the last, a flight 2 feet wide, of which the three lowest steps alone remain, rises from the terrace upward. At twenty feet to the south of the gateway is a flight of eight steps 4 feet 3 inches wide: it leads to the terrace, and is recorded in 1839; so does another flight at 45 feet 10 inches from the gate. This has five steps, and another embedded in the upper wall, where perhaps it once continued to the summit. It has also a flight of five steps at right angles to the north. This arrangement and that in the other flight has a counterpart in the noteworthy ladder-steps in Caherahoagh, in Inchiquin, Co. Clare;<sup>1</sup> but the transverse flight leads from the terrace up the wall in that fort. For comparison we may note that the usual ladder-flights in Clare, like those in Aran, have no spaces under the steps, as in the Caherahoagh stone ladder. The flight in Dun Oghil had three (not five) steps in 1839; two were probably then hidden in the debris, which encumbered the foot of the fort walls at every point at that period. A curious late arrangement of steps between two walls (dating probably from 1884) leads to another ladder-flight of eight steps in the upper section; this latter was also recorded in 1839. It is 36 feet from the south-east flight. About 23 feet west from it to the west-south-west is a ladder-flight of five steps up the terrace; it is 3 feet 5 inches wide, and seems unrecorded, though probably, like other unrecorded steps, the firmly set base stones and traces of the recess with loose step blocks were found in the debris by the restorers.

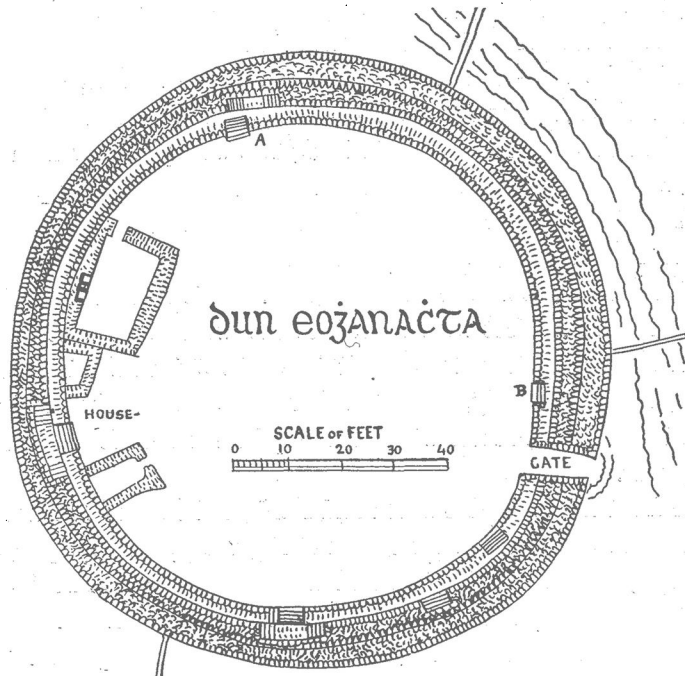
The garth measures 91 feet north and south, and 75 feet 6 inches east and west; there are no hut sites save to the north, where a round pile of stone, with chambers, once remained; we find an anomalous "round thing" with a flight of steps, possibly made with the blocks of the "closed flight," just opposite. From its situation on the central hill, and the large number of huts, with three forts, beside it, Dun Oghil, though less imposing than Dun Aengusa or Dubh Cathair, must have been at one time the chief residence on the island; and it is regrettable that its ancient name and legend are unrecorded and lost.

#### DUN EOGHANACHTA, (O. S. 110.)

One more perfect ring-wall stands on the edge of a bold rock-ridge, not far from the so-called "seven churches." Among the older settlers of the Corca-modruadh tribe in Clare we find, apparently, a branch of the East

<sup>1</sup> Roy. Soc. Ant. Ir., vol. xxvi., p. 366.

Munster Eoghanachts<sup>1</sup> called "Ninuis." Its chief, Corbanus, was in Aran (if we may trust the 1380 "Life") when St. Enda landed about 480; he then retired to his possessions on the mainland. The story is not unlikely, for the feeling that prompted the natives of a Pacific Island to erect "ghost-scarers" against an expected missionary was strong in early Ireland; a priest of a strange faith claiming to work miracles was a suspect of the darkest dye; and others, beside Mochulla, were described as "nigromancers" by native chiefs in western Ireland.<sup>2</sup> However, the "Eoghanacht" of Aran maintains its name to the present day, as Oonacht, or Onaght. The "Dun" has suffered little by the 1884 restoration; but, in accordance with our plan, we must note the earlier descriptions, and then the remains as they stand at present.



Plan of Dun Eoghanachta.

O'Donovan,<sup>3</sup> the first to note its existence, describes it as nearly circular 90 feet to 91 feet across; the wall was of three divisions with a regular facing

<sup>1</sup> Descendants of Eoghan Mór ("Mogh Nuadat"), who divided Ireland with King Conn, and gave his by-name to Leath Mogha, "the southern half" of Ireland in the second century, and with his son, Oíllill Olom, King of Munster, is ancestor of the chief Munster tribes according to the mythical pedigrees.

<sup>2</sup> So also St. Patrick and his companions were supposed to be fairies ("viros sidhe"); and St. Enda, an aerial spirit, or magician: one recalls the supposed theophany at Lystra at an earlier mission.

<sup>3</sup> O. S. Letters, Galway, p. 222. He told the British Association that the fort was "2000 years old," and repeated the theory of the wall being built in sections as a precaution against sapping

of large stones—namely, the inner and central parts 4 feet each, the outer 8 feet and 12 feet to 16 feet high. The doorway was 3 feet 4 inches wide, but was broken down. Four flights of steps lay to the cardinal points, all too defaced for description. The plan shows them as ladder-steps. He then notes Kilchomla, a reputed grave of a saint, below the fort, and an oblong building “near the fort,” 20 feet by 13 feet, with three more of similar form and equal dimensions to the north-east. It may be seen that there are also three such houses at that point inside the fort.

Petrie, in 1821, does not name the fort; Ferguson, in 1852, barely mentions its better preservation and more massive masonry. Lord Dunraven gives a fine view (Plate VII of his work) he gives the dimensions as 97 feet north and south, 93 feet east and west; stones 3 feet and 4 feet long, and 1 foot 6 inches deep, well laid. The wall, ruined to the east, 16 feet high, and apparently single, though (as he notes) O'Donovan describes three divisions: the platform is 3 feet deep and 6 feet or 7 feet high, with three-feet “recesses” in it, one opposite the door, the others at right angles, and four flights of steps from the area to the top, “now” quite destroyed.

“The Irish Builder” adds nothing, following Dunraven closely; my notes in 1878 are scanty, “a much smaller fort than Moher (?), or Doon Conor, but high walls and broken door on a crag.”

As we find it at present, Dun Eoghanachta<sup>1</sup> is in good repair, the walls being of regular large blocks, many laid as stretchers,” one 5 feet 3 inches long, others over 4 feet; there is a batter, of 2 inches to 2½ inches in 36 inches, in places to the west and east. The gateway is rebuilt at the outer ope, being 5 feet 6 inches to 6 feet 3 inches wide, the wall 14 feet 2 inches thick. Going from the doorway south-westward (to the left) the following features occur:—at 11 feet a ladder-flight of six feet steps, 4 feet 2 inches wide, up the terrace, which is 5 feet high; at 50 feet is another ladder 4 feet 2 inches wide, with nine steps in the terrace, and flights to left and right, with late steps up the wall, in a recess; the terrace is 6 feet 10 inches high; at 92 feet 6 inches we reach the huts, hereafter described; at 106 feet 9 inches, the ladder-flight, opposite the gateway, with eight steps up the terrace; a flight of eight steps rising to the left in upper wall, and another rising to the right; at 153 feet another ladder up the terrace, 3 feet 10 inches wide, the terrace being 5 feet 3 inches high and 3 feet 3 inches wide; the steps again are in a recess, five steps to each side; at 273 feet is a peculiar ladder-stair; the whole circuit

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or battering. Petrie gives a plan in “Military Architecture,” showing door to north-east, steps to north, west, and east, from the area up; from the south side of the second a stair ascends to the top. The wall is of three sections.

<sup>1</sup> See Plate VII., fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The sides remained in 1839; it was 5 feet 9 inches wide.







a third by Mr. P. J. Lynch near St. Finan's Bay, Kerry. The last had a hole through it, and it is not impossible that the holed stone at Kilcannanagh, in the Middle Isle of Aran, was of this character. They are usually distinguished as "cumdachs" (i.e., shrines) or bone boxes.<sup>1</sup>

#### DUN NEAR KILMURVEY. (O.S. 110.)

There was a large and strong fort, a ring wall, round Temple na naeve oratory, behind Mr. P. Johnson's stables; only the curved line of small filling and large blocks, much overgrown, is found to the north and east of the cell: the name is forgotten. A wall embodying many large upturned blocks runs along the crag behind (i.e. south and west) of Mr. Johnson's gardens. O'Donovan could not learn in 1839 from the owner, Mr. Patrick O'Flaherty, that it had ever been a circle. It is said that stones with arrow-like markings were found in making the garden, but none are known to exist. Petrie<sup>2</sup> says it (Cill mór Mhaighe) was a circular wall, 13 feet wide on top and 20 feet high, in 1821, "the stones being of vast magnitude." At an angle on the west side are the remains of a square tower 41 feet long and 20 feet wide, but the wall was only 3 feet thick. It contained several chambers in the rock, roofed by slabs, and circular or oval houses, of which the largest was 50 feet by 37 feet. It also surrounded two churches and two copious springs. The existing remains do little to support his description, for the remarkable fortress, along with the circular hut, was levelled ere eighteen years had passed. Near the church Lord Dunraven only found four courses of masonry remaining "for 50 to 100 yards."

#### CLOCHAUNS OR HUTS.

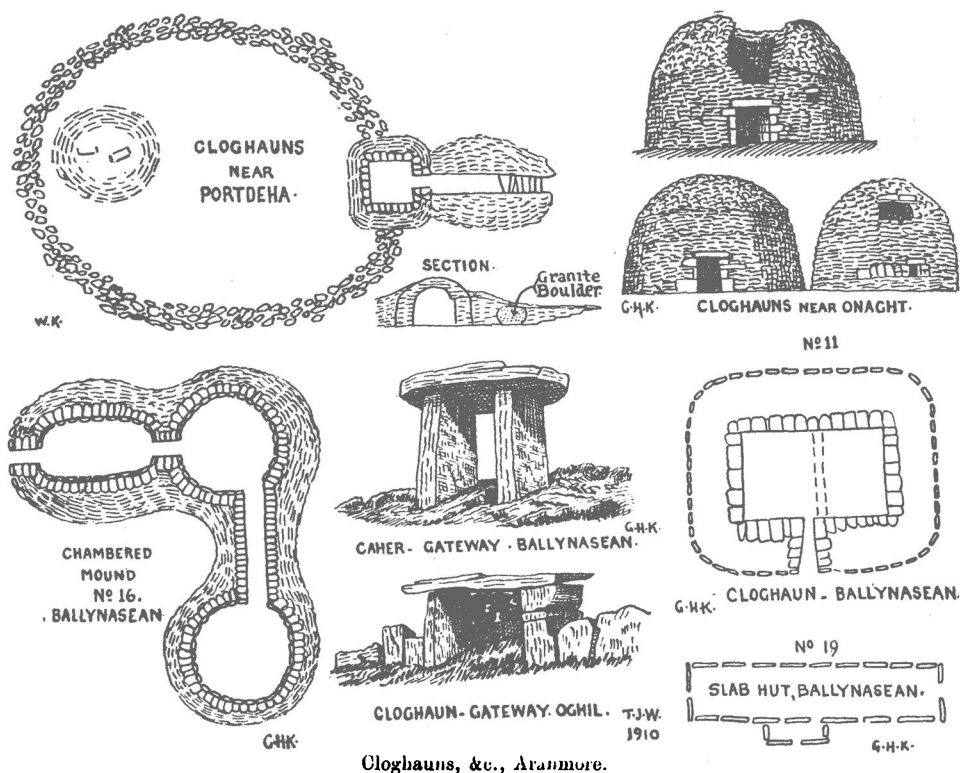
I do not intend to describe *seriatim* all the existing cloghauns in Aranmore; but a few notes on these residences are too closely akin to the subject of the forts to be out of place. They are of very primitive form, but there is every reason, here, as at Corcaguiny, in Kerry (where we have seen "early bee-hive huts" built some five years since), to believe that they were made in Aran down to the last century. Many remember the story of the man who, when the British Association in 1857 were examining some huts,<sup>3</sup> declared he had built them for his donkey the year before; but few remember

<sup>1</sup> This fort is evidently the "Fort Carrick" of Mr. C. H. Hartshorne's somewhat inaccurate paper (*Archæologia Cambrensis* (N.S.), iv. p. 298). I have found the name in no other place. "Fort Carrick a much smaller work, a single circumvallation, but the masonry, sallyport entrance, and alcove were analogous to the others."

<sup>2</sup> *Military Architecture*, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> "The Aran Isles" (the excursion of the British Association, 1857), Martin Haverty, 1859, p. 14.

how after his statement the huts were shown, marked on the Ordnance Survey maps, some twenty years earlier. Such statements, for, or against, the antiquity of primitive structures, should be received with caution. We have retorted crushing facts on facetious dealers in mendacity on more than one similar occasion, through our would-be misleaders being unaware of records of the structures, long before their lifetime, accessible to all students.



The oldest seeming type is certainly what Mr. George Kinahan calls a "fosleac," "ligatreabh," or slab-house. We have noted one in the Black Fort: it is closely like a dolmen; indeed, whether the reputed cists in the Aran Isles be really such, and not huts,<sup>1</sup> remains to be seen, but the common legend of Dermot and Grania attaches to one at Killeany, and another at Baile na séan. However, huts and enclosures of slabs set on end are apparently very easily raised in later days; and even a pigsty or dog-kennel of slabs like small cists are not necessarily a century old.

<sup>1</sup> Where exactly similar structures in Co. Clare were found buried in cairns, the argument as to their difference from free standing cromlechs, or that from their being on rock, does little to prove them non-sepulchral.

The round, or oval, domed, roofed hut. The best specimen is Cloghaunná-carriga,<sup>1</sup> between Kilmurvey and the Seven Churches. It has been figured by Petrie, and fully described; similar cells at Skellig Rock, off the coast of Kerry, and in forts in Clare and Kerry, are very common; some may date from the seventh or eighth century. All the late ones we have noticed are of small stones, so the massive character and skilful masonry suggest age. They vary from 12 feet to 18 feet across inside; they are numerous at Baile na séan. Mr. Kinahan records several; the best-known now is Cloghaunaphuca behind (i.e. south) from the Roman Catholic church at Oghil.

A variant of this is square below, and then corbelled at the corners, the roof coming into a dome, and made of slabs projecting one beyond the other, till the space can be closed by a single slab. Others consist of a group of round, oval, or irregular cells; one near Temple Benen, to the south of Killeany and not far from the cliffs, is so massive and so unusual in plan that we are puzzled as to its probable age.<sup>2</sup>

The third type is rectangular like a modern cottage. An early example, probably a monastic cell partly cut in the rock, is found close to the door of Temple Benen oratory. Later still is the curious dry-stone house which we also describe; it lies to the north-west of the same church, and appears to have had four cells. We give a plan so far as the debris allowed us to follow its lines. They seem to be first recorded definitely in the account of Aran in "Ogygia" by Roderick O'Flaherty in 1685. "They have cloghans, a kind of building of stones, laid one upon another, which are brought to a roof without any manner of mortar . . . so ancient that no one knows how long any of them were made," which favours the antiquity of at least the bee-hive form.

The middens near these huts yield shells, the periwinkle predominating, but with mussels and scallops, bonnet-shells, &c.; and bones of cows, sheep, and geese. Some have yielded pins, one a token of 1672; a celt, supposed to be for skinning seals, was found near Dun Conor on the Middle Island. Such implements are not uncommon, and are kept as charms. One midden in the last-named island is 36 feet by 27 feet and 3 feet high. Pillars (other than those bearing Christian emblems, as at Manister Kieran, Templemacduach, and Templebreacan) are few and small. Let us examine a few of the huts in detail.

CLOGHAUNACARRIGA, Clochán na Carraige.<sup>3</sup> (O.S. 110.)—It is an oval, bee-hive-shaped hut, quite perfect, 19 feet by 7 feet 6 inches wide and about 8 feet

<sup>1</sup> Plate VII., fig. 2. I owe this view to Dr. George Fogerty, R.N.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> First noted by Petrie, "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland," p. 130, with an excellent illustration, often since reproduced. The photograph reproduced, Plate VII., fig. 2, is by Dr. George Fogerty, R.N.

high; the walls 4 feet thick, but evidently thinner above, as they cove in for the roof. The doorway is of a very usual size, 3 feet high by 2 feet 6 inches; like the 102 feet wide of the garths of forts, I have found the dimensions very frequently on the mainland. There is a door to each side; one was blocked in 1878, and an end window, which, like the eighth-century huts at Skellig, "contrived a double debt to pay" as a window and a chimney.

**CLOGHAUNAPHUCA**, *Clochán na púca*. (O.S. 110.)—Named after the mischievous demon-horse or goat so familiar in our place-names and folk-lore. It resembles a cairn, and is 30 feet long, 18 feet wide, and 12 feet to 14 feet high, with two rooms inside. There are two low doors, the northern closed by fallen stones; the chamber is oblong, cut in two by a low cross-wall, with a door in the middle and opens to either side. The apartments measure 22 feet by 10 feet and 10 feet by 7 feet. The roof rises in corbelled courses; the hut had once little enclosures to each side.

**ONAGHT**. (O.S. 110.)—Two cloghauns stand on the hillside, due west from Dun Onaght. They are of the later type, the northern being rectangular, 18 feet by 14 feet wide, and 10 feet high. It (as is so common) has doors to the north and south; the first is the larger, being 3 feet square; the other is 2 feet 6 inches by 2 feet. There is a window to the south, 1 foot square and 3 feet up. The roof was destroyed just before 1866 by rabbit-hunters, the structure being then perfect. The southern hut is 15 feet long by 12 feet, and 9 to 10 feet high, with north and south doors, and a window at the south-west corner, the west wall resting on a low shelf of rock. They were first noted by O'Donovan in 1839.<sup>1</sup>

**BAILE NA SEAN**.—For illustration, we may select some typical examples from this large settlement on the central hill of the island, for, since Mr. George Kinahan<sup>2</sup> wrote, the remains have so suffered by rabbit-hunters, and been so buried in heaps of stones collected off the fields, that there is little to repay the dangerous and painful climbing of loose walls, endless from the network of little fields, in one's search for huts at any distance from the narrow rough bohereens that give passage across the island. (No. 7.) There is a slab hut of six large stones; it is 8 feet long, 3½ feet wide, and 4 feet high, but may be a dolmen, from its long and narrow proportions. (No. 9.) Two circular huts 24 feet in diameter; their walls are of a single thickness of stones,

<sup>1</sup> Ordnance Survey Letters, p. 225. He gives the dimensions as the southern hut, 14 feet 3 inches east and west by 6 feet 2 inches wide; it is angular at the west "corners" and rounded at the eastern ones. The roof is covered by ten slabs, 8 feet above the floor, with two lintelled doors to the north and south. The second hut is to the north-east. Half its roof is gone; it is 18 feet by 7 feet 5 inches, with north and south doors 1 foot 8 inches to 1 foot 9 inches wide. Mr. Kinahan gives the dimensions as in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Proc. R. I. Acad., vol. x. (1866-70), p. 28.

with slabs set on end round the base, and backed with clay. (No. 10.) Another is smaller, of 15 feet diameter, backed also with a circle of slabs 27 feet in diameter externally. (No. 14.) Part of a circular chamber in a mound; a passage leads eastward, and is 18 feet long, 4 feet wide, and 3 feet high, covered with large slabs. To the south-east is a circle of stones, 21 feet across, with another chambered mound and midden. (No. 16.) A chambered mound; one cell is oval, 15 feet by 8 feet; it has an entrance passage at the south-west side, 3 feet square, leading to a circular cell, 12 feet across; another passage, 15 feet by 4 feet by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet, runs to a third round cell, also 12 feet across. The surrounding earth mound is fenced by slabs to each side of the entrance. (No. 19.) A large slab hut, 30 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 4 feet high, with a small annexe attached to the north-west side. (No. 20.) A cell (like "creg a blughaun" cloghaun farther south);<sup>1</sup> the chamber is 16 feet long and 8 feet wide; the height cannot be fixed. Part of the roof remains; there are two doors to the north and south 3 feet by 2 feet 6 inches to 1 foot 9 inches wide. At the north-east is a window, 1 foot square and 3 feet up the wall. The chamber of Cloghauncalticaunnien is small, circular, and ruined; it lies south from Cloghaunaphuca to the west of the bohereen from Cowrugh near the field called "the Lag." The only reputed dolmen of the group lies in the fields called "Doonbeg" from the large<sup>2</sup> western fort. A pillar stone on the ridge, south from Farranacurka village, and another near the "Church of the four comely ones," seems to bound the "city." Thirty-one huts were recorded by Mr. Kinahan, and many others must have been cleared when the subdivision took place and the walls were made, probably long before 1839.

KILCHORNA.—Between Kilronan and the prominent headland of Pollnabriskienagh to the west of the Black Fort are two Cloghauns at a burial-ground with a holy well and church name, so they are possibly monastic. One is called Templemore, and measures 48 feet by 22 feet. The dripping well Toberchorna is now usually dry.<sup>3</sup> Two other rectangular huts lie nearer to the sea.

KILLEANY. (O.S. 119).—This was a place of much importance in the history of Aran as St. Enda's settlement, about 480; a number of churches, a round tower, and a sculptured high cross of some beauty and richness, attested its sanctity. The O'Briens in the fifteenth century added a Franciscan house and (some say) the Castle of Arkin. The last, an Elizabethan manor and garrison, was probably rebuilt in 1618, and was

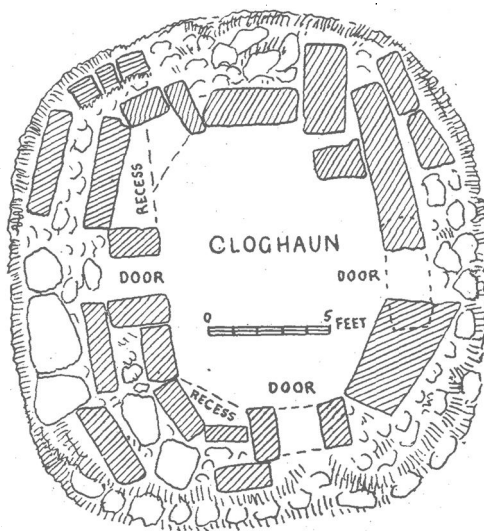
<sup>1</sup> It lies beside the bohereen, south of the chapel.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it was "small" compared to Dun Oghil at the other end of the settlement.

<sup>3</sup> See "Aran of the Saints" (J. Grene Barry), *R.S.A.I.* xvii. (consec.), p. 499.



probably entirely reconstructed in 1652. We, however, are only at present concerned with the cloghauns near the remarkable church of Temple Benen, locally, and corruptly, Temple Minnaun, the Kid's Church. Close beside the north door of the latter (for it is rebuilt north and south, not east and west) is a cell, built in a hollow, or cutting, in the rock; it is 9 feet 8 inches by 4 feet 2 inches inside, with walls 3 feet 6 inches thick, and quite featureless.<sup>1</sup> It was most probably roofed with stone. Farther to the north-west is a very curious, if late-looking, structure of dry-stone work, called in 1878 the Priest's House and the Monk's House,<sup>2</sup> and quite different in character from any other cloghaun known to me on the island. It measures 25 feet 6 inches to the west, 26 feet 1 inch to the south, and 23 feet 9 inches to the north,



Cloghaun near Pouldick, Killeany.

the south wing, 10 feet 8 inches wide, projecting for 5 feet from the eastern face. In the "set-back," so formed, is a curious semi-circular headed recess beside the door. The latter is 27 inches wide, and over 6 feet high, with lintels; it has a small recess in the north jamb; inside the northern part, about 7 feet to 7 feet 6 inches wide, seems to have had two rooms, while the western had one, but both are filled with fallen stones, and nothing appears to show how the roof was covered. There was a revetment forming a terrace to the north and east on the edge of the crag.

<sup>1</sup> "The Irish Builder," xxix. (1887), p. 103, describes it as 10 feet by 5 feet 4 inches, the door 2 feet wide, the walls 3 feet thick.

<sup>2</sup> I did not hear another name, "The Watch Tower," in my earlier visits.



Farther to the north-west, in the same field, was another straight-walled cloghaun, unmarked on the maps; it has been almost completely overthrown by rabbit-hunters, only a fragment of the facing to the east being visible in the heap of stones. In the next field, about 400 feet from the edge of the cliff at Pouldick, is another cell, one of the most curious of the Aran huts. It may be roughly described as oval, 11 feet 9 inches to 11 feet 1 inch north and south, and 9 feet east and west; but low recesses, where there is a corner, roofed diagonally by an upper slab, render its real shape explicable only by a plan; blocks 4 feet to over 5 feet long are to the north-west and south-west; there is a projecting pillar inside to the north-east. The low lintelled door 2 feet wide, and nearly filled, is to the (compass) east. There is another doorway, 1 foot 8 inches wide, and better preserved, to the south, which leads into an enclosure, 14 feet wide and 17 feet 6 inches long. The hut walls are 5 feet 6 inches to 6 feet thick, with two faces of blocks and an occasional bond-stone through the wall.

About a mile and a half to the east near the bay of Portdeha (Port daibche),<sup>1</sup> celebrated by Magraidin in the "Life of St. Enda" in 1380, the Rev. W. Kilbride<sup>2</sup> found another cloghaun buried in the sand. It is now reburied, and we must follow his description. The cloghauns were near Cala na luinge ship-harbour, and a place called Templenamrawher, Friar's church, where no early building is extant.<sup>3</sup> They resembled piles of stones externally, the second having a rude slab or tombstone on the top. About 1810, said the natives, a French or Spanish ship was wrecked, and all its crew lost in Cala na luinge. The natives buried the recovered bodies in the sand, and so dug down on the hut, its roof falling in. In September, 1867, Mr. Thompson, of Leeson Street, Dublin, and Captain Rowan, of Tralee, excavated the eastern hut, which rests on the rock. The lower part for 4 feet high is rectangular, 8 feet 2 inches by 8 feet 9 inches, and then rises in a dome 8 feet high; the entrance was 1 foot 7 inches wide, and the masonry very regular. From the door is a passage 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet 7 inches wide and 3 feet 6 inches high. At the east end are six steps, the topmost level with the side walls of the passage. A large ring of stones 72 feet across enclosed the huts.

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<sup>1</sup> Port doibche, see O'Flaherty, 1685, "hIar Connaught," p. 83, "portus dolii," in the "Life," where the barrel of corn came ashore by a miracle.

<sup>2</sup> See "Iararna," Roy. Hist. and Archæol. Assoc., Ir., vol. x., consec. (Ser. 3, vol. i.), 1868-9, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> The list given by Quelaesus, about 1635, names a Temple Maclonga, near the parish church of Killenda. Unless "near" is used in a narrow sense, one suspects that it is Templenamrawher, for the component "long" ship appears in Cala na luinge. "Mac" is a common mistake for other components, "an," "na," &c.

There is a dolmen (like the last, unmarked on the map), over 150 feet south-east from the church of Teglath Enda, in the sandhills; it seems now to be buried. It was about 9 feet long; three stones remained; the ends faced the north and south; the west consisted of a single thin slab 9 feet long the north of two; the interior was 3 feet 6 inches wide. The natives called it Labba, or bed, i.e., grave, and connected it with the familiar legend of the flight of Dermot and Grania.

Aranmore is indeed a treasury of early remains. To sum up, there exist eight stone-ring forts, one with two and one with four rings; one promontory fort, and perhaps a second. About fifty stone huts exist outside of the forts. It is strange that there are none in the greatest fort, Dun Aengusa. Of the mortar-built structures are a round tower, ten existing churches, sites and graveyards ("aharlas" included),<sup>1</sup> some seven "monastic residences," and two castles,<sup>2</sup> besides five churches, recorded by Quelaus (i.e., Archbishop Malachy O'Quealy, of Tuam) about 1635. There is also a dry-stone tower called Turmartin, on the shore of Gregory's sound, which boatmen reverentially salute, and fishing vessels lower their topsail before as the reputed tomb of the saint. At least thirteen stones bore Irish inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> six incised crosses, and there were three high crosses elaborately decorated with interlacings and fret-work of later Celtic art.

If we have had to utilize the work of others to an excessive degree, we have at least, in going carefully over most of the remains, used it, not to supersede research, but to show the condition of the buildings before the dilapidator and the restorer worked their will on the early forts of Aran. With this intention, and to record the state of the remains at the beginning of a new century, we lay these notes before the Academy.

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<sup>1</sup> Aharlas are rather unroofed oratories, sometimes near wells. There is a characteristic one in the village of Kilronan.

<sup>2</sup> There is also a place called Castleminna, beside Bungowla, on the north-east of that village.

<sup>3</sup> See "Christian Inscriptions," vol. ii. (Miss Margaret M'Nair Stokes), Plates xi.-xvi., pp. 18-33.

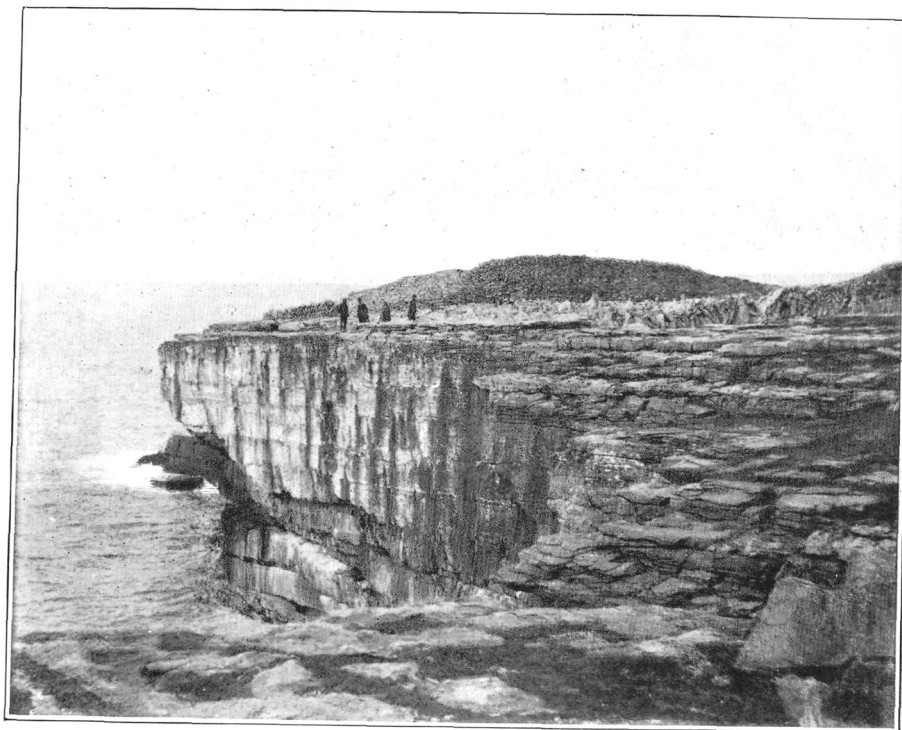


FIG. 1.—Dubh Cathair, Aranmore, from the S.E.

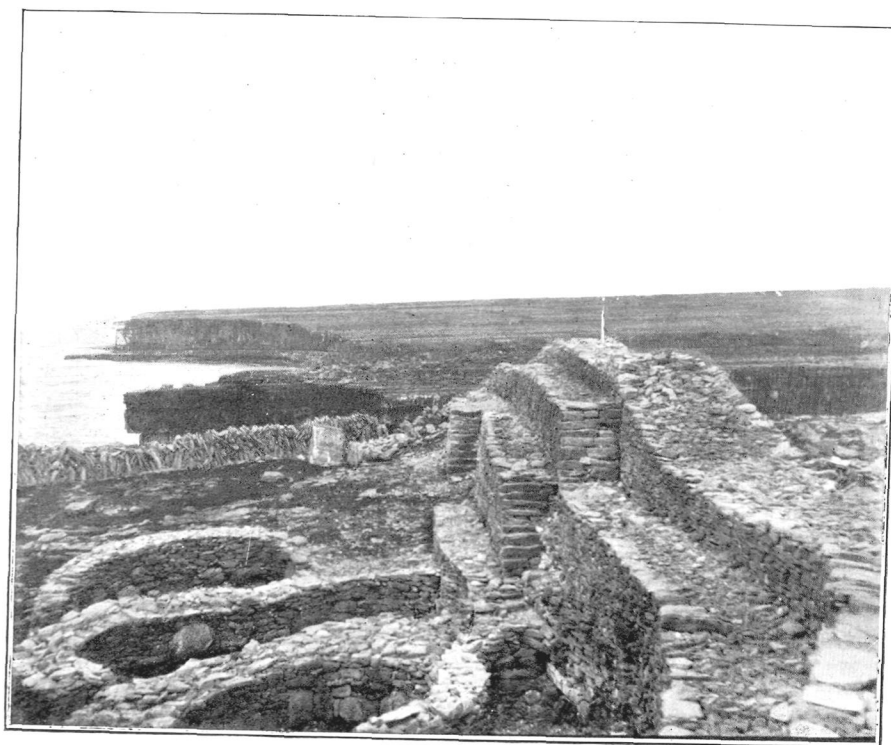


FIG. 2.—Dubh Cathair. Interior from the rampart.

WESTROPP.—ARAN ISLAND FORTS.





FIG. 1.—Dun Eochla, Aranmore. The central fort from S.E.

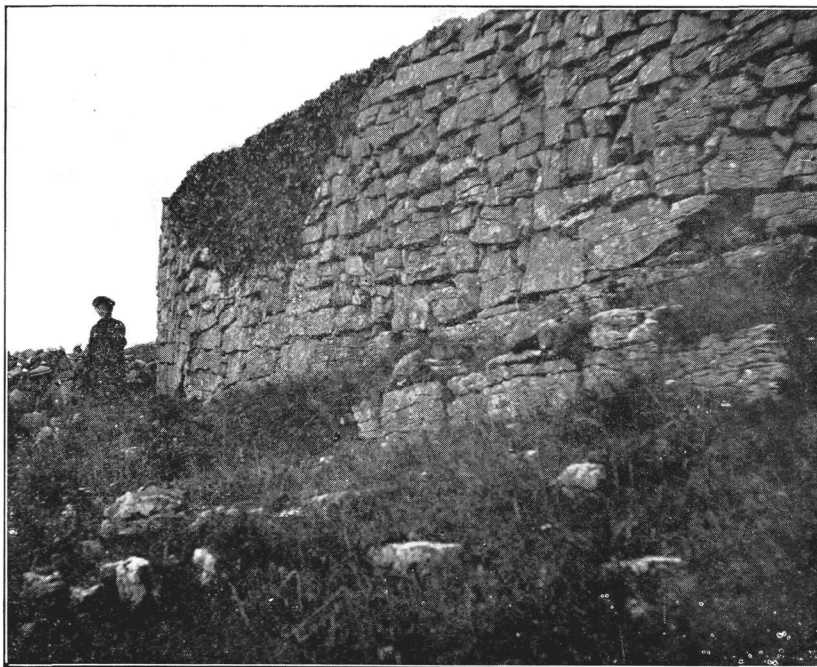


FIG. 2.—Dun Eochla, Aranmore. The outer wall at S.E.

WESTROPP.—ARAN ISLAND FORTS.

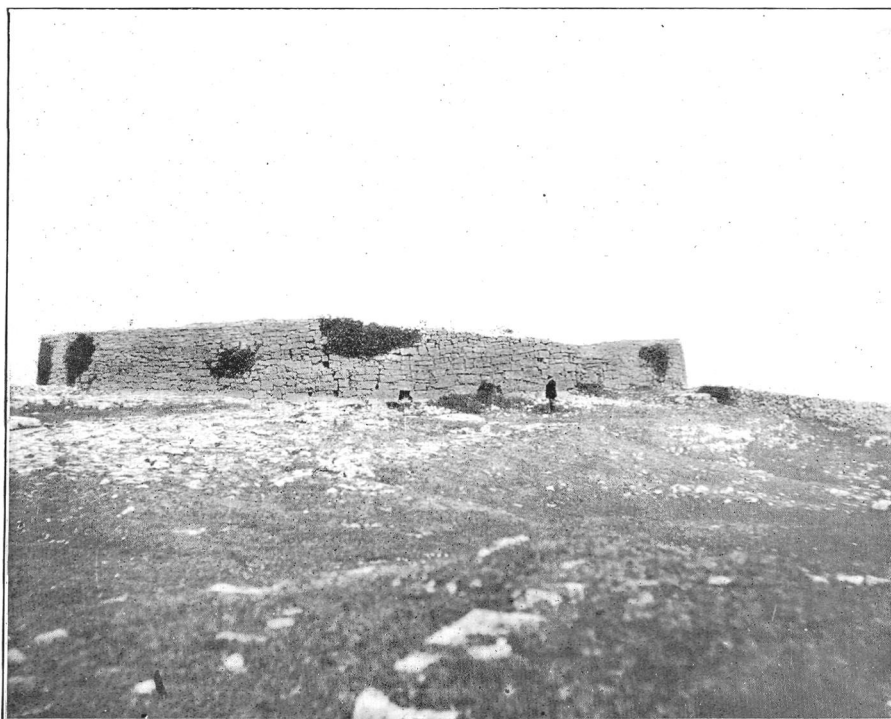


FIG. 1.—Dun Eoghanachta, Aranmore, from the South. (Photograph by T. J. Westropp.)



FIG. 2.—Clochán na Carnige, Aranmore. (Photograph by Dr. George Fogerty, R.N.)

WESTROPP.—ARAN ISLAND FORTS.

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# ERRATA.

## SECTION C.

Page 113, ll. 14, 24, *for* HARTOLFA *read* HARTOLFR

Page 113, l. 29, and foot-note, *for* A *read* R

Page 164, l. 4 from bottom, *for* Ce *read* Cl

Page 198, l. 5, *for* rebuilt *read* built