Priceless but Worthless

The Preservation of Archaeological Monuments on Privately Owned Land in Ireland

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Cover photo: the remains of an enclosure in The Burren in the west of Ireland (from the author's own collection)

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Contents

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Chapter I
Introduction

A farmer from Co. Kerry in the west of Ireland was fined €25,000 in March 2012 under the National Monuments Amendment Act 1994 and 2004 for irretrievably destroying a medieval ringfort and souterrain on his land (*Irish Times* 03/03/12)[1]. It is the first such prosecution in the history of the state yet he is not the first person to have damaged or destroyed a monument that stands on privately owned land. According to one study, approximately 33% of all Irish monuments no longer exist (Kennedy et al. 2009, 71). In the case of ringforts alone, it has been estimated that as many as 30,000 have disappeared from the Irish landscape forever; most of these since the latter part of the twentieth century (Mitchell and Ryan 1998, 255).

Clearly, monuments on privately owned land are under threat. The purpose of this research is to identify what these threats are, i.e. why and how monuments are being damaged or destroyed, and to find solutions to this problem that will satisfy the needs of both archaeologists and landowners alike. While some research has been done on this problem (Bennett 1989; Herity 1987; Kennedy et al. 2001; Stout 1984), only one survey so far has addressed farmers' attitudes towards archaeology in Ireland (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998). This was done using quantitative methods of research to arrive at general conclusions on the damage and destruction caused to archaeological monuments on privately owned land. The present paper is the first to use qualitative research to assess the farmer's actual needs when it comes to preserving monuments in Ireland. As such, farmers' own personal views will be presented alongside those of an archaeologist with the aim of providing viable solutions that will lead to greater levels of cooperation and interaction between these two groups of stakeholders.

[1] http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/ireland/2012/0303/1224312717627.html , last accessed 01/06/12.

Ireland's archaeological resource and the landscape that it is part of are the primary cultural and material resources of the country. They contribute to the distinctiveness and sense of place that all Irish people and visitors from abroad enjoy (Mount 2002, 488). Archaeological monuments are a limited, non-renewable resource. Each one of them is a unique repository of archaeological and scientific information and damage to or loss of monuments is irreversible and permanent. They have come under increasing pressure from intensive farming practices and it is important to protect them to ensure their long-term survival for future research and for the enjoyment of future generations (Bell et al. 2009, 15). However, while conservationists support blanket protection for monuments, it must be remembered that farmers need to make a living from the land. Indeed, the survival of so many monuments in Ireland today is largely due to farmers' positive attitudes towards them over countless generations from the past to the present day. The crux of the problem lies in the fact that while farmers generally have a good attitude towards archaeology, it takes just one event to alter the structure of a monument forever (Kennedy et al. 2001, 24). While monuments may be considered priceless by archaeologists; for landowners, although they can appreciate the significance of them, they often represent worthless pieces of land from which they can yield no income.

Moreover, a recent study by the Heritage Council (2012) claims that Ireland's historic environment, including archaeological monuments, is worth €1.5 billion to the national economy and supports over 35,000 jobs. Given the current economic situation in Ireland, the need to preserve monuments, from a financial perspective, is greater now more than ever. If monuments and the character of Ireland's historic environment continue to be damaged then people's livelihoods will be put on the line.

Legislation is another important factor when considering the preservation of monuments in Ireland. The National Monuments Act of 1930, internationally regarded as a remarkably enlightened Act for its day, prohibited any disturbance of the ground within, around or in proximity to an archaeological monument (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 89). Proper implementation of the Act required a national

register of archaeological sites (Leask 1942, 4) which was finally made available to the public almost 50 years later and is called the Sites and Monuments Record (SMR). (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 89). Monuments however, continued to disappear in the years after the establishment of the Act. Ó'Ríordáin (1955, 8) reported that the situation suddenly and disastrously worsened in the 1950s as a result of increasingly mechanised and intensive forms of farming. Eventually a series of Amendment Acts were introduced from 1987 to 2004 that built on the 1930 Act and dealt with any contentious issues. The main outcome of the 1994 Act was the replacement of the SMR with the Record of Monuments and Places (RMP) that included all the sites listed in the SMR and any additional sites that had come to attention in the intervening years (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 90). The current maximum punishment, according to the 2004 Act (Irish Statute Book web-site)[2], for damaging an archaeological monument is a €50,000 fine and/or five years in prison. Yet the continuing damage and destruction of monuments is proof that legislation alone is not enough to protect the archaeological resource and that further research is needed to establish why this happens and how to stop it.

The author's own interest in the issue of the preservation of monuments on privately owned land arose from a period spent working with the Planning Section of the National Monuments Service (NMS), then part of the Department of Environment, Heritage and Gaeltacht, in 2008. One of the roles of the job was to assess the impact that planned developments might have on known archaeological monuments. While assessing these planning applications it became obvious that a large number of sites that are listed in the RMP had been damaged or destroyed. This led to the questions of why this was happening and how best to address the problem.

A brief summary of the methodology that was used to approach the problem will provide an outline of the thesis. The methods used in this research were a survey of monuments in The Burren, Co. Clare, interviews with archaeologists, landowners

[2] http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/2004/en/act/pub/0022/sec0005.html, last accessed 01/06/12

and representatives of landowners, and finally a literary review of other relevant research, both in Ireland and abroad.

The data pertaining to the survey of The Burren comes from a project that was undertaken as part of the Master course of Heritage Management in a World Context at Leiden University. A published report summarising the results of the survey identified monuments, and especially earthwork enclosures, that stand (or stood) in farmland as those under the greatest threat (Garahy 2012). By comparing historical maps from the mid-19th century with a series of early-21st century aerial photographs it was possible to compile a list of monuments that have been damaged or completely destroyed in the intervening years. Although only a small corner of Ireland, it can be surmised that similar events have occurred in the rest of the country, especially considering the fact that The Burren itself is an area of generally poor quality farmland, unsuitable for large-scale crop cultivation.

A series of interviews with landowners, representatives of landowners and an archaeologist were conducted to establish their attitudes towards the preservation of archaeological monuments on privately owned land. The data from the interviews illustrates the varying feelings that these groups have towards heritage and the various goals that they would like to get out of the preservation of monuments. Most importantly, candidates were asked how they would like to see the problem being addressed.

The results of several other Irish surveys are presented in the literary review in support of the evidence of The Burren survey. The methods of two of these surveys are analysed in depth to determine if they can be improved upon in future studies. Surveys from England and Northern Ireland are also analysed as examples of different approaches to the problem and to determine if the methods of these surveys can be applied to the situation in Ireland. While the results of the English survey are not as relevant to the Irish situation, the Northern Irish survey is of particular interest, especially when compared to the levels and rates of damage and destruction of monuments in Ireland.

Based on the combined information from The Burren survey, the interviews and other research into the subject, several solutions and recommendations are offered that recognise the needs of both landowners and archaeologists. These solutions and recommendations are critically evaluated to determine if and how effective they would be in preventing damage to monuments on privately owned land in Ireland.

Chapter II
Methodology

An in-depth explanation of the methods used in this research follows.

Survey of Monuments in The Burren, Co. Clare

The survey of monuments in The Burren, Co. Clare was undertaken during the module Experiencing Heritage Management in Practice as part of the Master course in Heritage Management in a World Context at Leiden University. The summary results of the survey were printed in a booklet detailing each students internship experiences (Garahy 2012).

The aim of the survey was to record and assess the damage caused to known monuments in the area of The Burren, Co. Clare in Ireland by analysing modern aerial photographs of the area and comparing them with historical maps.

The Burren (from the Irish for "stony place") is an area of limestone karst in the west of Ireland. It is approximately 360 km squared and has a rich archaeological heritage (Karst Working Group 2000, 1). An estimate of approximately 1,120 known or suspected monuments in the area was reached during the course of the survey, dating from the Prehistoric to the Later Medieval periods (Garahy 2012, 23).

The main aim of the survey was to identify known monuments on privately owned land that have been potentially destroyed or damaged. Another objective was to assess the extent of the damage done and to see if it was possible to ascertain how this damage was caused. The final aim was to assess the methods used to determine their effectiveness in identifying and assessing damaged sites (Garahy 2012, 23).

The methods were to compare a series of aerial photographs taken by the Ordnance Survey of Ireland (OSI) in the years 1995, 2000 and 2005 (OSI web-site)[3] with the 6" Ordnance Survey (OS) maps that were published for Co. Clare in 1842.

[3] http://maps.osi.ie/publicviewer/#V1,591271,743300,0,10, last accessed 01/06/2012.

When a monument could not be found on the original 1842 map, the later 25" maps were consulted. The main sources for these were the OSI, National Monuments Service and Clare County Library web-sites[4]. O'Donovan and Curry's (1997) collected letters relating to the monuments in Co. Clare and written as they oversaw the original ordnance survey were a valuable resource. Thomas J. Westropp's (1999) survey of the area in the late19th/early 20th centuries was also extremely useful as he made a point to comment on the preservation of the monuments he surveyed and to speculate on how and why some of them had been damaged (Garahy 2012, 23).

The mapping undertaken by the OS in the 19th century was to a very high standard and most monuments that were encountered during the process were recorded. Indeed, by the time they were finished it was claimed that Ireland had become the most mapped country in the world. By looking at the monuments recorded on the 1842 map and finding them on the modern aerial photographs it was sometimes possible to compare their present condition with how they looked in the mid-19th century (Garahy 2012, 23).

Furthermore, a field survey of some of the monuments that were found to be potentially damaged or destroyed was undertaken in August 2011. The purpose of the field survey was to test the method of comparing modern aerial photography with historical maps, i.e. to confirm that the initial results were accurate (Garahy 2012, 24).

The entire survey was conducted in order to assess the damage caused to monuments in The Burren in the last 150 years or so and to identify the monuments that face the greatest threats there, both presently and in the future. The nature of these threats was also identified in an effort to establish what can be done to prevent, or at least to minimise, the damage being done to monuments on privately owned land. While legislation exists to protect these monuments, it is clearly not enough to prevent them from being damaged or destroyed.

[4] http://webgis.archaeology.ie/NationalMonuments/FlexViewer/, last accessed 01/06/12, http://www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/maps/mapbrowser/mapbrowser.html#M249|LX6537Y4253|Sdefault|WmCbbX6Y46W242H101VtF2|WfCaaX39Y45W251H436VtI12L%22Barrow%22OsD10%2B232%2B252%2B145|WxCccX13Y13W234H141VtI12E3262DslT3, last accessed 01/06/12.

Interviews

Several stakeholders kindly agreed to be interviewed about their feelings towards heritage generally, towards monuments on privately owned land, towards the preservation of these monuments and on how they would most like to see these monuments being preserved in the future.

Three landowners were interviewed; these were Mr Sean Windsor, Mr Stephen Jordan and Mr Walter O'Leary. Each of these landowners has a large monument on their land so they were perfectly suited to finding out about farmers' feelings towards heritage and the preservation of monuments. Furthermore, the specific three landowners were selected according to their age to test if this had any influence on their attitudes towards archaeology. Mr Jordan in his early 30s represents young farmers; Mr Windsor who is in his mid-40s represents middle-aged farmers; while Mr O'Leary, who is over 60, can be seen as being representative of an older generation of farmers. All three farmers are also from Co. Wexford, an area where it has been reported that as many as 70% of all ringforts that once existed in the county have been destroyed (Bennett 1989).

Two people from the Irish Farmer's Association (IFA) were interviewed; these were Mr Gerry Gunning, the Executive Secretary for Rural Development, and Mr Adrian King. It is worth mentioning that while both of these people hold positions at the IFA, they are both also farmers in their own right and as such can also be considered as being part of the landowner stakeholder group. The IFA is a union that represents over 87,000 farmers in Ireland[5], the largest of its kind in the country. Although the IFA does not dictate policy to farmers it does recommend policies and is also instrumental in publicising government policy amongst the farming community. The IFA also has its finger on the pulse of farmers' attitudes on a national level and it is the first port of call for the media when anything farming-related becomes big news. As such, it was the ideal organisation to approach to find

[5] http://www.ifa.ie/IFA/AboutIFA.aspx, last accessed 01/06/12.

out about farmers' feelings towards heritage and especially to discuss ways that farmers would like to see the prevention of the destruction of monuments being handled in the future. If viable solutions are to be reached, then the IFA will be a key player in getting farmers on board and in promoting the preservation of monuments on a national level. Mr King was specifically requested to be interviewed as he is based in the south-eastern IFA office in Co. Wexford, and so he represents the interests of all Co. Wexford farmers, including the three that were interviewed. Mr Gunning on the other hand is based in the central headquarters of the IFA in Dublin where he is one of the representatives of farmers on a national level. Archaeology and the environment come under his remittance in his role as Executive Secretary for Rural Development, making him the perfect candidate to be interviewed.

Finally one archaeologist was interviewed to explore his feelings on the destruction of monuments and to see what he thinks the best ways of preventing this from happening in the future are. Mr Colm Moriarty, a licensed archaeologist with many years of excavation experience and the writer of the Irish Archaeology blog[6], runs The Bree Heritage group, a community-based heritage project designed to trace the archaeological heritage and history of the parish of Bree in Co. Wexford[7]. The group also tries to encourage an interest in, and raise awareness about, archaeology in the community of Bree. Mr Moriarty runs frequent field-trips to monuments with the group and comes into contact with many landowners. Hence, he was the ideal candidate to interview as his group is on the front-line of promoting an awareness of monuments and heritage amongst landowners.

It is worth noting that not all people who were approached for the purpose of interviewing were available at the time of the research.

As for the interview methods themselves, according to Stig Sorensen, 'the analysis of various aspects of people's attitudes towards the past and how these are formed constitute a major area of heritage research' (2009, 164). This is particularly

[6] http://irisharchaeology.ie/, last accessed 01/06/12.
[7] http://breeheritage.ie/, last acceded 01/06/12.

relevant when considering monuments that stand on privately owned land. She goes on to state that the interview method should be adapted to the needs of the specific research (Stig Sorensen 2009, 164). It should also be noted that the interviews themselves need to be adapted to the specific needs of the individual interviewee. For example, some of the landowners who were approached for the purpose of this research were not so much reluctant to be interviewed but rather more dismissive of the value of any worthwhile contribution that they themselves could make to the research. While all contributions were very worthwhile for the purpose of the research, this view was understandable since even though it is possible that a landowner may have an interest in, and indeed have more knowledge of, monuments than an archaeologist, it is generally not their occupation to be involved in heritage. For this reason, the opening questions of the interviews with them concentrated on their own familial links with the land and if there was any local history or mythology that related to the monuments on their land that they were aware of. Although not necessarily relevant to the research itself, this was an attempt to let them talk freely about subjects that they were both comfortable about and that they were the foremost experts on. It was hoped that this would encourage them to talk more openly when it came to the later questions on their attitudes towards monuments.

All of the interviews were conducted face to face in environments that were comfortable for the interviewees. The farmers and Mr Moriarty were all interviewed in their own homes while Mr King and Mr Gunning were both interviewed in their respective offices. This approach was taken not only because it was far more convenient for the interviewees but also because it was not desirable to cause them any unnecessary stress that might have resulted from forcing them to reach a particular destination at a particular time to keep an appointment. This could have had a negative effect upon the outcome of the interviews. Instead each person was interviewed in a setting that was familiar to them and it was hoped that this would put them at ease and encourage them to talk freely and openly about their knowledge and

opinions. It was also recognised that the interviewees had kindly agreed to give freely of their time and opinions and it would not have been right to ask any more of them.

Each of the interviews was recorded and notes were taken on any information that came up in conversation before and after the formal interviews themselves. While permission was given by everybody for whatever they said to be used for the purpose of the research, some of the information was confidential and some people did not want it to be known that this information had come from them. For this reason it would be unethical to reproduce the full transcripts of the interviews here. Also, some of the language used in the interviews was somewhat colourful and should not be printed here.

Interestingly, some of the people interviewed were far more willing to talk freely once the voice recorder was turned off. Although they all gave permission for whatever they said to be used for the purpose of the research, the voice recorder seemed to create a kind of 'stage fright' where they were not as willing to talk as much as they had only seconds previously before it had been turned on. Once it was switched off again they reverted to their former chatty selves. Perhaps the thought of their views been recorded for posterity made them hesitant to commit them to tape, or perhaps they simply weren't comfortable being recorded, even though they had given their permission for it. Whatever the case, their contributions were a valued and important part of the research.

Conversely, others were more than happy to talk at length while being interviewed, sometimes far beyond the scope of the questions that they were actually asked. In these cases the best approach was to let them continue talking and to try and interject wherever possible with questions about the relevant topics. Nevertheless, all those interviewed were extremely helpful and are to be thanked for giving freely of their time and knowledge.

The questions of each interview were tailored towards each interviewee to best try and understand their own personal feelings and attitudes. However, questions for landowners followed roughly the same course, as they did for the IFA

representatives. As such, the answers of all three landowners are presented together, as they are for Mr King and Mr Gunning of the IFA. This allows for a certain amount of cohesion to the information that they supplied rather than presenting each of their interviews separately. It also allows for comparisons to be easily made between the different answers that they gave to the various questions, and for analysis of their answers. Mr Moriarty's interview is presented separately as he is the only archaeologist who agreed to be interviewed.

The information obtained from all of the interviews was of enormous benefit to this research, not only because of the informed views that each individual shared, but also for the practical solutions that they suggested. These will be discussed briefly in chapter IV and a deeper analysis will follow later in chapter VI.

Literary Review

The results from several surveys of destroyed monuments in specific areas of Ireland are presented in the literary review. These largely confirm the results that are presented in The Burren chapter by emphasising the threat that is posed to ringforts that are situated on farmland.

Two of these surveys are primarily focused on; firstly a survey of damaged monuments in Co. Meath (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998), followed by the Archaeological Features at Risk (AFAR) programme that was commissioned by the Heritage Council to investigate the threat to monuments in Ireland on a national level (Kennedy et al. 2001). Although not the only surveys on the destruction or damage of archaeological monuments in Ireland, they are of particular interest to this research. Kennedy and O'Sullivan's (1998) survey of monuments in Co. Meath was not only the first to establish a modern base-line data set by which to measure recent rates of destruction, it was also the first to consider farmers' attitudes to archaeology by distributing a quantitative survey amongst a sample representation of landowners.

The AFAR survey (Kennedy et al. 2001) was commissioned by the Heritage Council to take the methods that were used in the Co. Meath survey and to apply

them to several research areas in the country in an attempt to quantify the levels and rates of destruction across the whole of Ireland. As such, it was the first survey that was backed by an official statutory body and also the first to address the issue of the damage that has been done to monuments on a national level.

Furthermore, the aims, methods and results of these surveys are compared with the Monuments at Risk Survey (MARS) that was carried out in England in the 1990s (Darvill and Fulton 1998) and the Condition and Management Survey of the Archaeological Research (CAMSAR) that was carried out in Northern Ireland in the early 21st century (Bell et al. 2009). The MARS survey acts as a useful comparison with the AFAR survey, not least because it greatly influenced the AFAR programme, but because it was carried out on a nationwide level. It also serves to illustrate a foreign approach to the conservation of archaeological monuments. While the results of the MARS survey are swayed by the different kind of monuments that are present in England, some general trends are shared with the Irish situation. However, the methods used in the MARS survey are of more significance when considering how research might be conducted in Ireland in the future.

Conversely, it is the results of the CAMSAR survey that are of far more benefit to this research than the methods. Since Ireland and Northern Ireland share the same island and the same types of archaeological monuments, the results of the CAMSAR survey are perfect for comparison with those of the Irish situation. Nevertheless, the methods are also of consequence as they illustrate how an alternative approach can be applied to the same type of archaeology south of the border.

Again several solutions and recommendations were made in the course of each of the mentioned surveys. These will also be discussed and analysed in greater depth in chapter VI.

Chapter III

Survey of Monuments in The Burren, Co. Clare

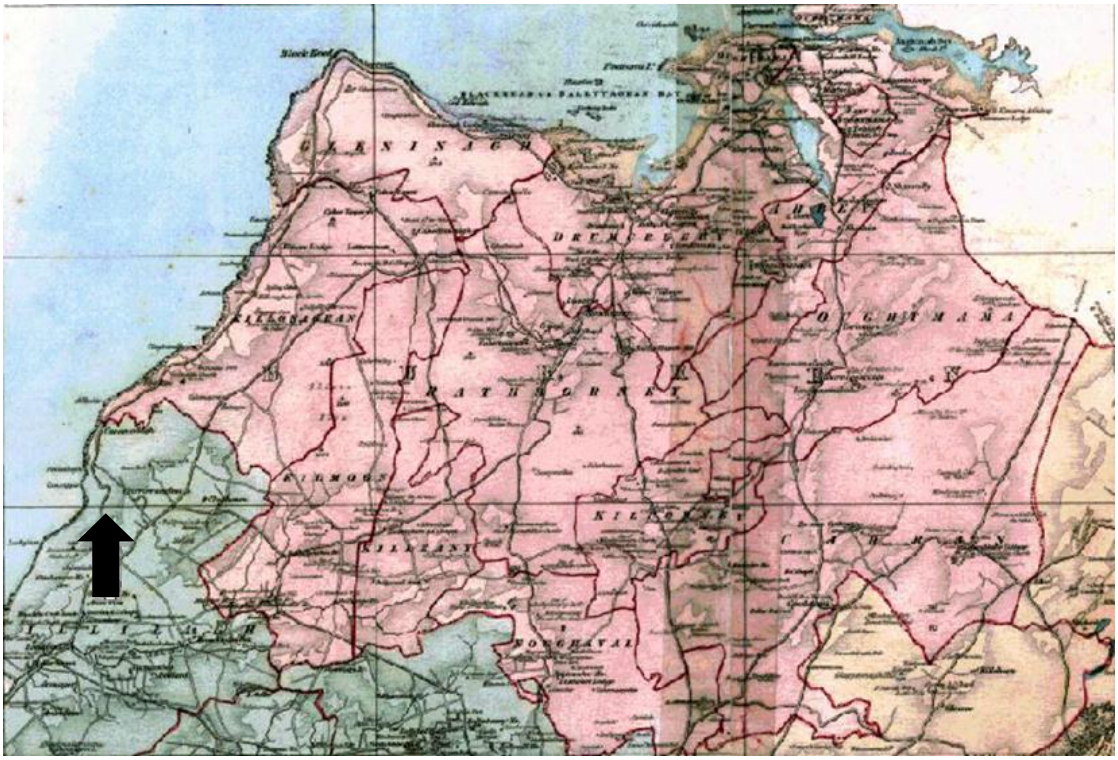

Fig. 1 – 19th century OS overview map of The Burren, (Clare County Library web-site)[8]

The following data was produced as part of a project for the module Experiencing Heritage Management during the Master course in Heritage Management in a World Context at Leiden University. The data was originally presented in a summary report that was published under the initiative of Leiden University (Garahy 2012).

The method of comparing aerial photography with historical maps was only really effective for one particular class of monument, namely earthwork enclosures.

8 http://www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/maps/mapbrowser/mapbrowser.html#M249|LX6537Y4253|Sdefault|WmCbbX6Y46W242H101VtF2|WfCaaX39Y45W251H436VtI12L%22Barrow%22OsD10%2B232%2B252%2B145|WxCccX13Y13W234H141VtI12E3262DslT3, last accessed 01/06/12.

Small monuments such as standing stones, stone circles, portal tombs, holy wells etc. are for the most part impossible to distinguish in the photographs. Even when they are visible it is impossible to make any comment on their condition. While buildings such as castles, tower houses, churches and other ecclesiastical remains are sometimes visible, it is also impossible to make any valuable comment on their present condition from the aerial photographs (Garahy 2012, 24).

Earthwork enclosures on the other hand are the main monument class that are easily identifiable on the aerial photographs with their large circular or rectangular banks. However, this is not necessarily a bad thing. The term enclosure, for the purpose of this study, is applied to several monument types including ringforts, rath, lios, cashels, dún and cahers. Rath and lios are generally made of piled earth, while cashels, dun and cahers are generally built from stone (Mitchell & Ryan 1998, 254). Ringforts are by far the most common monument type found in the Irish landscape, with estimates ranging from 30-45,000 known examples and it has been claimed that there once could have been as many as 60,000 (Mitchell & Ryan 1998, 255). While some enclosures date to the Iron Age, the majority of ringforts are widely believed to represent the classic medieval farmstead in Ireland in which the vast majority of the population at the time would have lived. Taking all of this into account, earthwork enclosures, and especially ringforts, are perhaps the best class of monument to assess for damage from rural land use. The vast majority of them survive in rural areas and while superstitions that regarded them as "fairyforts" helped to preserve them for centuries, they are being destroyed at an increasing rate since the latter part of the 20th century (Mitchell & Ryan 1998, 256). Given the size, quantity and documented evidence for the destruction of earthwork enclosures, they offer a unique opportunity to assess the damage of rural land use to archaeological monuments in The Burren and indeed in Ireland (Garahy 2012, 24).

Evidence for potential damage to or the complete destruction of 125 earthwork enclosures, or roughly 11% of all known monuments in The Burren was revealed during the remote survey. If all other monument classifications were taken

into account, then it is quite possible that this figure would be much higher. Of these 125 enclosures, 97 (72%) are located in farmland, 17 (12.5%) in forested or overgrown areas, 15 (11%) in upland limestone areas and 6 (4.4%) had been impacted upon by roads. Although the overwhelming majority of monuments in Ireland are located in farmland, and earthwork enclosures are the most numerous monument class in the country, the threat to these monuments in their agricultural setting cannot be denied. Clearly farming has had the greatest impact on the preservation of these monuments. The only other monument classifications that could be commented upon (six houses, three burial grounds, one road and one settlement, totalling c. 9% of all damaged monuments) were all located in farmland (Garahy 2012, 24).

Damaged earthwork enclosures included those that had no visible overground remains, ones where part of the bank had been destroyed and those that are being used as field boundaries. Earthwork enclosures with completely overgrown banks and interiors were also included. While the form of these enclosures could well still be preserved, the effect of high root activity on their sub-surface remains is surely significant. The presence of such overgrowth is also a clear indicator that these monuments are not being maintained. It is worth noting that many of the investigated earthwork enclosures that had already been incorporated into field boundaries by the time of the 1842 map still survive. Those that stood in open fields at the time were far more likely to have been damaged or destroyed, presumably to clear more land for the purpose of farming. Earthwork enclosures where the interiors are open to farming are also at a greater risk, their banks being subjected to livestock and machinery passing over and around them (Garahy 2012, 25).

The field survey, for the most part, confirmed the results of the remote survey. 16 sites, or roughly 11.76% of all damaged monuments (circa 1.4% of all known sites in the research area), were visited. While there were occasional discrepancies between the results, this was often due to banks surviving at very low heights that could not possibly be identified from aerial photographs. This being said, the fact that

the banks of these enclosures were so low suggests that they had at some time been damaged by human hands. Mistakes were also occasionally made when stone walls were confused for the bank of an enclosure. However, in an area such as The Burren where almost all field boundaries are made of stone, this was unavoidable (Garahy 2012, 15).

Apart from the fact that earthwork enclosures were the only easily identifiable sites, the field survey demonstrated that the main problem in using historical maps and aerial photographs was not in identifying damaged or destroyed monuments, but in assessing the level of damage that has occurred to them. While sites that had no visible remains or fully preserved were obvious, it was not so easy to judge a monuments present condition when only faint remains are visible in the aerial photographs. It was also difficult to make conclusions on why the monuments have been damaged or destroyed. In some cases it was obvious that they had been destroyed by land clearance or had been covered by forest. On the other hand, it is often impossible to say, even in the field, how a monument has come to be in its present condition. Low-lying banks could just as easily be a result of poor preservation conditions as exposure to farming (Garahy 2012, 15).

Overall the method of comparing historical maps with modern aerial photography is a good one. While it wasn't useful for the vast majority of monuments the fact that enclosures represent the largest classification group of monuments in Ireland meant that worthwhile results could still be obtained. The methods were also good for assessing a very large area in a relatively short matter of time. No other methods could have covered such a huge distance and number of monuments in a matter of weeks (Garahy 2012, 15).

Chapter IV
Interviews

The information that was obtained during the interviews is presented and discussed below. Please note that all the information presented represents the opinions of those who were interviewed and not the official stance of any organisation that they represent.

Interviews with Landowners

Mr Sean Windsor, Mr Stephen Jordan and Mr Walter O'Leary all kindly agreed to be interviewed at their homes on Tuesday, 10/04/12. Each is a farmer in Co. Wexford and each has a large monument on their farmland; a ruined castle, a large enclosure and a large ringfort respectively. As mentioned earlier, the interview questions they were asked and the answers that they gave are presented together.

- For how long has this land been in your family?
    - Are you aware of any local history or mythology that relates to the monument on your land?

Each of the landowners who were interviewed own land that has been in their families for several generations and consequently they were well-informed on the history associated with the monuments. Wilton Castle on Mr Windsor's land survives from a large estate that existed since the Anglo-Norman times of the 13th century. The castle itself is much younger and it was set on fire during the Irish Civil War in 1923, a period that is still locally referred to as 'The Troubles'. Many similar incidents happened across the country at the time and during the War of Independence prior to the Civil War as fervent nationalists tried, and often succeeded, to evict the old Protestant landlord class from the country. It was after this event that Mr Windsor's

grandfather bought the land. Only the shell of the castle survives now, however it is still an impressive structure and Mr Windsor himself has recently carried out some restorative work on it.

Mr Jordan's farm was handed on from his father. The enclosure on Mr Jordan's land is actually a tree-ring and is related to Windsor Castle, as his land was also once part of the estate. The 'round doe' as it is known was planted on high ground as a vantage point to allow the owners of the castle to point out where their land was when they were far away from it.

Mr O'Leary's grandfather purchased the farm in 1904, also from a Protestant landlord. The ringfort, or 'rath' as Wexford people call them, also featured in the Civil War. The IRA prepared for an ambush in it in 1923 and Mr O'Leary's father's first cousin accidentally shot himself in the leg.

- Do you regard it as a hindrance to farming or are you happy to have it there?

When asked if the monuments were ever a hindrance to farming, Mr Windsor probably summed up all of the responses best by saying the castle was 'priceless but worthless' and that it could be a burden. Mr O'Leary often cursed the ringfort on his land when he had to plough around it though he would never plough the interior. He did use the ringfort to store fodder beat to feed his livestock in spring time. He also used to throw the remains of hedges and branches that he had cut down into the monument. The enclosure on Mr Jordan's land was not considered a hindrance at all, but the enclosure serves as a border with two other farms and so only a corner of it is actually on his land. If it were in the centre of a field and it had to be worked around then he could understand the reasoning behind why some people knock them down but it would depend on the individual and their own feelings towards monuments.

- Are you aware of the legislation that protects this monument?

Each of the landowners interviewed were aware that legislation exists that prevents anyone from interfering with known monuments. Interestingly, Mr O'Leary's grandfather and his brother-in-law knocked down the outer ring of the ringfort on his land with a spade and shovel soon after he had bought the land. This was long before the present legislation came into existence. He also told of two raths in the local area that had been knocked down in the 1950s, a time when they were protected by legislation.

- Has any state body or archaeologist ever sent you any literature or information about the National Monuments Acts?

There has been little contact from government departments or any archaeological bodies concerning the legislation protecting monuments. Mr Windsor received a letter informing him that the castle had been registered as a listed building 24 or 25 years ago. Prior to this he was not aware of any legislation protecting the monument. It is worth mentioning that the building was listed at that time as part of the Architectural Heritage of Ireland; it still would have been protected by the National Monuments Acts before this. He received no other literature from the government until he applied for a Conservation Grant to do restorative work on the castle.

Neither Mr Jordan nor Mr O'Leary had received any contact from the government. Mr Jordan's knowledge of legislation had been picked up from the media over the years. The only contact Mr O'Leary had regarding the monument was from people, some of them archaeologists, wishing to investigate or visit it. Around 6 people had expressed such an interest over a period of 30 years.

- Can you suggest any ways that the government could contact landowners?

Mr Windsor felt that the local county councils should be responsible for informing landowners about monuments on their land. He was aware that many monuments are marked on maps and commented that many had disappeared recently, especially ringforts. Mr Jordan believed that it would be best for the government to send out letters to farmers as he believed that a lot of the older generation of farmers would not be well-acquainted with modern media and this way would guarantee contact with everybody.

- Are you aware of the recent case in Kerry where a farmer was fined €25,000 for knocking down a similar monument?
    - Do you think he was treated fairly? If not, how do you think he should have been treated?

Each of the farmers was well-aware of the case in Co Kerry where a farmer was fined €25,000 for demolishing a ringfort and souterrain. They all agreed that he was treated fairly, since he was aware of the significance of the monuments before he destroyed them. Mr Jordan believed that had he not known what he was destroying then the fine would have been harsh. However, he doubted if not knowing the significance of a ringfort was possible as it 'would stick out like a sore thumb' on the land. Mr Jordan added that the case had a touch of greed about it, considering the area that it could potentially yield for farming was relatively small. Mr O'Leary also believed that it would not be worth knocking down a ringfort for the extra bit of land that could be farmed, and the ringfort on his land is about one third of an acre, a significant size.

- How would you suggest avoiding similar cases in the future? Should the onus be on landowners to inform themselves or would you rather see the government or archaeologists taking a more active role?

Mr Windsor and Mr Jordan agreed that the best way to avoid similar cases in the future was to raise awareness of monuments. Mr Windsor called for more communication with local authorities for people who have monuments on their land. He believed that the local councils should be responsible for this. It was only when he started doing work on the castle that he became aware of its importance, i.e. as a result of his own initiative. Mr Jordan believed that if monuments are being damaged then farmers need to be told of their significance from a higher source. He also wondered if it would be possible to fence off monuments to prevent them from being damaged, but concluded that this would probably be financially unfeasible and would detract from the appearance of a monument. Mr O'Leary could not see anyone taking the risk of knocking down a monument following the Co. Kerry case for fear of being fined. He also believed that monuments were no longer being touched long before the court case as people are more intelligent now and respect the old ways of life. He mentioned that people used to be suspicious about the mystery of raths; that they would bring bad luck on farmers if they knocked them down.

Analysis

Mr Windsor responded to the question of whether he believed the monument on his land to be a hindrance or not by saying it was "priceless but worthless". This phrase goes to the heart of the matter when considering the preservation of archaeological monuments on privately owned land in Ireland; ancient monuments for archaeologists are priceless repositories of information that represent links to past societies. For the farmers on whose land these monuments survive however, while they can appreciate the significance of a monument, they can also curse them as Mr O'Leary did for making the job of farming more difficult. Mr Jordan could even envisage circumstances under which somebody would knock them down. To really tackle the problem, mutually advantageous schemes need to be initiated on a nationwide level, whereby a farmer benefits from preserving a monument, rather than the present situation where farmers can often suffer for having a monument on their land. One

such scheme does exist in the form of the Rural Environment Protection Scheme (REPS) that will be discussed in more detail later.

Each of the farmers was aware of legislation that protects monuments. While none of them cited what this legislation actually is, they were aware of the strict punishments that could be imposed following the case in Co. Kerry. Interestingly, each of the farmers had come across their information by different means. Mr Windsor, the middle-aged farmer, was the only one who had ever received formal information from a statutory body informing him that the castle on his land had been listed as part of the Architectural History of Ireland. The only other information he received was a result of his own initiative when he applied for a heritage grant. Nevertheless, Mr Windsor was the most aware of the three farmers of the threat to archaeological monuments in Co. Wexford, citing the disappearance of many monuments, especially ringforts, just as Bennett (1989) had done, in recent times. Mr Jordan, the younger farmer, was made aware of the legislation through the media. Most of Mr O'Leary's archaeological knowledge came from a project that one of his son's had done on the history of their local area and from the fact that some archaeologists had visited it over the years.

Both Mr Jordan and Mr Windsor called for more information from government bodies to help tackle the problem in the future. This is a fair point, while farmers should be aware of the significance of whatever may lie on their land, their main concern must be with making a living from the land. If archaeologists or the government claim that a monument must be preserved, then the archaeologists or the government should be the ones who contact landowners to explain the significance of monuments and why they should be preserved. Mr O'Leary believed that the Kerry case will prevent monuments from being damaged in the future. He may well be right, but the relatively recent judgement of the case means that it is far too soon to test his hypothesis. Nevertheless, if he is proven to be right then the question that must be asked is why similar cases were not pursued before? If they had been then a lot of damage and destruction of monuments could possibly have been prevented.

They all believed that the Co. Kerry farmer had been treated fairly, and none of them believed that there was a possibility that he did not know what he was doing. If this is the consensus amongst farmers nationwide, then it is worrying to think that monuments that are being wiped out completely by people with the full knowledge of their archaeological significance. As Mr Jordan said, a ringfort "would stick out like a sore thumb".

Nevertheless, one farmer told of filling a badger set that was in a monument with three tonnes of manure to prevent the badgers from returning. He did not see this as damaging the monument, perhaps because he didn't interfere with the physical appearance of the monument. However this would surely have had severe consequences for any archaeological contexts and subsurface remains and must be regarded as damage. Although not intentional, it is acts like this that can majorly impact upon monuments and these are the things that farmers need to be made aware of. It is worth noting that untold damage had of course being done by the badgers prior to this.

To conclude, each of the farmers who were interviewed was well-informed about the significance of archaeological monuments, of the need to preserve them and about the legislation protecting them. While they were not all properly informed on how to maintain a monument correctly, none of them had ever intentionally damaged a monument themselves nor had they the desire to. In fact, each was quite proud of the monument on their land and more than happy to give a tour. They knew a lot about each particular monument themselves and were interested to know more. Indeed, at times they became the interviewer, curious to learn more about archaeology. Granted, this was only three farmers out of tens of thousands, if not more, nationwide, but if even half this figure has the same enthusiasm for archaeology and the desire to know more then one wonders why archaeologists have not engaged with landowners more in the past and tapped into their fountain of knowledge.

Interviews with IFA representatives

Mr Adrian King and Mr Gerry Gunning kindly agreed to be interviewed in their offices on Tuesday, 10/04/12 and Wednesday, 11/04/12 in Enniscorthy and Dublin respectively. They were each asked the following questions:

- Does the IFA have any policy concerning archaeological monuments, and if so, what is this policy?

Mr King stressed that the IFA itself does not as such set guidelines for farmers to follow but rather it serves as a union that represents farmers at a local, national and European level. It does not direct farmers' business but addresses the needs of farmers in those policies that do, for example, EU guidelines that are handed down from Brussels. Where monuments are concerned, Mr King believed that there has always been a kind of sacredness that farmers associate with them; by tradition they have left them alone. Superstition and taboo have also meant that substantial amounts of monuments have not been touched. However, he also said that there are well-documented cases of farmers who through ignorance or indifference have ploughed out monuments. Most of the damage done has been by farmers who do not know what is there and they need more information explaining the significance of monuments.

Mr Gunning pointed out that monuments were represented in the Rural Environment Protection Scheme (REPS) in the mid-1990s as part of a governmental National Development Plan (NDP). The scheme was useful in that it formalised for the farmer the ways to manage a monument and the area around it. At its peak, there were almost 70,000 farmers in the 1994 REPS, therefore more and more farmers were becoming more knowledgeable about what was on their farms. Before this, in the 1980s, Mr Gunning admitted that there had perhaps been some damage done to monuments in cases where farmers didn't know about them and may have levelled

fields. He linked this to EU membership and early EU policy on agricultural production where environmental issues were only considered much later. He pointed out that ringforts were particularly vulnerable to being levelled. He would like to see some more formalisation of the farmer's role in the protection of monuments and suggested a Monument Management Plan for farmers.

- How would you suggest increasing the awareness of the need to protect monuments?

Both men agreed that many farmers would be interested in learning more about monuments and in increasing their awareness of how to protect them. Mr King mentioned several articles that have been published in the *Irish Farmers Journal* recently that explain different monument classes that can be found in the countryside. While Mr Gunning thought that farmers would be interested he also made the valid point that farmers own an awful lot of what society wants, e.g. hedgerows (which are also protected by law), forests etc. and that the farmer needs to make a living, he is not out there farming for the benefit of tourists.

- Would the IFA be willing to help promote the importance of monuments amongst farmers? If so, how?

Both also agreed that the IFA would be willing to help promote an awareness of the importance of preserving monuments. Mr King said however that the IFA had no promotional structure. He also mentioned the *Irish Farmers Journal* again, claiming that it is the bible for farmers. But he also claimed that there is already a broad awareness and great interest amongst farmers and that they have often been the ones to point out unlisted monuments to archaeologists. Farmers respect that they are working on top of a layer cake of habitation and most would be curious about the

archaeological features on their land and how ancient topography worked. He stressed that to get the message across to farmers then it is needed to go across the channels of where they are getting their information from, such as the *Irish Farmers Journal*. He also mentioned that the care and recognition of archaeological sites is already included in REPS. He thought that this was a good vehicle for getting information across as a farmer could tick his options in regard to an archaeological feature; he declared it, he marked it and he showed how he was making a concerted effort to protect it. Now that the funding for such schemes is either reducing or just not there anymore, Mr King believed that 14 years of work is being undone. He believed that a lot of people have an interest in archaeology and that to continue the preservation of monuments there needs to be some joined up thinking where monuments themselves will add value not only to landowners but to local enterprise and businesses.

Mr King was generally amiable to the idea of promoting an awareness of the protection of monuments, but said the problem was that the farmer was the main stakeholder as the owner of the land. Farmers do not want people dictating to them; they need to buy into the process themselves and then they generally will cooperate. They do not like being bullied or interfered with as there are enough organisations doing this now. Archaeological features should be seen as an asset to a property rather than something that will attract penalties, inspections, or access issues. The final of these was the biggest issue for Mr King as monuments attract people on to farmers' lands, and there is an issue of public liability when this happens.

In terms of contacting farmers on a national level, Mr Gunning believed that the REPS had been very well publicised. From time to time, he said, the IFA put relevant issues for farmers into documentation and posted them out as letters and he believed that they would be willing to promote the conservation of monuments if it was done in a positive way for farmers. He also cited the articles on monuments that had recently appeared in the *Irish Farmers Journal* and believed that these were good

as farmers would have an interest in them as most farmers are interested in their local history.

- How can the relationship between archaeologists and farmers be improved?
  - Would improving this relationship be relevant to farmers? How do you think they would like to see heritage on their land being handled?

Mr King claimed that farmers are wary of archaeologists; they see them 'as people who spend a phenomenal amount of time scratching with paint brushes and spoons', a slow and expensive process before, for example, a road is built. Excavations especially have fostered this wariness as archaeologists have not given back ownership of what they have found on farmers lands. Ownership here for Mr King is the ownership of knowledge; archaeologists come, research and dig and take the artefacts and reports with them. Landowners are never valued in this process; there is never any follow up with them and broader communities to tell them exactly what was found. They should, according to Mr King, tell landowners what they found on their land and in their neighbours land and across the landscape. They need to do more than just the practical work; they need to explain their findings in the local media and within farming groups. If a budget is set aside for archaeology, then part of this budget should be used for educating the local communities on what was found.

To make the protection of monuments worthwhile to farmers, Mr Gunning suggested integrating monuments management into normal farming practice, not in an adversarial way but in a positive way such as in the original REPS. He suggested that it maybe should become part and parcel of future agricultural-environment programmes so that it is formalised and the farmer would be in a contract with the State for the benefit of the public good, to give it a legal binding and status. Leading on from this, Mr Gunning believed that society, i.e. public money, should pay for any such scheme as archaeology is for the benefit of society at large and the public have

an interest in its preservation, so why should the farmers be at loss because of it? He also believed that farmers can be wary of archaeologists. If a partnership between the archaeological institutions of State and farmers existed as part of an overall management plan, then where would be a win-win situation for everyone; archaeologists would be able to do more research and farmers would be happy to contribute to the benefit of the public.

- How would you suggest increasing the awareness of the legislation protecting monuments?

Both Mr King and Mr Gunning believed that farmers were well-aware of the legislation that protects monuments, especially where substantial monuments were concerned. Mr King made the very valid point that a monument would not be here now if farmers weren't aware of it as it is generations of farmers who have protected them. He believed that larger monuments, such as earthworks, are not generally touched but that people sometimes inadvertently damage less obvious monuments. He gave an example of one farmer that he encountered who had been using three standing stones that he had found as a bridge across a stream. Mr King believed that these types of monuments need to be explained to people and that there should be an information campaign on them.

- Are you aware of the recent case in Kerry where a farmer was fined €25,000 for knocking down a ringfort? Do you think he was treated fairly?

Both were also aware of the case in Co Kerry where a farmer was charged €25,000 for demolishing a ringfort and souterrain. Mr King believed that rather than having legislation that acts as a deterrent it is more important to have proper awareness and education. On his own land, a REPS planner who was also a trained

archaeologist pointed out archaeological features to him and since then he knows what to look for and does not interfere with monuments in any way. He said that most farmers know when there is a feature on their land, but they might not know what it is exactly or what the significance of it is.

Mr Gunning believed that the Kerry farmer was fairly treated as it was criminal what he did and no-one would condone it. He was hopeful that in the long-term the case might work out positively in terms of protecting monuments. He knows many farmers that have said to him that they have monuments on their land and that they know they cannot touch them and they are fine with that. Indeed, there are many other issues that prevent them carrying out certain works on their land such as habitat and hedgerow issues. Mr Gunning believed that farmers prefer positive approaches and incentivisation to these kinds of issues rather than punishing legislation. This puts the people promoting the issues into a better position with the farmers, be they environmentalists or archaeologists. He suggested the development of walkways and recreation tourism that are particularly popular with current local development action plans. If monuments on privately owned land could be integrated into these, then that is one way of incentivising the need to preserve them for landowners as they could then benefit economically from them. Finally he believed there should be an appreciation for monuments, that the people who own the land on which they are on should be encouraged to better protect them and that these should be integrated into national and local development plans.

Analysis

As far as the IFA representatives are concerned, they believe that most farmers have an interest in archaeological monuments and are aware not only of their significance and the need to preserve them, but also of the legislation protecting them. While they admit that some farmers have damaged monuments in the past, Mr King stressed that it is largely due to farmers' attitudes, be they superstitions, taboos, or appreciation, that so many monuments in Ireland have been preserved. However, he also believes

that large monuments like ringforts are usually left alone, yet the overwhelming evidence of The Burren survey and others that will be discussed later point to the contrary. Nevertheless, they also believed that a lot of damage was unintentional and came from a lack of awareness of the significance of monuments. This is a fair point and one that needs to be remembered when dealing with the damage done to monuments.

The main issue for the IFA representatives is that farmers should be treated with respect in any policies, archaeological or environmental, that concern the lands that they live and work on. If farmers are to get on board a policy or campaign for protecting monuments, then it must be worthwhile for them. This issue came up time and again with both men, and there seems to be an underlying feeling that farmers have been mistreated in the past, not necessarily by archaeologists, but by changing government policies that have put more pressure on a farmer trying to make a living from the land. The last thing that they want is more directives that will interfere with how they farm their land. To make the preservation of monuments worthwhile to farmers, archaeology needs to be seen as an asset, not a burden, to a farmer. The best way of doing this is to formalise the position of monuments in good farming practices. This had been done as part of the Rural Environment Protection Scheme (REPS) in the 1990s whereby farmers were financially rewarded for farming in an environmentally friendly way and bringing about environmental improvement on farms (Emerson and Gillmor 1999, 238). Measure 7 of the Scheme protected archaeological and historic features on a farm, and a farmer had to comply to receive their annual payment (Emerson and Gillmor 1999, 239). Unfortunately according to Mr King, REPS is on the decline due to a lack of funding but its innovative inclusion of archaeology into good farming practice was a positive way of raising farmers' awareness, by making the preservation of monuments financially beneficial rather than a financial burden. As Mr Gunning said, this would lead to a win-win situation for everyone.

They also both suggested that farmers could profit from people visiting monuments on their land, as long as they are clear from public liability. While this is not really conceivable for most of the monuments scattered across the countryside, it could still be applied to many. Indeed, the author has often seen signs in the west of Ireland advertising access to a holy well or prehistoric tomb on privately owned land for a small fee. It is not expected that anybody is going to make their fortune from these initiatives, but the fee does mean that it is in the farmers best interests to preserve the particular monument, and it also means that people do not come uninvited onto private property to see a monument, as often happens. Similar low budget and cost effective schemes could easily be applied to many other monuments, where the accumulated costs of entry over a year would more than recoup the loss of earnings from whatever small amount of land the farmer would have to turn over to public access.

Mr Gunning also made the point that the preservation of archaeological monuments should be done with public money rather than farmers' money as it is an issue that is of benefit to the public. This is another fair point, and again stresses that farmers should not be made to suffer for having a monument on their land.

Mr Gunning was similar to Mr O'Leary in believing that the Co. Kerry case might have a positive outcome by raising awareness of the need to preserve monuments, even if they are only preserved to avoid punishment. Aside from this, the *Irish Farmers Journal* articles appear to have made a good impression. The *Irish Farmers Journal*, in association with the NMS, printed a series of articles in early 2012 on different types of monuments that can be found in the Irish landscape. Some of these articles were related directly to farmers, such as one on the first farmers in Ireland and another on early medieval farmsteads (NMS 2012a, 14; NMS 2012b, 12). A brief history and description of the types of monuments that can be found in the land are given in the articles. It is also mentioned in the article on early medieval farmsteads that many ringforts have been levelled as a result of farm improvement works (NMS 2012b, 14), however, rather than concentrating on negative aspects such

as these, a real sense of history and place is presented in the articles in an attempt to make farmers interested in their own landscape and the monuments it contains. A brief note at the end of each article explains that the monuments are also legally protected but a website and email address are also provided where people can get more information and ask any questions that they might have. This is a positively active approach that downplays the negative legal side of archaeological monuments and highlights the interesting information about them and the willingness of the NMS to share this information freely. However, it is worth noting that these articles did not come up in conversation with the three landowners who were interviewed just over a week after the publication of the final article.

Mr King had some valuable perceptions into farmers' alleged distrust of archaeologists. Although he spoke about excavations, not monuments, and the need for archaeologists to share the knowledge that they find on farmers lands, it is a valid point, and one that Mr Moriarty also made. If archaeologists do want more access to monuments on privately owned land and more of a say in how they are cared for, then they must respect landowners at all points of interaction with them. Often, excavations might be the only occurrence where a landowner has met an archaeologist and so this opportunity must be seized upon as one where trust and respect between the two groups can be encouraged to grow. Monument protection should be part of an all-encompassing approach by archaeologists to foster a better relationship with the public at large and the articles in the *Irish Farmers Journal* can be seen as being a part of this.

Overall, the IFA representatives were informative and insightful when it came to discussing farmers' attitudes towards monuments and how to increase awareness amongst them. Rather than speaking as individuals who own land, which they are, they were able to talk about the general attitude of farmers around the country and to envisage the best ways of making the preservation of monuments an incentive for them. According to the IFA representatives, by including farmers in the process of preserving monuments and by respecting them not just as landowners, but as the

major stakeholder group who are invested in the land, they would be willing to cooperate fully with archaeologists to preserve monuments.

Interview with an Archaeologist

Mr Colm Moriarty kindly agreed to be interviewed in his home in Dublin on Wednesday, 11/04/12. Mr Moriarty was asked the following questions:

- Can you tell me anything about the problem of the continuing damage to monuments?

Mr Moriarty said that moated sites were particularly susceptible to being damaged or destroyed. He himself knew of several such sites where the ditches had been back-filled by farmers who did not see this as damage since the monument was still there afterwards, but in reality they are making it smaller. The once many ringforts around the parish of Bree are now mostly gone. Mr Moriarty believed that dolmens and church sites tend to survive better as people have more respect for them, especially when they are still being used as burial grounds. He said that the monuments that do survive do so for a reason, the reason being that farmers have an appreciation for them.

- What reasons would you give for this problem?

He believed that ignorance was one of the reasons for monuments being damaged or destroyed. People may know that something is old but might not know that they should not interfere with it and the damage is often unintentional. For instance, some ringforts are seen as a rough area of ground for dumping stuff in or backfilling. Land improvements are another possible cause, for example, if a monument is in the way and a farmer wants to make a field bigger.

- Do you think that landowners are sufficiently informed about the legislation that protects monuments?

Mr Moriarty did not believe that landowners are sufficiently informed about the legislation protecting monuments. He said that those that are preserved by farmers are done so because their fathers before them preserved them. Folklore and family tradition play a larger role for protecting monuments than legal reasons.

- Do you think that archaeologists are sufficiently informed about landowners needs regarding monuments on their land? How could they be better informed?

Mr Moriarty pointed out that archaeologist's only normally deal with landowners in relation to a development; i.e. if a proposed road or pipeline is going through a farmer's field. He said archaeologists would not normally be going onto a farmer's property to look at monuments.

- Do you think it is more important to promote the legislation protecting monuments or to increase awareness of the significance of monuments when dealing with this problem? Why?

He believed that it was far more important to promote an awareness of the significance of monuments rather than the legislation protecting them. In his role as the coordinator of the Bree Heritage Group, Mr Moriarty stressed that he does not tell people 'do not do this because the law says so', but rather he tells them not to damage monuments because they are amazing structures and they have an amazing history. He believed that archaeologists should try to make landowners want ownership of

archaeological sites and to be proud of these sites on their land that are thousands of years old.

- Is the current legislation sufficient to protect archaeological monuments, and if not, why not?

Mr Moriarty believed that legislation protecting monuments is sufficient but that it is not properly enforced. Five years in prison and/or a €50,000 fine is deterrent enough for anyone, but he believed that people do not know the maximum punishment and that there is no awareness that that's what could happen. Mr Moriarty mentions that monuments are protected by law on the Bree Heritage outings, but only at the end. He firstly stresses the significance of monuments and his own enthusiasm for them. At the end of the site visits he then says that they are legally protected; he doesn't make this the main point for preserving them.

- You run the Bree Heritage Group. How has the response from local landowners being?

Mr Moriarty said that the reaction from local landowners to Bree Heritage had been good; some would simply give the group access to their land and let them go ahead and look at monuments and not involve themselves, whereas others joined the tour. The group has received an amazing amount of interest in the parish as a whole, with many people joining from farming communities.

- Why do you think that to date there has only been one case in the history of the State taken against a landowner who destroyed a monument?

Regarding the case in Co Kerry where a farmer was fined €25,000 for destroying a ringfort and souterrain, Mr Moriarty believed that he was convicted because of the evidence trail that could not allow him to plead ignorance for destroying the monuments. The farmer had previously objected to a planning application for four houses in the area based on the presence of the monuments. Previous cases, he said, could not be tried as it could not be proved that the farmers involved wilfully destroyed the monuments and that there is always sympathy for the farmers. He believed that the punishment was fair as it was based on the farmers own earnings for the previous few years.

- How do you think landowners would like to see monuments being managed in the future?

In terms of how he thinks farmers would like to see monuments being managed in the future, Mr Moriarty believed that farmers themselves want to be left alone and that they want the monuments on their land to be left alone also. He cited the example of one farmer in the parish of Bree who has planted trees where his land borders the road to prevent views of the famous Ballybrittas Portal Dolmen and to discourage people from coming onto his land for a closer look at the monument. He has also erected several signs that say 'No Trespassing'. Mr Moriarty claimed that farmers are worried about public liability and fear that if someone is hurt on their land then it will come back on them.

He acknowledged the claim from the IFA that some farmers are distrustful of archaeologists who dig on their lands and then take away all the information that they have found. Mr Moriarty said that excavations are published but not in books that a farmer will ever see. The only information they ever get usually comes from the local media and that comes and goes depending on the number and frequency of excavations in an area.

- How would you suggest improving awareness of the significance of the archaeological heritage?

He believed that local heritage groups were the best way of improving awareness of the significance of monuments and the need to preserve them and suggested that making school visits and producing pamphlets were just two of the ways of doing this. In terms of the success of Bree Heritage, Mr Moriarty stressed that he himself is from the local area and that people know him, they know his father and they know his name. He is not an outsider coming in and telling people what to do and therefore they trust him and take on board what he tells them. The group has been very successful in terms of promoting an awareness of the significance of heritage in the parish of Bree. The web-site has received 2,500 hits and Facebook is generating a certain amount of interest too. The visits to sites usually consist of a core group of 15 people every time, with four or five extra every week. There are probably 40 different people coming and going, a significant number for a rural village like Bree.

To promote an awareness of the significance of archaeological features amongst landowners, Mr Moriarty thought that *The Farmer's Journal* articles on monuments were a good start, as the articles appeared in a paper that farmers actually read. He also said that the compilation of the Recorded Monuments and Places (RMP) list in the 1980's left a good impression on farmers. Archaeologists came onto their land to visit and record archaeological monuments and talked to farmers face-to-face. He believed that programmes on a local level, such as Bree Heritage, are the best way of promoting awareness; to visit sites and to talk to people. He suggested that the ideal people to do this would be archaeologists, local historians or people with a genuine interest in the subject. However he believed that such schemes would need to be carried out on a voluntary basis as, given Ireland's current economic situation, there is no public money available to pay anybody to do it.

Analysis

For Mr Moriarty, damage that has been done to archaeological monuments has been largely unintentional and the result of a lack of knowledge of the impact that certain actions can have on monuments. Indeed, one such case came up in the interviews with the farmers. He agreed with Mr King that monuments have largely been preserved out of respect for the practices of past generations rather than out of fear of prosecution for breaking the law. He made a valid point that farmers are not properly informed of legislation. This was somewhat confirmed by what the landowners said; while they were aware of the existence of legislation that protects monuments, none of them elaborated on what this legislation actually states. It must also be remembered that only one farmer had ever received any official documentation concerning the monument on his land.

Mr Moriarty believed that the existing legislation is sufficient but it is not properly enforced. He said that the case of the farmer in Co. Kerry is the only one that has gone to court as it could be proved that what he had done was not by accident. However, this beggars the question: if people are ignorant of the significance of their actions when damaging a monument, should they not still be prosecuted? It is a difficult question to answer and it is perhaps a missed opportunity that the question was not put to Mr Moriarty. Certainly ignorance of the law is a poor excuse when a lot of other crimes are considered, but genuine cases of accidental damage to monuments do exist and it does seem harsh to punish someone if this is the case. However, each case should be investigated thoroughly by the relevant authorities, in this case the NMS, to determine the levels of intent involved and damage caused and any punishment should be based on a combined tally of these.

Nonetheless, for Mr Moriarty, awareness of the significance of monuments is more important than an awareness of legislation when it comes to preserving monuments, and he stresses this during the site visits that he leads. Interestingly, Mr Moriarty believed that farmers should be encouraged to want ownership of the monuments on their land, while Mr King believed that archaeologists should give

ownership of knowledge back to farmers. They both agreed however on the need for publications regarding archaeology that are specifically targeted towards farmers. Mr Moriarty also cited the recent articles in the *Irish Farmers Journal* as a good example of these and he made the valid point that they are printed in a title that farmers already buy. This means firstly that they do not have to spend extra money on a book that they might only be vaguely interested in and secondly that there is more chance that they will actually read it.

Mr Moriarty also agreed with the IFA representatives that farmers want, for the most part, to be left to their own devices on their farms. Both Mr Moriarty and the IFA representatives said that farmers did want to attract people on to their land, while the IFA representatives stressed that farmers did not need any more directives from statutory bodies telling them what they can and cannot do on their own land. On the other hand, the landowners who were interviewed were keen for more information about the monuments on their land. These issues however do not have to be mutually exclusive. Mr Moriarty's Bree Heritage Group is proof that local heritage schemes can generate an interest in and awareness of archaeology, while at the same time they do not dictate from an outside, authoritative source. His own group has received positive responses in his local area, where he is a trusted conveyor of information. If each of the people who take part in the site visits tells their friends and family about the monuments, then it is possible that a trickle-down effect can occur whereby the awareness of the significance of archaeological monuments can slowly spread and grow.

Mr Moriarty, as an experienced archaeologist who meets with many landowners in the site visits that he leads, was very well-informed on both sides of the issue when it comes to preserving monuments on privately owned land in Ireland. The Bree Heritage Group is a perfect example of how to raise awareness of the significance of monuments on a local level and to generate an interest in them. If such projects were taken up across the country they could only have a positive effect for the preservation of monuments.

Chapter V
Literary Review

Before discussing the four main surveys that will be analysed and critically evaluated, it is worthwhile to briefly mention the previous surveys that have been carried out on the damage that has been caused to monuments in Ireland. Such works, similar to The Burren survey presented in this paper, measured the rate of destruction to monuments by counting the number of monuments that appear on the 19th century OS maps but are now destroyed. However, they make no attempt to isolate recent practices or to ascertain the attitudes of landowners to the preservation of archaeological monuments (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 88). Nevertheless, the data that they present is of significance for measuring the amount of damage to monuments that has occurred in certain parts of the country and for confirming the monument types that are most at risk. Herity (1987) surveyed an area around the royal site of Cruachain in Co. Roscommon where he found that 11% of all known ringforts had been removed. Stout's (1984) archaeological survey of the Ikerrin barony in Co. Tipperary revealed that 37% of all known ringforts had vanished. Finally, Bennett (1989) found that over 70% of all known ringforts to have once existed in Co. Wexford had been destroyed. Clearly these results emphasise the threat to ringforts that was presented in The Burren Survey of this paper.

Trends and Attitudes, Co. Meath

Kennedy and O'Sullivan's (1998, 88) survey of the survival of archaeological monuments in Co. Meath is important as it was the first such survey to deal with the attitudes of farmers and the wide range of views and knowledge on the conservation of monuments that they hold. The survey consisted of two parts; the first chronicled the rate of destruction of monuments in certain parts of Co. Meath, while the second

part was conducted by a questionnaire that was distributed amongst a sample of 100 farmers (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 88).

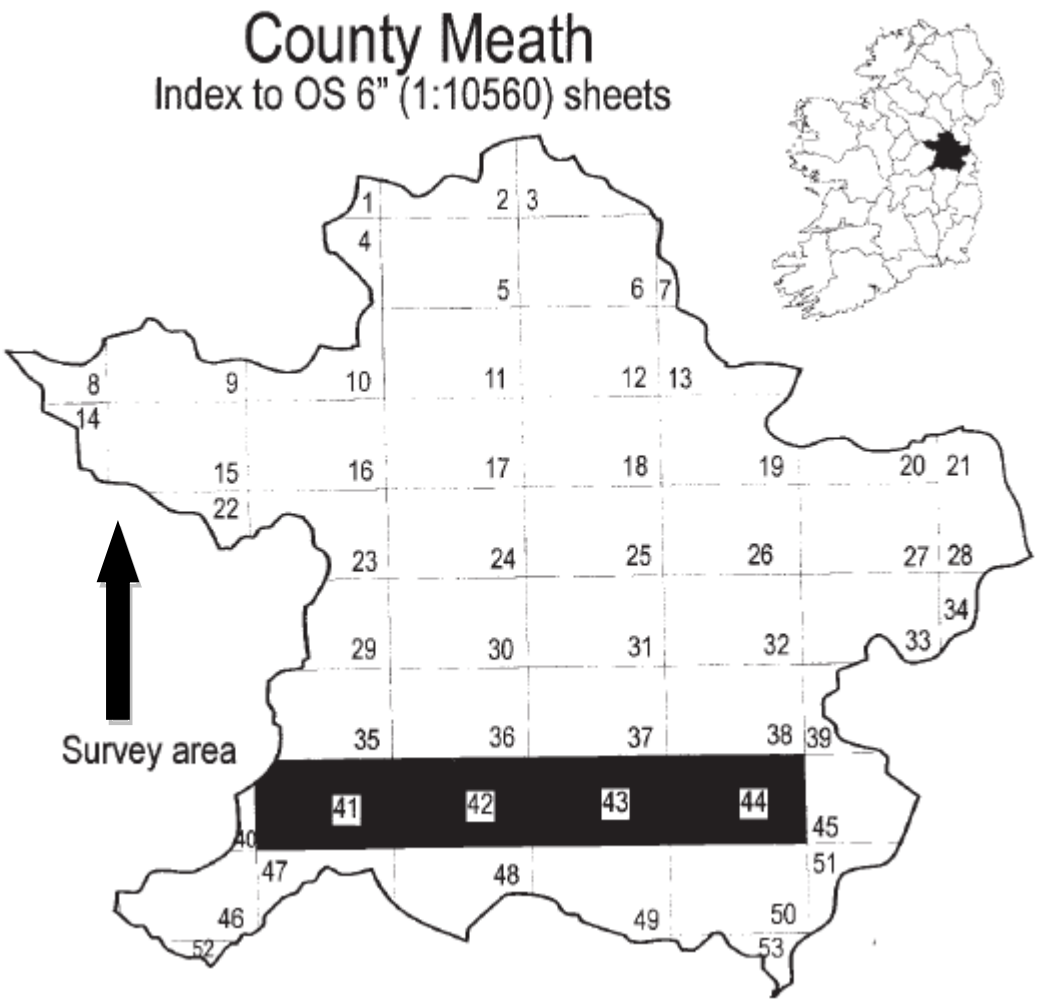

Fig. 2: Map showing the research area in Co. Meath (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 89)

The survey was conducted in an area of Co. Meath that was represented by four 6" OS maps that extended in a straight line. However, unlike the previously mentioned surveys, the Co. Meath differed by relying on the Archaeological Inventory of Co. Meath (Moore 1987) for its base data set. A programme of visitation to each of the extant sites listed in the RMP was initiated in the 1960s and eventually

resulted in the publication of a series of individual County Archaeological Inventories in the 1980s. Each Inventory affords a brief description to every site that exists in a particular county. The Inventory also lists the date that an archaeologist visited a particular site to make their examination. This enabled any subsequent activity at the site to be measured against the initial description in the Inventory and to work out an up-to-date rate of destruction (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 89-91). It is worth noting that this was not possible in the case of The Burren survey presented in this paper as the Inventory for Co. Clare has yet to be published.

Of the 119 listed monuments in the research area, 28 had been removed before the Inventory was compiled. The remaining 91 sites were visited to determine whether or not they had been damaged or destroyed. Of these, there was no longer any trace of eleven monuments and two had been partially destroyed. These 13 sites represent 14.3% of the monuments that had been listed in the Inventory. Combining this figure with the 28 previously destroyed monuments means that 39, or almost 33%, of all known monuments in the research area had been damaged or destroyed. Ten of the 13 damaged monuments were earthworks (including four ringforts and three enclosures) and five of these resulted from tillage operations such as levelling and/or ploughing. Based on these findings, an average rate of destruction for monuments per decade was worked out at 5.6% in the 25 years since the Inventory had begun to be compiled. This compared with a less than 2% rate for the preceding 125 years between the publication of the original OS maps and the beginning of the compilation of the information contained in the Inventories (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 91). Farming was also found to have played a major role in the destruction, while earthworks were deduced to be the monument group most vulnerable to destruction. Of the monuments that can be classed as earthworks, it was again ringforts, as in the other studies, that constituted the single most destroyed or damaged monument type (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 96).

The second part of the Co. Meath survey is of particular interest as it aimed to measure farmers' attitudes to and knowledge of archaeological monuments (Kennedy

and O'Sullivan 1998, 88). 100 farmers were asked to anonymously answer a questionnaire about three main topics; how they would respond to finding anything of archaeological interest on their farm, whether there were any circumstances under which they would remove an archaeological feature from their farm and about their own awareness of the National Monuments legislation. The questions were framed as hypothetical scenarios and offered multiple-choice answers. Only 40% of participants correctly answered that they should report any archaeological features or objects that they find on their land to the relevant authorities, i.e. the National Museum or the Office for Public Works (OPW). Regarding the second question, 70% answered that there were no circumstances under which they would remove an archaeological feature. Interestingly the principal reason (59%) for not taking such an action was an appreciation of monuments and the desire to preserve them, followed by superstition (17%) with legal consideration only being the reason for 5.9% of those questioned. Finally, the third question was broken into three parts to test respondent's knowledge of current legislation. 49% were judged to have good knowledge, 36% had partial awareness while 15% had no awareness (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 92-96).

By analysing the results with reference to the participants' backgrounds, some trends in attitudes were identified (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 98). Generally, attitudes towards archaeological monuments were more positive amongst the older participants and more negative amongst the larger landowners. Indeed, intensive farming of large-scale holdings was identified as the main threat to archaeological features. The farmers who had partaken in the Teagasc Agri-Environment course (a 20-hour course with a brief section on archaeology for REPS participants) were the best informed and the most positive when it came to archaeology, while young, trainee farmers were the least informed. This emphasised the important role that education can play not only in transferring information but also in facilitating attitudes (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 98).

The Co. Meath survey was innovative in its use of the county's Archaeological Inventory to determine the destruction of sites in the period after its

compilation. Unlike other surveys on the destruction of archaeological monuments, a maximum time frame of 26 years in which damage had been caused to the examined monuments was provided by the Co. Meath survey, beginning with the earliest entries to the Inventory from 1969 and ending with the survey itself 1995. Indeed, interviews with locals allowed them to pinpoint the destruction of certain monuments to specific years (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 91). This is a far more useful method than comparing lost sites with the 19th century OS maps where the date of the loss of a site could potentially have been at any time in the last 150 years. The method used in the Co. Meath survey can yield relatively contemporary results meaning that potential solutions can be designed to address contemporary problems.

The method could however be better improved by incorporating aerial photography into the survey. It is perhaps unfortunate that the first series of OSI aerial photographs were only produced in 1995, the same year that the fieldwork of the Co. Meath survey was carried out. It was several years again before they were easily accessible on-line, and even then slow internet connections hampered investigations. Nevertheless, as discussed earlier, the successive series of aerial photographs of Ireland offer a fast and easy way of comparing the preservation condition of a monument in three specific years. Though the method is not 100% accurate and is not suitable for all classes of monuments, it is useful for keeping tabs on earthworks and ringforts; the monument types that were identified as being the most vulnerable to potential damage (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 96).

This leads to the next problem with the Co. Meath survey. While there is no doubt that earthworks, including ringforts, are the most vulnerable monuments and farming has played a major role in the damage that has been caused to them, Kennedy and O'Sullivan (1998) fail to point out that earthworks, and especially ringforts, are by far the most common monument type found in Ireland. Nor do they mention the fact that the overwhelming majority of monuments are located on farmland. Although these points, and especially the latter, are obvious to most Irish archaeologists, it must be noted that the sheer number of ringforts and the fact that they are far more often

than not located on farmland are two of the reasons that this monument type is most at risk and that farming is the major cause of their destruction. It does not make their research any less valid, but it would have been worth pondering what the destruction rate had to say about the relative proportion of monuments, i.e. the number of destroyed ringforts could have been weighed against the total number of ringforts in the research area and similar action could have been taken for other monument types so that a relative destruction rate could have been calculated.

It was also accepted that only 30% of the respondents to the questionnaire could imagine a situation in which they would remove a monument from their land (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 98). However, this figure should not be acceptable. Could archaeologists accept a figure of 30% of all presently remaining monuments being potentially destroyed? Of course they did not specifically say that they intended to remove a monument from their land, but if realistic and effective solutions are to be developed to prevent the destruction of archaeological monuments then a worst-case scenario needs to be envisaged in order to work against it. As stated previously, it is largely generation upon generation of farmers who have preserved the vast majority of monuments in Ireland, and mostly in a time before the discipline of archaeology existed or had even been dreamed of. However, it takes only one farmer (not to mention anybody else) and only one incident to completely wipe out an irreplaceable monument forever. A figure of 30% of farmers who say they could see themselves doing such a thing is simply too high and this needs to be addressed immediately.

Finally, the Co. Meath survey, while effective in identifying relatively recent rates of destruction and types of monuments that have been destroyed, no attempt is made to suggest any solutions to the problem (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 91). Some practices that facilitate the conservation of monuments, such as education and participation in REPS, are recognised but no new ways of solving the problem are addressed. To be fair however, the limitations of the study are acknowledged and it is stated that the purpose of the Co. Meath survey will be fulfilled if it facilitates

surveys of the future (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 98). This purpose was fulfilled with the subsequent Archaeological Features at Risk programme.

Archaeological Features at Risk (AFAR), Ireland

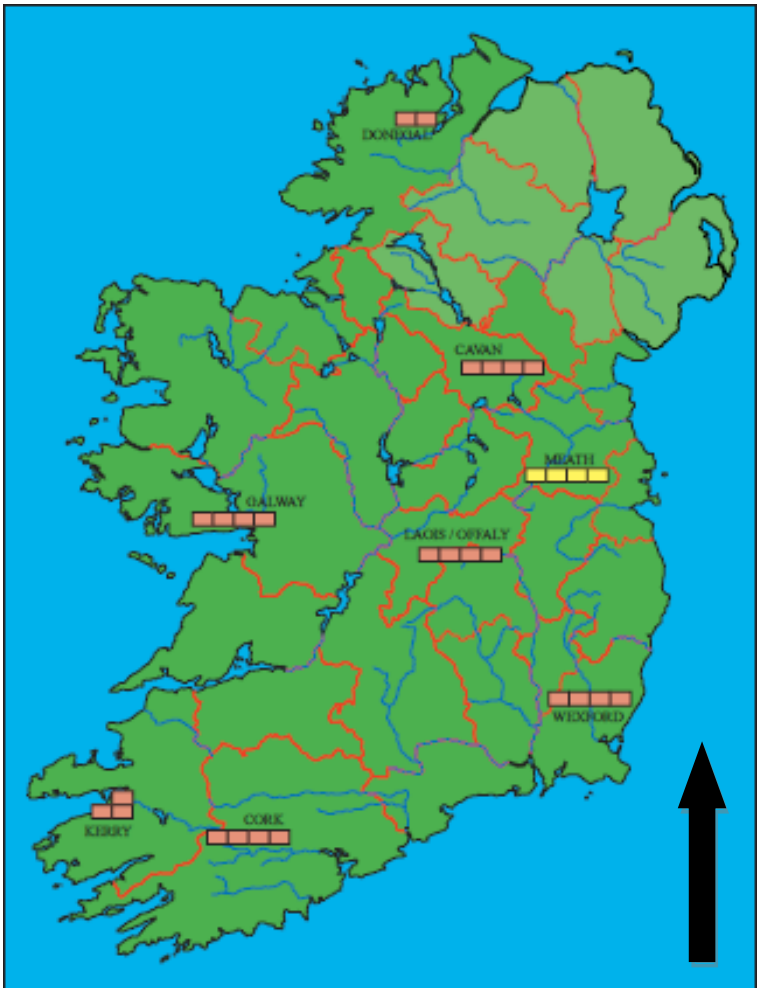

Fig. 3: Map showing the seven research areas of the AFAR programme and the Co. Meath research area (Kennedy et al. 2001, 21)

The methods of the previous survey were applied to several more research areas in Ireland in the Archaeological Features at Risk (AFAR) programme, with the aim of

making a general observation on the destruction of monuments on a national level. The survey was commissioned by The Heritage Council of Ireland (Kennedy et al. 2001, 22). The Heritage Council was established by the 1995 Heritage Act as a statutory body with responsibility for proposing policies and priorities to identify, protect, preserve and enhance the national heritage of Ireland. Its function is to promote interest, education, knowledge, pride and appreciation of the national heritage (Mount 2002, 485). As such, the Heritage Council's involvement in the AFAR programme can be seen as at least partial, if not more, recognition by the state that a problem exists concerning the preservation of Ireland's monuments and that this problem needs to be addressed.

The aims of the AFAR programme were to ascertain the rate of destruction of monuments since the publication of the County Archaeological Inventories, to evaluate the current condition of a sample size of monuments, to identify the types of monuments that were most under threat and to see whether the results of the Meath survey were representative of the nation as a whole (Kennedy et al. 2001, 25). By applying the methods from the Co. Meath survey (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998) of comparing the then current condition of archaeological monuments with their written description in the Archaeological Inventories in a further seven study areas in counties Cavan, Cork, Donegal, Galway, Kerry, Laois/Offaly and Wexford, the AFAR programme is still the most ambitious of its kind to have ever been conducted in Ireland. The combined OS maps used in the survey represent 2.2% of the national territory and an estimated 1.4% of all known monuments in Ireland were examined (Kennedy et al. 2001, 21).

A total of 1,400 monuments were listed in the Inventories to exist or to have once existed in the seven study areas. It was discovered that 407 (29.1%) monuments had been destroyed or removed prior to the compilation of the Archaeological Inventories. Of these, 216 (63.4%) were classed as earthen monuments, including 79 (19.4%) enclosures and 48 (11.8%) ringforts (Kennedy et al. 2001, 33).

101 monuments could not be located, leaving 892 that were visited to compare their condition with the description associated with them in the Archaeological Inventories. 154 (17.3%, or 11% of all monuments to have once existed) of these had been destroyed or damaged in the intervening years between the original site visit of the Inventory and the site visit of the AFAR programme. 112 (72.7%) earthen monuments had been damaged or destroyed, including 62 (40.3%) ringforts and 13 (8.4%) enclosures. However, 461 (56.2%) earthen monuments survived, including 296 (42.6%) ringforts, meaning earthen monuments, and specifically ringforts, were the commonest monuments to have ever existed (Kennedy et al. 2001, 33-34).

Land improvement was found to be the main cause of damage to monuments, accounting for 84 (54.5%) of the 154 monuments that were damaged or destroyed. 129 (83.8%) of the monuments were located in pasture, however, again the majority of surviving monuments also stand in pasture. Earthen monuments, not surprisingly, were deemed to be those in the most danger, while individually ringforts and fulachta fiadh (burnt mounds) were the two main types that had already been destroyed. 52 (6.3%) monuments were identified as being under threat in the foreseeable future, based on damage that has already occurred to them and their geographical setting. 39 (75%) of these were earthen monuments (Kennedy et al. 2001, 34-40).

Kennedy et al. (2001, 39) claim that 71 (8% of those visited) monuments were completely destroyed in the years from 1974 (the first compilation of the Archaeological Inventories) to 1998 (the year of their survey), resulting in an average destruction rate of 3.2% per decade of surviving monuments. This compares unfavourably with the average destruction rate of 2.1% per decade for the 150 years or so from the compilation of the OS maps to the writing of the Archaeological Inventories. In other words, the rate of destruction of monuments actually accelerated towards the end of the 20th century.

If this destruction rate is allowed to continue then little will remain of Ireland's archaeological heritage in a little over a hundred years, a relatively short

time for monuments that have stood for thousands of years. Kennedy et al. (2001, 70) link the increase in the rate of destruction, and especially when applied to earthen monuments, to the changing nature of Irish farming. Small, traditional Irish farms are fast becoming something of the past as they are no longer viable and economies of scale have come into play (Walsh 1992). There is also an exodus from the land taking place, with farm numbers getting smaller and farm sizes getting larger (Teagasc 1999). Encouraged by EU grants, whereby larger farms receive larger grants, the cost of land improvement works can be offset against the larger profits that a larger farm can yield and hence the threat to monuments increases (Kennedy et al. 2001, 70).

Kennedy et al. (2001, 70) also claim that current legislation is not sufficient to protect monuments. When the 1994 National Monuments Amendment Act came into being it was heralded as the one of the strongest pieces of heritage legislation in the EU and one of the most draconian in the whole world (*Current Archaeology* 1994). But the destruction of monuments continued since that time, with Kennedy et al. (2001, 71) claiming that it even increased between 1994 and 1998.

It is clear from the survey of the AFAR programme that the information in much of the Archaeological Inventories is out of date; especially in the cases where the information on a monument was printed some 20 years after the site visit had taken. The fact that many of these surveys also spanned decades makes accurate analysis of the rate of the destruction of monuments extremely difficult (Kennedy et al. 2001, 71).

Nevertheless, the methods of the previous Meath survey were applied to a general survey of the nation as a whole in the AFAR programme, and Kennedy et al. (2001, 71) claim that as many as 33% of all known monuments in Ireland are now destroyed. Some solutions to this problem were suggested but these will be discussed in the next chapter. In the meantime it is necessary to identify the problems associated with the programme.

Firstly, and perhaps most importantly, the survey was supposed to be only the first part of the AFAR programme. The second part, also using methods from the

Meath survey, aimed to distribute a questionnaire amongst approximately 1,000 farmers to establish current attitudes, practices and knowledge in relation to archaeological features (Kennedy et al. 2001, 22). The results of the second part have yet to be published. Indeed, it is not known whether the survey itself was ever completed. While it is unfortunate that it has not been published, the main problem is that it represents a missed opportunity to get an insight into farmers' attitudes at a contemporary time to the first part of the survey. It is quite conceivable that attitudes have changed in the intervening 14 years since the survey took place, especially considering the many farmers that have died or retired or the new ones that have entered the profession since then, not to mention the drastically changed economic status of Ireland. The survey was conducted in the boom years of the so-called Celtic Tiger, when Ireland's economy was flourishing. There are few people who have not been affected by the current recession, farmers being one of the chief groups amongst them. Granted, it was not for the AFAR programme to foresee the impending collapse but it is regrettable that the chance to gain this information has been potentially lost or, if not, will only appear a long time after the initial survey, by which time it will be out of date and no doubt many more monuments will have been destroyed.

Ironically, the Archaeological Inventories were criticised for presenting out of date data (Kennedy et al. 2001, 71). However, this is a valid point and one that needs to be addressed (as was suggested), yet there are some reservations regarding the use of the Inventories. Firstly, as has been mentioned before, the Inventories have not yet been published for every county. While this is by no means the fault of the AFAR programme, it does mean that their method of comparing the physical status of a monument with its description in the Inventory cannot be applied to every county. Also, each Inventory was the result of surveys carried out by many different archaeologists. As such, there are differences in the quality and ways of describing the many different monuments. While this does not necessarily mean that the

information contained in them is unreliable from a surveying perspective, what one archaeologist calls “damage” another could easily call “erosion”.

This leads to the next point; while land improvement was identified as the leading cause of damage to monuments, there is no explanation offered for how this conclusion was reached (Kennedy et al. 2001, 34). Development, forestry, roads, drainage works etc. are easily identifiable causes of damage to monuments. Land improvement and erosion are more difficult to identify however, even when in the field. While obviously not always the case, it is sometimes difficult to tell if, for example, an earthen monument has eroded over time due to environmental factors, or if it has been levelled to accommodate farming. Perhaps it is only a minor problem as the Inventory surveys that took place no more than 26 years before were used as the baseline data set, meaning a less chance of major erosion, but it is worth bearing in mind. Following on from this, there was never a follow-up study done to confirm whether or not the 52 monuments that were identified as being under threat in the near future still survived. This offered the perfect chance to test the methods of the AFAR programme, i.e. to see if their reasons for destruction and if their conclusions were indeed correct, not to mention the potential opportunity to save monuments that were deemed to be in danger. Not following up on a survey was the second trap that the Kennedy et al. (2001, 71) accuse the Inventories of falling into and one that the AFAR programme had fallen into itself.

There is also a danger in applying the results of surveys that were conducted in several areas to the entire country. While this does give a general view of what is going on in eight (including Co. Meath) different regions, it is not assured that the rates of destruction are the same across the country. It also fails to identify the specific areas of Ireland that any potential solutions need to target the most. While pastoral lands were identified as those that hold the highest risk for the survival of archaeological monuments, no trends or differences were identified between specific regions. This is important, as mentioned earlier, since differences exist in the quality

of farmland on the island of Ireland and these differences play a major factor in the levels of farming that take place, i.e. whether it is intensive or not.

Finally, Kennedy et al. (2001, 70) claim that legislation is ineffective in protecting monuments. Although today there are still problems with the fact that the legislation only acts after an event occurred, there is far more widespread knowledge, as has been shown in the interviews of this research, that severe penalties can be administered following the court case involving the Kerry farmer who destroyed a ringfort and souterrain (*Irish Times* 03/03/12)[9]. Of course this event took place long after the AFAR programme, but it serves to highlight how information on the condition of archaeological monuments and how the trends and attitudes associated with them can change so much in little over a decade. While the AFAR programme was an ambitious survey and provided valuable information on the preservation of monuments, its failure to produce the second part of the survey and the fact that many external conditions have changed since it was carried out, means that it, like the County Archaeological Inventories, it is rapidly becoming out of date.

Monuments at Risk Survey (MARS), England

The AFAR programme was influenced by the Monuments at Risk Survey (MARS) that was conducted in England in the 1990s (Kennedy et al. 2001, 27). Though it is not necessary to discuss the results in any depth here, given the different monument types found in England (e.g. England has evidence of far older habitation than Ireland and England was part of the Roman Empire while Ireland was not) it is interesting to note that 95% of all monuments were found to be damaged in some way, while 64% of all earthworks had been flattened (Bell et al. 2009, 93). The aims and methods used for MARS serve as a useful comparison with the AFAR programme and offer further ways in which the Irish problem can be tackled in the future.

[9] http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/ireland/2012/0303/1224312717627.html, last accessed 01/06/12

MARS was not designed to identify specific monuments which were at risk, but was concerned with the national picture and aimed to look for general patterns that could be used in the development of strategic policies (Darvill and Fulton 1995, xvii). This differed with the AFAR programme (including the Meath survey, the data from which was used in AFAR); although attempts were made to identify national patterns of heritage at risk, AFAR was also concerned with identifying specific monuments that were at risk (Kennedy et al. 2001, 39). While there were some problems with this approach, as has been discussed, the success of these types of surveys depends on the prevention of the destruction of monuments and they should attempt to do this by any (reasonable) means possible.

Fig. 4: Map of England showing the distribution of MARS sample units (Darvill and Wainwright 1994, 822)

The specific aims of MARS were to systematically quantify a sample of England's archaeological resource in terms of the changing state of knowledge of its scale and nature, the amount and level of physical impact since 1940, the reasons and causes for this and the present condition and survival of the archaeological resource and future projections of it. Other aims included an investigation into the implications of monument decay and the preparation of publications and information for a wide range of audiences (Darvill and Wainwright 1994, 821).

While attention was drawn to the out of date information in the County Archaeological Inventories as part of the AFAR survey, there was no attempt made to take into account the greater level of understanding that archaeologists now have with regards to monuments and archaeology in Ireland in general. It was a perceptive aim of the MARS survey, as surely if a greater knowledge of the past can now be, and in the future will continue to be, derived from archaeological monuments, then this serves as an inherent reason for preserving them now and in the future. If this had been recognised during the AFAR survey, then monuments could have been afforded a more thorough description and possible re-interpretation during their examination, rather than a brief comparison of their physical status with their physical description in the Archaeological Inventories. Indeed, the out of date information in the Archaeological Inventories was criticised during the AFAR survey (Kennedy et al. 2001, 71), but another opportunity was lost regarding the chance to start a new inventory afresh.

Similar to the MARS survey, a fixed point in time, namely the compilation of the Inventories, was used during the AFAR survey to measure rates of destruction. As previously discussed, this served to yield relatively recent information on the destruction of monuments (Kennedy et al. 2001, 31). Indeed, the fact that the Irish Inventories began to be compiled in the 1970s meant that more up to date destruction rates could be measured in the AFAR survey than in the MARS survey, where a base-line date of 1940 was used.

The implications of monument decay for different classes of monuments were not addressed in the AFAR survey. However, it is not relevant to the discussion on the prevention of damage to monuments on privately owned land in Ireland. Unfortunately the same cannot be said for the preparation of publications and presentational materials for conveying information to a large range of audiences. In terms of publications, the results of the first part of the AFAR survey (Kennedy et al. 2001) are all that have resulted from the survey so far. The second part of the study has not yet been finished or published. Also, while solutions were suggested in the AFAR survey (Kennedy et al. 2001, 72-74) and some new initiatives have resulted from it (Bell et al. 2009, 25) there has been no large scale attempt to convey the information to a wide audience. The Heritage Council has made the text itself freely available on their website[10]; however this site for the most part attracts those with an interest in heritage, i.e. the people who are least likely to damage monuments. The results of the AFAR programme should be re-compiled and re-distributed in ways that will attract the interest of as many landowners as possible. While some literature regarding archaeology has been designed specifically with landowners in mind (e.g. Doyle 2006, NMS 2012a; 2012b) no such literature conveying the results of the AFAR programme specifically to landowners, the group that was identified as the largest threat to monuments, exists.

The methods used in the MARS survey differed in some ways than those of the AFAR programme. While eight different areas of Ireland were looked at in the AFAR programme, corresponding to 2.2% of the national territory (Kennedy et al. 2001, 17), a sample area of 5% of the English territory was examined in the MARS survey (Darvill and Wainwright 1994, 821). This is an acceptable discrepancy given the larger size and greater amount of monuments of England. However, 1,300 sample units, measuring 1km by 5km, allowed for a systematic examination of England that stretched evenly across the entire country meaning that the results of the MARS

[10] http://www.heritagecouncil.ie/archaeology/publications/, last accessed 01/06/12

survey could be interpreted on a national level and specific rates of destruction that related to specific areas could be calculated (Darvill and Wainwright 1994, 821). This is a far more accurate way of surveying than the method used in AFAR where general assumptions and conclusions were made regarding the nation as a whole.

While the County Archaeological Inventories were relied on in the AFAR programme (Kennedy et al. 2001, 29), all accumulated records in the English National Monuments Record and the local Sites and Monuments Record, aerial photographs, early descriptions and previous field survey records were examined in the MARS survey (Darvill and Wainwright 1994, 821). This method gives a much fuller picture of the changing physical condition of monuments over time as it takes into account all the information that exists regarding a monument. By relying on the Archaeological Inventories alone, all other surveys that took place before and after their compilation were ignored in the AFAR programme. Although the results of other surveys were mentioned (Kennedy et al. 2001, 26), the rest of the information from these surveys was not used at all. This was an unfortunate omission of potentially valuable information that could have added to the depth of knowledge on the damage to monuments and on the reasons for it. The failure to use any aerial photography in assessing sites was also lacking in the AFAR programme. Even though there are limitations with using aerial photography in assessing damage to sites, as already discussed, they could have at least acted as a valuable tool in locating some of the sites that could not be examined (Kennedy et al. 2001, 28).

Finally, archaeological sites were examined according to their setting in twelve distinctive types of countryside, including permanent pasture, arable land and woodland, during the MARS survey. Each monument was examined according to 26 key variables, ranging from monument form to survival and decay, with special emphasis placed on land use in and around the monument (Darvill and Wainwright 1994, 821). These pre-determined variables and geographical settings allow for quicker, more accurate and more scientific results. The methods used in the AFAR programme, whereby monuments were classed as being either destroyed, severely

damaged or slightly damaged in settings of pasture, tillage, woodland/scrub etc. lead to far cruder results and vaguer interpretations (Kennedy et al. 2001, 35-36). Monuments were described as and where they were found, and interpretations of damage caused were assessed on the spot and resulted in broad interpretations of land improvement, development, forestry etc. (Kennedy et al. 2001, 37).

All this said however, a significant amount of useful information resulted from the AFAR survey in comparison to the MARS survey when the scale of their differing budgets is taken into account. £900,000 was allocated to be used in the MARS survey from 1994 to 1998, and as many as 30 people were employed full-time at its peak (Kennedy et al. 2001, 27). The Heritage Council allocated IR£20,000, far less than the equivalent of £900,000, to the AFAR programme (Kennedy et al. 2001, 22). The disparity in budgets can be seen in the fact that only one field worker visited all of the sites examined during the AFAR survey (Kennedy et al. 2001, 28). If the same kind of funds were made available for the AFAR programme as were for the MARS survey, then far more could have been achieved. Since this was not the case, the AFAR programme can be judged to have been successful in terms of what it did manage to achieve, i.e. a significant increase in the depth of knowledge on the preservation of monuments in Ireland. If more money becomes available in the future for further investigation into this problem, then AFAR will serve as a useful building block in the research process.

Condition and Management Survey of the Archaeological Resource (CAMSAR), Northern Ireland

The Condition and Management Survey of the Archaeological Resource (CAMSAR) in Northern Ireland is important as it deals with the same types of monuments and landscapes that can be found in Ireland, but it was carried out against a different legal framework and using slightly different methods to those of the AFAR programme. Thus, it offers the closest approximate survey by which to critically analyse the AFAR programme.

The CAMSAR survey was commissioned by the Northern Ireland Environment Agency, the lead statutory authority concerned with the protection, management and regulation of the archaeological heritage of the north. The CAMSAR project grew out of a perceived increase in the destruction of monuments and the growing recognition for detailed assessment of the current condition of monuments in Northern Ireland. It was influenced in no small way by the increasing concern in Ireland and the UK about the destruction of monuments and by the surveys conducted there, especially the MARS and AFAR programmes (Bell et al. 2009, 23).

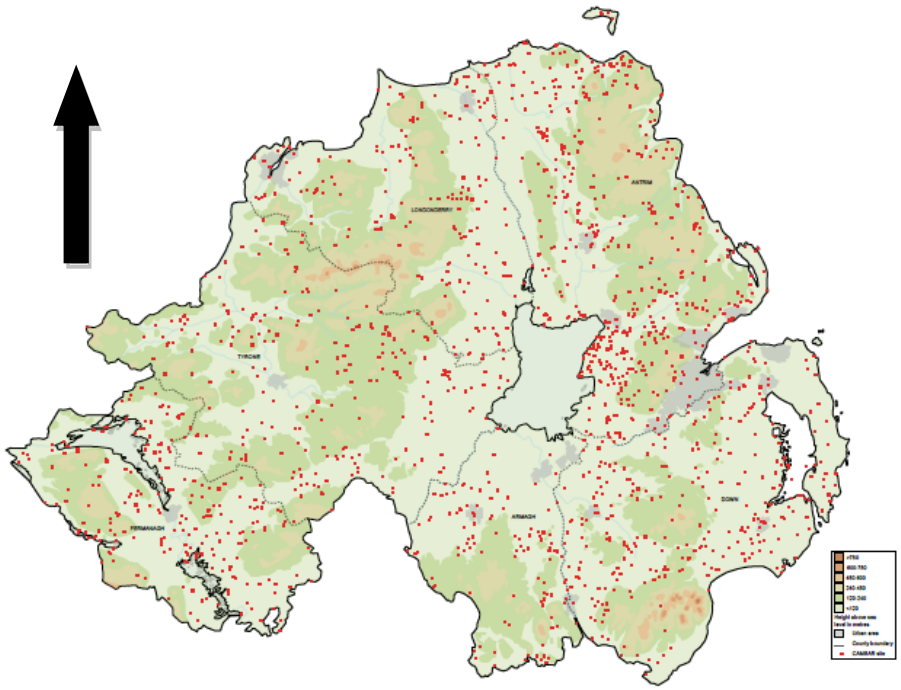

Fig. 5: Map of Northern Ireland indicating the number of sites that were examined during the CAMSAR survey (Bell et al. 2009, 39)

The principle objectives of the CAMSAR survey were to assess the current survival of approximately 10% of the 14,853 monuments in the Northern Ireland Sites and Monuments Records (NISMR), and to assess their current condition and the

factors affecting them, with special emphasis on land use. Other objectives included assessing the effectiveness of NIEA management and protection strategies for monuments in state care and to make recommendations for the improvement of the management of monuments in Northern Ireland (Bell et al. 2009, 19). This was a more ambitious project than AFAR in terms of the percentage of monuments that were to be examined, however two field workers carried out the survey work and it must be noted that the territory of Northern Ireland is far smaller than Ireland where much greater distances lay between the eight research areas.

The methodology of the CAMSAR survey consisted of gathering all available information on the statistical sample of monuments that was available at the time in the NISMR, visiting sites and statistical analysis (Bell et al. 2009, 19). 1,500 sites were selected at random by electronic methods from the NISMR. This method was chosen over the specific study areas that were examined in AFAR as monuments in the NISMR are allocated unique record numbers, with most monuments identified on a site-by-site basis, meaning that CAMSAR was based on the selection of individual sites rather than assessing particular landscapes (Bell et al. 2009, 40). It must be noted however that the Irish RMP also records monuments individually and on a site-by-site basis. Also, there is an inherent danger in randomly selecting monuments to be examined in surveys of this sort. There is a possibility that results can be skewed if certain areas are over or under represented. While the AFAR method of researching eight specific areas is not perfect either, at least it yielded definite results from those areas that were later applied, perhaps less accurately, to a national context.

The collection of data began by collating all available information on the sample set of monuments, including OS maps, NISMR information and reports by field monument advisers, the latter providing the main base-line data set (Bell et al. 2009, 40). Similar to the MARS survey before, this approach was far more inclusive of all possible information on the sites that were to be examined than that used in the AFAR programme. Such approaches ensure the field worker is more prepared of what to expect when they are actually in the field.

The data that was recorded in the field emphasised on-site, around the site and general land use regarding the physical location of monuments. The survival of monuments was measured in terms of how much of it was still extant, according to six different survival levels, e.g. complete or substantially complete. The condition was assessed based on whether a monument had been maintained and how robust it appeared to be. The damage that had been caused to any monuments however included any and all types of damage, with no pre-determined classifications. The percentage of damage done to a monument was also assessed (Bell et al. 2009, 42-50). Assessing monuments according to these parameters made it far easier to analysis and compare the collected data once the fieldwork had been completed (Bell et al. 2009, 41). Indeed, as with the MARS survey, the level of depth of these pre-determined parameters could have been of enormous benefit to the AFAR survey in recording insightful and precise information regarding the damage done to monuments in Ireland.

Objectives and methods aside, it is the results of the CAMSAR survey that are of most importance for comparison with the Irish AFAR programme. 75% of Northern Ireland is farmland and a staggering 95% of this is devoted to pastoral farming (Bell et al. 2009, 50). This has been of huge significance to the preservation of archaeological monuments; on the one hand the pastoral landscape has sustained many monuments, on the other hand however, large amounts of livestock have led to over-grazing and erosion of many of these monuments (Bell et al. 2009, 56). To briefly summarise the results; only 104 (6.9%) of monuments were completely intact, 89 (19.3%) had substantial remains, 255 (17%) had some definable features, 188 (12.5%) had trace remains, 348 (23.2%) had no visible remains while 316 (21.1%) were uncertain to have survived as they may have retained some subsurface remains. This means that potentially 664 (44.3%) of the 1,500 sites surveyed had no visible remains (Bell et al. 2009, 62). Of the remaining 836 (55.7%) monuments that had at least some, if not more, visible remains, only 4% were in excellent condition (Bell et al. 2009, 10). 46.5% of all sites located in pasture where land improvement works had

taken place had no visible remains (Bell et al. 2009, 66); while 44.17% of all earthworks also had no upstanding remains (Bell et al. 2009, 69).

Although direct comparison between the CAMSAR survey and the AFAR programme is difficult, since different methods and classifications were used and the surveys were carried out at different times, some broad trends can be identified in both. Land use played a huge part in the survival of monuments in Ireland and Northern Ireland, with pastoral land the biggest culprit when it comes to the destruction of archaeological monuments (Bell et al. 2009, 93).

Earthworks were also the monuments identified to be under the most serious threat in both of the surveys. Of course it must be noted that earthworks comprise the majority of sites both north and south of the border (over 60% of all monuments in Northern Ireland are earthworks) and that most of these are located in pastoral land and that the majority of the entire Northern Irish territory is dedicated to pasture (Bell et al. 2009, 50, 93). It is unfortunate that the CAMSAR survey did not attempt to distinguish what types of earthworks were in most danger, as the AFAR programme did with ringforts, nevertheless, it cannot be denied that a severe threat to these monuments that are situated in pastoral land exists.

Finally, 17% of all monuments in the AFAR survey were found to have been interfered with in some way since the compilation of the County Archaeological Inventories (Kennedy et al. 2001, 33). In Northern Ireland it was discovered that almost 59% of all monuments had been damaged at some time in the past and that 27% had suffered damage no more than five years before the CAMSAR survey was conducted (Bell et al. 2009, 93). Overall, the results from Northern Ireland compare unfavourably with those from Ireland; a greater percentage of sites have no visible remains north of the border, a greater percentage have been damaged, fewer monuments are completely intact and a far greater rate of damage had taken place in Northern Ireland in a period of 5 years than in a period of 26 years in Ireland. Nevertheless, several recommendations were made as a result of the CAMSAR survey (Bell et al. 2009, 107-108). These and all other potential solutions shall be

discussed in the following chapter along with the initiatives that have already taken place.

Chapter VI
Recommendations and Solutions

The evidence and reasons for the continuing damage and destruction of monuments on privately owned land in Ireland has been fully discussed in previous chapters. To briefly summarise, earthen monuments, and especially ringforts, have been subjected to the most serious threat as a result of land improvement works associated with pastoral farming (Kennedy et al. 2001, 67). Even though ringforts are the most common type of easily identifiable monuments in the Irish landscape, and most of the country's territory is dedicated to farming, the threat is no less real. A number of recommendations and solutions have been suggested as a result of the AFAR programme (Kennedy et al. 2001, 72-74) and the CAMSAR survey (Bell et al. 2009, 107-108). Although the CAMSAR survey was carried out in Northern Ireland, some of the recommendations can easily be applied to the south of the island. Several insightful suggestions were also made in the interviews during the course of this research.

Based on the results of the AFAR programme, Kennedy et al. (2001, 72) recommended that the problems associated with the preservation of monuments must be urgently publicised on a national level through different media. They claim that there is a misconception that Ireland is full of monuments and that the loss of a few ringforts will not be missed. They stress that while elements of cultural heritage such as language and dress can be revived, archaeological monuments are irreplaceable and they call on all forms of mass media to be utilised to highlight this problem (Kennedy et al. 2001, 72). When considering the case of landowners who might potentially cause harm to monuments, this is an effective approach. As became clear in the interviews that were conducted as part of this research, different landowners get their information from different media; Mr Windsor had received information regarding heritage in the post, Mr Jordan had picked up his knowledge from the news

media while Mr O'Leary had received different archaeologists at different times onto his property. To ensure all landowners are addressed then all forms of media should be put to work. To a certain extent, this has happened in recent times.

The case of the Co. Kerry farmer who destroyed a ringfort and souterrain received a lot of attention in the national news, and everybody who was interviewed for this research was well-aware of it (*Irish Times* 03/03/12)[11]. It remains to be seen what effect this case will have on the preservation of monuments, but the widespread attention that it received has surely informed people of the potential punishment associated with damage caused to monuments.

A more positive approach to the problem, using the same method of utilising all available media, is to promote the significance of archaeological monuments as part of an education initiative for landowners (Kennedy et al. 2001, 72). As one anonymous commentator stated in reaction to the original National Monument Act of 1930: "…in the matter of preserving ancient monuments a healthy and well-informed public opinion is more effective than any statute or penalties" (RSAI 1930, 196). All of the farmers interviewed in this research, including the IFA representatives, expressed an interest in monuments and a desire to know more about them. During the course of the CAMSAR project it also became clear that many landowners expressed similar interests and that many acts of unintentional damage could have been avoided if there had been a greater general awareness of the significance of monuments and proper guidelines explaining how to manage them properly (Bell et al. 2009, 107). Indeed, various articles, books and guidelines have recently been published with the aim of doing exactly this.

As previously discussed, the *Irish Farmers Journal* has recently published a series of articles aimed exclusively at landowners, including one on early prehistoric farmers and another on medieval farmsteads (NMS 2012a, 14; NMS 2012b; 12). Although none of the farmers who were interviewed made any mention of them, the

[11] http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/ireland/2012/0303/1224312717627.html, last accessed 01/06/12.

IFA representatives and Mr Moriarty, the archaeologist, were well-aware of them and the *Irish Farmers Journal* is, according to Mr King, the farmer's bible. The significant point about the articles is that the negative aspects of the legal protection of monuments were played down, and the positive significance of monuments and how they relate to farmers today were focused on. The possibility of further free information was also provided with details of where to find out more on-line and who to contact if there were any queries relating to archaeology. This approach addressed archaeological monuments from a farmer's perspective, and considered what would be of interest to them. As already mentioned, the appearance of the articles in the *Irish Farmers Journal* also meant that they were in a newspaper that a farmer already buys and reads.

The Heritage Council have also produced a brief booklet on farming and archaeology that is also freely available on their website (Doyle 2006)[12]. Besides outlining the significance of monuments, the role of landowners, as the direct successors of successive generations who have worked the land, in protecting Ireland's heritage is also emphasised. Guidelines on how best to protect monuments include controlling livestock levels and the growth of plants on or around them to prevent erosion, not using monuments as shelter for stock and to leave islands of uncultivated ground around monuments. Contact details for the Heritage Council and the NMS are also supplied for queries of further information (Doyle 2006, 1-2). While the booklet is short and precise and addresses the role of farmers in preserving archaeological monuments, it is not known how wide its circulation has been. The IFA representatives who were interviewed believed that the IFA would have no problem in distributing best farming practices relating to archaeology along with their own documents that they occasionally post to farmers. If the IFA could be persuaded to distribute a booklet such as this one, then it has the chance of reaching a very large number of landowners, some of whom may not use modern media such as the

[12] http://www.heritagecouncil.ie/archaeology/publications/, last accessed 01/06/12.

internet. It would also address the interviewed landowners call for more information from a statutory body with responsibility for archaeology.

A call for regular monitoring of the preservation levels of monuments was also made as a result of the AFAR programme (Kennedy et al. 2001, 73). The monitoring unit would be responsible for visiting all recorded monuments in the RMP and assessing their level of preservation (Kennedy et al. 2001, 73). This would yield far more precise information on the current preservation levels of monuments nationwide than the eight research areas that were examined in the AFAR survey and solutions could be better designed to address the problem on a national level. Kennedy et al. (2001, 73) also state that a new base data source, including a pictorial record of monuments, could be established from which further monitoring could take place. This would not only address the problem of the out of date information that is contained in many of the County Archaeological Inventories, but it would have the added advantage of defining a short and precise timescale for identifying when any potential future damage to a monument occurred. A recommendation for a follow-up survey was similarly suggested as a result of the CAMSAR survey to see if current policies and practices are having an effect (Bell et al. 2009, 108). Aside from this, the regular monitoring of a monument would make a landowner aware that the monument is going to be visited on a regular basis and that it would be missed if it were removed. This would act as a major deterrent to the damage of archaeological monuments (Kennedy et al. 2001, 73).

Although this recommendation could be potentially very effective in assessing the actual levels of damage to monuments, drawing up solutions that work on a national scale and as a deterrent to any potential future damage, the monitoring unit would be addressing the problem primarily from an archaeologist's perspective, not a farmer's. The only real benefit for a landowner would be the avoidance of a potential fine or imprisonment as they would be expecting regular visits from the archaeological unit and so would be discouraged from intentionally damaging monuments. While there is no doubt that there is a real need to update the information

in the County Archaeological Inventories and to assess the level of damage of all monuments in Ireland, incentives that address farmers needs must also be considered in any potential solutions. One such solution was the Rural Environmental Protection Scheme (REPS).

As previously discussed, Measure 7 of REPS addressed the threat to archaeological monuments that are located in farmland by promoting greater awareness of archaeological features and of the need to protect them. Farmers needed to comply with the measure to receive their annual grant payment, or face fines and/or exclusion from the scheme if they failed to do so (Emerson and Gillmor 1999, 239). The protection of archaeological monuments became an incentive for farmers, and both they and archaeologists (not to mention the general public) benefited from it. It also formalised the role of farmers in the protection of monuments whereby they entered a contract with the state to comply with the measures. This was exactly how the IFA representatives wanted the farmers role in protecting monuments to be recognised; being both official and of benefit to the farmers themselves. The problem with REPS though was that it mainly attracted farmers with smaller holdings who practiced less intensive farming methods, i.e. those who were less likely to damage archaeological monuments. Intensive farmers with larger holdings were not attracted to the scheme as the grant would not compensate them for the potential loss of earnings that would result from complying with all of the measures (Kennedy et al. 2001, 74). A call for an extension to REPS to include intensive farmers with large holdings was made as a result of the AFAR programme (Kennedy et al. 2001, 74). This would not only have led to an incentive for more farmers to protect archaeological monuments, but it would have led to a greater number of landowners participating in the agri-environment course that was compulsory as part of REPS. As was displayed in the results of the Co. Meath survey, participants in the course were the best informed and the most positive when it came to archaeological monuments (Kennedy and O'Sullivan 1998, 98). However, there is one major problem today that that was not an issue when the AFAR programme was carried out in the late 1990s.

Any discussion of a programme that involves the spending of public money, as REPS did, would be redundant without some mention of Ireland's current financial situation. As Mr King said in his interview, the money for such schemes is either reducing or simply is not available anymore and as a result, all of the good work of REPS is being undone. However, a report from the Heritage Council stating that Ireland's historic environment, including monuments, is worth over €1.5 to the economy and supports over 35,000 jobs nationwide highlights the necessity of investing in this historic environment, especially in difficult financial times (The Heritage Council 2012). Some of this money could easily be re-allocated to farmers in a scheme similar to REPS whereby they would continue to be rewarded for not interfering with monuments. The benefit of this would not just be for farmers or indeed archaeologists but for the nation's economy and the people whose jobs are supported by the country's rich archaeological heritage. It also means that Ireland's heritage is self-sustainable and does not need to be a drain on limited public finances. The idea of Mr Gunning's, whereby farmers could profit from people visiting monuments on their land, is a perfect example of how heritage can be self-sustainable. Visitors pay a small fee to access the monument and the fee covers any loss of earnings that the farmer would experience from turning a small portion of their land over to public access. Furthermore, the payment of a fee means that it is in the farmer's best interests to preserve and maintain the monument. Although not applicable to the vast majority of monuments in the landscape, it is just one way that displays how the preservation of monuments can work to the advantage of both archaeologists and farmers alike.

Finally, local heritage groups such as Bree Heritage, run by Mr Moriarty, are another financially viable solution to preserving the monuments of Ireland. Although the group receives a grant from the Heritage Council, no admission is charged for any of the organised activities and it provides employment for at least one archaeologist in a time when there are few other opportunities such as development-led excavations. Moreover, such initiatives raise awareness and interest in monuments not only

amongst farmers, but in local communities that partake in site visits. The Bree Heritage group is important also as Mr Moriarty recognises that it is up to informed people in local areas, be they archaeologists, historians or teachers, to go out and engage the public with the aim of raising the awareness of the significance of archaeological monuments. If farmers are to be expected to preserve archaeological monuments, then archaeologists should be expected to play an active role in explaining why these monuments need to be preserved and how best to preserve them.

Chapter VII
Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to identify why some monuments on privately owned land in Ireland have been damaged or destroyed and to suggest solutions to this problem that will be mutually beneficial to archaeologists and landowners alike. The methods used to answer these issues included a remote survey of archaeological monuments in a research area in Co. Clare, qualitative interviews with landowners, IFA representatives and an archaeologist and a review of similar surveys on the preservation of monuments in Ireland, England and Northern Ireland. While the study has been successful in identifying the threat to monuments and in presenting solutions to the problem, it is not without its limitations.

The fact that the Co. Clare Archaeological Inventory has yet to be published created a problem for the survey in Co. Clare. There was no base-line data to work from, meaning that each monument had to be examined based on its presence in the mid-19th or early 20th century OS maps and early 21st century aerial photographs. Only an approximate total number of monuments in the area could be arrived at based on counting the number of monuments in each townland in the area. There was no available record of the total number of monuments according to their different classifications either, meaning that all statistics were derived from the approximate total number of sites and from the number of identified monuments that were potentially damaged. This made it difficult to make meaningful comparisons between different earthwork types and the potential damage that they had sustained.

The lack of an Inventory for Co. Clare also meant that the timeframe within which a monument could have been damaged was very long, i.e. from the mid-19th century to the early-21st century. There was no other information upon which to base the preservation levels of a monument over time. This meant that only general conclusions could be made on the causes of monument damage over a period of more

than 150 years. Hence, only general solutions relating to the time period could be derived from the survey.

Finally, as has been addressed already, the remote survey was only really useful for identifying potential damage in large earthwork enclosures, especially ringforts. Assessments of the level of potential damage to have occurred to a monument were also quite difficult to make. Although the field survey largely confirmed the results of the remote survey, and there can be no doubt that many of the ringforts in the research area have suffered potential damage, the results of the Burren survey on their own would not be enough to suggest that this is the monument type most at risk. Future surveys in the Burren could still include the results of this remote survey, but a more systematic approach to include all monument types and classifications needs to be conducted in the actual field so that definitive results can be obtained and more precise statistical comparisons can be made. Nevertheless, the evidence of other surveys confirming the threat to ringforts has been presented in this paper.

All of the information obtained through the interviews was valued and informed the research enormously. However, issues of time and distance limited the amount of people who could feasibly be interviewed face to face for the purpose of this study. Future studies using qualitative interview methods should ideally include more interviewees from a wider range of background and institutions. If a full nationwide survey was to be implemented it should include farmers of all ages, farm sizes and farming methods from all parts of the country. Representatives of all stakeholder institutions should also be approached, such as the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht. Although this suggestion might sound as if it is leaning towards a more quantitative approach, in reality the call is for more qualitative research that gives a voice to all stakeholders. This would lead to a greater amount of informed opinions that can only result in a greater amount of solutions and recommendations that will please all parties.

The results of several other surveys were presented in the literary review and the evidence pointed to the fact that large earthworks, especially ringforts, face the greatest threat from improved land works associated with intensive farming. Two of the Irish surveys, an English survey and a survey from Northern Ireland were examined in more detail. The benefits and limitations have already been discussed in terms of how they can be adapted to suit future surveys in Ireland. To briefly summarise, more money needs to be made available to future surveys in Ireland so that a systematic examination, that makes use of all available information, into the levels and causes of damage to archaeological monuments can be implemented. The attitudes and knowledge of landowners concerning monuments also need to be investigated at a national level through both quantitative and qualitative means so that solutions that represent both theirs and archaeologists' needs and desires can be formulated. Furthermore, the results of any future survey need to be published in a timely manner so that contemporary solutions can be applied to contemporary causes of damage to monuments in Ireland.

Several solutions and recommendations were made to address the issue of the preservation of monuments on privately owned land in Ireland. The results of any future surveys need to be widely publicised by utilising all types of media to dispel any notions that Ireland has an infinite supply of monuments and to highlight the very real threat to these irreplaceable testaments to Irish culture and history (Kennedy et al. 72). Regular monitoring of the situation needs to be implemented, along with updated survey information, to both control and monitor the issue. Monument friendly schemes, such as REPS, need to be re-established and extended to all farmers to provide them with an incentive to protect monuments in such a way that will not cost them money. The money for these schemes could easily be taken from the estimated €1.5 billion that Ireland's historic environment generates and re-invested into heritage; the preservation of monuments will help to guarantee that the historic environment continues to generate such high windfalls. Other financially viable solutions that benefit both landowners and archaeologists include the possibility of farmers

charging a small fee for access to monuments and the development of local heritage groups where archaeologists themselves help to raise an interest in and an awareness of the significance of archaeological monuments

In conclusion, the results of all of the methods used in this research identified earthwork monuments, and especially ringforts, as the monuments that have been damaged the most on privately owned land in Ireland. Although ringforts are the most numerous monument type in Ireland, this does not mean that the threat to them is any less real. This damage has largely resulted not only from intensive, mechanised farming on large holdings of land, but from a lack of awareness and understanding of the significance of archaeological monuments.

Legislation to protect these monuments does exist but they are clearly still under threat. While enforcement of the legislation is only effective in the aftermath of a monument being damaged or destroyed, this has not acted as a sufficient deterrent in preventing other people from doing the same. It remains to be seen what effect the first prosecution in the history of the state of the farmer in Co. Kerry will have as a deterring factor. In the meantime, the issue needs to be addressed from a positive stand-point so that solutions that benefit both farmers and archaeologists can be reached. Several potential solutions have been suggested, but there is no single answer to the problem. To effectively prevent future damage from being caused to monuments on privately owned land, then several solutions will need to be implemented so that they can be made to work in cooperation with each other. Updating the information on the levels of preservation of all monuments and continued monitoring of monuments will give a clear picture of what the current situation is today and any changes to the situation in the future. The issue needs to be fully publicised using all media to reach a maximum number of people. Education initiatives also need to be fully publicised to reach a maximum number of landowners. They need to be tailored specifically for the landowners who have a genuine interest in archaeology and want to learn more, and even more so towards those who have no interest in archaeology and little knowledge of the significance of monuments.

Moreover, solutions not only need to encourage farmers to preserve archaeological monuments, but to also make it worth their while and to respect their position as a major stakeholder in the Irish landscape. While it is easy for an archaeologist to say that a monument must be preserved, the archaeologist needs to understand what these monuments mean to landowners and how they affect their lives. While archaeologists see monuments as testaments to past civilisation and repositories of information, it is easy to forget that their very existence can affect people's lives in the present. Monuments can be a burden to farmers, especially when they make the job of farming more difficult or when they incur penalties or strict farming directives. Archaeologists need to remember that the existence of so many monuments in Ireland's landscape today is down to the goodwill of farmers over countless generations who have not destroyed them. In fact, farmers were preserving archaeological monuments long before the discipline of archaeology ever existed. If the monuments on privately owned land in Ireland are to survive into the future then archaeologists will need to keep the goodwill of farmers on their side by respecting their position and by including them in all programmes of preservation.

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