Mass Sites of
*Uíbh Laoghaire*

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The history of Catholicism is an essential component in the history of modern Ireland. As locations of a distinctively Catholic faith, Mass sites are important historical, ritual and counter-cultural sites that present a tangible connection to Ireland’s rich heritage for contemporary society. This localised study focusses on *Uíbh Laoghaire*, a parish located in the diocese of Cork and Ross, county Cork, providing one of the most thorough syntheses of available information in respect to Mass sites applied at a parish level. *Uíbh Laoghaire* is an area with strong Gaelic roots where the Irish language continues to be celebrated and preserved alongside folklore and older traditions. Based on an analysis of documentary and material records whilst simultaneously focussing on the material evidence that remains visible within the Irish landscape, the Mass sites are placed within a framework of sacred space that reflects older pre-Christian traditions.

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

In Ireland, the period 1530–1750 witnessed major changes in the organisation of Irish society (Smyth 2006, 346). Rather than being simply an inert backdrop to the momentous events that accompanied the advent of Protestantism in Ireland and the energetic attempts of the Roman Catholic faith to resist annihilation, the landscape provided a powerful arena for future devotion that shaped the profound theological, liturgical, and cultural transformations that mark this crucial period (Walsham 2011, 3). The Penal Laws were passed between 1695 and 1756, although it may be argued that Ireland’s Roman Catholics had remained in a state of suppression from Tudor and Stuart times. The degrading and dividing influence of the Penal Laws, enacted in defiance of a Treaty guaranteeing Catholics freedom from oppression on account of their religion, and without the provocation of rebellion, extended to every field of Catholic political, professional, social, intellectual and domestic life (Lecky 1891, 52).

The introduction of the Banishment Act of 1697 required all regular clergy, bishops and those exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction to leave Ireland and their expulsion was carried out in a highly efficient manner. Those regulars such as the Jesuits and Franciscans that remained, or filtered back into the country, found refuge amongst wealthy Catholic families or remained under the guise of secular clergy, eventually registering under the Registration Act (2 Anne (1703) c.7 Section 1). All registered priests were required to take an oath of abjuration, accepting Queen Anne as lawful and rightful Queen, and denying the right of James III to the throne (2 Anne (1703) c.6 Section 15). Few priests came forward to take the oath and the remainder forfeited any legal status which the
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The Registration Act had afforded them, resulting in a disruption to religious services. Priests went into hiding and Catholic Mass Houses closed their doors (Connolly 1992, 276).

Whilst the Penal Laws managed to limit the public expression of Catholicism, they did not ensure the elimination of Catholicism nor did they result in the mass conversion of Catholics (Bartlett 1990, 2). Despite Mass Houses being closed and chapels appropriated by Protestant authorities, Mass continued to be celebrated secretly at a number of venues including barns and out-houses and in private homes. It was frequently celebrated under trees and bushes, in ditches and in the open air at altars known as Mass Rocks situated in fields and glens, or on mountain sides. Occasionally, during Penal times, earlier archaeological monuments such as wedge tombs, stone circles and ringforts were re-used and re-interpreted for the celebration of Mass and it was also celebrated at, or near, holy wells (Bishop 2015, 9–23).

Like most historical archaeology, this research has been based on the analysis of written documentary records whilst simultaneously focussing on the material evidence that remains visible within the Irish landscape. One advantage of research in county Cork is that the area has enjoyed something of an extensive and systematic study of its archaeological and historical sites by the Cork Archaeological Survey team based in University College Cork (Murphy 1993, 11). It also benefits from the publication of the five volumes of the *Archaeological Inventory of County Cork* (Power et al. 1992–2000; Ronan et al. 2009) and the well-established *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*.

The Record of Monuments and Places, which forms the foundation of the list of all archaeological sites in the Republic of Ireland, lists a total of 101 Mass Rock sites for county Cork (Archaeological Survey Database of the National Monuments Service for Ireland 2012). Predominantly consisting of built structures which pre-date 1700AD (Cooney et al. 2000, 26) an amendment in 1987 to the National Monuments Act grants discretion where post-1700AD sites of national importance are concerned (Rynne 2000, 53). Given that many historians believe that Mass Rocks, in particular, were used predominantly as a result of Penal legislation passed between 1695 and 1756, there is a potential for many sites to be excluded from the record. This is certainly the case for county Cork; 101 Mass Rock sites officially recorded represent just one quarter of the potential Mass Rock sites identified during research by the author. The fact that Mass Rocks were both temporally and spatially mutable may go some way in explaining the significant number of sites that have been identified during research. Further, Walsham argues that the emergence of new hallowed places can often be closely linked to the presence of charismatic priests who were accorded enhanced respect by laity as a result of the extreme danger they faced (Walsham 2011, 221). Whilst Walsham discusses pilgrimage sites in Ireland, her arguments may equally be applied to Mass Rock sites.

By their very nature, Mass sites are well hidden from sight and very difficult to find and the majority of sites are known primarily at a local level with information passed down orally from generation to generation. The Irish Folklore Commission is the largest single resource available for the study of popular culture in Ireland’s recent past (Ó Giolláin 2005, 11). Ó Séilleabháin’s practical guide as to the type of material to be recorded, recommended that information and popular traditions associated with stones, Mass-rocks, altars, Mass-paths, scáláin (oratories) and other remains popularly associated with Penal times should be collected (Ó Séilleabháin 1942, 17). Much of this information
was gathered through the Schools’ Folklore Scheme (1937–38). Now known as the Schools’ Manuscript Collection [NFCS], the scheme resulted in more than half a million manuscript pages of valuable material ([NFCS] 2012). Pupil attendance in the national school system was overwhelmingly Catholic and pupils who participated principally collected folklore from family members resulting in a pronounced partiality towards Catholic traditions (Beiner 2007, 55).

Mass sites are prolific across Ireland and whilst authors (Bartley 2012; Murphy 2013; Nugent 2013; O’Sullivan and Downey 2014) have begun to address a gap in published literature, there has been little serious investigation of Mass sites by archaeologists or historians and the excavation of sites associated with the Penal period remains severely limited. Notable exceptions include the suspected location of a Penal altar at Tullaher, Co. Clare (Cotter 1991), the possible location of a Mass House at Garrans in Co, Laois (Delaney 1994) and Donnelly’s (2004) case studies of Araboy Meeting House and Monea Old Mass House in county Fermanagh. This research is therefore timely and provides a valuable resource that will help widen knowledge of this emotive period.

Structurally this paper begins by providing an introduction to the historical background of the area of study before placing the Mass sites of Uíbh Laoghaire within a framework of sacred space that reflects the location, nature, folklore and ritual aspects of these sacred sites. Figure 1 provides a map of Uíbh Laoghaire sites and a list of Cork sites discussed within this paper is offered in an appendix.

**UÍBH LAOGHAIRE**

The parish of Uíbh Laoghaire or Iveleary (its Anglicised form) is located within the diocese of Cork and Ross in county Cork and is relatively rich in Penal Mass sites. The name refers to ‘the home of the O’Learys’ who were a dominant clan in the area, but the parish is sometimes referred to as Inchigeelagh which can cause confusion. The village of Inchigeelagh is situated near the centre of the parish (Uibh Laoire Parish 2013). Uíbh Laoghaire is now considered to encompass the basin of the River Lee from its source at Guagán Barra to halfway between the village of Inchigeelagh and the town of Macroom, with the greater part of the parish lying to the north of the river. Lough Allua is located between the two principal villages of Inchigeelagh and Ballingeary and the parish is composed of 120 individual townlands (McCarthy 2006, 28–30).

Along with adjoining parishes, Ó Murchadha (1993) advises that early sources record two Uí Laoghaire families in south Munster, one at Castletownroche and the other amongst the Corca Laoighdhe. It is the Uí Laoghaire of the Corca Laoighdhe that are associated with the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Uí Laoghaire (Ó Murchadha 1993, 214). Known as Uí Laoghaire Ruis Ó gCairbre, they originally occupied a strip of coastal territory on the peninsula between Rosscarbery and Glandore (Ó Murchadha 1993, 215). Around the beginning of the thirteenth century the Uí Laoghaire were forced from this territory, initially moving west into Schull (Ó Murchadha 1993, 217). These lands had initially belonged to the Uí Eachach Mumhan sept whose chief family were the O’Mahons. They owned the territory known as ‘West Land’ comprising the parishes of Kilmow, Soole (Schull), Kilcrohane, Durris, Kilmacomoge (Bantry) and Caheragh (Bolster 1972, 1). The Uí Laoghaire finally settled in the wooded and mountainous terrain of Uíbh Laoghaire in the early thirteenth century. The inaccessibility of the landscape provided a natural
barrier between the *Uí Laoghaire* and their Gaelic neighbours and provided isolation from the influence of English authorities (Ó Murchadha 1993, 216–7).

Sixteenth century Ireland was divided politically into a multitude of small but mostly autonomous lordships which were ruled by lords of Gaelic or Anglo–Norman descent (Nicholls 1993, 157) and the province of Munster remained a ‘complex mosaic of politically ambitious lordships operating within an uncertain period of rule from London’ with a number of Gaelic lordships, including the Mac Carthys, controlling much of the coastal territories of west Cork and south Kerry (Breen 2007, 21). Whilst a number of minor Gaelic lordships flourished, they were dependent to some degree upon one or more of the three major branches of the Mac Carthys, who were effectively overlords of the entire western half of the county (Ó Murchadha 1993, 213), and the *Uí Laoghaire* were no exception. By 1510, the vicar of Inchigeelagh was a Mac Carthy cleric and, by 1540, the rectory of Inchigeelagh had been divided between Gill Abbey and Mourne Abbey, both within the scope of influence of the Mac Carthys. Mac Carthy rights over the territory of *Uíbh Laoghaire* were further recognised by royal re-grant in 1578, which included the strongholds of Carrignaneleigh and Carrignacurra (Ó Murchadha 1993, 217). However, the *Uí Laoghaire* maintained some degree of independence, which lasted into the seventeenth century, and Ó Murchadha argues that *Uíbha Laoghaire* was perhaps one of the areas least affected by the Mac Carthy hegemony. It appears that its secluded upland location made the parish something of an insignificant lordship as far as the Mac Carthys were concerned, although they continued to draw rent from its inhabitants (Ó Murchadha 1993, 213).
By the 1560s and 1570s there was a general pattern of growing unease and resentment of the English amongst a number of Gaelic lords in Cork (Breen 2007, 22). In response to the Desmond Wars (1579–83), English forces had laid much of the Munster countryside to waste, burning harvests and driving cattle off the land, resulting in widespread displacement and endemic food shortages (Smyth 2006, 45). By 1583, many of the original dissident lords had submitted to the Crown and in early 1584 much of the province of Munster was opened up to the first great state plantation in Ireland (Smyth 2006, 47). Whilst significant tracts of land were confiscated, larger towns remained largely unaffected, as did a number of Gaelic lordships in the south-west of Cork and on the Iveragh peninsula (Breen 2007, 25). Further unrest in the early 1590s focussed around Hugh O’Neill in Ulster and resulted in the Nine Years War. Munster was not exempt from the unrest with a number of septs already identified as leading Irish rebels (Lyne 1976 cited in Breen 2007, 29) and by 1598 much of the area was in open revolt (Breen 2007, 29).

The Civil and Down Surveys of the 1650s indicate that the sept lands were shared amongst thirty three Uí Laoghaire (Ó Murchadha 1993, 229) reflecting a continuity of a Gaelic presence within the area. However, the Survey portrays a picture of utter devastation as a result of the Cromwellian campaign. The castle of Carrigneneelgh had passed to Airt O’Laoghaire before his death in 1597 (Ó Murchadha 1993, 221) and was later garrisoned by Cromwell’s soldiers (Ó Murchadha 1993, 235). Lands contiguous to the castle to the east and west included: Coolnacranagh, Rossmore, Carrigleigh and West Currahy. He also held another three carucates to the north of the river Lee, which included: Dromcarra North, Dromcarra South, Inchineill, Kilbarry, Gortincronogie (Inchigeelagh townland), as well as Cleanrath and Derriveaghe. South of the river he held Coornahahilly and Monvaddra, plus Cooragreenane and Rathtahiffe which was part of Gortnahoughtee (Ó Murchadha 1993, 221). These townlands are significant because there are Mass sites located in a number of them, notably at Carrignaneelagh, Currahy, Coornahahilly, Cooragreenane, Gortnahoughtee and Rossmore.

By the 1650s many Gaelic–Irish had finally lost control of their lands, marking the collapse of Gaelic influence in the south-west regions (Breen 2007, 50). Despite this, the Gaelic–Irish continued to hold on to ‘powerful hinge positions in urban and rural social hierarchies and ensured the relative success of the new landlord-inspired economy would both depend on and be mediated by them’ (Smyth 1988, 72). By 1700, and despite the ravages of wars and confiscations, Ó Murchadha reflects upon the speed and tenacity with which the local population re-established with approximately 130 ‘cabins’ on the lands of Uíbh Laoghaire, not counting six ‘good farmhouses’, one with a grist mill and another ‘a good stone house, slated, 2 stories high with barn and stable’ (Ó Murchadha 1993, 236). In 1703 any land that remained unsold in the area was assigned to a group of adventurers from London who traded as the Hollow Sword Blade Company and subsequently leased to Protestant families from 1708 (McCarthy 2006, 52).

Inchigeelagh is first recorded in Papal records in 1479 and appears to have had a long and mutable evolution. In 1493 a disputed clerical appointment resulted in the introduction of a new parish at Kilmichael (Ó Murchadha 1993, 217). This consisted of townlands including Deshure, Cooldorraghga, Shanacashel, Casduff and Clonmoyle, which were detached from the eastern side of Inchigeelagh parish and joined to a number of townlands from Macliffe (Ó Murchadha 1993, 214). In 1591, when church property was
being confiscated, the pre-Reformation parish of Macloneigh appears to have been, after St Finbarr’s monastery, one of the most important ecclesiastical sites in the early diocese of Cork. References connecting Macloneigh with the later cathedral of St Finbarr endorse this supposition (Bolster 1972, 3). Subsequent to the surveys of the seventeenth century, an additional eleven townlands were added to the civil and ecclesiastical parish of Inchigeelagh on its southern boundary. These townlands centred on Coolmountain, where potentially three Mass Rock sites exist, and were formerly part of the parish of Fanlobbus (Ó Murchadha 1993, 214).

A number of parishes in county Cork appear to originate in their medieval tuath lands (Bolster 1972, 262). Túatha and larger Gaelic land units tended to subdivide and re-amalgamate in accordance with the fluctuating fortunes of their secular patrons (Nugent 2006, 205) but there are some examples where a more direct relationship existed between túath and parish down to the sixteenth century (MacCotter 2008, 48). A map identified by Bolster (1972) as given in Pacata Hibernia details these sixteenth-century divisions in the barony of Muskerry as being Iffanloe and Iveleary, which appear to correspond to modern parishes of the same area. Three districts of Iffanloe appear to correspond to the modern day parishes of Kilmichael, Kilmurry and part of the ancient parish of Moviddy; these were tuath lands held by the O’Mahonys. Iveleary, the land of the Cíneal Laoghaire, corresponds with the present parish of Uíbh Laoghaire (Bolster 1972, 262).

By 1731 the strength of Irish Catholicism in Ireland was creating considerable anxiety to authorities and committees were appointed by the House of Lords to enquire into the state of ‘popery’ in Ireland. Two reports focussing specifically upon the religious aspect of the Catholic question were published and included returns outlining the numbers of Mass Houses, Popish chapels and officiating priests in towns and counties across the country (Catholic Historical Society of Ireland 1912, 10). The parish is referenced within the Report which states that there were no Mass Houses or ‘private popish Chapel’ in ‘Inshiguilah’ but identifies seven ‘sheds’ where ‘only a Shade over the Priest’ existed with ‘the people standing in ye open air’. At three of these sites only one priest was available to celebrate Mass (Catholic Historical Society of Ireland 1913, 135).

Whilst the report identifies only seven Mass sheds in Inchigeelagh, McCarthy lists a total of eleven Mass sites located in the townlands of Curraheen, Tooreen, Tullagh, Gortnahoughtee, Derreenacuha, Coornahahilly, Cooragreenane, Carrignaneelagh, a Mass hut in Rossmore and a Mass Rock or hut at Currahy (McCarthy 1989, 37). Field research has identified that there is potentially both a Mass Rock and Penal chapel in the townland of Currahy. McCarthy (1989) also records a Mass shed in the townland of Moneyela, but his sites recorded at Ballyvourney Glebe, Gortnafunshion and Reanabobul are all located in Ballyvourney, this parish lying directly to the north of Uíbh Laoghaire.

Considerable changes have taken place in respect to parish and diocesan boundaries which often no longer represent older past divisions, making the assignment of sites to specific parishes precarious. The Penal era was predominantly the era of parish amalgamation due to the decreasing availability of clergy with several parishes often grouped together under a single priest (Bolster 1972, 275). During the eighteenth century fluctuations in the composition of parochial units broke the integrity of the older units, meaning that smaller parishes drifted from one combination to another with dual parishes subsequently broken up as additional priests became available (Murphy 1991, 141). Authors
agree (Connolly 1992; Smyth 2000) that the numbers of secular priests, regulars and friars returned within the Report on the State of Popery are deficient (Connolly 1992, 150) and that numbers may have been at least double, perhaps even triple, of those given (Smyth 2000, 177). This may also have been the case for Mass sites, especially given the secretive nature of their locations. The following is a list of potential sites in Uíbh Laoghaire (Fig. 1). Irish townland names have been taken from Cumann Staire Bhéal Átha n Ghaorthaidh – Ballingeary and Inchigeela Historical Society (2000).

**MASS SITES**

Ballingeary Beal Átha n Ghaorthaidh (Cum an tSagairt Priest’s Hollow)
Carrignaneelagh Carraig na nGeimhleach
Coolmountain Cuil Mointeain
Cooragreenane Cuar a’Ghrianáin
Coornahahilly Cuar na Haith-Thuile
Curraheen Curraichán
Currahy Curraighhe
Dereenacusha Doirin na Coise
Dromanallig Drom an Ailigh
Gourtnahoughtee Gort na hUchtaighe (Carraig an tSeipeil ‘Rock of the chapel’)
Kilmore Choill Mhor
Shehy Beg
Tullough Tulach
Penal Chapels/Mass Huts/Sheds:
Currahy Curraighthe
Moneylea Muine Liath
Rossmore Ros Mor

**THE SACRED SPACE OF THE MASS IN UÍBH LAOGHAIRE**

Sacred space is not an easy concept to define and whilst a sacred space may be easy to identify, its actual definition is more difficult to qualify. For the past half century historians of religions, theologians, anthropologists and, increasingly, geographers have attempted to theorize sacred space in a number of different and often contrasting ways (Della Dora 2011, 165). Yet it has remained a complex and elusive concept (Della Dora 2011, 181). Our traditional binary distinctions prove problematic in trying to define whether such space is spiritual or material, invisible or visible, eternal or contingent. Della Dora asks whether sacred space is a portion of territory or the product of a set of embodied performances, whether it is permanent or ephemeral (Della Dora 2011, 165). In doing so she presents an immediate obstacle in respect to the analysis of Mass sites which can be all of these things simultaneously.

A sacred space can vary in size from a very small place covering a few square metres to a large area covering several hectares of land. They may be in the open air or hidden away in caves, rock shelters and forests (Mutoro 2008, 132) and can often be made more permanent by the building of a monument (Cooney 2008, 35). At Walterstown, on the strand at East Ferry in Cork, Mass was celebrated in a cave accessible at certain stages of the tide only. Here, during Penal times, the people used to assemble at the opposite side
of the channel at a point nearest to where Mass was being said. It was customary for people to take a dry stone from above the water mark down to the water’s edge to kneel on during Mass, moving it closer as the tide receded ([NFCS] 385, 374–375).

**Coornahahilly Mass Rock**

In Coornahahilly in *Uíbh Laoghaire* Mass was celebrated in the shelter of two large rock outcrops accessed via a cutting measuring no more than 0.3m wide (landowner, pers. comm. 20 April 2011). The altar was described as being located ‘under a rectangular area of rock, sticking out from the South side’ (Kearney 2002). The Mass Rock site is identified by both McCarthy (1989) and Kearney (2002) whose family owned the land for many generations before his father gave up farming in 1963 and moved to Cork city with his family. The area around the site was known as *Carraig an Aifreann* or ‘Mass Rock’ and, prior to the boundary hedges being removed, one of three fields on the same side of the road as the Mass Rock was known as *Clais an Aifreann* or ‘Mass ditch’ (Kearney 2002). The landowner identified the site during field research, but the area is now inaccessible due to the planting of saplings by the Forestry Commission (now Coillte). This land use is remarked upon by Kearney; the land close to their farmhouse was sold off to neighbours and the remainder to the Land Commission. Even prior to this, some of the land had already been planted. About 1920, a quantity of stone was removed from around the Mass Rock and broken up for use on the road. It is not clear whether the altar was still standing at this time or whether it collapsed whilst the stone was being extracted (Kearney 2002). In 1957 Ryan remarked that ‘the rough altar was there till about thirty years ago. By mistake, the stones were then removed for road material. The main slab, however, could not be broken and the workers, learning that it was a Mass-rock, took it back to the spot whence they had taken it’. He believed it to still be lying there (Ryan 1957, 25–6). The present landowner advised that the Forestry Commission were unaware that there was a Mass Rock on this site and, in the 1960s, the altar was finally removed. He arranged for Mass to be said in Inchigeelagh Catholic Church in 2004 in memory of the site and to bless those who had worshipped there (landowner, pers. comm. 20 April 2011).

**Curraheen Mass Rock**

The sacred space of the Mass at Curraheen, Coolmountain and Shehy Beg in *Uíbh Laoghaire* has been made more permanent by the building of Mass Rocks. The Curraheen Mass Rock (Pl. 1) sits in a secluded rock hollow set back from the roadside close to the village of Inchigeelagh, situated on the southern scenic cycle route out of the village.

The base of the Mass Rock is made up of individual stones which form a plinth upon which a large flat slab of stone sits (1.6m by 0.9m; H 0.75m). On top of this stone, raised by two other stones, sits another flat slab forming a small box like structure, known as a *reredos*; a permanent structure that is often built behind an altar and used for displaying paintings, sculptures or to house relics and often rests on the rear of the *mensa* or altar (Catholic Encyclopaedia 2012). Whilst a plaque at the site reads ‘Altar of Penal Times – Mass was said here 1640–1800’, Ryan suggests that this Mass Rock was probably still in use when Father Holland was appointed as parish priest in 1816, when it was superseded by Mass in a private cottage in the village prior to the building of the Catholic church in
1842 (Ryan 1957, 27). The veneration for crucifixes, particularly Penal crosses, has remained a feature of Catholic tradition at pilgrimage sites (O Broin 1925, 110) and Ó Duinn argues that these small wooden crucifixes of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century must have played a singularly important part in the religious life of the people during the Penal era (Ó Duinn 2000, 119). A modern day ‘Penal cross’ had been placed in the reredos at the Curraheen Mass Rock and a number of other ‘votive’ offerings had been left at the site including a metal crucifix and flowers in a vase.

The range of votive offerings deposited at sacred spaces can vary enormously. It can range from ‘ritual litter’ such as flowers, coins, candles, tea light holders and other such objects to the deposition of objects already considered sacred such as stones and crystals. Additionally, a sacred space or object may be deliberately ‘tagged’ with symbols (Blain and Wallis 2004, 241). In Ireland, the ritual of ‘paying rounds’ at a well commonly includes tracing the mark of a cross which has been incised by countless other pebbles on a stone covering the well (Evans 1966, 298). At Guágán Barra in Uíbh Laoghaire, so many pilgrims have scratched crosses onto the old altar stone that the cross lines have become deeply entrenched into the stone (Pl. 2). This ritual ‘tagging’ was also present at Rossmore Penal chapel.

Shehy Beg Mass Rock

At an elevation of 417m, the Shehy Beg Mass Rock is located in rough grazing on a south facing slope of the Shehy Mountain range (Pl. 3). A stone slab measuring approximately
1.8m by 1.5m is mounted on top of a level outcropping of rock to form an altar approximately 1m in height. A number of stones remain on the ground in close proximity to the Mass Rock which Ryan believes were used by the congregation during Mass (Ryan 1957, 26). The site is located about 70m south of the old Butter Path and would have been accessible from Coolmountain and the Keakill valley. There are other extant trackways in the area leading from Togher and Derrinacaregh (Miller 2009). Father Ryan records two Mass Rocks in the Coolmountain region; Toureen and Tullough (Ryan 1957, 26). Miller believes that Shehy Beg is possibly the Tooreen Mass Rock site mentioned by both McCarthy (1989) and Ryan (1957) given its close proximity to the townland of Tooreen and an absence of local knowledge in respect to any other site within the townland itself (Tony Miller, pers. comm. 26 August 2012). However, it is plausible that the Coolmountain site discussed below may be the ‘Tooreen’ Mass Rock discussed by Ryan (1957) given its location close to the road which leads to the townland of Tooreen. It is possible that there were in fact three Mass Rock sites in the Coolmountain region.

Coolmountain Mass Rock

The Coolmountain Mass Rock is located on private land along the road leading to Tooreen just c. 50m north of a burial ground (CO093-011001–Archaeological Survey of Ireland SMR). A flat stone slab measuring approximately 2.8m by 1m is built level with the ground which then drops away steeply into a wooded ravine. Two large stones have been used to level the stone slab to form the altar. The earth underneath the altar has been

Plate 2: Old Altar Atone at Guagán Barra (photo author)
removed so that a chamber-like space has been created similar to the reredos at Curraheen. At the time of the visit the site was heavily overgrown with scrub.

Carriganeelagh Mass Rock

In Carriganeelagh Mass was celebrated at a Mass Rock located ‘not far from the old Kilbarry Church’ (Ryan 1957, 26–7). This ‘chappel of ease’ was built by the Uí Laoghaire and was already in ruins by 1700 (CO082-012002-Archaeological Survey of Ireland, SMR). The church burial ground was divided into two when road building split the site (landowner, pers. comm. 28 August 2012). There was no trace of the Mass Rock in Carriganeelagh when Father Ryan wrote in The Fold in 1957, but he advises that old people living the vicinity still often went and said their Rosary there when they could not go to Mass on Sunday. The field adjacent was known as Pairc na n-Easbog (Ryan 1957, 27) or the Bishop’s field. The Schools’ Manuscript Collection, identifies a Holy Well c. 18m from the ruins ([NFCS] 304, 5) and when McCarthy visited the site in 2006 a local was able to help identify a lios or ringfort close by on Kilbarry Hill (McCarthy 2006, 64). The presence of these features suggests that this was already a sacred landscape when Mass was celebrated there in Penal times.

Ringforts and Mass Rocks

Considered by archaeologists to be the remains of early farmsteads, ringforts are interwoven into the texts and documents of early Irish medieval history giving them an
almost contiguous presence from prehistoric times to the present day (Ní Cheallaigh 2012, 369). More than most other archaeological monuments, Ní Cheallaigh believes that ringforts have ‘lain at the intersection of diverging worlds of symbolic imaginings that encompass a wide variety of interacting social and cultural identities’ in Ireland (Ní Cheallaigh 2006, 105). In county Mayo, Aldridge identified that burial grounds were often located both inside and outside a number of ringforts (Aldridge 1969, 83–85). The Drombeg Mass Rock, near Clonakilty in county Cork, is located within a ringfort and the tradition of a burial ground in pasture adjoining the west side of the ringfort was highlighted by the landowner (landowner, pers. comm. 20 April 2011). O’Sullivan and Sheehan identify that quartzite pebbles are often found associated with such burial sites (O’Sullivan and Sheehan 1996). They were also found during excavation of the Toormoor wedge tomb (O’Brien et al. 1989/90), near Schull, which was subsequently re-used as a Mass Rock during Penal times (site notice) and in association with Mass Rocks in Cork, such as Calloras Oughter and Curraheen in Uíbh Laoghaire (Bishop 2015).

Other Mass Rocks in county Cork which appear to be located within ringforts include a Mass Rock in a lios in the townland of Killinga, Leap, where the field is known as Páirc a Phoill – or ‘Field of the hole or souterrain’ (Daly 2004, 40) and near a hill top in Carriglusky, Kilfaunabeg (Daly 2004, 43). In Claraghmore, on the Cork and Kerry borders, people passing by the Hill Road continued to go into Lios an Aifrinn to pray until around 1883 (McCarthy 1991, 90). The association of Mass Rocks with ringforts is not a feature unique to Cork as demonstrated at Liskeevy townland in county Galway (Connolly 2015).
Ballingeary Mass Rock

The Mass Rock at Ballingeary, *Cum an tSagairt*, is found in pasture at an elevation of 344m. This large sandstone boulder is of irregular shape and resembles the prow of a ship, measuring 0.65m at its lowest point and 1.55m at its highest. A cross has recently been erected on top of the monument which stands as a central feature within a large natural hollow, hence its name ‘hollow of the priest’ (Pl. 4). Local tradition holds that the natural circular depressions either side of the rock were used to hold the candles during Mass (Seamus O’Leary, pers. comm. 29 August 2012). The special nature of its composition, including its shape, together with its geological makeup and isolation make this rock particularly unique in the landscape. A cave (Pl. 5), located just a few metres north, was believed to shelter the priests in Penal times ([NFCS] 281, 425).

Kilmore Mass Rock

Depressions in stone, both naturally occurring and manmade, appear to be a feature at other Mass Rock sites in Cork including Heir Island and Kilmore in Ulgha Laoghaire. The Kilmore Mass Rock lies just to the north of a possible early ecclesiastical enclosure, burial ground and souterrain in the townland of Kilmore and consists of a large slab of rock measuring approximately 3.15m by 2.3m which sits on top of another similarly sized slab. There

Plate 5: Priest’s cave at Ballingeary, *Cum an tSagairt*, Mass Rock site (photo author)
is a natural, almost rectangular, hollow in the centre of the altar (CO081-041-Archaeological Survey of Ireland SMR). A similar rectangular hollow is found on the upper surface of the Mass Rock overlooking the Reen on Heir Island where local tradition holds that it was used to hold the chalice during Mass (CO149-037-Archaeological Survey of Ireland SMR).

**Bullaun Stones and Mass Rocks**

Bullaun stones are natural boulders that contain one or more man-made depressions and, whilst various explanations have been offered for their use, their exact purpose continues to be the subject of much speculation (Harbison 1991, 86). They are often found at places connected with pilgrimage (Harbison 1991, 86) and in the townland of Knockaganny, county Mayo, one of two bullaun stones located at an ancient forge was believed to have been re-used as a Mass Rock (Bishop 2015). In county Cork they can be found at Lady’s Well in Bantry, located adjacent to the Beach Mass Rock, and in a field a short distance from the Shehy Beg Mass Rock in *Uíbh Laoghaire* (CO093-081-Archaeological Survey of Ireland, SMR). In folk tradition, bullauns are frequently associated with the healing properties of the water that gathers in their basins and the water found in the small bowl-like hollows of ‘cup-marked’ stones is also believed to be especially efficacious (Logan 1980, 18).

**Gourtnahoughtee Mass Rock**

The shape of the Gourtnahoughtee Mass Rock in *Uíbh Laoghaire* would have made it a well-known topographical feature locally (Pl. 6). Identified by McCarthy (1989) as ‘Carraig an tSeipeil’ and described by Father Ryan (1957) as a ‘little chapel’, it is located on
the south side of Pipe Hill (Ryan 1957, 26) approximately 10m west of the road. Whilst Pipe Hill is in the townland of Gortnahoughtee, the location of the site places the Mass Rock in the townland of Lackabaun. This rocky outcrop resembles a chapel building with the eaves of the roof clearly visible within the shape of the rock. The area in front of the Mass Rock forms a level platform measuring approximately 9m square and the remains of a low wall at the west side of the site indicate that a shelter or wind break was constructed, perhaps to shelter the priest and his congregation during Mass.

The altar at Gortnahoughtee is composed of a long narrow natural shelf which runs the length of the Mass Rock and is c. 0.7m high. It is possible that a flat topped dressed stone, located to the west of the Mass Rock was used on top of the ledge to level the altar.

Penal Chapels

Despite Úibh Laoghaire being almost wholly leased to Protestant families from 1708, there was clearly land available for the erection of Mass Huts and Penal Chapels, as demonstrated by sites at Moneylea, Rossmore and Currahy. Rossmore was in existence by 1731 (Catholic Historical Society of Ireland 1913) and is identified by Ryan as located in the field opposite the present Lourdes Grotto (Pl. 7). Listed by McCarthy as a ‘Hutt’ (McCarthy 1989, 37) and by father Ryan as a ‘chapeleen’ (Ryan 1957, 26) it is not clear from written records whether this was a simple Mass Hut or Penal chapel. Field research at the site indicated a stone structure of reasonable size and substance. Although there are no visible features remaining above ground, at the time of the visit there were clear
scorch marks in the grass suggesting the possible location of the walled structure set in a slight hollow c. 2m from the road. Gentle probing suggested the presence of a small rectangular walled structure on a north/northwest axis measuring approximately 9.9m wide and up to 15.8m in length.

The dimensions of Rossmore are comparable with those of Penal chapels recorded in counties Tipperary and Clare by Whelan (1997) and Murphy (1991) respectively. Whelan reports that chapels in mid-eighteenth century Tipperary were ‘spare’ and ‘simple’ (Whelan 1997, 226) and, that where data was available, the dimensions of the chapels were c. 15–18m long and c. 8–9m wide with the altar usually located at the east end of the chapel, for theological reasons. These small chapels provided standing room only for the congregation (Whelan 1997, 226). Murphy describes mid-eighteenth century chapels in Killaloe, county Clare, as ‘pitiful huts’ (Cooke 1826 cited in Murphy 1991, 153) with the chapel in Dunkerrin parish having a transept that measured 7.3m by 4.9m with a nave that was over 15m long (Carroll cited in Murphy 1991, 148).

In addition to the site at Rossmore there was a further Penal chapel in Currahy and a Mass shed in Moneylea. Sadly nothing remains of the Moneylea site and those parts of the walls that were still standing during the civil war were removed to fill a hole in the road (Ryan 1957, 26). However, the ruins of the chapel at Currahy remain. It is known locally as Séipéal na Glóire and the field in which it is situated has always been referred to as Pairc na Coultacht or the Field of the Ruin (Con Cotter, pers. comm. 8 July 2011). The chapel measures 9.6m by 4.8m and at the time of the visit the site was overgrown with scrub and most of the walls, with the exception of the corners of the building, had collapsed. The church is located on a north/south axis with robustly built walls measuring 0.7m in height but rising to 1.30m at the gable end of the chapel (Ballingeary and Inchigeela Historical Society 2011). A large slab inscribed with the date 1753 ac and built into the outside wall of the gable indicates a potential date for its use (Pl. 8).

Discussion

Any analysis of sacred space must be undertaken in reverence to how individual cultures conceptualise and classify the sacredness of both place and landscape. This is because each culture ultimately brings its own ideas to bear on the land it inhabits by populating a landscape with a distinctive array of mythical, religious or spiritual essences (Saunders 2008, 172). Religion is strongly imprinted on the cultural landscape, the most obvious imprints including centres of religious worship such as churches, but also shrines and statues (Park 1994, 2) that invest natural places with additional layers of symbolism (Bradley 2000, 107). Catholics have maintained a deep attachment towards the sacred spaces that form the enigmatic Irish cultural landscape and shrines and redundant churches have provided a powerful arena for devotion (Walsham 2011, 155). These already sacred features were ‘baptised’ into the new religion during the coming of Christianity to Ireland (Nolan 1983, 422) so that the cultural distinctiveness of Early Christian Ireland reflected the success of Gaelic society in ‘adopting a Christian mould’ without abandoning their ‘native culture’ (Bradshaw 1989, 18).

Mass sites appear to have been chosen because they were already perceived as ‘sacred’ and this sacredness may have resulted from a certain topographical feature such as a ‘special’ rock, as in Ballingeary and Gortnahoughtee, or the presence of a sacred water
source or tree (Bishop 2015). *Guagán Barra* is situated where the River Lee rises and the pilgrimage site consists of at least three stages of building; St Finbarr’s church believed to have been built in the sixth century, a stone court consisting of eight cells built by Reverend Denis O’Mahony and a modern day oratory. The oratory is located on a small island and there is also a Holy Well at the site. This is an important pilgrimage site that remains popular today with ‘stations of the cross’ and ‘rounds’ performed with the old church altar becoming a focus for one of the stations performed at the site. The altar stone, which may have belonged to an early-Christian church on the same site, was stolen in June 2015 (RTÉ 2015). Sadly, it is not the only altar stone to have been stolen; the Inistrahull Mass Rock was taken from Inistrahull Island near Malin Head in Donegal in 2009 (McGeady 2009). Rounds are also paid at the Grotto in Rossmore *Uíbh Laoghaire*, adjacent to the Rosmore Penal chapel where Our Lady is said to have appeared in an apparition and walked in the water (site notice).

In addition to the remnants of ancient civilisations that littered the rural landscape in Ireland, mountain peaks, rocky outcrops, trees, woods, springs and other remarkable topographical features played a part in forming the landscape after the religious upheavals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Walsham 2012, 32). Both the cultural and the natural landscape remained a focus for Catholic communities in Ireland, subsequently shaping ‘the profound theological, liturgical, and cultural transformations that marked the era between c. 1500 and 1700’ (Walsham 2011, 3). The location of a number of Mass sites in *Uíbh Laoghaire* reflects the mountainous nature of the topography in the parish including Mass Rocks at Ballingeary, Gortnahoughtee and Shehy Beg as well as the Penal Chapel at Currahy.

Water formations such as lakes, springs and rivers are believed to hold great sacred power. Whilst the arrival of Christianity in Ireland could easily have eradicated the existing learning and institutions associated with paganism, Mac Cana (2011) argues that this was not the case. There was a remarkable symbiosis between native institutions and modes of thought and Christianity (Danaher 2004). Religious sites were cleansed from pagan association by the blessings of the saints and nature continued to be invested with sensitivity towards the sacred (Walsham 2012, 36). In *Uíbh Laoghaire*, folklore describes how St Finbarr banished a winged serpent that dwelt in the depths of the lake at *Guagán Barra*, a legend that was subsequently commemorated at the opening ceremony to celebrate Cork’s status as European Capital of Culture in 2005 (McCarthy 2006, 20).

Whilst Ryan comments on the paucity of information regarding Mass Rock sites in the Ballingeary area, he acknowledges that this is possibly due to the fact that Mass would have been said at *Guagán Barra* which he believed to be sufficiently remote (Ryan 1957, 26). Tradition holds that ‘later in Penal times the people went to Mass in Guagán’ and the old Mass path to *Guagán Barra* was still used in 1937, when the information was collected despite the dangers of the route which passed through a fissure between two rocks at c. 550m above sea level ([NFCS] 282, 114). McCarthy (1989) records a Mass site at Dereenacusha, *Guagán Barra*, although local enquiries failed to identify the site.

Ritual space provides a crucial link between religious practice and the concept of sacred space, although the causal link between ritual and the sacredness of a place can be complex. A space can acquire sanctity from repeated ritual use but it can also become used as a ritual centre because of the sanctity already attributed to that location by
Plate 8: Date Stone at Ruined Penal chapel, Currah (photo author)
believers (Stump 2008, 304). This is particularly pertinent to the study of Mass sites in Ireland where ritual has remained an integral part of daily life in many areas and, in ordinary worship. Today the physical expression of reverence or veneration toward the sacred is demonstrated by the continued celebration of Mass at Mass Rock sites and by the bodily involvement of the Eucharist. In Uíbh Laoghaire local priests have continued to occasionally bless the old Kilbarry church (McCarthy 2006, 60) and Mass is celebrated annually at the Curraheen Mass Rock (Joe Creedon, pers. comm. 28 August 2012). Mass was also celebrated at the Millennium at the ruined Penal chapel at Currrahy, Séipéal na Glóire, by the local history society Cumann Staire Bhéal átha'n Ghaorthaidh (Con Cotter, pers. comm. 8 July 2011). Although ritual is often an integral part of sacralisation (Chidester and Linenthal 1995, 9), many Mass sites have remained ‘sacred’ places despite an absence of such on-going ritual indicating that ritual alone is not sufficient to differentiate sacred space from everyday space.

The sacredness of stone is clearly apparent in its use as an altar and, according to Moss, stone has always been the preferred material for altar use, although there is some evidence for the use of wooden altars during the later-middle ages (Moss 2006, 81). As early as 1186, legislation prohibited priests from celebrating Mass on a wooden table and advised that altars should be made from stone of a sufficient size to cover the whole altar. If this was not possible then it dictated ‘a square and polished stone be fixed in the middle of the altar where Christ’s body is consecrated, of a compass broad enough to contain five crosses and also to bear the foot of the largest chalice’ (Moss 2006, 81). In Penal times the priest would have carried a station box. Having unhinged the sides and the front of the station box, the priest would have rested the station box on the flat surface provided by the Mass Rock. The station-box would have contained the altar-stone, linens, crucifix, candles and charts and its compactness and portability would have allowed for a speedy departure should the need have arisen (Ryan 1957, 24). The chosen rock would only have been transformed into a Holy altar once the required flat square stone tablet had been placed upon it and been duly consecrated by the priest, translating an otherwise ‘sacred’ but ‘unholy’ space into a Holy altar for the celebration of the Catholic Mass.

The perceived threat to clerics during Penal times meant that great care also had to be taken in advising the congregation where Mass would take place. It is believed that shirts were often used as the landmarks for the community and were stretched on hedges near where Mass would be said the next day (Finn cited in McGarvey 1956, 184) and flags or cloths waved in the air or displayed in prominent places were signals that could be arranged in advance of the event (Danaher 2004, 22). The proverb ‘there is always enough sun on a Saturday to dry a priest’s shirt’ is perhaps a remnant of Penal times. During Mass it was customary for lookouts to keep watch on higher ground for ‘Red Coats’, ‘soldiers’ and ‘priest hunters’. At Currahy a large square shaped boulder (approximately 1.2m square) sitting on top of a natural rock outcrop has two local names; Carraig Feadail or the rock of the whistle, because people stood on the rock and whistled and Carraig an Raidhaic or the rock of the lookout (Con Cotter, pers. comm. 8 July 2012) (Pl. 9). The view from the top of this rock provides a 360° view of the surrounding area right across to the Derrynasagart and Shehy Mountain ranges. Although the rock has been officially declassified by the Archaeology Survey of Ireland, Father Hurley believed this to be a Mass Rock (Ballingeary and Inchigeela Historical Society 2011).
Religion involves the collective identity of a people and has strong affinities with the traditions and knowledge handed down from generation to generation (Cusack 2011, 2) often orally, demonstrating ‘unique insights into the history of places’ and providing narratives about the recollection of self, relationships with others and place (Andrews cited in Riley and Harvey 2007, 348). Whilst oral histories can appear atomised and fragmentary due to the selective nature of personal memory and its potential for deterioration and nostalgia, particularly in old age (Hobsbawm 1988; O’Farrell 1983 cited in Riley and Harvey 2007, 346) such fragmentation, bias and selectivity maybe considered one of oral history’s greatest strengths. Such subjectivity can often provide clues about the meanings of historical experience, the relationships between past and present, between memory and personal identity and between individual and collective identity (Perks and Thompson 2006 cited in Riley and Harvey 2007, 347). In county Armagh, McGarvey (1956) reflects on local memory concerning Mass during the Penal days providing more than the simple identification of Mass sites; it demonstrates how historical experience can be transferred from one generation to another orally. The author writes that ‘none of the older generation . . . ever remembered Mass said anywhere else in the Cross districts of the present Donaghmore parish. However, the late Rev. High Quinn, a native of Gortindarragh, told me that Mass was said in olden days in Mickey Quinn’s Glen between Gortindarragh and Glenburrisk’. This later fact was corroborated by Miss Maggie Quinn of Glenbeg who remembered that as a child her mother brought her with the other children to pray at the spot (McGarvey 1956, 183). The author also remembers

Plate 9: Currahy Mass Rock (photo author)
that sixty years earlier, in 1896, he had heard from a very old man about father McCourt having his ‘Trusted Ones’ who always knew which ‘Altar Green’ Mass was to be said the following Sunday (McGarvey 1956, 184).

The transitory nature of oral history is reflected in a loss of knowledge concerning some of the sites in Uíbh Laoghaire. Ryan identifies the Cooragreenane Mass Rock as being ‘in the angle between the southern Lake road and the Mall road’ (Ryan 1957, 26) but the landowner and other locals were unaware of the site. Local enquiry also failed to identify the Mass Rock in Tullough (Tullagh) although it is possible that a redundant record within the Archaeological Survey of Ireland which details a sandstone outcrop of rock could perhaps be the site to which he refers. Additionally, whilst a rock known as Carraig an tSagairt or ‘Priest’s Rock’ is identified in Dronanailtig (Dromanallig), Ryan was unable to find any tradition of Mass being celebrated there (Ryan 1957, 26). In contrast, some traditions surrounding Mass sites in Uíbh Laoghaire had survived. At Rossmore Ryan recalls ‘when all the surrounding furze was burned, the ‘chapeleen’ as it is still called, alone remained intact’. The same happened to another Mass Rock in Cooragreenane where ‘twice, in recent years, when the surrounding vegetation was burned, the bushes around the Mass-rock were spared’ (Ryan 1957, 26). Another local story recalls that the local gentry used to hate to see the hunt heading towards Séipéal na Glóire as if the hare reached the church he would circle it three times and disappear (Ballingeary and Inchigeela Historical Society 2011).

CONCLUSIONS

The history of Catholicism is an essential component in the history of modern Ireland and, as locations of a distinctively Catholic faith, Mass sites are important historical, ritual and counter-cultural sites. Their continued use helps reconstruct and legitimise contemporary Irish identity whilst also providing a tangible and experiential connection to Irish heritage and tradition. By the time of the Penal Laws the Catholic culture of west Cork is described by Smyth as ‘predominantly (but not exclusively) Irish speaking …… oral and manuscript based, with rich traditions and practitioners of bardic poetry, genealogical, historical and legal scholarship, dinshenchas and the keeping of annals’. This fostered strong cultural unity and the Catholics in these heartlands knew the lands of their ancestors intimately and nurtured a potent belief in ‘the place of poetry and the imagination, the spiritual world and ‘older’ faiths’ (Smyth 2006, 61). It is evident that such knowledge and tradition have influenced the choice and location of Mass sites in Uíbh Laoghaire as this analysis of these sacred sites has shown.
## APPENDIX

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