ABSTRACT

            A photojournalism project is described in this paper
that integrated the disciplines of photography, archaeology, and
ethnology in an examination of prehistoric megalithic monuments in
Ireland and their folklore. Following an introduction tracing the
history of the monuments and pointing to the maintenance in Ireland
of a body of oral tradition concerning many of them, the paper
describes the methodology used in the project, which included (1)
preliminary research and selection of monuments to be studied, (2)
the study of archival folklore material, (3) the collecting of taped
folklore interviews, and (4) the photographing of the people who
served as folklore sources and of the monuments. Finally, the paper
lists the types of monuments often associated with traditional
beliefs and reports the most prevalent types of beliefs concerning
the monuments, which involve beliefs about fairies, witches, gods,
heroes, and kings, as well as fanciful "scientific" speculations
about the creation and function of the monuments. Appendixes provide
a list of instructions for folklore collectors, excerpts of
transcripts from folkloric material collected for the project, and a
bibliography of selected relevant publications. (GT)

THE MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS OF IRELAND AND THEIR FOLKLORE:

A Photodocumentary Project

Howard Goldbaum
Division of Journalism
Bradley University
Peoria, Illinois

Presented to the Photojournalism Division
Association for Education in Journalism
63rd Annual Meeting, August, 1980
Boston University
Boston, Massachusetts

In the summer of 1979, and for the past four weeks of this summer, the author travelled throughout the 32 counties of Ireland working on a project which integrates the disciplines of photojournalism, archaeology and ethnology. The project presents photographs of prehistoric Irish monuments within the context of their folkloric and mythological associations. When completed, the material will be assembled in book form, and will include photographs of some of the storyteller sources.

A review of the pertinent literature disclosed a large number of books and articles dealing separately with the archaeology or the folklore of Ireland. A few of the former incorporate sections of photographs. There was no book of photographs, however, that dealt with the ancient monuments as signposts to the traditional beliefs of the countryside.

Ireland, more than any other country of the Celtic world, is fortunate in the numbers and diversity of her ancient monuments. Prehistoric megalithic remains as well as Bronze and Iron Age earthworks are to be found, often in spectacular mountain and coastal locations, throughout the island. These stone circles, cairns, dolmens, ceremonial mounds and forts of the dimly understood past have intrigued travelers, historians and scientists for many generations. As monuments to human perseverance and ingenuity throughout the passage of time, they have seen usage as symbols for a variety of social, religious and para-scientific beliefs.

The monuments, dating from the New Stone Age (3,000 B.C.) to the late Iron Age (500 A.D.), were originally constructed for a variety of purposes: habitation, defense, ceremony and sepulture among them. This paper, however, will concern itself only peripherally with the archaeology of the monuments. Rather, its focus will be the body of oral tradition, superstition and mythological literature that attaches itself to particular examples of these ancient remains. In a sense, this project may be called a "fantasy photo-documentary," as the author photographed

real places and people, but connected them with attendant stories of fairies, giants, and witches.

Because of its rather insular society until recently, Ireland still maintains a body of oral tradition concerning many of the prehistoric monuments. Stories associating particular megaliths with supernatural phenomena are still to be heard in the countryside from older citizens, although the advent of television and other changes in traditional living patterns make it doubtful if another generation will see their continuance.

Much of this oral tradition has been preserved, with varying degrees of scholarship, by the early field work of eighteenth and nineteenth century travelers and antiquaries. From 1935 on, the work of the Irish Folklore Commission (now the Department of Irish Folklore at University College, Dublin) has organized the collection and storage of traditional material.

In addition, many of the monument sites figure prominently within Celtic mythological literature. Purporting to deal with the events and heroes of the prehistoric past, these stories were first recorded by monastic scribes from the eighth to the twelfth centuries A.D., but are thought to embody elements of pre-Christian tradition. With their accounts of brutal and heroic Iron Age society, these epic tales have been called "'the earliest voice from the dawn of western European civilization."[1]

Beyond the framework of indiginous Irish folklore, visiting Druidic Revival and Romantic movement theorists and modern para-scientists have also contributed their own speculative theses concerning the builders and purposes of the monuments.

II - Methodology

From three previous trips to Ireland (in 1968 and 1971) the author had developed an affinity for the people and culture, and an appreciation for the photographic possibilities in that land of equally saturated colors and atmosphere.

-2-

4

The author was also intrigued by the prehistoric remains of stone and earth that were to be found in the landscape. In the years before this project was initiated, a thorough literature search provided the basis for the direction in which the study was to precede. Preliminary research identified those monuments that were most likely to lend themselves to a photographic approach as well as those that could be connected with folkloric or mythological circumstances. A map was drawn with the selected sites indicated so as to make the most efficient use of the time spent photographing in Ireland.

Upon arrival in Dublin, the author was assisted in his site selection by Dr. Peter Harbison, author of several books on the archaeology of Ireland and staff archaeologist for the Irish Tourist Board. Through Dr. Harbison, introductions were made with the faculty and staff of the Department of Irish Folklore, at University College, Dublin. They were most helpful and patient in enabling the author to synthesize his understandings of journalism, folklore, and archaeology. In particular, Bairbre O'Floinn, manuscripts librarian, was indespensible as a guide to the relevant material.

The collection of folklore has been systematized as a social science by Swedish scholars [2] whose classification of folklore motifs is also applied to Ireland.[3] In many ways the field collection of folklore resembles the mechanics of investigative journalism. For verification as authentic folklore, multiple sources are desired. Identifying and locating the best folklore source in any area likewise requires the persistence of a journalist or documentary photographer. The posing of "leading questions" should be avoided.

Seán Ó Súilleabháin, the author of A Handbook of Irish-Folklore, (1942) included in that book a list of instructions to collectors for the Irish Folklore Commission. That list is attached as Appendix A.

In conversations with Irish ethnologists, it became clear that much of this study's folklore material would of necessity be from existing archival material.

-3-

5

It is unfortunate that each year there are fewer old storytellers, or seanachies, who are able to recount the traditional tales and superstitions. And, as television displaces the village seanachie as the evening's entertainment, it is likely that this generation may see the discontinuance of an oral tradition reaching back into prehistory. As Séamus Ó Duilearga stated it in 1970, "The entire fabric of Irish rural civilization....is to-day as in the past, beset by many enemies. Here as elsewhere, the shoddy imported culture of the towns pushes back the frontiers of the indigenous homespun culture of the countryside, and the ancient courtesies and traditional ways of thought and behavior tend to dissappear before the destroying breath of 'the spirit of the age.'"[4]

Although the author was able to collect some four hours of taped folklore interviews, the most frequent response met upon an inquiry towards identifying a local source was "You should have come here a few years ago. The last man who knew those stories just died."

An additional problem regarding contemporary collection of traditional folkloric material involves discriminating a primary (oral) source from a secondary (read) story. It is difficult to know if an 86 year-old man is recounting actual stories he heard from his grandfather, or is remembering a story he read in an early written collection of folklore. The source himself may often be unaware of the distinction. This is not entirely a new situation, as a folklore collector in 1888 told of "listening with great interest to the recital of a very aged native, in the full belief that he was recounting purely traditional matter, he wound up by saying, 'And sure isn't it all in the printed books?'"[5]

During the field-work phase of this project, the author would, after locating a particular monument to be photographed, first determine the most advantageous time of day and atmospheric conditions for making the photographs, and plan to return then. In the attempt to identify local sources of traditional stories concerning the monument, a number of strategies were employed.

-4-

6

The initial enquiries were usually directed to a local schoolmaster, parish priest, or librarian. These individuals, if not knowledgeable of local folklore themselves, often proved able to direct the author to those who were. If there happened to be a local historical society, its secretary sometimes proved to be a good source. If there remained a living seanachie, the above listed individuals would prove helpful in locating him.

The most obvious source, the person residing closest to the monument to be photographed, did occasionally provide useful information. Enquiries to identify the "oldest" person in the vicinity also yielded some good results. All else failing, a couple of rounds of Guinness Stout with the local publican and his regulars would often elicit traditional stories from well-lubricated tongues. Care must be taken in such circumstances, though, to avoid the leading question. The desire to provide the "right" answers and the fabled ethnic gift for circumlocution could result in "folklore" of doubtful authenticity.

It was foreseen that the author's lack of a working knowledge of the Irish language might limit his access to storytellers in certain parts of the country. But even in the Gaeltacht (areas of Ireland maintained by government grant as Irish-speaking) bilingualism, even among the older populace, was the rule rather than the exception. In the course of over 200 interviews, there was only one instance of an individual unable to convey the sense in English of a traditional story in the Irish language.

The author attempted to photograph as many as possible of the folklore sources. These portraits will serve to preserve each individual's likeness in the same spirit in which the collection of his verbal information preserves the substance of the traditional stories.

The use of photography to document discoveries in field archaeology was recognized at least as early as 1858.[6] It was not this author's intent, however, to photograph the prehistoric monuments in a manner that would be appropriate for an archaeological text, with range-rods inserted for scale. Rather, it was the

object of this project to make photographs which attempt to capture the "sense of place" of the megalith, as well as its physical characteristics.

Much of the romance and supernatural associations that are attached to the monuments by Irish folklore is verbal in nature. The photographic goal, therefore, was to find visual analogues for the evocative stories of fairies and giants. It was determined that as documentary photojournalism this project would not employ devices of non-representational photography such as multiple-printing or other "trick" photography.

The author felt that by carefully choosing the angle, lighting and atmosphere, enough variables could be introduced so as to provide opportunities for photography that would be well suited to its mythological context, as well as provide variety for photographs of monuments of similar type. Accordingly, much time was spent on locations waiting, with rain umbrella attached to tripod, for the proper combination of light and mist. Several photographs were timed to coincide with the summer's late (10:30 P.M.) sunset in order to add drama to a particular monument.

Attempting to obtain the highest quality photographs for reproduction purposes, the author worked in the summer of 1979 in the 4 x 5 format, although the portraits were made in 35mm. Vericolor type "S" film and some Plus-X were used in the Sinar F camera. Portraits were photographed on Plus-X and Ektachrome-64 emulsions on Nikon equipment. After the first summer's photography, it was decided, for this summer's additional photography, to substitute a medium format (Bronica ETR) for the 4 x 5. Although the advantages of the larger format were obvious, it was felt that the quality differences in eventual reproduction size would be minimal. The difficulties encountered in setting up the view-camera to photograph a fort on a bare, wind-swept mountaintop were substantial. Especially in Ireland, where at any given moment it has just stopped raining, it is raining, or it is about to rain.

1. Court Cairns (c. 3,000 B.C.) These burial tombs consist of a long chamber which was divided into burial compartments. An open space was formed by standing stones. The entire tomb was covered by a mound of stones.

2. Passage Graves (c. 2,500 B.C.) These large stone or earth mounds cover an artificial cave with a passage leading to the edge of the mound. These graves often contain multiple burial chambers and are frequently decorated with stone-cut geometrical designs.

3. Dolmens (c. 2,000 B.C.) Megalithic tombs composed of three or more standing stones with a larger capstone, these monuments too may have once been covered with earth or stone mounds. The gallery-grave (wedge-shaped mound with narrow burial chamber) may also date from this period.

4. Stone Circles and Standing Stones (1800 B.C. - 500 B.C.) Though Ireland possesses nothing on the scale of Stonehenge, many stone circles and single or aligned standing-stones are to be found. Their function is unknown, but ritual usage is generally assumed, as well as computational and astronomical functions.

5. Hill-forts, Cashels, and Promontory-forts (c. 500 A.D.) Whether domestic or defensive in nature, these various stone and/or earthen circular ramparts may have continued in use to the seventeenth century. The earthen ring-forts are often called "raths" or "fairy forts."

IV - Classification of Most Prevalent Beliefs Concerning Monuments

1. Monument as Home of the Fairies

Perhaps the most frequently associated supernatural occurence is for the use of earth forts or "raths" as domestic sites for the "gentle" people, who live underground in their tiny palaces.[8] The fairies, also called the Sidhe, have occasionally kidnapped people and kept them in the rath for a period of time.[9]

Often the fairy inhabitants of neighboring raths find themselves in conflict, and the humans of the vicinity are kept awake all night by the noise of the elfin battle.[10] Persons of particular sensitivity can hear the fairies play their enchanted music within their hill, and the great musicians of Ireland may have found some of their tunes by this method.[11]

2. Fairy Retribution for Human Interference

Of the folklore the author collected on-site, this type was the most often heard. Farmers will recount events within their own lifetimes of what befell a man who was so rash as to disturb a fairy fort (see appendix B). The punishment for attempting to plough over a place sacred to the fairies -- or even cutting down a tree there -- could be death.[12] Although some of the prehistoric monuments were believed to hide golden treasure,[13] the fear of the fairies was so great that laborers would refuse to carry out orders if it meant interfering with a rath.[14] These beliefs may have contributed to the protection through the ages of these remains.

3. Stories of Hags and Witches

Several of the passage grave and cairn monuments are reputed to have been placed by hags, "magic ladies' or witches. The heaps of stones are said to be dropped from their aprons.[15] Other cairns are reputed to be the actual homes of the evil women.[16] The cairn on top of a mountain near Fermoy is the ruin of a castle left unfinished by the treachery of a famous hag.[17] Some writers believe in fact, that the witch trials of the sixteenth century were based upon ancient beliefs that involved the prehistoric monuments.[18]

NOTE: There are other miscellaneous stories of enchantment or superstition concerning individual monuments that do not lend themselves to any of the above three groupings.

4. The Interaction of the Old Monuments with the New Faith

The coming of Christianity to Ireland in the fifth century saw an incorporation

rather than a wholesale destruction of the pagan monuments. Although some stone circles used as idols may have been destroyed by early Church officials,[19] many others were slightly altered so as to conform to the new faith.[20] Today, any number of seemingly saintly Christian observances can be seen to have their origin in pagan rites.[21]

5. Stories of Gods, Heroes, and Kings

The epic tales of Celtic mythological literature are interwoven with the actual geography of Ireland. It is possible today to follow on a map the place-names mentioned in an eighth-century traditional text. The great heroes of the Ulster Cycle and the Fenian stories become more real when associated with a specific stone monument. As Standish O'Grady wrote "...in all the ancient Irish literature we find the connection of the gods...with the raths and cairns perpetually and almost universally insisted upon. The scene of the Firbolgs will be found to be a place of tombs, the metropolis of the Fomorians a place of tombs, and a place of tombs the sacred home of the Tuátha..."[22] That vague era, at the beginning of the recorded past, finds much to associate megalithic monuments with the quasi-historical rulers of Ireland. Such personages as Niall of the Nine Hostages, Dathi, and Brian Boru may be identified with specific sites far more ancient than their time. Their association with the sites may be due to the megalith's inherited religious character.[23]

6. The Fanciful "Scientific" Speculations

As continuing elements of the landscape for several millenia, the ancient monuments have invited speculation from each generation as to their creators, and functions. While writers from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries were content to imagine noble, robed Druids in charge of the monuments,[24] modern writers have originated even less likely hypotheses. Theories range from beliefs connecting the megaliths with underground water and divination,[25] to contemporary

publications that attempt to establish the building of the stone circles as navigational instruments for ancient astronauts.[26] One author felt that each theory had an even chance of being correct. "Magic is the art of making connections between the corresponding principles that exist behind the manifest phenomena of nature, and a magical object has by definition no one single function, but combines many. So it is in the case of megalithic monuments as instruments of the old magical science."[27] As Jacquetta Hawkes phrased it, "Each generation has the stonehenge it deserves, or desires."[28]

V - A Selection of the Photographs

VI - A Selection of the Taped Interviews

Appendix A

Instructions for folklore collectors for the Irish Folklore Commission, from <u>A Handbook of Irish Folklore</u>, Seán Ó Súilleabháin, 1942:.

The following instructions should be followed as closely as possible:

1. Use your intelligence and initiative when collecting. Follow every clue.

2. Even very small or seemingly trivial items of information should be recorded.

3. Items which are commonplace in a district should be recorded as well as the more unusual ones. What is commonplace in one district may be unique or altogether unknown in another.

4. Record all kinds of information, even that which you have already recorded in other districts or from other informants. The more variants of an item recorded the better; what one variant lacks another may supply.

5. Negative answers to questions should be written down as well as positive ones.

6. Write down the information you obtain immediately, if possible. If that is not convenient, do so as soon as you can.

7. Record the information in the exact words of the speaker, if possible. Make no "corrections" or changes.

8. If the informant spoke in Irish, record the information in that language. Write it down in English if it was given in English.

9. Write as neatly and legibly as possible. All manuscripts are preserved.

10. Leave a margin about half an inch wide vacant at the proper side, so that when the manuscript is bound no portion of the writing is hidden from view.

11. The collector should state clearly (either on a slip affixed at the head of each item or else as a note at the end) the name, age, and full address of the person from whom he recorded the information. It is most important that the source of each piece of information be given correctly.

12. The collector should also give any information he has which may help to throw additional light on what he has recorded. For example, if only families which are known to have settled in a district in comparatively recent times practise a particular custom, that fact should be stated.

Transcript Excerpts from Folkloric Material Collected in Ireland by Author,
June - July, 1979

Matty O'Brien
County Meath

"....Oh, yes. You kept very far away from the raths. As a matter of
fact, I knew one man who thought he'd make a very good job of one of them.
He had been in the States, and when he came home he wouldn't listen to the
like of this, the old Irish and their silliness. So he cut all the bushes
on this rath. It was overgrown with bushes and he thought it would make
a great place to fodder cattle in the wintertime. So as he was going home
after doing the cutting, he fell down. And he was dead on the ninth day
after. There's no lie in that. I have definite proof. But I won't give
names. I cannot give names now because his relations are alive. But I
definitely know it is true...."

Paddy O'Shea
County Kerry

"....I would investigate, forts, but I would not go playing at them.
For divilment, as they call it. For blackguarding. There's a fellow who
was developing a caravan site up here, and he asked me about it.
'I'm thinking of leveling from the road in,' he said.
'I'd advise you not to,' says I.
'Ah, you believe in the fairies,' he says.
'Well,' I said, 'I don't believe in fairies, but one thing I believe in,'
I said, 'is not to interfere with forts, unless you're investigating them.'
So he got the digger and went at it. And he broke the shovel. Well, they
got it welded and went at it. And he broke the shovel. Well, they got it
welded and went at it again, and broke it again. He gave it up then...."

Tom McKeating
County Down

"The trees by the fort are called 'fairy trees' because two or three
hundred years ago people saw fairies sitting under the trees, singing and
playing their music.
There are people here who the fairies will follow generation after
generation.
Anyways, a number of years ago the archaeologists were at the fort and
there were six or eight workmen hauling down old dishes and hoes and every-
thing else. But when it came to taking down these trees -- they had an idea
there was something underneath there -- the workmen wouldn't put a hatchet
or a hammer on it.
There's got to be something to it. I've heard the old people -- my
grandmother and grandfather 50 or 60 years ago -- talk all about the fairies.
And they've seen 'em! They've seen the wee fairies! Up there in Tara Fort.
They heard music there too. They probably played wee whistles. Or
maybe blades of grass, or ivy leaves. One great thing about this area is the
musicians -- they've no call for instruments to play, they could play with a
blade of grass or an ivy leaf."

1. Tom Peete Cross and Clark Harris Slover, Ancient Irish Tales (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1936), p. vii.

2. Séamus Ó Duilearga, "Introduction," Handbook of Irish Folklore by Seán Ó Súilleabhain (1942; Reprint. Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1970), p. vi.

3. For example: F277.0.1: War between fairy settlements
F328: Fairies entice people into their domain
(from Seán ÓhEochaidh, Fairy Legends from Donegal, trans. Máire MacNéill (Dublin: Comhairle Bhéaloideas Éireann, 1977), p. 394.)

4. Ó Duilearga, p. v.

5. W.G. Wood-Martin, The Rude Stone Monuments of Ireland: Co. Sligo and Achill Island (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1888), p. 169.

6. At the inaugural meeting of the Kent Archaeological Society (1858), Alexander J.B. Beresford Hope recommended the use of the camera to his associates. "Now all these things come within the range of photography -- 'the art which tells the truth, whether we wish it to be or not. Artists 'were deceivers ever,' whether depicting fair ladies or old buildings, but photography is the honest friend who always comes out with the whole truth."
(Alexander J.B. Beresford Hope, Archaelogia Cantiana, 1 (1858) as quoted in Ronald Jessup, Curiosities of British Archaeology (Chichester: Phillipmore & Co. Ltd., 1974), p. 201)

7. Peter Harbison, A Guide to the National Monuments in the Republic of Ireland (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975) pp. 5-10.

8. Lady Jane Francesca Wilde, Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms and Superstitions of Ireland, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1902), p. 142.

9. W.G. Wood-Martin, Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland, 2 vols. (1902; Reprint. New York: Kennikat Press, 1970) 2: 12.

10. W.G. Wood-Martin, Pagan Ireland (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1895), pp. 137-138.

11. Carolyn White, A History of Irish Fairies (Dublin: Mercier Press, 1976), p. 21.

12. G.J. Kinahan, "Cutting Down of Trees," Folklore Journal, 1882, pp. 168-169.

13. Wood-Martin, Traces of the Elder Faiths, 1: 190.

14. "Correspondence," Ulster Folklife 4 (1958): 55.

15. William C. Borlase, Names, Legends and Superstitions Associated with Dolmens and Other Venerated Sites in Ireland, Vol. 3 of The Dolmens of Ireland. 3 vols. (London: Chapman & Hall, 1897), pp. 837-839.

15

16. Ibid, pp. 832-833.

17. Thomas Crofton Croker, Fairy Legends and Traditions from the South of Ireland,
     3 vols. (London: Murray, 1825-28), 2 : 224.

18. Margaret A. Murray, The Witch-Cult in Western Europe (Oxford: The Clarendon
     Press, 1921), p. 130.

19. James Bonwick, Irish Druids and Old Irish Religions (1894; Reprint. New York:
     Arno Press, 1976), pp. 160-162.

20. W.Y. Evans Wentz, The Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries (1911; Reprint.
     Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1977), p. 428.

21. Wood-Martin, Pagan Ireland, p. 87.

22. Stanish O'Grady, Early Bardic Literature (London: Sampson Low, Searle, Marston,
     & Rivington, 1879), pp. 77-78.

23. E.R. Norman, and J.K.S. St. Joseph, The Early Development of Irish Society:
     the Evidence of Aerial Photography (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969),
     p. 73.

24. Stuart Piggott, "Prehistory and the Romantic Movement", Antiquity 9 (1937):
     pp. 31-38.

25. Guy Underwood, The Pattern of the Past (New York: Abelard-Schuman, Ltd.,
     1969).

26. T.C. Lethbridge, The Legend of the Sons of God (London: Routledge & Kegan.
     Paul, 1972).

27. John Michell, The Old Stones of Land's End (London: Garnstone Press, 1974),
     p. 132.

28. Professor Jacquetta Hawkes, 1967, quoted in Michael David Balfour, Stonehenge
     and Its Mysteries (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980), p. 167.

Borlase, William C. Names, Legends and Superstitions Associated with Dolmens and Other Venerated Sites in Ireland, Vol. III of The Dolmens of Ireland. 3 vols. London: Chapman & Hall, 1897.

Bonwick, James. Irish Druids and Old Irish Religions, 1894. Reprint. New York: Arno Press, 1976.

Cross, Tom Peete, and Slover, Clark Harris, editors. Ancient Irish Tales. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1936.

Danaher, Kevin (Caoimhín Ó Danachair), compiler. A Bibliography of Irish Ethnology and Folk Tradition. Dublin: Mercier Press, 1978.

Danaher, Kevin, compiler. Gentle Places and Simple Things. Dublin: Mercier Press, 1964.

Daniel, Glyn. Megaliths in History. London: Thames and Hudson, 1972.

Evans, E. Estyn. Irish Folk Ways. New York: The Devin-Adair Co., 1957.

Hadingham, Evan. Circles and Standing Stones. New York: Walter and Co., 1975.

Harbison, Peter. The Archaeology of Ireland. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976.

Harbison, Peter. A Guide to the National Monuments in the Republic of Ireland. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975.

Kinsella, Thomas, translator. The Tain: Translated from the Irish Epic Táin bó Cúailnge. London: Oxford University Press, 1970.

MacNéill, Máire. The Festival of Lughnasa. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.

Norman, E.R., and St. Joseph, J.K.S. The Early Development of Irish Society: the Evidence of Aerial Photography. London: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

O'Curry, Eugene. On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish. 3 vols., 1873. Reprint. New York: Lemma Publishing Corp., 1971.

O'Riordáin, Seán P. Antiquities of the Irish Countryside. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1965.

Ó Súilleabháin, Seán. A Handbook of Irish Folklore, 1942. Reprint. Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1970.

Wentz, W.Y. Evans. The Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries, 1911. Reprint. Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1977.

White, Carolyn. A History of Irish Fairies. Dublin: Mercier Press, 1976.

Wood-Martin, W.G. Pagan Ireland. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1895.

Selected Bibliography

Wood-Martin, W.G. Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland. 2 vols., 1902.
Reprint. New York: Kennikat Press, 1970.

Yeats, William Butler, editor. Fairy and Folk Tales of Ireland, 1888 and
1892. Reprint. Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1977.