Notes added in Press.

P. 321. Flann Febla. 'Bishop Aed abode in Sléboe. He went to Armagh. He brought a bequest (edoct) to Segène of Armagh. Segène gave again a bequest to Aed, and Aed offered a bequest and his kindred and his church to Patrick till Doom. And Aed left a bequest with Conchad. Conchad went to Armagh, and Fland Feblae gave his church to him, and he took himself (as) abbot.' Lib. Armach., f. 18b (Thes. Pal. ii. 242; Stokes, Trip. Life, i. 347; Facs. National MSS. of I. i. pl. 27).

P. 325. Dermait hnia Tigernián, coarb of Patrick, he it is who added these four quatrains, or it is the quatrains of Patrick and Brigit tantum fuit. Lib. Hymn., scholiast's note on Colman's Hymn. (Thes. Pal. ii. 305; ed. Atkinson, i. 30, ii. 121, where hnia Tigernain is wrongly printed nati Germain, 'son of German.')

P. 327. Mael Brigte mac Tornain. The 9-10th cent. Gospels of Mac Durnan (Lambeth Library) are associated with him, fol. 3v (Westwood, Palaeogr. Sacra, pl. 19; Todd, R.I.A. Proc. i. 40; Facs. Nat. MSS. of I. i. p. xviii).


P. 338. Dub dá Lethe. The Saltair na Rann was composed during his incumbency. (Ed. Stokes, ll. 2361-4.)
X.

THE ASSEMBLY-PLACE OF 'OENACH CAILRE AND SÍD ASAIL AT MONASTERANENAGH, COUNTY LIMERICK.

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The great importance of the remains in eastern County Limerick and the mass of very early and illuminative tradition, some evidently in its origin going back to pagan times, led me to lay several long and complicated Papers before the Academy and other Societies. The subject of the local cultus of the Irish gods and their sanctuaries was nearly altogether neglected by Irish antiquaries; and, with little confidence in my own ability to deal with it with any degree of completeness, it seemed desirable to make a beginning.

'OENACH-CAILRE, 'OENACH ORREOC, OR 'OENACH BEAC.

The fourth of the chief assembly-places of what is now Co. Limerick lay at Monasteranenagh, to which it gave its name. It is on the northern bank of the Camooge. About a mile and a half to the north-west of the Abbey bridge rises Dromassell, or Tory Hill. It seems extremely probable that the places named along with this hill in our literary sources, Sid naSail, Ceann Duin Asail, and Sidán naige Asail, represent an important fort and sacred mound which lay somewhere near the 'Oenach or assembly.

The predominance of the name "Asal" at Monasteranenagh lays on us the necessity of research into the legendary material gathered round it.

Asail—The "Sons of Uímoc," of the Fir Bolg, have acquired more than their need of fame, owing to O'Donovan and Petrie (and still more their followers) having based an entirely unfounded theory of the origin of the endless ring-walls of western Ireland on the legend. The "proof" is presumed to rest on a poem of MacLia, the chief bard of King Brian, who died in 1016.


R.I.A. Proc., Vol. XXXV, Sect. C.
The lost "Book of Glendaloche" gives a list of the so-called "servile" (i.e. "non-Milesian") races. It includes Tuath mic Umoir, Tuath Gebitine (at Inis Geibht, or Askeaton, Co. Limerick), Tuath Resent Umoir, Tuath fer Ninas (Corecomroe "Ninuis," Co. Clare), Tuath fer Ninas, in Aran; Tuath mac nUmoir, in the Daleais (probably at Dromassell), and in Ui Fiachra Aide, and a number of tribes in Co. Limerick—the Tuath Cregraige, Seinrighe, Croithraighe, Brughraidhe, Corea Muighi, and Corea-Muíche (Corca-Muicne, near Newcastle West); Tuath Mairtine, in Musraighe Mitaine; Tuatha Ui Catha and Ui Corra, at Corea Muiche, and also in Corea-baiscinn (Co. Clare); and the Tuatha Oiche (Corcaioche, also near Newcastle West, Co. Limerick), along with the Corea Dega and the Ben_traighe in Luachair and the Ciarraighe.

The true position of the Mac, or Clanna, Umoir has not yet been fixed.¹ In the days of the preponderance of the "solar myth" the warriors were "darkness gods," defeated in the west by the "sun heroes" of Tara. Others regard them as an apparently real tribe, Resent Umoir, dwelling on the coast of Connacht. Rhys² argued for the identity of Oengus mac Umoir and his daughter, Maistiu, with Oengus of the Brugh, to whom Maistiu was embroideress. At least in that extraordinary insertion in the Táin bo Cualnge, "the Order of the Men of Ulster,"³ we find Oengus the Fir Bolg in a group of undoubted gods—Lug, the Morrignu, Anu, Ogma, and Roth—but along with many less supernatural heroes. This, with other hints and the connexion of Oengus, son of Umor, and his family with Brugh on the Boyne, suggests at least a probability of the two namesakes being the same person, and both therefore gods and not men. The sons of Umor were connected with several notable forts and cemeteries—Oengus, with the huge cliff-fort of Aranmore, Dun Oengusa; Conoaird, with "Dun Conor," in Inishmaan; "Enach beside Dael," with the rock-cut fort of Dún, near Kilmorna, at the source of the Daelach;⁴ Adar, with the tumulus of Magh Adair; Asal, with the St. naige Asail; Maistiu, with the great earthwork of Mullaghmast; and all with Tara, Tailltiu, Uisnech, Thachta, Cuogba, and the Brugh. The tribe came from the land of the Picts under the protection of Cairbre Nafer, who gave

² The Four Masters make Cial grandson of Ughnor a Fomorian, B.C. 2670.
³ Hibernian Lectures, iv, p. 150. Maga, daughter of Oengus of the Brugh, was mother of Dechâte, and grandmother of Cuchullin (Miss Hull, "Cuchullin Saga," p. lvii).
⁴ Tr. Dunn, pp. 303-4.
⁵ Some versions of the poem give dún for tech, but in any case a chief's "house" implied a "fort" in 1014.
them the great sanctuaries just enumerated. If we take the tale literally, nothing can be less probable.

Apart from the other chiefs and their settlements, and probably not in the original legend, we hear that

"Asal came out of the North, over the waves,  
  As far as Munster of the great doings;  
  Out of the North he came in his galley;  
  From him is lovely Drum Asail named."

That is the settling of the host,  
Even of all the household of Umor."

Ross, son of Deda, of the predominant Ernai, became one of their securities. Asal is not named in the prose version, and as Connacht stopped at Linn eca Lomanaig (or Curragower), at the later City of Limerick, in the definition of the Tain bo Flidais, Medb could not have been supposed to have given lands so far south as at Dromassel. The other settlements (whether Murbech, Dael, and Taman were in North Mayo or in Co. Clare and South Galway) were at least all in Connacht. From all this it seems evident that Asal should be regarded (like Maistiu) as apart from the rest of the Umorians.

We have always to face the problem of legends of the same person with different parentage and residence, so it may be well to note, without assertion of identity, some at least of the various persons named "Asal." King Asal of the golden pillars owned wonderful swine, which could be killed and eaten each day and reappear intact on the next occasion, like those of Manannán mac Lir, or the heavenly boar, "Saethinnir," in the Edda. Asal, son of Dordoublas, gave his name to the important ancient highway, Slige Asail. Asal, a slave of Eremon, appears in the traditions of the first Milesian settlers. "I said, Ye are gods... But ye shall die like men," seems the text on which the Euhemerists modelled their editing. They give us every stage of the deepening twilight of the gods, from god to hero or druid; from druid to druth or jester; and on to monster or devil—all can be seen in Irish

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2 The Dael in North Mayo and the Daelach in Co. Clare (Dubhlyegh, 1590); Tawin Island, Galway Bay; Tawin Loch, on Clare Island, Co. Mayo; Murbech, in Tirawley, Mayo, and in Aroamore. There was a historical settlement of the Fir Bolg in Ui Fincharach Aidne, on the edge of Co. Clare, exterminated by Dui Tenguma, King of Connacht, late in the fifth century.
5 Leabharih Gabhala (ed. Macalister and MacNeill), i, p. 263.
The older writers were more candid. "Although we enumerate them, we do not worship them," says an ancient poem on the Tuatha Dé in the Leabhar Gabhala. Cormac’s Glossary and the older sources never scruple to tell us that the beings were gods of the old Irish; and till our writers have the courage to assess the "revision" at its true value, progress in knowledge of the genuine mythology of the Celts must remain at a standstill.

Another Asal was a personage of great importance to early tradition, but blurred and vague in its later recensions. We have a settlement of the Fir Bolg (apart from the Mac Liac story) at a Magh Asail in Meath; the Fecar Asail in West Meath; and this group of names, Druim Asail, Magh Asail, Sid na Asail, and Sidán Maige Asail, in Co. Limerick. The Book of Rights marks the importance of Asail by claiming it as a "king-fort" for the Kings of Cashel.

Magh Life and Magh Asail interchange in the Mog mac Nuadat story as Ailinn, Ahun, and Magh Feimhin do in the fort-building tale of Nuada and Eogan "Mog Nuadat" in the "Battle of Magh Leana" and "Coir Annann."

One notices a very curious and intimate relation between Meath and mid-Munster in many of these traditions, so strong as to suggest that the tales are the same legend with a change of locality, and I think the probabilities are greatly in favour of the Magh Asail of these tales being in north Munster. Eogan "Mog Nuadat," King of southern Co. Tipperary, at Magh Feimén, defeats the Ernai, and then turns his arms against Conn, King of Tara, in the mid-second century. Two of his successive battles were at (Pallas) Grian (about fourteen miles eastward from Tory Hill) and Asal. The Dergthene, with their fair hair and blue eyes, were clearly, as their tradition claimed, of like blood to the folk at Tara, among the dark Ivernnian or Fir Bolg tribes, so we can believe that these two conquering races met, fought, and patched up some agreement as to "spheres of influence" which was never forgotten, but met the fate of more formal written treaties when temptation and opportunity met. I cannot but think the Magh Asail was

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1 Supra, xxxiv, pp. 136, 139, 149, 151, and 169; note Aine’s poisonous blood, Coir Annann (Ir. Texte, iii, pp. 305–7).

2 Loc. cit., p. 163. A favourite recipe was to add a "redeeming verse," see Rhys, Journal R. Soc. Ant., xx, p. 652; Metr. Dind. S. x, pp. 25, 65, 183, 295, 313, 347, 375, 399, 431, 149, and 467; and the "geasa poem," Leabhar na gCeart, pp. 1, 25; Celtic Review, x, p. 63, etc. Gods are made into foster-fathers, as with Net and Mog Neit (Coir Ann., p. 299), and "Nuada and Mog Nuadat" ("Battle of Magh Leana," p. 3).

Magh Asail, see p. 89; the "Epic of Fearghus Scannall" has Annach Cairpre, p. 91.

4 The tales of Crimthann Nia Nair, Mog Nuadat, Asal, and the sons of Uïmor, Mog Corb, and Fer Corb, and "Battle of Drom Damhghaire," for example.
the place in the line of the later northern limit of north Munster, and was fixed by this battle before historic legend took firm shape. If I be right, this confusion between places of the same name and probably the same “pre-Milesian” tribe in Counties Meath and Limerick affected the legend of the Clann Umoir, and led Mac Liac (who, perhaps, had been with his patron, King Brian, at Tara and Tailltin, through Meath) to put in all the places of note he could remember in that kingdom, without regard to fact or probability, bringing down other places, actually named in the older versions, from north Mayo within the horizon of his audience into Co. Clare. This also explains the hesitancy as to “Mog Mac Nuadat’s” relation to King Conn in the other tale of the cattle plunder.

We must remember that Eogan was not only “Mog Nuadat” (devotee), but “Mae Nuadat” (son of the god), as the tribal pedigrees attested. So also we can place the pedigrees of the Corca Laegde from the Dergthene stem in comparison with those of the Ui Fidgiante, the Cianachta, the Dealbha, the Caenraige, and the Tradraige as “politic pedigrees” to legitimatize by affiliation those free tribes whom the Dergthene found it easier to conciliate than to subdue. The name Dromassell existed among the peasantry, at Attyllin, in sight of the ridge, till about 1876. In later years it seemed lost, about 1885, in the same place, but is now renewed. It is found from at least the tenth century onward in practically unbroken record. Let it suffice to name, in 1289, the lawsuit of Juliana, daughter and heiress of Maurice FitzGerald, with Henry Berkeley, when she claimed Dromassell. In 1311 was a later lawsuit, after which the Berkeleys held it (at most Brian Duff O’Brien claimed a quit-rent off it in 1583) till 1657. Francis Berkeley then sold to George Peacock “Cnoc Drom Assill, with a fishing weir, the castle, and Loughneguirra.” In ecclesiastical records too we find the chapel of Drumassyl, belonging to Cromote (Croom) parish in 1418. The older peasantry at Attyllin—near it—told a story, like that of the Devil’s Bit and the Rock of Cashel, where Satan bit a mouthful out of the plain (the hollow forming the basin of the lake), and dropped the mass beside the pool, making the hill of Dromassell. The name “Tory Hill” originated in the eighteenth century.

That the place was of old renown is evident, even if we cannot accept the Euhemerist chronologers’ dates. In “a.e. 1032” Sinna Sarghlaigh, son of

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1 The intrusion of Conn Cedmathach into the later versions of certain tales is well shown by Professor MacNeill in Preface, “Dumnaire Finn,” pp. xxx, xi, and xiii.
3 “Annals of Four Masters.”
Dian, after a "record reign" of 150 years over "all Ireland," died. He had won great battles at Ceann duin Asail and Moin Foienigh in Ui Failge (not Offaly, but a district evidently in Co. Limerick)\(^1\) over the Mairtine and Ernai, with others in Luachair, Claire, Samhain, and Cnoc Ochair, i.e., in Co. Limerick in the western Hills and at Dun Claire and Knocksouna, near Kilmallock. The later compiler thus moves back the name "Asal" at least 1000 years before the reign of Cairbre Nia Fer, in which "Asal" is placed in Mac Lice's poem.

**The Legend of Fergus and Asal.**—Asal mac Umóir, one day, sat on the *tulach*, "Muaster's central point, commanding Clu Mhail," the conspicuous "hillock, in the central plain of the province," as the extent was defined, after A.D. 377. Fergus mac Roig came to see him, and found him foretelling his own death, but Asal remembered his duties, and offered hospitality to his distinguished visitor. Fergus refused, but determined to try to ward off the danger from his friend. He bade his charioteer drive him eastward and then southward from the hill. Reaching "the Ford of the Chariot of Fergus," he stopped, a little to the side of the road, and awaited events. At midnight the enemy at last appeared, and proved to be "a host from Spain." Thirty spearmen attacked him, and, though severely wounded, he slew them all and held his own. The rest of the army, however, swept past him, behind their advanced guard, reached the house of Asal, slew him, and brought away his head.

Fergus, severely wounded, was taken to the house of Conchenn, son of Deda,\(^2\) westward in Luachair, and nursed back to health. Hearing of his condition, Curoi mac Daire returned "from France" and cheered him; when the hero recovered his strength he and Curoi set off "for Spain," slew the "Spanish" King, and brought back his head and that of Asal to Drom nAsail (whence its name),\(^3\) as the heads of Febra and Cán Deroedualach were brought to Slievercagh, full in sight to the south, avenging and appeasing the spirit of their dead friend.\(^4\)

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1. Perhaps the Ui Failbe of other passages and the Cenel Failbe of the Dalcasian tribal pedigree.

2. For the Deda family, see supra, xxxiv, p. 159.

3. This is confirmed by Book of Ballymote, 30a, 22-42, which mentions Memb, son of Umor, the poet, and Mag nAssail, in Munster, named from Asal, son of Umor.

4. Book of Leinster,\(^1\) f. 295a, Silva Gd., ii, p. 528. For bringing heads to mountains, cf. at Conn Febrat (Metr. Dind S., x, p. 247); Curreish's head, on a hill over Bockmar strand (Silva Gd., ii, p. 262). Congal was placed on the "duma" of a rath ("Eriu, v, p. 245), and Cairpre's on the mound of Síd Nennta (Aided Con Chulaind). The limbs of a defeated army of invaders were distributed among the "hills" of Ireland (Trisco Texte, iii, p. 314).
Now “France,” “Spain,” “Greece,” “Himael,” and “Lochlanu” often replace less high-sounding names in later editions of early legends.

Perhaps the Ernai, or Iverniæans, became “Iberians” from the “little learning” of the editor. We must note too that Cuanol, or Conganchness, son of Dedo, avenged the death of Caróil himself, and was slain by Celtchear near Down.¹ What, however, concerns us more is that we have a legend of the earliest mythic cycle of the Red Branch which dealt most minutely with the place we describe. Crossing the country, we would naturally (were there no roads) sweep eastward under Dromassell, and then, about a mile further, near Fort Elizabeth, turn at right angles southward to the ford, where the bridge crosses the Cennoge, close to the Abbey. Below this is a shallow reach extending to the mill, at any point of which the stream could be crossed. The bend of the stream northward near the bridge presupposes that Fergus halted near the conjoined rings, where the ground rose above the long shallow reach of the Cennoge, too long to be defended by one hero. As usual in Ireland, even in the most mythic tale, the minute topography is most exact.

THE LEGEND OF ASAL’S CATTLE STOLE.—A legend in the Ancient Law Code,² probably of Leinster origin, is nebulous, and evidently reached the redactor with variants. Possibly its heroes, Asal, son of Conn, and Mog mac Nuadat, are really Asal, son of Umor, and Mog Nuadat, of the Munster district, now Co. Limerick.

CAIRBRE.—“Oenach Cairbre may possibly be named from the Ui Cairbre Aobha, but I must emphasize the fact that the name “Cairbre” meets us (usually in a different setting) in nearly every outstanding legend connected with eastern Co. Limerick. The name, to begin, is that of a divinity, Coirpre, or Cairbre, who was child of Etan, the poetess; some said “he” was her daughter “Cairbre Aimlet,” who, like Etan’s father Dianecacht, was a physician. There was also a god Cairbre, son of Tuair, sixth in descent from MacGreine (son of the Sun) and Eriu (Ireland). In the Tain bo Cuailnge we find the “two Cairbres of C fulfil,” south-eastern Co. Limerick; the Brithen Da Derga³ tells of the two Cairbres of Tuad Munhin (east Co. Limerick, not

¹ Metr. Dind S., x, p. 241. For the legend of the finding of the two pups of Celtchear’s dog “Daed” in the victim’s skull, see Rennes D. S., Rev. Celt. xvi, p. 52.
² Vol. i, pp. 64, 68, 70, and 74. Asal’s father is not named in text, only in the comment, which is very confused. See “Three Irish Glossaries” (W. Stokes, 1868), p. 9. A significant story of a quarrel between St. Patrick and a later Mog mac Nuadat (a priest of Nuada) is found in Senchas Mór (i, p. 5).
³ Rev. Celt., xxii, p. 31.
yet Co. Clare), foster-brothers of Conaire; Coirpre Gnatheoir and Cairpre Nia Fer appear in the Asal Legend; Daire Cairbre was ancestor of the Ui Fidgeinte; Cairbre Muse, ancestor of the Muscreige, was granted eastern Co. Limerick by King Fiacha Muilleth an at Knockainey; his brother, Cairbre Baiscinn, was ancestor of the Corcavaskin in south-western Co. Clare. We find near Dun Cllaire a Rath Coirpre and a Tuad Claire Coirpre, and, lastly, we have Cairbre Aobda, ancestor of the Ui Cairbre tribe here. Of place names, we have a Loch Carbery on the Galties, and this assembly of ‘Oenach Cairbre. The King of Brughrigh is said to have been King of Ui Cairbre Aobda. Indeed, the district of Kenry, between the Maigue and the Deel, was Caenraige Ui Cairbre. Here the Munstermen, under Eochaid, son of King Cimthann, son of Fidach, and Maige Mescorach, fought the fierce battle, where their opponent Fiachra got his death wound, but they and the Ernai were defeated. There seems confusion between a battle in “A.D. 186” and another at the end of the fourth century, about A.D. 370. Evidently there was a lost but important legend which connected the district in the Maigue Valley with a hero, god, or demigod, Cairbre, one of the forgotten supernatural personages of Munster.

As to the tribe, Ui Cairbre Aobda, it was far more recent than these personages are stated to have been. Fiacha Muilleth an, grandson of Oilioll Aulom, had a son Oilioll Flann beg, who succeeded Mog Corb, son of his grandnephew Cormac Cass (eponymus of the Dal Cais), in the kingship of North Munster, early in the fourth century. Dair, son of this Oilioll, had a son, Fiacha Fidgeinte (reputed eponymous ancestor of the great western tribe), whose son, Brian, had a son Cairbre Aobda. This tenth-century pedigree is, however, very doubtful. The Ui Fidgeinte were more probably a branch of the Ernai, and far earlier than the mid-fifth century. In fact, the Tripartite Life (if correct) mentions that the Hui Fidgeinte territory extended to Mullach Cae, south of Carn Feradaig (Carnarry), and therefore overlapped the Asal district. The Ui Cairbre Aobda were seated at Bruree in later days. Pedigrees which derive whole large tribes from one ancestor in the fifth century may be dismissed as non-historical documents. Indeed,
the Ui Fidgeinte themselves traced their pedigree from Daire Cairebre,¹ and, like the Ui Cairbre, do not appear to have ever asserted a claim to the kingship of Munster—conscious evidence of their being aware of an entirely different descent.

The "Oenach. — "Oenach Cairebre was also called "Oenach beag, the Little Assembly,² in contrast, we are told (of course no reason is appended), with Nenagh: now this lay in quite a different tribeland, separated by the Uaithne and Aradla and the mountains of Slievephelim, from the assembly on the "Maig." More likely, "Oenach Cairebre was the "little Assembly," because "Oenach Culi was (as we know) the chief cemetery, and therefore the great assembly of the Deirghene; both were in the Dal Cais tribelands. It was very possibly once "Oenach Asaiil. As we saw, there were Druim-, Mag- Síd-, and Sídín- maige- Asaiil. O'Donovan and O'Curry, followed by Mr. Orpen, Father Hogan, myself, and most other writers,³ confused "Oenach Cairebre with "Oenach Culi, or "Oenach Clochair. When this latter was identified (as Mr. P. J. Lynch and I independently arrived at the same conclusion about it), the first stood out, without rival, as the Assembly which gave its name to Monasterencagh. The Abbey stood in the land of Cein mekin (an unknown tribe) across the river, and its charter does not grant it "Oenach Cairebre, nor Dromaskell, unless "Culoddir" be a horribly corrupt copy for Enoeair. Apart from the implication of the name and the (late) usage of Monasterencagh as the popular Irish name for "De Magio" and "Abbey Maig," there is nothing known to me to show that the "Oenach was held after the Norman settlement. It may be thought that too much is said about old errors, but it is impossible to keep writers from falling back on long disproved identifications, while the hasty decisions of O'Donovan, eighty years ago, are uncritically repeated without contradiction, and (worst of all) get a new and lasting lease of their delusive career even in so important a work of reference as the Onomasticicon Goedelicum.

¹ Cormac's Glossary, p. 55.
² Of course the usual translation "fair" is quite inadequate for "Oenach," as in Greece "Agora" was a place of assembly and also a market. It is not only a "fair," but an assembly for legislation, musical contests, races, and games, and it is probable, even in later times, that chariot races, as well as horse races, prevailed. Here at "Oenach Cairebre we have a chariot name at the ford, and the chariot figures in the ceremonies of Tara, where the chariot course lay near the stone "Fál," and the "Slope of the Chariots" lay near. Treehan uses the Greek "aegó" for the "Oenach of Taillín.
⁴ Hardly worse than "Dornalt" for Bunnatty, "Duy" for Aine, "Eleuri" for Claire, or "Jolegar" for Uregare.
THE REMAINS.

Examination of the Assembly places at Tara, Telltown, Brugh, Rathcroghan, the Curragh of Kildare, 'Oenach Culi, Temair Erann, and Knockainey' shows us well what we have to expect at a Celtic Assembly-place, Sanctuary, and Cemetery. We may find tumuli, cairns, ring mounds (probably one or more conjoined ones), platform forts (simple or conjoined), old roads, and water supply. 'Oenach Cairbre fulfils all these requirements, and even retains (like Tailltii) the very name "Enagh" in the compound. It has a confessed Sid mound called still "Sheenafinnoge"; a ring fort; conjoined cairns, or tumuli; and an ancient roadway leading to the last from the ford. As we noted, the Mesca Udad calls the pool on the Cammoge, east of Knockainey Hill, "the Maig." The Abbey name "De Magio" confirms it for the reach at Manister; the name is now reserved for the larger river running, over a mile distant, to the west. The "Cam" in the lesser river's name is fully justified by its endless bends and loops. It joins the Maigue opposite to the old church of Anhid, above Croom. The road from the ford and Abbey Bridge leads to the fords of the Maigue at Cherry Grove and Rosstemple and on to Bruree.

SHEENAFINNOGE.—Near Caherduff, on the higher part of the long ridge running E. and W., on which Manister House stands, but just over the summit, we find the "holy mound," probably the Sid Asail, or Sidón Maig Asail. It is a conical mass of hawthorns, rising from rich meadow lands. The dark, whale-backed Dromassell rises behind, making an impressive background, with the pleasant woods of Fort Elizabeth at its foot. I am told there is no trace of an ancient cairn on its summit, as one might expect. The thicket has modelled itself on a perfect little tumulus. This is girt by a shallow depression, rarely over a foot deep, and 5 to 6 feet wide. Such hollows were probably merely intended to define the holy ground. The Sid is from 10 to 12 feet high, slightly oval, with a flat summit, 15 to 18 feet across, or from 46 to nearly 60 feet at the base. A deep cattle track cuts into the platform to the east.

For the last three, see supra, xxxiii, p. 463; xxxiv, p. 65.
Such do not remain at Tailltii or on the Curragh. However, the conjoined earthworks at Donaghpatrick and Morristown Biller respectively lie not very far distant.
Such monuments are removed with surprising thoroughness, while some trace of a mound nearly always remains. Most of the missing monuments at Tara seem to have been cairns or stones.
The following Oenach sites have each still a trace of the supernatural:—Temair Erann, in the appearance of lights at night; Knockainey, in the rites and apparitions of Aine; Oenach Cairbre in its Sid; Ballykinvarna, in its magic market-field, called "Mothing an amadón," for anyone who intrudes on it at night is fooled and cannot get
In the field to the east is a featureless ring mound, 3' to over 4 feet high, with large hawthorns here and there on its circuit, and no raised garth. The name Sheenafinnoge, "the mound of the Royston crows," may be a casual name. On the other hand, recalling that the local princes claimed a descent from Macha (who, with her two sisters, the goddesses of war, embodied themselves as such birds), it may have a more recondite meaning. The confusion of identity between the spirits and the birds is absolute. One manuscript says 'it is false that the banshees are not demons; it is false that the royston crows (fendoga) are not hellish but acry demons.' Yet we are told 'the foxes and wolves double their cries, the fendoga double their screams, when Badb, Macha, and (Neman) the Morrign approach.'

and Dergthene are the same in local pedigrees, and the former is identified with Macha, Nith, Neman, and the Badb. While, as the "Wars of the..."
Gaedhil" and the "Triumphs of Torlogh" show, the second chief line of the Dergthene had two friendly war spirits, the "lovely" Aibinn, of Craglea, and the loathsome and "dismal" Bronach of Burren, each anonymous, with opposite epithets. It may be that the Dergthene tribes revered Dairine and Aibinn (the great war goddess of their later home Craglea, and perhaps an epithet for the former) at Oenach Cairbre, as they revered the wife of one of the many alias forms of their divine ancestor Nuada (Necht) at Oenach Culi and the goddess 'Aine at Knockainey.

The Conjoined Cairns.—I cannot assert that (as seems to be the case in other places) this work, originally sepulchral or religious, was eventually used for residence. A rath (Raith Archaill) was used by the druids for their idols and altars in the time of King Dathi. Still more caution is needed in discussing whether this work was the "chieft fort," the Curann duin Ascal. It was evidently near it that Fergus was conceived to have slain the thirty spearmen. It stands on the southern edge of the ridge above the stream, a

mass of green mounds and dense hawthorns. Most unfortunately the two mounds, consisting mainly of stones, tempted the road-makers to use it for a quarry, and more than half of each cairn has been carted away. Of course there was no intelligent person to record if a cist was found. Manister shows a bad record for vandalism. The fine arch and east window of the chancel lay where they fell before 1876, when I first saw them; nearly all of the material was taken by road-makers without hindrance. The great tower at the south-west end of the nave fell about 1825, and was removed;

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1 Encyc. Relig. and Ethics, vii, p. 128.
2 Looking for continental sidelights, I only find one case where three cairns touch within a rampart, at Malagradina in Bosnia ("Bosnia Herzegovina," Dr. R. Munro, p. 189).
3 Drawings of this fine window by John Windle and W. Wakeman are in R. I. Acad. Library, "Topographical Ms." (R. I. A., 12, C. 5), and "Sketches for Co. Limerick in Ordnance Survey." I have another by my late brother, Ralph Hugh Westropp. See supra, vol. xxv, Plate XI. See also Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir., xix, pp. 232-8.
much of the domestic buildings had been taken to build the houses of Manister and Abbeyville and the mill and village. Until the vesting of the remains of the once noble church and the Chapter House as an "ancient monument" anyone could work his will on them. If this was true of a consecrated building, how little mercy could one expect a pagan monument to be shown?

The outer ring is well preserved to the south and east, and the outline of the fosse within it can be traced all round. It is "8-shaped" in plan. The ring rises from 4 to over 6 feet above the field, at which level it is 15 to 16 feet thick, being 8 feet to 10 feet thick on top, with steep sides, probably once stone-faced. The mounds are flat-topped. The southern parts are intact, rising over the fosse for 10 to 13 feet.

The whole work measures about 300 feet over all, east and west, and 180 feet north and south. The greatest depth is between 6 and 7 feet below the field to the south-east. The fosse appears to be from 9 to 14 feet wide in parts, up to 18 feet wide. The southern part is filled for a depth of 3 feet to perhaps 5 feet.

An old hollow way leads from it towards the ford, and is 4 to 5 feet deep and 8 to 10 feet wide below. There are traces of enclosures between it and the river. A field near the chapel is called Parknacree.

RATHMORE.—A small fifteenth-century peel tower, on a rising ground, about a mile eastward, appears to have justified its name by being beside a semicircular platform, over 6 feet high, on which the modern cottage stands in tufted trees. This is evidently a fort, but quite defaced by its later uses. There is a low, straight-sided earthwork south-east from the road near it. Two other rather small circular mounds lie east from the Abbey beside the river, while in a low-lying and at times flooded reach, south from Abbeyville House, I noticed, during the great autumn floods of 1918, a small, rounded mound. Probably none of these belong to the Déanach. Its name clings to Manister alone, and there is no tradition of any gathering at any of them. Rathmore was the place where the archives of the unfortunate "Rebel Earl" were taken by the English. The castle seems to have been held by his tenant, Maurice Sheechan,¹ 1584.

FORT ELIZABETH.—Another overgrown tumulus, similar to Sheenaflinnoge, lies between the last and Croom, north of the main road. Mr. J. Greene Barry was told that here "Queen Elizabeth was buried, with a golden sword

and axe by her side.” It may be an outlier of the holy places of the ancient Oenach Cahirbre.

EARTHWORKS SOUTH FROM THE CAMMOGE.

There are few earthworks of outstanding interest: (1) a curious group of courts, called the “Lisheen,” low mounds, suggestive rather of the remains of a seventeenth-century court; (2) a small tumulus (cut across) at Clogher, with a low platform fort near it; and (3) an unusually large example of conjoined rings south of Rathmore.

The last lies in Boherygeela (O.S. Map 31) in low-lying, marshy fields, south of Meanus and the Cammoge. Owing to the small amount of material for the study of these problematic earthworks, I describe it fully.

It lies on the road from Rathmore to Caherguillamore, and, despite its apparently low site, has pleasant, distant views of Knockfirin, Tory Hill, and the Galtees. Its plan consists of an irregular, rather shield-shaped platform to the east, surrounded by a fosse. The western part is cut into a slight “rise” on the northern face, the rest terraced, like its neighbour, 4 to 5 feet over the low field, and a few feet lower than the rise. The western mound measures 190 feet across north and south, and 230 feet east and west. It had a parapet, now quite levelled, on which grow several large hawthorns. It is 110 feet long at its junction with the other wing. I saw no stone facing. The eastern wing is still more irregular, about 180 feet east and west, and 165 feet to 200 feet north and south, with a few bushes on its eastern parapet, and a wet fosse. Outside the north ditch was a bold outer mound, 9 to 12 feet thick and 5 to 7 feet over the fosse. The north cusp is 7 feet high, and well preserved, running into the usual angle between the platforms, and crowded with hawthorns.

It seems most improbable that this was anything but a residential “fort.” It in no way resembles the disc-barrows of Cooloughtragh and Banteen, the rounded little tumuli of Knockainey, or the great cairns of Manister. No other earthworks are near it, and its site, though protective, is very different from those at Oenagh Cali and Oenach Cahirbre, where its nearest notable congener stands.

LOGADOON (O.S. 48).—The recent cutting down of the once impenetrable thickets round and on one side of this fine, low mote enables me to give its dimensions. The road from Kilnallock sweeps round its bushy outer ring, opposite to Kilbreedy church. The ring is from 5 to 9 feet high, and 15 feet below, to 6 feet on top. The fosse is usually 18 feet wide and 4 feet deep.

1 Plan, supra, p. 374.
with several flooded reaches, and a spring in the south-east section. The central mote rises 16 to 18 feet over the fosse. Its rampart is 4 to 5 feet high, so the platform is 11 feet above the ditch. The top garth is nearly circular, from 70 to 72 feet across. The mound was stone-faced round for 6 feet up, and the outer ring was similarly revetted inside and outside. It is one of the large group of fourteen high platforms from Bulgadin and Rathanny to Slieveraugh, and was probably residential.
XI.

DUN CROT AND THE "HARPS OF CLÍU," ON THE GALTEES, COUNTY LIMERICK.

BY THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A.

(PLATE VII.)

Read April 14, 1919. Published April 23, 1920.

The successive studies of the forts and other very remarkable places connected with the ancient gods and the great assemblies of the tribes of the present County Limerick have expanded far beyond the limit laid down, even in 1917. I am on that account anxious to close the series by a note on the very important fort of Dun Crot and the great mountain mass of Crotta Cliach, "the Harps of Clīu," which makes so large a figure in Irish mythology and legend.

The district of Clīu was notably "non-Milesian." The great tribes of the Uaithe, Arada, Ernai, and Museraige hem it around. In its ambit (apart from the narrow "corridor" joining the Dergthene tribes of Cashel and County Clare) lie the Mairtine—the five allied races of the Margraige, Sibennaige, Greercaige, Callraige, and Garraige—with their sanctuary and meeting-place at Knockainey, and, along the flank of the Galtees, three little-known tribes: the Crottraige, Artraige, and Eatharlaige. Of the latter group, the last are still named on the maps in the Vale of "Aherloe"; the first, whatever be the real import of their name, evidently originated the name of the great mountain, Crotta Cliach, which the Dergthene, from its resemblance to the word crot, a harp, derived from a legend of a supernatural harper, Clīu.2

The Mairtine tribe, a term including many of the above races, figured in the sagas of their rivals as expert fort-builders, as where ("A.D. 160") they aided Eogan "Mog Nuadat" and his patron, the god Nuada, to make a square fort, "three high-mounded, deep-trenched baileys, three strong ñdns, and three mors of assembly."3

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1 Supra, xxxiii, p. 480; xxxiv, p. 47, pp. 165–8.
2 In order to shorten this paper, at desire of the Publication Committee, I omit the study of the history of the "pre-Celtic" tribes and the many legends referring to the Galtees.
3 Battle of Magh Leana, p. 3.
One other legend cannot be passed over in silence. Clu was a harper, who, coming out of a slí or sacred mound, used to play on two harps before King Smirdubh. The legend strongly suggests a variant of those tales where the Dagda (an outstanding god, whose son Oengus won his swan-bride in these very mountains, at Loe Bel Dracon) harps the seasons into being, or the Welsh Bron, who harps magic music in the underworld on the croth. Thus Clu endeavoured by his harping to bring a daughter of Bodb Dearg, the chief “pre-Celtic” god of Munster, out of her slí mound at Slievenaman. Possibly little less mythical than these wild and most primitive stories is the alleged visit of St. Patrick to Eogan Redskin, King of Cashel, at Sliab Crot.

A great undated battle, in which the Leinstermen overthrew and plundered the people of eastern County Limerick up to the Shannon, was fought at the foot of the mountain of Crot in Clu.

After the extraordinary wealth of legend the history seems brief and bald. Cellachain, King of Cashel, fought his third great battle with the Danes at Dun Crot (circa 950). King Brian repaired the fort (about 1002-1012). Another battle was fought, in 1058, between Diarmait MacMael na nbo and Dunchad, son of Brian Boruimhe, at the mountain foot. The Normans held the place precariously, for the Irish were strong in the wooded hills, despite the nearness of Galbally, “the English town,” and Ballylanders, “the Londoners’ town.” Robert de Boseworth, late of Nathirlach, is named in 1369, but Aherloe was virtually O’Brien land down to 1578. Dungrot and Arilagh (Aherloe) were confiscated from Morogh O’Brien, and granted successively to George Moore, 1587, to Sir E. Fitton, and to a branch of its native owners, under Donat O’Brien, the “Great Earl” of Thomond. In 1611 its fair and Court of Pie Powder were granted to Thomas Cantwell; his descendant, “John Cantwell, Irish Papist,” lost them in the confiscation of 1655; Dungrot Manor, with its grist and tucking mills and its Courts Leet and Baron. “The river of Aherloe beginneth in the red bog of Ballybrien... and runs through Ballyaskane, between the Manor of Donnegrot... and

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5 Rennes Dind S., Rev. Celt. xvi, p. 76. 
8 “Cathroin Cellachain Caisil” (ed Bügge), p. 87. 
9 Rev. Celt., xxii, etc. 

E.I.A. Proc., Vol. XXXV. Sect. C.

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the lands of Ballylondrie ... and thence, through Galbally, towards the County of Tipperary—yields no other profit but a few Trouts."

THE REMAINS.—Passing through Galbally, the beautiful pass opens before, with the tall crumbling belfry and desecrated Convent of Moore Abbey.

Winding through pleasant woods and crossing a parallel valley, we reach the plateau of the foot hills. On its angle, over a deep, bushy stream glen, rises a little fragment of wall, in curious outworks, the last relic of Dungrot Castle.

The outworks are a notable instance of the ingenuity of the old fort-makers in adapting natural features. The platform was naturally precipitous to the south and east, so they made a dry-stone revetment along it, and scarped and raised the landward faces into a high and efficient rampart, with a fosse along its foot. They carved and adapted a knoll in the south-west bend the same way, and levelled its summit. Examining the outer defence, we note the fosse, 9 to 12 feet wide, a few feet deep, but deepening eastward towards the gully. In the reach from the eastern edge is the gap of the old gateway, the entrance ramp rising to the platform; it is 6 feet wide, and lies to the north-east of the Castle. To either side of this are large, shallow, oval hollows, or house rings on the platform; that to the south-east abutting against the wall at the precipice. The other site lies to the north-west of the entrance. The garth here is 13 feet above the field; the rampart from 12 feet to 18 feet high outside, and about 25 feet thick at the base, and 6 feet to 12 feet wide on top. At the north it turns sharply to the south-west, curving back to the upper garth, and, as the natural rise of the field is not counterbalanced in the wall, the latter is rarely over 6 feet high at the neck, where it joins the upper ring fort. This has a bold scarp, 20 feet to 30 feet high, till it returns to the gully, and is somewhat irregular, generally speaking oval, about 100 feet east and west and 90 feet north and south. Its revetment is from 3 to over 6 feet thick, and on the side of the outwork it usually rises about 10 feet over the fosse, which is rarely 3 feet deep and from 9 to 12 feet wide. Near the centre of the platform on the summit of the knoll stood the Castle tower. The whole foundation is not traceable; the fragment of the north wall is featureless, but of fair masonry, about 9 feet high, 15 feet long, and 6 feet thick.

There is a fair and extensive view down the glen and the wide valley of Slieveannuck, the open plain and the blue distances of Co. Tipperary. Behind us the great green and bronze flank, marked with the "Harps," on to the shapely peak of Temple Hill (2,570 feet high), at the western end, is seen in its noblest aspect.

Down the grassy slope, to the north-east, is a fine normal ring fort, thickly

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1 See Plate VII.
2 The view in Aberloe is accurately described in the "Pursuit of the Gilla Dechair," Silva Gadelica, ii, p. 293.
planted with hawthorns. It is of earth, with a fosse, 3 to nearly 6 feet deep and 12 feet wide; it has no outer ring. The rampart is 6 feet to 8 feet high, 15 feet thick; the garth is oval, about 187 feet across east and west by 116 feet north and south; it has no house sites or traverses, and it slopes gently towards the east, being nearly level with the main field.\footnote{Longford Bridge, below Dun Crot, is apparently named from another fortress (O. S., map 50).}

**The Harps of Clían.**

The remarkable natural feature of the "Two Harps of Clían" stands out as clearly on the mountain as in the legends of Crotta Cliach. To anyone who has seen them by evening light, when "the setting sun leaves a rich fringe of gold" on the edges, or in snow, when they stand out in strong silhouette, the resemblance is most striking, even from a distance like Knocklong. The eastern lies in Ballygeana; the western in Baunteen. The first "Harp" comes down in a shallow coomb, the thin parallel water-courses falling into a large curved catchment gully from the edge of the high plateau of Carrignabinnia, or Slieveusnaubinnia, 2,700 feet high, a flanker of Galteemore. The "Harp" is formed by the junction of five streams in the coomb of Lyre (Ladar, fork); beyond it, after crossing Glenagechy (breezy glen), the great western "Harp" of ten channels, from Carrignabinnia and Lyreenagappul (2,712 feet high), is reached. The eastern forms part of the bounds of Counties Limerick and Tipperary. The hollow between the mountains and Baunteen rings perhaps once contained a lake.

**Conjoined Rings of Baunteen.**

Two miles to the west of the castle, and just below the "Harps," is an interesting example of the somewhat problematical "conjoined rings," and near them remains of a cairn and cist.

By an old laneway, past a brook and a small earthen house ring (about 5 feet high and featureless), we pass the farmhouse, and turn across the fields, south-eastward, to a mass of hawthorns, on the grassy ridge of Baunteen. The western ring, though planted on both concentric mounds with large old hawthorns, is open, grassy, and easily examined. Much of its outer ring is levelled into the fosse; it is 9 feet thick, and rarely 2 feet high. The fosse is from 2 to 4 feet deep, and 9 to 12 feet wide below. The inner level platform is nearly circular, 68 feet to 70 feet inside, 78 feet to 86 feet over its ring, which is 6 feet to 9 feet thick. Between it and the eastern ring a deep drain has been cut through the drift clay of the ridge for
a little stream, running northward; it is 6 feet to 10 feet wide, and only cuts through the neck of the "8-shaped" outer mound. The eastern ring is an impenetrable thicket of sloes and brambles; its platform is raised 5 feet to 4 feet high; the fosse is 2 feet deep, and 9 feet to 11 feet wide; its inner mound was faced with dry stone like the south ring at Cooloughtragh. So near as I could measure, it seems about 64 feet E. and W. The combined rings are about 209 feet over all E. and W.

A levelled cairn lies about 200 feet to the S.S.E.; it had a cist, and was kerbed with blocks; it was 20 feet to 25 feet across; three of the kerb blocks mark out a semicircle. It consisted of small field stones, chiefly sandstone. The west end of the cist and the kerb blocks are of purple conglomerate; the first is 6 feet long N. and S., 2 feet thick, and 2 feet 8 inches high at present; the other end, and the sides and coves, with most of the small stones, and the wall of the eastern ring, have been removed for fences. Apart from the noble view of the "Harps" to the south, the high position gives it a distant prospect over Barna to Slieveracagh and the more distant Seefin, behind Killinman, in the Bealach Feabrat pass. To the north we see Duntrilague Hill, and, through gaps, the faint blue mountains of Co. Clare and Tountinna over Loch Derg.

I close these notes on some 80 earthworks, well aware that many of the others of at least 2,150 forts in Co. Limerick are deserving of description. Still I believe that all the places of legendary importance, and probably examples of all the types of the central county of Munster, are included in

1 _Supra_, xxxiii, p. 477.
this series of papers. The subject is far too vast for complete survey; over 29,000 “forts” appear on the maps of Ireland, and great numbers are unmarked. At most, we can only supply descriptions enough to indicate the character of these remains, so abundant in all parts of our island, and the literary allusions throwing light on their uses and origin.

Corrigenda.

Supra, xxxiii, p. 460, for “198” read “298”, and for “200” read “400”.
Plate xxxix, change “Enach Culi” at top left corner to “Oenach Cairbre”.
xxxiv, p. 165, line 12, read “daughter of Macconmara”.
p. 179, note 4, for “N.-W.” read “N.-E.”.