THE LATER PAGAN SANCTUARIES IN COUNTY LIMERICK.

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(Continued from Vol. IV, page 148).

Having indicated how much can be done to localize the shrines of the deities of the early Irish I must proceed to describe the remains of the three Sanctuaries of outstanding importance in South-Eastern Limerick. I may at once confess that their discovery was no brilliant stroke of speculation or of study. Slow, plodding field-survey, spreading from County Clare along the coasts and southward through County Limerick, was my method and object, and it was literally when I walked into the remarkable groups of earthworks that I began to puzzle out what could be the nature and the older names of the curious places I had examined. Only at Knockainey did I go of set purpose to see a place famous in folk lore; so little did I suspect its importance that I at first rested content with seeing its cairn and fort and missed the extraordinary conjoined mounds. At Clogher, driving past the little mote, I got curious to see the forts below the ridge, never suspecting that I was on the point of identifying the famous cemetery of the Deirghene. At Cush the search after "motes" also led me to the unique rings of Cooloughtragh, but the familiar brief account in the prose "Dind Senchas" did not at first lead me to the "metrical version," which in its turn enabled me eventually to find that I had stumbled on the other chief cemetery, Temair Erann of the Ernai. Then for the first time the notes on folk lore and on the Irish gods, which had been accumulating for so many years, found their object, and even the tales I had heard as a boy, round Attyfin and Croom, 45 years before, became of unexpected value.
CENN FEBRATT OR SLIEVEREAGH.

The level monotony of so much of Central and even of Eastern County Limerick impresses on one’s mind the wall of blue mountains, the Galtees, Slieveryagh, and Ballyhoura, along the south-eastern edge of the county. They grow in height and picturesqueness the nearer we come to Knocklong and Kilmallock. Conspicuous, almost more notable than the giant Galtees, though but half their height, stands out the great plateau of Slieveryagh. Like a sleeping lion, at right angles to the Ballyhoura mountains, between the two main passes to Fermoy from Ballylanders and Killfinnan, it raises its head to a height of 1500 feet. Naturally, when the progress of my systematic survey brought me to it I began work with no common interest. Before describing the remains of the early earthworks, I must tell what is known of this hill in legend and history.¹

Soon after the year A.D. 150 the great Alexandrian Geometer, Ptolemy, laid out on his map of Ireland such data as he had been able to collect from traders, who had visited the obscure Island, outside the limits of the Roman Empire. Naturally he marked the tribes which touched the coast like the Oulontioi (Uladh), the Brigantes (Breogain), Iouernoi (Ernai, or Iverians), and the Ganganoi (the Ganggenann tribes) round the Shannon mouth; some tribes like Osraighe (Ousdioi) at that time and long afterwards extended to the coast. The natural vagueness of his material in the uncharted West leaves us in doubt as to the position of his "cities," presumably centres of population rather than towns. Of the three in our district, Iouernis, on the Dabrana (Sabra), river mouth, is usually taken as Cork on the Sabran River, or Lee; no consensus has been reached as to Magolicon and Rigia Hetera, so called to distinguish from the great Rigia, almost certainly Emania. Magolicon² has been asserted to be Kilmallock, but “Mago” in Gaul and elsewhere is Magh, a plain, nor is there great reason to doubt the hagiographers that Mocheallow, whose name appears in Kilmallock, is a real person,

¹ Since this paper was written I have treated the matter fully, giving all authorities as to the gods and sanctuaries in south-eastern County Limerick, in Proc. R. I. Academy, xxxiv (c), pp. 47-67 and 127-183.

² Petrie identifies Magolicon with Caherguillamore, “an extensive city,” (Military Architecture, MS. R.I.Acad., p. 77), but, of course, without giving authority or reasons for his assertion.
a definite saint, Chelloc (with the honorary prefix “Mo,” my, and “Da,” thine, cill da chealloc. cill mo chealloc) like Molua and Molaga. Rigia has been identified with Limerick, Athenry and Bruree; the last two have a “righ” component, but, in Ptolemy’s time, “rix” was rather to be expected. Whether any of these places may not have been intended for the great Ernean cemetery, a sanctuary (and probably population centre), and whether Ionnois, despite its position, may not echo the name it were too bold to lay down and almost too bold to suggest, though the Ernai or Ionnoi were its owners.

Temair Erann (according to the “Tract on the Cemeteries” 3) was the chief cemetery of the Ernai. The word “cemetery” connotes a centre of pagan worship and gatherings for consultation and semi-sacred sports. The tract also lays down that Oenach Clochair was that of the Derghthene, the stem of the Eoghanacht and Dal Cair. With these two great centres we will first deal. The word Temair in Cormac’s glossary 4 implies a “broad outlook”; 5 this is true of the “Taras” of Meath, Wexford, this site on Slieveague and Tower Hill which was “Teauragh” in 1650; 6 the “Mesca Ulad” implies that it was also true of the “Tara” of Luachair. 7 O’Donovan (only relying on a modern word, “Bealahantowragh”) places the three Munster “Taras” near Castle Island. Any evidence available puts Temair Luachra on the eastern edge of the hills, between Counties Limerick and Kerry; but the question is beset with doubt. 8 He and O’Curry had limited the extent of Luachra to the place covered by the name “Sleogher” on the Down Survey, in which they are demonstrably wrong. It is most un-

3 Petrie, “Round Towers,” pp. 90, 101. “The Clann Dedad (i.e. the race of Connair and the Ernai) at Temhair Erann; the men of Munster (i.e. the Deirghthene) at Oenachulli.”
4 Sanas Chormaic (tr. W. Stokes), p. 9. (See also Dind Sanchas, Revue Celtique XV, p. 444).
5 Ibid., p. 9; but some equate it with “temenos” and templum” (Celtic Review I, 286).
6 Down Survey (A) map 30; Civil Survey, XXX, p. 8; Book of Dist., p. 115, and Act of Sett., 1666.
7 Mesca Ulad, pp. 19-27; implies this.
8 Only that the Mesca Ulad implies a long march westward from Oenach Clochair, and that it is not absolutely certain that East Luachair extended past the hills west of Newcastle, I should venture to suggest the identity of Curci’s fort with Dun Claire and with Temair Erann. I have twice attempted to solve this obscure question (see Proc. R.I.Acad., XXIV, p. 275, and XXXIII, p. 26). It is unsoluble on our present material.
fortunate that most of his\(^a\) and O'Curry's identifications were made, in an impressionist way, in the rush of the great Ordnance Survey, about 1840, and never revised, even when directly contradicted in documents known to the authors.\(^b\) This is true notably of Sliab Claire, Carn Fhearadaigh,\(^c\) Temair Erann, and Oenach Clochaire, as we shall see. It may also be noted that the ancient track, ditch and mounds, from Kerry Head to Abbeyfeale and on to Charleville, bearing the name Cladh dubh or "Cleeduff," and the "Rian Bo" road to Ardpatick, both run towards the site. Probably the continuation of the first (visible below the hills and leading to Lismore), may have joined Temair Erann to the third great road, the "Rian Bo," from Ardmore to Cashel.

Temair Erann has been stated to be the chief cemetery of the Ernai and Clann Dedad. This is true of a place on the slope of Cenn Febrat (or Slievecreagh) and of nowhere else. There lay all the principal tribal ancestors of the Ernai and Corca Laegde, save Curoi and perhaps his father, Daire. We have excellent authority, as definite as the Dindsenchas poems and prose relating to Tara in Meath, in this case.

In the reign of King Brian (about A.D. 900 to 1000) lived a certain poet named Mac Craith, son of Flann. He visited "Cend Febrat, the beautiful home of the royal men," and celebrated it in a topographical poem, which got inserted in the Dind Senchas.\(^d\) When the Rennes Dind Senchas\(^e\) was written interest had died out about the Ernai, so the prose version is almost valueless, but, fortunately, the poem has reached us in its entirety. The hill was famous as the place where, in

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\(^a\) As where he at first (O.S.L., Vol. I, pp. 209-256) rightly identifies Cenn Claire with Slievecreagh, and then in attempting to assert the Duntrileague dolmen to be Olioll Olam's grave alters it to the low hill at Duntrileague. Many other such cases occur, as at Carn mac Tail, Carn Fhearadaigh, Brugh of the Boyne, and Temair Luachra. For O'Donovan's criticism of O'Curry's uncritical methods see "Journal R. Soc. Antiq., Ir.," XLVII, p. 185. It exactly describes his own methods however.

\(^b\) And, unfortunately, are used without revision by all non-antiquaries among our literary scholars and even in the invaluable Onomasticon Gaelicam.

\(^c\) I first published the name form of Carnarry as Carn Fhearadagh from the Burke Rental (1549), and Mr. P. J. Lynch described the place and noted the trace of the cairn in these pages.


\(^e\) Revue Celtique, vol. xv, p. 441.
A.D. 186, the sharp battle was fought between the rival princes, the son and stepson of Oilioll Olam, Eogan and Lugaid mac Con. The latter was supported by the Ermait, the Dairine of Corca Laegde, under the druid (or, in later tales, the jester, druth)\textsuperscript{14} Dodera, the former by the Muscraige under the Cairbres.\textsuperscript{15} The battle is told in detail, but we are not at present concerned with it farther than that Dodera fell and was buried on the mountain over the end of the pass of Bealach Feabrat (Ballyhoura) past Kilfinnan. The mountain was further famous as the residence of Oilioll Olam at Dun Claire, and he died and was buried on its summit.\textsuperscript{16} There a burial ring\textsuperscript{17} crowns the highest point, 1500 feet above the sea, whose tide shines silvery as the hand of Nuada,\textsuperscript{18} far away, just visible from the hill-side. In the later days of the "Battle of Ventry," Garb, of Sliabh Claire, was one of the watchmen s.t above the famous harbour of the white strand, when, as at the present hour, the Irish and their Allies stood against the ambition of a world ruler.\textsuperscript{19} Feabra, from whom the "Great Head" (ceann mhór" locally) was named, was son of Sen and brother of Deda, a demigod, ancestor of Clann Dedat, uncle to Curoi, son of Daire; he was slain in combat by Cain, son of Derccdualach, who again fell by the vengeful Garban,\textsuperscript{20} son of Deda, who beheaded the body and set the head on Cenn Febrat. If there be any historic element at all in the chaotic tales, with their impossible chronology, these events took place in the first century before Christ. The mountain got its other name, "Sliabh Cain of Cenn Febrat," from the son of Derccdualach.

Topographical poetry is dreary stuff, though invaluable to an antiquary; but in this case the poem of Mac Craith begins pleasantly enough, as any lover of the beautiful and romantic hill can feel. “I

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\textsuperscript{16} Acallamh na Senoraich, Silva Gadelica, vol. ii, p. 130.

\textsuperscript{17} See this Journal, vol. ii, p. 5, by Dr. Geo. J. Fogarty and Mr. J. N. Wallace.

\textsuperscript{18} So the Hellespont is called the “Arm of St. George” among Greek Christians, c.f. the river Boyne as "Silver forearm" of the goddess Boann.

\textsuperscript{19} Cath Finnrata (ed. Kuno Meyer).

\textsuperscript{20} Perhaps the same as Garb of Sliabh Claire, just named, and Garman Glas mac Degann, son of Dega, a frequent synonym for Deda, from whose grave Loch Garmain burst forth at Wexford. (Rev. Celt. xv, Rennes Dind Senchas, p. 429. Inber Dea was named from his brother Dea.
came" (he sings) "on a day of early morn over Cenn Febrat of the cool flowers. The sound of the wind set me sleeping with easy mind. There was shown me truly and fully every sith mound that is on Cenn Febrat." Then he enumerates the mounds, evidently looking at the ridge from the N.W., as he never alludes to the famous Saimer stream, or Dun Claire, or Rath Broccain, on the eastern flank. We hear of the "strong dín on hazel-set Mullach Cuilene, wherein abides the stern-smiting hero," perhaps the conspicuous fort on the mullach of Mortells town, or even the Kilfinnan mote. "One told me the order of the graves on the well-remembered stronghold" of the hill. "The grave of Cain, son of Dercc (dualach), to the right," then "the lonely grave of Erc from Ir Luachair," the hills near Abbeyfeale. These are probably the flat-topped "motes," or rather tumuli, at Ballinvrecna and Cush, on the northern flank, for he was looking towards Ceann Aifs, above Gleneefy (or Gleann Aife), the Deerpark Hill, above Duntrileague, and so had them on his right. The grave of Garban, son of Deda, lay on the hill side to the east, i.e. up the slope, near the tomb of Dubthach's wife, while Dubthach's own grave was on the south side of the slope, near that of Lugaid Laegde, the tribal ancestor of the Erenai of the Corca Laegde. To the N.E. was an unfailing well, above the grave and near the Dín of Dubthach, "famed for its virtues and spells. This is almost certainly the fine spring, at the head of the bold gorge of Glounacrogheery, in Cush, beside which are four ring mounds, probably the disc-barrows of the four heroes. Dubthach was a poet of

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23 It is called one of the "chief rivers of Erin" (Rev. Celt. xxii, p. 321): the name Samair is akin to other river names—the Persian Shamar, the Samara, Sambre, Samur, etc. The present pretty name is derived from the corrupt form, Caimher, "the sparkler"; hence the "Morning Star" or "dawn." It is Samir in 1185 in Prince John's Charter to Monasterenanagh, and "Cavoyer" in the Civil Survey, 1655 (xxx, p. 1), see Joyce's "Names of Places," ser. ii, chapter xxvi. It is called the "River Dawn" in Fitzgerald's History of Limerick, i, p. 320. It divided the Aradha from the Ui Fidgiente (Imram Brain: ed. K. Meyer, p. 50.

24 There was a "Mullach of Claire" which may be the rounded buttress S.E. from Dun Claire. This could not, however, be the Mullach Cuilene, not being visible along with the cemetery.

25 Probably Erc, son of Feidlimid, drowned in a lake (Miscellany Celt. Soc., p. 61, "Corca Laidhe.")

26 Aine, daughter of Gaillan (one of the many forms of the great goddess of Knockainey), "fared with Dubthach" (Duanaire Finn, p. 197 Ir. Texts), and was evidently his consort "in the West." See also Proc R.I. Acad., xxxiv, p. 55.
renown, whose lay has perished. At the end (certainly the south end, as the earlier ones are on the north flank) lay the tombs of three women "side by side," and a fourth beside them. The methodical order of the "survey poem" allows us to suggest that the wife of Daire was laid in the N.W. ring (the first you reach coming up the hill), and the others from north to south in the eastern line of rings—Eithne, Mair, and Mugain, the first being niece of Curoi, wife of Eogan Mor, "Mogh Nuadat," daughter of Lugaid and sister of Mac Niad, the chief of the Corca Laegde in the second century of our era. So definite is the location of the graves that we would call for local influence to be employed to secure them from further damage, a ditch fence having been cut through the central ring, perhaps that of Mair. The first and, evidently the earliest buried and most important was the wife of Daire father of the famous hero Curoi, the rival and victim of Cuchullin. The others Eithne, daughter of Lugaid Laeghe, whom some versions made son of Daire, others a more remote tribal ancestor. Deda had forty sons, so confusion in a pedigree of persons alleged to have lived over 1900 years ago is only to be expected! So far I have found no legends of Mair and Mugain. There can be no reasonable doubt that, nearly 1000 years ago, the tradition told to Mac Craith identified these ladies' graves with the four conjoined disc barrows at Cooloothra or Cooloughtragh. Mote and disc barrows have, at least in Britain, not infrequently held the skeletons and ornaments of women. East of these, "on the mount," i.e. up the slope, perhaps at the two stones of "Gatabaun," in that position, lay the tomb of Dodera. Now, where we have such a group of the leaders of the Ernai, their wives and daughters, reputed to be buried at Cenn Febrat; where we find the reputed tombs of the son and daughter of Deda himself; the eponymus

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26 Eithne, daughter of Lugaid mac Daire, sister of Macnia, she was mother of Conaire Caemh, son of Mog Lamha and of Lugaid Lagha, son of Mog Nuadat (Silva Gadelica, vol. ii, p. 524).

27 Mac Craith's marked allusion to the noble branch of druids of the Tuatha Dé on Cenn Febrat suggests the source of the traditions. Mounds named Dunha na n-druid are named (Battle of Magh Tured in "Eriu," viii, p. 49; "Manuscript Materials." p. 284). Little rath of incantations" (Irische Texte, iv, p. 242). So an inscription in Maeshowe (Orkney Isles) calls the chambered tumulus "Lodbrog's Sorcery Hall."

of one branch and of Lugaid Laegde; 28 the eponymus of the other branch and his daughter, where a famous poet of one branch with his wife and the most famous druid of the other have monuments, the deity of the place with Temair Erann seems beyond question. We recall that only modern writers, like Keating, confine the term Ernai to the immigrant race of Conaire; that only one outstanding hero is unrepresented, and that nowhere else is any rival burial place, even of the more obscure personages of the mythical pedigree indicated—so the matter may be regarded as established, unless new and revolutionary manuscript material is produced. The Conaire race, if it had any other outstanding sanctuary, probably established it on Dunmore Head in Corcaguiny, where the "name of Duben," their eponymous ancestress, is commemorated. It had ancestral gods of more than local—more than Irish—importance, like Lugh, the sun-god, with Nuada "Neacht" and Nuada "Finnfail." Its branches, the Corcaguiny or Corca Duibne, and the Corcavaskin or Corca Baiscinn, dwelt in West Kerry and Clare, while the Musraige lay in large patches in counties Cork (Muskerry), Limerick and Tipperary, and are far more allies of the Derghethen than of the "true Ernai" so called. 29 In another early source we find "Uachtar Claire" (the high ground of Claire) "and the rath of Claire is seen from afar and is not found near." Is Uachtar Chri Cooloughtra? It cannot be the chief residence, Dun Claire, but some "fairy fort" best seen at a distance. 30

Another indication of the old importance of the place is that the fair of Cush at its base, like Cahermee and other great fairs, suggests an old Oenach, 31 and that the modern Irish name of the district, Coshlea,

28 As to Lugaid Laegde being of the divine (sídh) race see extract from "Salair of Cashel," quoted in "Corca Laidhe" (Miscellany of Celtic Soc.), p. 25. Daire Sirchroachtagh had issue (1) Lu Laidhe whence Corca Laidhe; (2) Lugaid Cal, whence the Calraige; (3) Lugaid Meandraadh, from the Sídh mounds of Seal Balb's son, who was King of Pictland and Manan; (4) Lugaid Oiche, whence the Corca Oiche. Of course the supposed pedigrees are most divergent, Lugaid mac Con being in some a son of Daire, in others a grandson, and his son Mac Nuadh being in other pedigrees his father. At least his brother was of the sídh race in one story.

29 Like "Fir Bolg," the term "Ernai" probably means a tribal group.

30 Finnigeacht (Todd Lect. Ser. xvi, p. 33) "The story of Mosaulum (Oilil Aulom) and Find Ua Baiscne."

31 See Introduction to O'Curry's "Manners and Customs," p. cccxxvi. Fitzgerald's "Hist. of Limerick," vol. i, p. 387, names the four fairs of Ballinvreena; there were only two at Knocklong, and two at Kilfinnan, so the first was evidently of great importance for gatherings.
is most probably derived from its name—Cush (fort) of the mountain. I learn that this fair has in recent times got discontinued. Even from the belfry of Limerick Cathedral and from the hills and central plain of Co. Clare the platform of Slievereagh, blue with distance, is, next to the great Galteemore, the chief feature of the hills "fringing the southern sky." It is well seen on three faces as we pass from Knocklong to Kilmallock by train. The name means "brown" (riach, or riabch, is fuscus, says O'Sullivan Beare) not "grey" hill, from its heather and reddish-brown rocks. It rises into three peaks on the north face, where, at the first, at its N.-E. angle, low cliffs, "the Benches," occur; that with the circle is certainly Sliabh Claire. Knocklaura townland runs up its slope, Dun Claire lies on a foothill, and the little church of Killaragh, "where the Samir rises," was near Claire, so was also the rath of Broccan, now the mote of Glenbrogheen. The other heads were evidently Cenn Cuirrig and Cenn Febrat, the last almost certainly overhanging the cemetery at Cush. If one came from Aherloe to Barna Derg, south from Killfinnane, one passed to the east of Sliabh Claire. Driving from Kilmallock to Cush, near the deep gully of Glenacroghery, you ascend the steep slope near Mr. Michael Duggan's house and see two masses of furze, rising boldly over the fence, on the brow of the hill terrace, in wild, wet and furzy land, a mass of rushes and scabious on my visit. Mr. Duggan told me that lights frequently appear in the "moates" at night. We soon find. close to these overgrown tumuli, the dug out base of a third. They do not seem to be named in MacCraith's poem, but a later, though important and interesting,

32 Galteemore is visible from the Burren mountains on Galway Bay, and from the ridge south of Clayne on the coast of County Cork.
33 Evidently the Cenn Claire (Cnoc Claire). Cenn Cuirrig and Cenn Febrat of the poem.
34 Knocklaur in the Civil Survey, vol. xxv, p. 5; c.f. Down Survey Map, No. 53. The mountain of Slievereagh is also called the mountain of Knockclawley and Moorestown. It is still "Knocla" in Fitzgerald's History I; but also had the name Mount Eagle and Black Mount in 1826.
35 There were two great battles on it, that in which the Dergtine, under Eogan, son of Oilioll Ablom, defeated the Ernal and Daireine under Lugaid mac Con, in A.D. 186, and another in A.D. 750, in which the pleasant-named "Bachbhghal," son of Fearghal, fell.
36 "Annals of Four Masters," 1600 This refutes O'Donovan's identification with Duntrileague.
37 As tumuli are usually older than disc barrows they probably (as belonging to the Tuatha Dé) did not interest him like the graves of the human (or semi-human) heroes of the other earthenworks.
allusion to them is found (over a century later) in the *Acallamh na Senorach.*

We are told that St. Patrick comes to Cenn Febrat desiring to see a great deer and boar hunt at Osment hill. He sat on three *tulachs* or mounds there, on which men feared to sit because of the Tuatha Dé. “Three glens met, below Cenn Febrat of Sliabh Cain,” at a lake.* The rising ground to the east of the lake was called *Fintuis* and that to the west *Cnoc na haoire;* to St. Patrick’s left was a fort on a mountain, which he passed as he went to Finntulach or Ardpatrick. The three glens are the stream valley east of Kilfinnan and the passes to either side of that place. Traces of the old lake remain here (as at Knockainey and elsewhere) in marshy fields and pools, for before the forests were cut the streams were larger, as the great bed valleys of the Saimer, Cammoge and Maigue show well. The Emly Lake existed in 890, *that of Knockainey in 1324.* The hill fort of Mottellstown *lies to your left as you come from Slievereagh to Ardpatrick; nothing could be more exact than the topography of the old mythic story. The name Mottellstown is as old as 1317. Lastly I need only recall that “the noble branch of druids” of the Tuatha Dé dwelt on Cenn Febrat. The tumuli command a fine spacious view across central Co. Limerick, along the Maigue Valley, and westward to Ardpatrick and Seefin, and round eastward to the Keeper, across the Shannon and through the heart of Co. Clare. The plain stands out like an embossed map, with Charleville and Kilmallock and their white spires, the mote and clustered village of Kilfinnan, the dark tower of Fintstown, and the knot of hills at Knockminina and Lough Gur. The prominent fort of Mottellstown, above the red scar of the great quarry, and the dark wall of Ardpatrick church, stand out clearly in the view and (far to the west) are the long blue ridges of Luachair which conceal the site of royal Temair Luachra. The most southern mound is from 5 to 8’ high and 62’ round the base, with a slight spur to the north; the second is 27’ away, little over 5’ high and 90’ round, with a shallow fosse 9’ wide; to the N.N.E. is the

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39 The last lakes of the district call for separate study—they are Loch Leangae, Loch Ceann, Loch Aine, and two lakes at Emly. Local legend at Knocklong tells of another lake there, which from the Purcell’s ship (long) gave its name to the place.
30 Sanas Chormaic, p. 93. “Imbluich, a lake about.”
base of the third, barely over a foot high and about 12' across, and spread about, with a block of conglomerate 4' long embedded in it. East from it is a larger flat-topped tumulus, with a fosse and ring. It is about 7' high, 11' round the base; the ditch is 8' wide and in parts 4' deep; the outer ring is over 6' thick.

South from it is the "Cooloughtragh Mote," perhaps the most remarkable of its class in Ireland. It consists of four neat disc-barrows, three in line and one to the N.W. All are within a fosse 2 or 3 feet deep and 8' wide, with a continuous outer ring, usually levelled to about a foot high, but over 5 feet high to the south. The rings are slightly oval. 32 to 36' across. The southern (A) is best preserved, it had a ring wall of small stonework and earth 8 to 12' thick, having a gate passage to the north, two set slabs and a regular oblong hollow like a grave (lying N. and S.) at the S. end, and a large slab 5' x 3' to the West. The middle ring (B) is cut by a modern fence, a large slab also lies in its S.-W. quarter. The north ring (D) has a loop like a hut enclosure, but is much levelled by the trampling of cattle; 43 the N.-E. ring (E) has also got a large prostrate slab. The S.-W. annexe (C) is an afterthought of different plan and not included by the original fosse and ring; it is a semicircle, also 30' across, with a looped fosse and outer ring. I have to thank the Royal Irish Academy for the use of the plans.

A low pillar, 5' 6" high by 3' x 1' 6" and leaning over, stands 26' distant from the southern ring and to the east. Parallel mounds, like an old road, run down the hill from this remarkable monument, and there seems a trace of a levelled round mound near them. I found a flat, rounded stone, like part of a small quern, in the fence, where it cuts the rings. A few points of interest should be noted: the conjoined rings in each case are from 57 to 60' across over all, Queen Tephi's mnr, mound, at Tara was 60' across. 44 The Cooloughtragh rings are true disc barrows, but, save in Co. Limerick, at Doonakenna, near Barna Hill station, at Knockainey, and here do more than two conjoin

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43 In the Irish Law "cattle are exempt from liability for eating grass of the pleasant (i.e. ceremonial) hills." Senchas Mór (Book of Acaill) III, p. 266.
44 Professor Macalister in his important monograph on Tara in Proc. R. I. Acad., xxxiv, locates this on a slight platform in the southern quadrant of the great ring of Cathair Crofinn.
In England Professor Boyd Dawkins 45 excavated one, which proved to have had a ceremonial track, paved with logs in the hollow of the apparent fosse; oak posts were set in the mound, which was 75' across. I have but little doubt that the Cooloughtragh mote was both sepulchral and ceremonial, the rite taking the form of a procession, or sacred dance, here, as elsewhere. The ancient road leading up to it, its choice position, its emphatic mention in the ancient poem, its neighbouring tumuli being especially sacred to the gods, 46 all mark it as one of the most notable remains of prehistoric Ireland. I may also emphasize that the legend making its occupants ladies of the first century B.C. to the second century, agrees well with the period and sex of some burials in the ring and disc barrows of Britain. The small burial ring like the "fossa rotunda" of Tirechán, the mūr of Médb’s brothers at Rath-Croghan, the pagan burials in small raths in the ancient tract 47 cited by Keating in the "Three bitter shafts of death," all find illustration from this earthwork.

I must be brief as to the other remains; there are two ring mounds (the southern with a fosse) 72' and 42' across; the two blocks eastward up the hill, called "gatabaun" from their resemblance to a gateway, and possibly the reputed monument of Dódera the druid, and the two "motes." The different character of the remains is notable and implies probably successive periods in the cemetery. At the north are the two large motes, one in Ballinvreena, the name implying a brügin or fairy fort. This is on a steep slope and the top being level is 7' high to the South, 24' to the North, 87' across, with a fosse and ring. Westward from it is the Cush mote, 7' high to the S. and 16' to the North, 54' across, with a deep ditch in which is a fair spring. Next, quite different in character, probably sepulchral rings, are the four at Glounnacroghera, the "mote" or ring at Parkeenard, and its neighbour described above. Then to the south are the three small tumuli, their larger neighbour, the conjoined mote of Cooloughtragh, the three pillars and the old road marking the most sacred part of the great Ernean cemetery of Temair Brann.

47 Book of Lecan, f. 258; also MS. H, 217 (T.C.D. Lib.); p. 91, and Introd. to "Manners and Customs," pp. cccxix-cccx.xx.
In later days, after the 10th century, the place passed out of memory, losing its ancient name. I find Cush and Ballinvreena mentioned as follows: Cush evidently gave its name to the "Patria" (or Barony) of Cosse Clerogh (Cush of Cleire or Dun Claire) in the Peyton and Desmond Surveys, temp. Elizabeth, and probably to Coshlea its modern representative. On Aug. 6th, 1576, Edmond fitz John oge Gibbon (Fitzgerald) was granted head rents of Killfinan, Downemoone, Ballinvrenye (held by Gerald mac Thomas), Glenlary, Cloughnottoye, Ardpatrick and others being possessions of the White Knight (John oge fitz John Gibbon) attained of treason. In 1588 Richard and Alexander Phitton were granted Ballenurynye and Coch. The Inquisitions on the confiscated estates of Gerald, Earl of Desmond, in 1588, mention Ballinwryn and Glenlary, as held (under him) by Gerald mac Thomas, "Tonbay Reagh." But in 1590 Ballinvrenye (in tenure of Gerald fitz Thomas) was restored to Edmund Fitzgibbon, the "White Knight." The name is given by O'Donovan as Baite an bruighne, the site of the well of Cenn Mór. Nothing of moment is recorded beside the place names and owners.

**OENACH CLOCHAIR.**

The great god Nuada Argetlamh (as we have seen) was closely connected with two other deities, Nechtan and his wife Boand, the Boyne goddess. Among the variant myths it seems very probable that Nuada Necht, whom I have elsewhere shown to be Nuada Argetlamh and Nechtan are the same person. The epithet of Boand, "silver forearm," is akin to that of Nuada "silver hand." Nechtan was connected with the gods Eogabal, Uainid and Aine, whom he had advised to settle on that hill. He had another wife, Cuil, if her name be not another alias for the god-

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48 Fiants of Elizabeth, Nos. 5179 (A.D. 1558), 2876 (A.D. 1576), 5517 (A.D. 1590). Inquis. No. II, Sep. 11th, xxvi, Eliz. at "Kiloc" estates of Earl of Desmond. 49 Ord. Survey Letters, vol. I (14 E. O.), p. 209. 50 Proc. R. I. Acad., vol. xxxiv, pp. 143-149. The O'Driscolls of Corca Laedge and the Eoghanachts and Dalcais (O'Donovan, MacCarthy, O'Sullivan, O'Brien, MacMahon, McNamara, and many others) claimed him as an ancestor, as well as the Sun god, Lugh Larnfada, the War gods, Neit (and perhaps Segomo) and Daline or Dergtine. 51 Note also the Gaulish chief, Argentocoxus, Silver Hip, named by Dion Cassius. Lib. I xxiv.
dess Boand, and from her was named the oenach of Nechtan’s wife Cuil, now called the heifer carrying fair green of old Clogher.\textsuperscript{52} Accepting (as I did) O’Donovan’s identification of Oenach Clochair with Monasteranenagh\textsuperscript{53} and not recalling that Mr. P. J. Lynch had made another suggestion\textsuperscript{54} that it was at Corbally and Clogher near Knocklong. It was only when I came in my survey to the remains at Clogher (the importance of which I only began to realise on my second visit) and re-studied its records that I arrived independently at the same conclusion, so hard is it to get rid of a prepossession. I first noticed that Cuchullin after describing the view from Knockainey Hill in the Mesca Ulad, passed on towards Cenn Febrat southward, and came to Oenach sen Clochair,\textsuperscript{60} where the Ultonians camped; while, similarly, St. Patrick, in the Acallamh comes from Cullen to Ardpatrick, “skirting Oenich sen Clochair of Nechtan’s wife, Cuil.” Take lines between these two places, and also between the former two, and they meet in Clogher, while the Charter of Monasteranenagh\textsuperscript{56} mentions “Enachculy,” near Corbally, the latter townland adjoining Raheenamaddra, in which the chief remains are found. Lastly, the “Tract on the Cemeteries” tells us how Oenach Clochair was the chief cemetery of the Derghene, as Temair Erann was of the Ernai.\textsuperscript{67} The Oenach, near Manister Abbey, on the north bank of the Cammoge, with its large conjoined mounds and its sidh mound and other earthworks\textsuperscript{68} was

\textsuperscript{52} Silva Gad II., p. 118, the Sen Clochair shows a sense of its great antiquity even in our earliest records.

\textsuperscript{53} Followed by Mr. Goddard Orpen (R. Soc. Anti. Ir., xxxiv, p. 34). It is also called Aenach Cairepre in the Book of Rights, pp. 87-91, but is usually Oenach beag.

\textsuperscript{54} This Journal, vol. II. p. 10; he, however, did not mention any monuments there, so his note escaped my memory. The other Clogher near Dromin is probably the “Cloghur” of the Charter of Monasteranenagh, 1186. It has no remains of importance. A defaced little tumulus with the centre dug out (shown as two conjoined rings by the Ordnance Survey Maps) and a much levelled ring fort.

\textsuperscript{60} Mesca Ulad, p. 19.

\textsuperscript{56} Sweetman’s Calendar, vol. I. A very important document for local topography.


\textsuperscript{68} Unfortunately the stone cores of the two mounds were dug out for road metal by barbarians, who also removed the stones of the noble fallen east window of the neighbouring Abbey, and so prevented its restoration. Public opinion on such vandalism does not exist.
Oen ch beag,\(^{69}\) the very term suggesting the existence of the great Oenach. I have hitherto been unable to find any trace of a legend of Cuil, wife of Nechtan, but possibly such may be recovered. Perhaps she is (as I suggested) Segais or Boand \(^{60}\) for the latter rejoiced (like many another Gaulish, or Irish, god or goddess) in an alias name "Segais," or, perhaps, as wife of Nuada Necht, Nuada being a warlike god as well as a river god. She may have been one of the war goddesses, just as Sinann, the goddess of the Shannon, was identified with Macha and the Morrígú, and also with Dairine, an ancestress (in later pedigrees an ancestor) \(^{61}\) of the Deirg'fhene. Her husband, Nuada or Nudens, was (as we saw) worshipped on the Severn.\(^{62}\) There we have his representation in bronze, found at his temple in Lydney Park.\(^{63}\) He wields a club and wears a spiked crown; he rides in a chariot drawn by four prancing steeds; the winds fly around him, and fishes plunge before his horses, showing his connection with rivers and estuaries. Beside him a man catches a salmon, recalling the "salmon mantle" of his favourite Eogan Mogh Nuadat.\(^{64}\) Nuada Necht was connected in some way with Magh Feimhem. In southern Co. Tipperary he also appears as Nuada Derg, and may have been identified with Badb Derg, the mighty god of the Sid cairn on Slievenaman.\(^{65}\) The British, like the Irish, called him "Silver Hand" Lam ereint and Airget lam.\(^{66}\)

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\(^{69}\) Also Aenach Cairpre (Leabhar na gCeart, p 91), possibly meaning the Oenach of the Uí Caireire Aobda tribe, in whose territory it lay, or of their eponymous ancestor Cairbre.


\(^{61}\) So the mother of the Sun god, Lugh, is changed into his father in the Buhemerist pedigrees, and Duhben into a son instead of a daughter of Caireire Musc.

\(^{62}\) Supra, p. 130. In Ireland (as at Lydney Park) he figures as a warrior; his shield was called "Caindel" (Eriu IV., p. 29). In Brittany his name is Nuz, in Wales, Liudd, or Nudd Lamereint, or Silver Hand.

\(^{63}\) "Roman Antiquities in Lydney Park (Rev. W. H. Bathurst, 1879); Plate xiii for the tables to the god Nudens, See Plates xx, xxvii; also pp. 12, 26.

\(^{64}\) See "Battle of Magh Leana."

\(^{65}\) See Proc. R. I. Acad., vol. xxxiv, p. 145, for his identity under the various epithets.

\(^{66}\) De Jubainville regards the oldest (Gaulish) form as "Nudens Lam Argentios."
As we drive south-eastward from Knocklong we pass to the south of the road the mote of Clogher, to the west of the rocky out-crop called Clogher Hill. It is a perfect little green tumulus in parts 11ft. high; the base about 100ft. across, quite featureless; the ground falls abruptly to a T-shaped valley, where two stream-lets meet, and in each angle of their junction, low plateaux rise, which we must now examine. Not far from Clogher Hill is the mote of Raheenamadderra—a flat-topped mound, girt by a fosse, near Scarteen, and resembling those in Ballinvreena and Cush' Knocklong and Glenbroghaun. Passing the "Cross of the Tree," 67 and taking the road to Ballylanders and Duntrileague, we cross the stream, and at the west side find a gate leading to the first or S.E. plateau. On it the earthworks have been greatly levelled, but are not a little curious.

First we find a long straight depression, running north and south, beside the road; if it be really early it may mark the bounds of the fair green or fathach on the east. Then in the middle of the field is a hollow road, E. and W., about 6 to 9ft. wide, and beside it a platform; its angles rounded to the east 2 to 4ft. high, surrounded by a shallow fosse, and measuring about 6ft. N. and S. by 93ft. E. and West. Two parallel tracks like the last run to two hollows, perhaps ponds, with a low mound between them. They are about 90ft. from the platform. From the double track another runs at right angles somewhat westwards towards the stream.

We cross the little stream and valley through a marshy patch, full of yellow "flaggers" (iris), and reach the S. E. plateau. The highest point is called Knockaunatarriff, "the bull's hillock," and the name is probably a casual one, like similar field names, but "bull feasts" formed part of the ceremonial at other centres of cele-
tion.68 Oenach is very inadequately rendered "fair." It meant a place of assembly for religious rites, consultation, trade and sports;

67 The "Tree" was walled in by Mr. Ryan of Scarteen, in 1862. I could not learn its history.
68 "Bull feast is to secure knowledge of the future and true judgment" (Da Derga's Hostel, Rev. Celt, xxii, p. 22). Bull feasts were also celebrated at Tara.
wooden platforms and "lists" had to be put up, and our ancient laws regulate their erection, and the good order of the meetings.\(^{69}\) The long "screen" (plantation), though with no old trees, runs straight along the meaning of Raheenamaddera and Mitchelstown Down.\(^{70}\) It most probably follows the ancient western boundary of Oenach Chuli. At the end of the trees to the south, at the highest point of the ridge, were twin tumuli; a ditch and fence has been dug between them, which is common in Co. Limerick, where (only to mention the few remains touched on in this paper) ditches and fences cross the conjoined rings of Cooloughtragh and Knockainey, and the western fort at the latter place. In Co. Clare they usually bend round the fort. The twin tumuli recall the "Two Breasts of the Morrigu," an earthwork at Brugh of the Boyne.\(^{71}\) The name also attached to the mountains now called "the Paps" in Kerry, and to two tumuli, or Sidd mounds upon them. Cethern, the poet, had gone to woo a Sidd maiden, Ele, and one of his company was slain. Finn, angry at the slight on his friend, went to the champion Fiacal, and complained, being advised to go to sit by the "Two breasts of Ana" on Samhain Eve. The mounds opened, their ramparts vanished, and a man passed whom Finn speared, and who proved to be the slayer of his comrade.\(^{72}\) The Oenach Culi mounds, perhaps, had as their ancient name Da Chich, Chuli "the two breasts of Cul," wife of the god Nechtan. Each has been dug into. They are on the edge of a sort of terrace (probably natural), so that, while barely 5ft. high to the west, on the summit of the ridge, they are 13ft. high to the east. The more perfect southern dünna shows three stages—the lower each about 5ft. high; the top 3ft high. It is 13ft. across the top and 45 at the base. About 15ft. from it is the northern one, 10 to 12ft. high to the east, and from 15 to 30ft. across, being somewhat injured by the trees. There

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\(^{69}\) Senchas Mor, vol. I., pp. 123-129, cleaning the green before the Oenach opens; 233, keeping order, "Heptads" (vol. v of Laws), p. 302, court of a king held on the Faithche at time of Oenach, p. 484; inherent rights of each territory to keep an acknowledged Oenach, and vol iv, p. 221, claidh, or ditch, of an Oenach.

\(^{70}\) "Ballenvistallanedown" in the grant to the Phittons 1558 (Fiant, 5179).

\(^{71}\) Dind Senchas of Brugh

is an apparently natural (but very regular) terrace to the foot of the hill at the marsh. Still on the summit close to (but lower than) the tumuli is a small round platform fort, 60 to 61 ft. across, and 5 ft. high. Traces of a fosse 12 ft. wide gird it to the S. W. and N. There is a trace of an outer ring to the S. E. Going northward, down a gentle slope (well adapted for a theatre for the crowds of spectators watching the ceremonies at the principal earthwork), we reach another marshy hollow, some 300 yards down the slope, and, about 33 yards further on, the conjoined rings. These curious features occur on a larger scale at Tara, at Oenach beag (near Monasteranenagh), near Cahermee fair green, at Temair Erann and Knockainey—all places of ancient assembly, so evidently they were a usual adjunct of some ceremonial. I would also point out how remarkable is the connection of the sacred places of the pagan Irish with women—Tara, Tailltiu, Emania, Rath Cruachan, Knockainey, Cooloughtragh, Oenach Chuli and Sid Nechtain have each their heroine, usually an unmistakable goddess, always an outstanding tribal heroine.

Such rings occur sparsely in these countries (I only give those known to me or marked on the maps. Clare (5), Kerry (2), Limerick (13), Tipperary (14), Cork (2), Waterford (1), Louth (1), Meath (5), Westmeath (1), Carlow (1), Roscommon (4), Mayo (2), Kilkenny (2). The abundance in Limerick and Tipperary is very marked. Some have two rings, others a ring and shield-like enclosure, hard to distinguish from the two rings, to which three of the Clare and two or three of the Tipperary examples belong. Several may be house rings; indeed three stone examples also occur in Clare which are probably such.

72 None, however, remain at Taillti or Rathcroaghan, unless the equivalent type of the round mound and crescent platform at Donaghpatrick, near Teltown, belong to the first-named assembly place.

74 These are so incorrectly marked in some cases examined by me that the number is to be regarded as merely approximate and probably excessive. Our members will find examples in Mondellihy, near the Bridge of Adare; north of Monasteranenagh Abbey; at Clogheating hill, near Patrickswell; Maelra, east of Pallas; all fairly accessible from Limerick. Besides those named in this paper are Boherygeela, Baunteen, Griston, Inchacomb, and others.

75 Good examples near and at Crecvagh, near Quin, Co. Clare, are planned and described, Proc. R. I. Acad., vol. xxvii., p. 379, and xxxii Plate iv, p. 379.
The Oenach Clochair mounds are each somewhat D-shaped in plan, 5ft. high, surrounded by a fosse 12ft. wide, with a cross ditch 9ft. wide below, dividing them. The western platform is 60ft. across E. and W. by 54ft. N. and S., the eastern 78ft. and 81ft. They were walled with large dry masonry nearly all removed, and the fosse had an outer ring remaining to the south. beside which is a hollow down to an old pond, perhaps part of one of the hollow ways near the mounds. This ring is 9ft. thick and only 2ft. high.

There are traces of two "tracks" between this and the next "fort" about 150ft. away. This last is an oval platform 4ft. high, 66ft. N. and S. and 81ft. E. and W. across, with a fosse 10ft. wide and hardly a yard deep. A shallow oval basin, evidently artificial, lies 50ft. on to the S. W. It is 18 to 23ft. across and about 4ft. deep. Beyond it, about 360ft. from the oval platform, is a large stone 4ft. x 3ft. x 32ft. A similar one, but nearly buried, lies away to the N. E. towards the junction of the streams. I think the "tracks" are ancient paths; were they ditches of old fences, traces should remain of mounds. I saw none such. Many such tracks remain as behind the Black Castle of Lough Gur; at Cush, and leading from dolmens and promontory forts, as at Achill, in Mayo; Doonaunroe, Dundoillroe, and George's Head, Co. Clare; and Clashmelchon and Pierce's Island in Kerry.

I find no trace of the name of Oenach Chuli outside ancient literature save in Prince John's Charter to the Abbey, De Magio, in 1186, "Enach Ouli in Corbally," with Cloghur, and in a lawsuit (of Maurice de London against the same Abbey in 1234) about "land at Enachculy." The other name Clochair, as we see, has survived to our day. Cuil was, perhaps, a local goddess, reverenced by the Dergthene, who were worshippers of Nuada, under his name Necht, or Nechtain.\textsuperscript{76} She may be an alias for his wife Boand, who, in some sources, is mother of Oengus, son of the Dagda, and, therefore, related to Bodb Derg of Slievenaman, who was reverenced there and near Loch Derg in Co. Tipperary.\textsuperscript{77} He, too, consulted

\textsuperscript{76} Nuada Necht and Nuada Argetlámh are the same deity. See Proc. R. I. Acad., vol. xxxiv, pp. 145-6.

\textsuperscript{77} Rev. Celt xv, p. 315, and Acallamhl Silva Gad ii, p. 116. For Oenach at a lady’s grave, see Rev. Celt xv., p. 313.
with Midir on the green of the Brugh, sacred to Boadan or Board. It was probably established as their cemetery after the 3rd century, unless they took over an older site, for their princes were traditionally said to have been buried on the hill above Dun Claire and in the fort of Duntrileague, and the tradition must have had some foundation, or such outstanding heroes as Eogan Mogh Nuadat and Oilioll Aulom, and an eponymus like Cormac Cas, must have otherwise had legendary tombs in the chief cemetery of their tribe. The "Tract of the cemeteries" in the Leabhar na hUidre has been interpolated in the later well-known copy (MS. H. 3, r7, p. 745), in Trinity College, Dublin, with the names Aenach Sean Clochair and two others, but the identity of Oenach Chuli and Oenach Clochair with each other, and with Clogher, near Knocklong, is established by the Agallamh and other authorities. The place, like Cush (Temair Erann), bears every mark of an early sanctuary and cemetery—water supply, hollow ways, blocks of stone, platforms, tumuli and conjoined rings. For example, take the chief of all, Tara, we have conjoined platforms like the Forradh and Teach Chormaic; tumuli like the Dumha na nGiall and Cuchullin's head, conjoined tumuli like the Tredumha Nesir, pillars, road tracks, and sacred springs. or take Brugh of the Boyne, three great tumuli, lesser ones like the Clogher mounds, rings like the fort of the Dagda's son, Aedh, mounds like the "Dagda's Head," and twin mounds like the "Two Breasts of the Morrígú." Yet Brugh is of the early bronze age. Tara and Cush about the opening of our era to the third century, and Oenach Clochair hardly earlier than the last named period.

The remaining notable assembly place, Oenach Cairbre, at Monasteranenagh, has two conjoined and ringed cairns, a hollow way, a Sidh mound or tumulus, called Sheenafinoge, and a ring fort.

KNOCKAINEY.

As my object is to describe the remains and indicate the evidence bearing on the mythological personages venerated at the three chief sanctuaries of the Ercnái, the Dergthene, and the Mair-

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79 Metrical Dindsenchas x, p. 102.
80 The received location of these should evidently be reversed.
tene tribes, in Co. Limerick, I do not intend to give any monograph on the history of the places in later times. Any was a place of evident importance. The euhemerists date a battle at “Oliach” or (as the Annalist of Clonmacnoise says) “at the fair of Cnoc Aine,” in which Eochu Mumho, son of Oilioll Finn, was slain by Airgeadmhar in either B.C. 1429 or 779. They state that Mumhan (or Munster) was named after this king. The duplicating of the king as separate high kings some centuries apart is one of the many evidence of the worthlessness of the list, of the dullness of its compilers, who failed to recognise the obvious identity of the records, and still more, of the unthinking credulity of their followers. The *Sanas Chormaic* Glossary (circa A.D. 890) notes it as “the highest ground in Cliu,” and named after Aine, daughter of Eogabal of the race of the gods. The *Tain bo Cualnge* speaks of “the three Eochaidhs from Aine” at the time of Medb’s great cattle foray, and the *Mesca Ulad* tells how, in the drunken raid of the Ultonians (in which the great fort of Temair Luachra was destroyed), Cuchullin ascended its ridge to locate the position of the army. He points out very accurately the landmarks still to be seen from its summit, Cenn Abhrat Slebi Cain (or Slievegreagh) to the south, Sleibtii Eblinni (or Slievephelim) to the north, and other objects. The tale mentions a group of pillar stones, called “the *Echlasa of the horses of Ulad,*” doubtless an attempt to invent an origin for an existing pagan monument now levelled. The Ulad then drove their chariots to Oenach Clochair, south of Knockainy. “The three Eochaidhs of Aine” are also listed among the Tuatha De in the “Battle of Ventry.” I need only allude to the later tales how (by the advice of Nechtan) the god Eogabal, his brother and daughter Aine settled on the hill of Druim Collchoilli, a pleasant hazel hill, like Tara, where the five tribes of the Mairtene Firboig met, cut and evidently offered hazel faggots; how Oilioll Aulom in the later second century watched for the *sídh*

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81 Compare the “*Echlasa ech conclaimn*” (Silva Gad ii., p. 161) and “*Echlain Loga,*” the god Lug’s horse rod (Rev. Celt xxvi, p. 29).
mounds to open on Samhain Eve, and slew Eogabal, and violated (some add slew) Aine. Cairbre Musc, about A.D. 230, sang before King Fiacha Muillethan on the hill, and was granted the land he could see from Slieveveagh to Loch Derg, possibly implying some legendary claim of the Muscraigh. It was a dun of King Conall Echluath, about A.D. 380, and St. Patrick (as he seems to have done to several places of pagan worship) visited the hazel ridge, Druim Collchoilli, or Cnoc Aine, about A.D. 440. The chief event in its later history was a battle between the Arada and the Ui Fidgeinte in 666. Their territory then met at the river Saimer, not far to the west of the ridge. It was the seat of the Ui Enna tribe in the 10th century and of the Ui Chiarmaic at the time of the Norman invasion. The Geraldines obtained it, and established a castle and a manor, and a fair (perhaps the ancient Oenach) soon after 1194, at least by 1226, and the fair is also named in 1295, and in the records of the confiscated estates of Gerald, Earl of Desmond, in 1583.

I have already at some length in the earlier part of this paper given an account of the goddess Aine. I need only comment that there are evidently two versions of the legend. One possibly is that of the inland tribes, the Mairrene and Dergthene, bringing her from Uisnech, and connecting the migration of her race with the gods, Midir and Nechtan, with an appendix, evidently peculiar to the second tribe, about the outrage of Oilioll Aulom, though this (strange as it may seem) may have a basis in fact, and represent some outrage of the new comers on the venerated sanctuary and its

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82 This often appears in our early literature c.f. the case at Finn at Cích dha Morrighain (Erin i, pp. 187-188) that where Dathi goes to Rath Archai, the chief seat of Druidical worship in Co. Sligo, at the Dumh na n druid ("MS. Materials," p. 284), that in Echtra Nerai (Rev. Celt, vol. x, p. 221), "be on their guard at Samain unless they come to destroy the Sidh." Mongfind, the witch and poisoner, died on the eve of Samhain (Ib. xxiv, p. 179). "Samhain Night, with its ancient lore" (Metrical Dindsenchas, x, p. 281), Cath Criona says the Feast of Tara was on Samhain because the crops and fruits were ripe (Lives of the Saints, Book of Lismore, ed. Stokes, Introd. p. xxxiii.; Rev. Celt iii, p. 357). "The very night of Samhain, the occasion for attacking and pillaging" Metr. Dinds., vii, p. 61.

83 This volume Supra. p. 146. See this matter more fully in Proc. R. I. Acad., xxxiv., p. 55, p. 167.
The dire consequences of the sacrilege were perhaps a druidical moral, based on an actual overthrow of the race of the insolent invader. The second story is quite different in tone, though the Knockainey gods, Bogabal, Ferfi, and Aine, along with another local goddess, Aife, of Glenafe, and Cenn Aife, appear. It connects the family in some way with Manannan MacLir, the sea god, and with Clidna, or "Cleena," an important goddess of the south coast, so is probably the tale of coast dwellers, perhaps the Ernaí and Corca Laegde. It has many small variants, but the skeleton of the tale is the same—the love of one of the Manannan family for a goddess of the Eogabal family, usually Aine.

I need not tell at any great length of the local modern folk tales. David Fitzgerald noted in 1879 that the hill was called Cairn Feraidhe; this is evidently from Fer Ai, Fer I, or Fer Fi, for it is still told there how Ferfi destroyed Dun Claire, a reminiscence of his revenge on its princes, as the modern tale of the outrage by the Earl of Desmond reproduces exactly the assault by Oilioll Aulom. By the Earl Aine was mother of Garret Earla (Earl of Desmond, 1370), perhaps Garad of Eas Gephthine, a warrior of Finn. The tale exactly reproduces that of Oilioll Aulom. In the beautiful and gracious Aine, tutelary spirit of crops and cattle, mother of the local families and connected with the moon, we see a shadow of one of the Gaulish "Matres." Down to the last quarter of the past century processions with diar, or burning wisps, whence the "folk derivation" Aine Cliar, really Cliach, or "of Cliu." The name "Carron Hill," rendered "sickle" in reference to the moon, is of course really the Cairn Hill. Aine is a beautiful and most kindly spirit; she loves the meadowsweet (spiraea) and gave

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84 We know that the term Brigid (Gaulish Brīgend) was applied to goddesses in general (like the term Juno in Etruria), but in Ireland was given to women from the great patroness of Kildare downward. Some have supposed that the name Nuada was also recurrent, and applied to kings, but this seems only based on the variant tales of a single god appearing in different periods, and so obliged when reduced to a mortal by the Euhemerists about 1050, to be made a series of different persons.

86 O'Curry: "Manners and Customs," II, p. 366, he is probably Garad Glundubh, whose son, Aed, urged Cairbre Liffechar to depose Mogh Corb and so brought about the disastrous battle of Gabhra and the ruin of the Fiana.
it the pleasant smell; she makes her wreath of its flowers.\textsuperscript{86} She, Cleenagh and Aibhell (Cliodnagh, Aibhinn) repel the demons of disease from the sick in one poem.\textsuperscript{87} The local procession on St. John’s Eve (after looking for the moon, lest they should not be able to find their way homeward)\textsuperscript{88} went round the hill to the little mound of three persons,” and then went down to visit the village meadows and cattle for luck.\textsuperscript{89} Some girls, who stayed behind one night, saw an apparition of Aine, who asked them to leave the ridge, which she showed them was covered with troops of fairies, who used to make a similar procession after the mortals descended. Aine (as we saw) was mother, according to some, of Geroid Iarla, by the Earl of Desmond. Geroid rides over the moonlit waters of Loch Gur till his steed’s silver shoes get worn out. She owned a red bull, which lived with her in the hill, and she, or the “Cailleach Bheara,” made the Cassan, or rude crossing, of the Cammogue stream to the east of the hill.\textsuperscript{90}

O’Donovan, in the Ordnance Survey Letters,\textsuperscript{91} while deeply interested in the accurate description in the Mosca Ulad of the view from its summit, did not attach any importance to the remains, which, indeed, an untrained or careless antiquary might easily pass by without seeing. On the eastern summit is Aine’s cairn, a very defaced mound of earth and stones, 6 feet to 11 feet high, with the centre dug out, and from 48 feet to 55 feet across. It lies beside

\textsuperscript{86} See an able paper by David Fitzgerald (1876-1879), Revue Celtique, vol. v. pp. 185-191; also vol. xiii, p. 435; also Proc. R. I. Acad., xxxiv, p. 59, and Nicholas O’Kearney, in Introduction to “Feis tighe Chonain,” pp. 93 and 169, and in R. Soc. Antt., Ir., vol. ii, p. 32. Some of these legends were told to me, further north in the county, about Attylie, between 1868 and 1875. For the general subject of fire festivals and rite, often strikingly like those at Knockainey, see “Balder the beautiful” (Frazer), vol. i.

\textsuperscript{87} Poem of 1737 in Int. “Feis tighe Chonain”; also Atlantis II, p. 234.

\textsuperscript{88} At the great abbatis-girt fort of Ballykinvarga, near Kilfenora, Co. Clare, the “Fair field” (where the market was held, which gave its name, Cenn Margaid, to the place) possessed the power that any benighted wanderer who entered its precincts could not get away till dawn.

\textsuperscript{89} Social Hist. Ireland I, p. 239, p. 282; “Echtir Airt mac Cuinn, Book of Fermoy,” p. 139). Dr. Joyce, unfortunately, endeavours by very uncritcal special pleading to deny the occurrence of human sacrifice in Ireland because of the silence of the late “Tripartite Life” and “Four Masters.”

\textsuperscript{90} Described and illustrated by Mr. H. Saxton Crawford in R. Soc. Antt. Ir., xi, vii, p. 82.

\textsuperscript{91} MSS. R. I. Acad., 14 E 9, vol. i, p. 229; also pp. 256, 257.
an artificial hollow (from which its material was probably taken) at one of the great rock ribs of the hill. A slight trace of a hollow and of an enclosure of doubtful age lies near the cairn, which commands a broad noble view from the hills beyond the Shannon, in Co. Clare, and Slieve Phelim and Knockferrina round to Slievereagh and the Galtees. Of the *Echlasa* pillars no trace remains, they, probably, were taken for lintels when the church and castles were built, like the pillars at Dunnamo fort in Mayo, or Dunmoylin near Shanagolden, in Co. Limerick. At Carnelly, Co. Clare, the pillars from an earthen ring were moved, but lie stacked beside the mound. The conjoined rings are locally called Dunainey and, in at least 1879, were called *Mullach cruach in laimhre leab an triuir*, or “mound of three persons,” like the *Tulach an trier*, or mound of the three fairy youths, at Tara. It was the focus of the procession on St. John’s Eve; thus we hear of the “Rath of Incantations” and the “Mound of the druids” (*dunna na ndruad*) and of “the hosts that go round the cairns” and the *deisiol* (sunward turn) around the Brugh, in old Irish documents. It is a very interesting remain and, in any country but ours, would be valued as a national monument. It differs from the Cooloughtragh rings in being a work of the “Rath-narrow type,” low rounded mounds in a fosse, and hardly rising over the field level. There are three of these measuring over the mound (S. to N.) respectively 33 ft., 36 ft., and 36 ft., or 63 ft. to 54 ft. over all, with 12 ft. interspaces and not quite in line though the axis, like that of Cooloughtragh mote, lies roughly N. and S. A fence cuts through the northern conjoined mound. The most northern member is 27 feet from the three mounds and, unlike them, is a small cairn in a ring, the mound is 6 ft. thick and 63 ft. over all, the cairn only 4 ft. high and 18 ft. through, it is probably the cairn connected with Uainide in the oldest poem. It is well described in the note on monuments in the Book of Lecan (f. 258): “a small rath was raised round the corpse with a leacht or cairn.” The rings are deliberately dug on a slope along the edge of the plateau on

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95 The “deisiol” of Tara lay between two cairns. (Rennes Dind Senchas, Rev. Celt. xv. p. 288) which lay N. and S. from each other.
97 If they had an outer ring it may have 3 feet wide.
which Aine's cairn stands just 100 feet away. By a strange oversight O'Donovan did not see the remains north of the fence, he only mentions the cairn, the rath, and "two small mounds, evidently sepulchral." He adds that "Aine was still supposed to haunt the hill in the shape of a banshee" in 1840. He was certainly most careless about "mere earthworks."

The ring fort (perhaps the dun of King Conall Eachluath, A.D. 370, repaired by King Brian, 1002-1012) is defaced, of red friable earth. It lies, beyond the old crag road, on the west brow of the long ridge above the woods of the O'Grady's demesne, Kilbally-owen. It may be the work attributed to Eogabal at the west of the ridge. It is oval, about 125 feet across N. and S., 108 E. and W., 177 feet over all; the ring is fairly complete to the N. and S., but a fence is cut across it, the garth is 5 feet above the field, the ring and fosse are 12 feet to 18 feet wide, but the latter is nearly destroyed save to the north. In its bottom is a spring in a rock-cut tank overgrown with water plants.

There is a trace of a levelled ring wall (perhaps that of Fer Fí, in the poem) behind the house on the southern slope, beside Bohernaskaw, the old by-road, "of the thorn bushes," from the ancient fairgreen towards Bruff. Below, the marshy fields and trenches mark the lake of Ainey, which is mentioned in the Anglo-Norman records down to 1324.66

The well south from Aine's cairn, above the fair green, is curious; it lies on a steep slope and the rectangular cleavage of the rock ribs makes it very regular. It is partly fenced by great blocks torn out of the crag, and has only a small outflow even in the wet week of my last visit to the site.

The Casán is a curious rude bridge, or causeway, of large blocks, across the Cammoge.67 The stream has, like the Saimer or "Morning Star" River, a wide channel, but is reduced to a

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66 It is obscured in several modern copies which give "Duy" for "Any." (Grossi Fines Roll No. 14).
67 Journal R. Soc. Antt., Ir., xlvii, p. 82.
mere brooklet by drainage and the cutting of the great tangle of oak forests on the plain and mountain flanks of its feeding-grounds, the great mountains. These woods are named from the reign of Medbh, if the Mesca Ulad be correct, down to the days of the Down and Civil Surveys in 1655. 98.

Of other evident sanctuaries there is but little trace to our present knowledge. The Strickeen Cairn of Knockfirina 99 is certainly the sídh of Donn; the fine mound on Cromwell Hill, once called the Sideán of the Fians; the cairn of Carnarry 100 may be the sídh of Fearadach, whose personality however is very misty. The sídh of Cliu probably lay at the Galtees, and there is trace of another sideán (sheeauin), if the statement be reliable, that the true name of Mount Zion in this county is Cnoc Sideán. 101 We are only at the beginning of the study and much has to be found in our ancient literary sources, and much, doubtless, on the ridges and plains of Cliu Mhail mhic Ugaine and central County Limerick.

CORRIGENDA.—Supra p. 148: for "not common" read "not uncommon"; for "Gillacholman" read "Gillachoeman."

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100 It was a favorite fighting place and the north meaning of the Dalcassian territory. See Chron. Scotor, A.D. 627, 837.
101 So far, besides the remains near Monasteranenagh marking Oenach Cairbri, or Oenach Beag (and perhaps the sídh or Ceannduin of Asal, being in that ancient territory), I only recall small tumuli near the Cork border to the S.W. of Kilmalloch, Ludden, and ones near Patrickswell, at Greenmount, and at my old home Attyfin, well remembered by the peasantry fifty years since, but levelled about 1850.