NOTES ON THE ANTIQUITIES AROUND KILFENORA AND LEHINCH, CO. CLARE.

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(Continued from the Journal of the LIMERICK FIELD CLUB, vol. iii, p. 212.)

The Limerick Field Club having divided its functions and blossomed into two independent societies, we think it better to recast the intended conclusion of our paper on the antiquities about Lehinch so as to form a separate account of the antiquities round Kilfenora, and thence to the district round Lehinch which we left undescribed. This will obviate the necessity of placing a fragmentary survey in the forefront of a new journal, and yet will sufficiently complete its otherwise unfinished predecessor. Like the others of the series it is intended largely for the use of sojourners at the health resorts of Clare. In this case the district described is equally accessible from Lisdoonvarna, Lehinch and Miltown, and indeed can easily be done on single days from Ennis, or from Limerick itself, to Ennistymon.

In an undulating plain, dominated by the great shale ridge which is crowned by the large and conspicuous fort of Doon, lies the old Sea of the Bishops of the Corcomroes. It is a very interesting task to try and trace the evolution of the regular Bishopric (such as prevailed in the Roman Empire) from the loose “sphere of influence” of a bishop in Ireland in even the 11th century. The Irish Church felt the disadvantage of its want of delimited Sees and at the Synod of Rathbreasail, early in the 12th century, endeavoured to establish such. If the abstract of the Acts of Synod given by Keating be (as we cannot doubt) fairly complete, the intention was to assign all Thomond above the limits of Tradree and Ui Aimridh to the Bishops of Killaloe, but this was not carried out. We can imagine the anxious jealousy of
the Dalcassians felt by the Conca Modruad and Conca Bhascoinn, so for
the rest of the century Scattery stood firm and covered Ibrickan,
Cloonderlaw, and Moyarta, and never to our time have the Corcomroes
failed to be a Bishopric (as a rule merged in some more powerful See),
and still maintaining its identity. The O'Conors and O'Loughlins were
too powerful, down to the Reformation, to let the Bishops of Killaloe
interfere. Pressed by the logic of its position with but few and
scattered members the State Church was forced to merge Kilfenora,
first into Tuam, and then into Killaloe, but so little claim had the See
to stand alone that the same was done by the Church of Rome. How
the Bishop was maintained at any time is hard to realise till we
consider that he was virtually Abbot first and then Bishop and
was supported by the Abbey, the dissolution of which left the
Protestant Bishops unprovided. If we ask why the Corcovaskin were
not equally successful with the Corcomroe tribes in maintaining the
existence of Iniscatha, the answer is very probably that the last
Bishopric covered unconnected tribes, the Corcomroes being a solid
group in blood and interest. Also the Norse had worn out the
Corcovaskin with raids, the Dalcassians had got much influence there
the Sees of Limerick and Ardifert weakened the central "Episcopal
Abbey" by their claims, and Bishop O'Beaghan's death in 1188 ended
the succession. Also the planting of the Leinster Ibrickan must not a
little have broken up the tribal combination and the once formidable
Corcovaskin that menaced the Eoghanacts to the east of the Fergus
about 845, when the distracted tribes of Uí Cormaic and Tradree cried
for aid to Felimy, King of Cashel, were themselves torn up and
weakened, honeycombed with intruders and of little political account
in the realm of Donalmore O'Brien.

This important monastery, the nucleus of the Bishopric of
Kilfenora, arose in the deepest obscurity. Its founder, or patron,
Fachtnan, seems to be the same as the patron of Rosscarbery, the
Bishop of Dairimis Maelmáfaidh, in Ui Cinnsealagh, the saint's day being
August 14th. If so, Fachtnan lived about the middle of the 6th
century, and Kilfenora attains a high antiquity. However, to our
knowledge it only appears in records at the date of its destruction by
the army of Murchad O'Brien in 1058. This the more noteworthy when
we consider that the monastic founders of the 6th to the 8th century in this part of Clare, Macreehy, Mainchin, Luchtighern, Findclu Inghean Baoith, Colman and Enda, have at least a definite and probably (to a large extent) authentic tradition.

Let us go back into the ages and see first what we can learn. The Corcomodruad claimed an ancestry from Fergus Mac Roigh and the great Queen Maeve. A little before our era the country was settled by Maeve with the four tribes of Huamorian Firbolgs named Irghus, Beara, Dael and Ennach. Dael’s name is connected with the Daelach, the river from Doon Hill to Lehinch still commemorated in Ballydeely on its banks. Ennach built a fort (Dun) at Techn Ennach near him. No matter how mythical the tale may be we may rest assured that the topography was accurate, and may consider that the great “Doon,” still so called, at the sources of the Daelach is the place connected with Ennach. The colonies were “wiped out” by Cuchullin and the great mythic heroes of Tara and Emania. The sons of Fergus took their place.

Kilfenora lies on the edge of one of the most important groups of early residential and sepulchral remains in Western Ireland. Neglected by the people of Clare and (in the deadness of Irish interest in our early forts and residences) little considered by Irish antiquaries, it is pleasant to be able to note how valuable the very descriptions and views of its remains seem to be held outside the kingdom. French antiquaries, at least, have not overlooked its claim to European reputation, and its forts, especially the noble Caher of Ballykinvarga, are prominently noted in the volume of the Prehistoric Congress at Autun in 1907.

BALLYGANNER. (1) In face of the full accounts, published by us in the publications of the Royal Irish Academy and the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, we will only take a general view of what may be called the ancient settlement of Ballyganner. The settlement, to judge from a number of noteworthy “cromlechs,” commenced it may be four to seven centuries before the Christian era, as these “dolmens” have yielded many proofs of dating

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DOLMENS AT BALLYGANNER.

E—Ballyganner South.
from the age of bronze. The Clare ones, including several at Ballyganner, have been chipped along the upper edges of the sides to make a more level resting place for the great cover-slabs. The largest of the dolmens, that on the hill near Ballyganner Castle, has also the interesting feature of small basins in its cover; these are known as "elf-mills" in Sweden, and offerings of milk and butter are placed in them there, and the same is done on dolmens in more Southern Europe. The Ballyganner monuments resemble those of Portugal in type, having the west-end set back so as to leave the sides projecting like the "antæ" of a classic temple. It is interesting to note that this primitive feature is reproduced in some of our earliest churches. Another Iberian feature observable is the heavy overhang of the covers like a hat-brim. This makes the Clare tombs very like the "beetle-browed dolmens" of the Peninsula. The long dolmen or "giant's grave," so frequent in Northern Europe, has no actual representative in Ballyganner, but the curious "pillared dolmen" has some affinities. This structure is of unusual length, with at least three chambers, having pillars between, rising above the level of the covers. A curious annexe, somewhat harp-shaped in plan, is attached to the northern (or rather north-western) side. With this exception the Ballyganner monuments are of the usual Clare type, boxes of slabs tapering, and the covers sloping westward, one or more stones to each side, one to each end and a cover. The great dolmen has the rarer feature of a western door once closed by a slab; this and the large size (14 ft. long by 9 to 7 ft. wide) suggest that it was used as a "family vault," as we know that later burials took place in these tombs. Save the large dolmen, the others at Ballyganner seem to have been embedded in mounds or cairns of no great height, but in some cases at least covering the top slab. Besides a doubtful and defaced cist near Noughaval, we have ruined dolmens at Ballykinvarga, Caherminnaun, Cahercuttine and Caheraneden; a curious dolmen, utilised as a souterrain, in Cahernahihoonach; perfect dolmens near the last, on Ballyganner Hill, and at Clooneen several cists and doubtful structures, including the pillared dolmen and the "hut" at Caheraneden, also remain, some 14 or 15 in all. There are at least five low mounds of earth and stones evidently sepulchral, such cairns continued to be made, with small cists, till after the beginning of our era.
FORTS. The term "fort" like that of "prehistoric" is unsatisfactory, as (like "Danish Forts," "Mediterranean Forts," and "Feudal Motes") it asserts or begs a question. We use it without asserting thereby any military usage. Our ring mounds and cahers were residential, only defensive against robbers or raiders, and were rarely so much castles as court yards in which the houses of the chief men were constructed. The retainers formed villages round their walls, as is well seen in the rocky districts here and elsewhere. The forts undoubtedly, both here and on the continent, reach in origin from the bronze age (back to at least B.C. 1100 in Eastern Europe), down to as many centuries after Christ in Ireland. Our legends, so lightly set aside by some antiquaries, at least tally with facts, as is shown by the brooch of Emania belonging to the very period assigned to that palace in our annals, and the traces of earlier rock-cut trenches under the present forts of Tara, the later earth-works being of the iron age, confirming the vague traditions of an earlier Tara before the restoration of that "city" by King Cormac Mac Airt. As to forts of later date need we reiterate that the O'Briens dug a rath of benueous circles before 1241, which was finished by King Conor (1241-1269), and that the raths and cahers, though passing out of general use in 1317, were retained down even to our time as at Caherballeeny! The O'Briens' rath at Clonroad, Caherloggaun, near Lisdoonvarna, and one of these at Ballyganner, not to speak of others, were strengthened by the building of small castles or "peel towers," the first at the end of the thirteenth century, the others nearly two centuries later. There are nearly 30 stone ring forts in this group, many being rudely built and probably comparatively late. The principal are Cahercuttine, Caherminaun and Ballykinvara. Besides these are several straight-sided bauns and forts, the chief being Caherkyletaun and Caherwalsh; caution must be used in asserting the late date of these as similar ones in Eastern Europe go back to the bronze age.

CAHERCUTTINE stands on the highest ground at the north of the group. Standing on its noble rampart, which commands a glimpse of the bay and castle of Liscannor, we see that it, Caherwalsh, Cahernaspekee, a baun, Ballyganner Castle, and the great dolmen on the hill are in line with each other, while at Cahernaspekee we
find another row of forts in an opposite direction, in line with Doon hill fort and Ballykinvarga. Cahercuttine is a finely built wall, of large flat blocks, with large filling with the usual slight slope or batter so beautifully constructed in these buildings. Inside the wall, which is 12½ feet thick and high in parts, is a very narrow terrace, a mere ledge,

whence three flights of steps, built of large blocks, lead to the summit. The gateway faced the south—it was of a type mentioned several times in our ancient literature, but not often found in our ruins, having side posts. It forms a carefully built passage, 6 ft. wide inside, but only
4 ft. 2 in. between the posts. It was entire in 1875, and I think after 1878, but the great lintels have been thrown down to admit cattle freely to the garth. The outer lintel measures 8½ ft. long, 2 ft. deep and 1 ft. thick; the others are shorter. Little trace of enclosures remain in the oval garth, which is 130 ft. to 137 ft. across the interior. Before the gateway lies a greatly injured dolmen, about 12 ft. long and 6 ft. wide, and beside the fort are a low cairn; a little ring wall with a cave or souterrain in its enclosure, evidently a large hut and a rude slab enclosure, called a "cromlech," on the maps. The fort was called Cahirnegotten, Carriowenchotten, or Cahergotten, in a patent granted to Donough, the great Earl of Thomond, in 1610. It was still known as Cahercutteen, Cathair-a-cutteen, meaning "the stone fort of the Common" of Noughaval, and is called "Knucknoktheen" in Canon Dwyer's "Handbook to Lisdoonvarna." The names Cahercutteen and Knockcutteen are not even yet quite forgotten.

BALLYKINVARGA is still more remarkable, lying (as so often with these forts) in low grounds, commanded (to our ideas of defence) by a neighbouring ridge. It also is a finely built wall with slight batter outside, and with two terraces, but no visible steps. The gate, with a massive lintel, 7 ft 9 in. long, and 16 in. by 3 ft., is intact, facing the south, and there are numerous enclosures in the garth, which is oval, 135 ft. by 155 ft. across. The wall is 14 ft. thick at the gate, and 15 to 16 ft. high. It has those curious upright joints probably representing work by different gangs. The most remarkable feature is, however, a surrounding abatis, or defence of pillar stones. This is only found in Ireland at the great Aran forts of Dun Aenghus and Dubh Cathair, and Dunamoe in County Mayo. Much slighter lines of pillars occur in two Scotch forts, one in Wales, others in France (the fine promontory fort of Castel Coz, now destroyed), Switzerland, and Mohne Island in the Baltic, off the Russian coast. That at Ballykinvarga is more elaborate even than those in Aran—it consists of a belt of jagged pillars, 3 ft. or 4 ft. high, with sharp spikes set between. The band is 50 ft. wide, but another crescent-like section, less thickly set than the former, and 50 ft. thick at the centre, has been added to the east; outside is a kerb of square blocks and pillars, one of the latter is 7 ft. high and 2½ ft. thick. Such pillars near forts are mentioned in
PLAN OF CAHER, BALLYKINVARGA.

GATEWAY, BALLYKINVARGA.
several ancient Irish books. There is a walled passage leading through it to the gateway from the right. Such inclined approaches are not uncommon even in the great citadels of earliest Greece, they were probably intended to expose the unshielded side of any approaching warrior to the garrison, and may also in Ireland (where the "desiul," or lucky turn, sunward, was an important observance) have enabled friendly visitors to make a "luck-bringing" approach. There is also a spring near this passage among the pillars. Coins of Alexander, King of Scotland, and Edward II. have been found in the abattis. (2)

The other circular cahers are plain ring walls; only four are of much note. Cahernabihoonach (3) is coarsely built with upright joints. It is only notable for the fact that it embeds a typical dolmen into which a narrow passage leads through the wall. Near this fort is a nameless enclosure called by us the cairn-caher. It is a large irregular oval with a lintelled gateway and a small ring wall inside. Caherninaun has four gateposts and two flights of steps, another at the west-end of the "castle ridge" has the foundations of a gateway splaying widely inward, and a curved fine souterrain, with a cornice of projecting blocks under its cover slabs.

The oblong forts of Kyletaan and Caherwalsch are of large and excellent masonry. The former measures 105 by 170 ft. and was called Cahermare, Carrowmare or Keiltarne in 1712. The other seems to have no old record unless it be the Caherpollia or Fahaffane, near Lismoher, in 1624 and 1655. It measures 162 by 156 feet, and has many house sites and enclosures in and around it.

ROADS AND HUT SITES. There are traces of several ancient roads formed by removing the top layers of the crag. One runs from Caheraneden to a fallen dolmen, the other northward past the cairn, baun and fort of Cahernaspekee, with a side branch at right angles, past the north of that fort to a hut site on the ridge near the pillared dolmen.


(3) See Ancient Forts of Ireland, Fig. 13, No. 1.
There are several varieties of hut sites. Some as the last named, the one near Cahercutine and one on the hill of Ballyganner, near the lane to the castle are miniature cahers fenced with laid blocks, others as the one below Cahernabihoonach are rings of slabs set upright; square varieties of both types are also found. The slab enclosure near Cahernaspkee has a "cave," and measures 18 ft. by 21 ft., besides it is a shallow valley cleared and slightly fenced, probably the "faithe," or green of the fort. The inexplicable "cromlech" a slab enclosure 11 ft. by 10 ft. before the gate of the "souterrain" cahir in Ballyganner South may also be a hut. We have only to add that the O'Conors, the hereditary chiefs, about 1460 to 1480, built a castle inside one of the ring walls; only one angle of neat masonry, but with the features defaced and the vaults broken, remains.

NOUGHAVAVAL. Despite the modern suggestion of its name, like that of Naples and other cities and castles, "old, ages ago," Noughaval is of great antiquity. We may suppose that, as the Corcomruad tribe came under the influence of Christianity, some potent, but long-forgotten chief, ruling perhaps in Cahercutine, granted a plot of land near his fort to some missionary priest. Who the founder of the "New Monastery" (4) was is equally uncertain. His name may be preserved by

(4) We see by the "Tripartite Life of St. Patrick" and other sources that Conghabhal was a favourite term for a monastery, perhaps an allusion to the text in the Psalms, where the monks' "lot fell" in a "goodly heritage."
Tobermogua, the curious holy well, where the ancient fallen ash has emulated the poet's banyan—"The bended twigs take root and daughters grow around the mother tree"—but no St. Mogha is known to biographers.

The church possibly dates back from the 10th or 11th century. It consists of a nave and chancel, the former 53 by 21½ ft., the latter 28 ft. by 21 ft., connected by a plain but finely built semicircular chancel arch like those at Oughtmama, Dyserin O'Dea, Templebrean, in Aran, and many other early churches of the 10th and 11th centuries. The east window is ancient, its head cut out of a single block, the light has a semicircular head and is 8 in. wide. Several of the side windows are of much later date, perhaps even of the 17th century. The south door is of greater interest. It was very probably made by the skilled band of masons who built the chancel of Corcomroe Abbey, being of similar execution, dating about 1170. The design is curious. The door has a square head and tympanum, enclosed by a pointed arch, across a deep hollow moulding of which are short bars undercut, and not forming the more usual chevrons.

To the S.E. is a far later oratory, with a stone roof and plain late features. It measures 20 ft. by 12 ft., a tablet remained in 1839 which we failed to find:—"This chapel was built by James Davoren, of Lisdoonvarna, who died the 31st July, 1725, aged 59 years." It is very hard to imagine, however, that the building is not over two centuries earlier; perhaps, as has been done from the days of Rameses the Great, the repairer was regarded as the builder and inscriptions were put up to that effect. (5)

Near the oratory is a curious Celtic cross set through a square hole in the slab of an open-air altar. A neat octagonal pier, reputed to be the market cross of the long vanished "town," stands near the churchyard gate. Certain marks on it were said to be used as measures for cloth and other materials sold at the fairs.

Noughaval probably appears first in church records as the "New Chapel" of the Papal Taxation of 1302. It is called Nuoghevaell in 1584. The church was in ruins in 1615; it was called Teampull na h-Uachombhála in 1639. Patterns were then held at it on the 10th of February. Some supposed the saint to be the same as the patron of Kilmoon, but this seems to have been named "Kilmugown" in 1302, and the name-difficulties are great, and we think impossible to make into the name of "Muadan." The earthen fort, near the cairn on the hill, to the west of Noughaval, is called Liskeentha, and fairy music is stated to have been heard from it in comparatively recent years. Another levelled fort near Ballykinvarga bears the name of Kileameen, and contains a graveyard with curious tombs, like early cists, made of slabs set on edge, evidently a late Christian survival of the early monuments. (6) It is similar to the kerbed graves which we find at Templebrecain, Aran, the Sandhill Cemetery in Inishere, and other early sites.

To conclude, rather than complete our notes—hardly a trace remains of the Castle of Caherminaun, "kid's fort," on a steep rock south from Ballykinvarga. It was founded by Turlough O'Brien, or Murrough mac Teige, according to the "List of Castle Founders" (7) and was owned by Teige mac Murrough O'Brien in 1584. A little later it was held by a gang of robbers who brought in spoil from the surrounding country. The nuisance was abated by the operations in 1599 under Dillon and the Earl of Thomond, who expelled the "undesirables" and restored the proper owners. Ten years later James I. granted it by Patent to the Earl Donough, and Teige O'Brien with Hugh O'Connor held it during the civil war, in which Teige is said to have borne arms against the English in 1642. (8)

BALLYKINVARGA, the town at the head of the market, Baile cind Mharghaid is named in the O'Brien's rental usually dated about 1380 or 1390, but which some consider of much later date. Donough O'Brien held it with Caherminaun, 1641-1655, in the latter year a fort named


(7) Castle Founders List in Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum (Ed. Standish Hayes O'Grady) Nos. 87-120.

(8) Depositions, Co. Clare, p. 28.
Caher Loglin, in East Ballykenuarga, is named it was very probably the
great caher of the pillars, the name may be an early example of
the deceptive Caher Lochlannach now getting so common, but
more probably it is the personal name Loughlin or O'Loughlin.

Ballyganner, though probably an important centre of the O'Conors
of Corecomroe, shares the dense historic obscurity of the neighbouring
lands. It is called Ballhanire, and given as the property of Sir Donell
O'Brien in 1584. Its occupant, James Oge Mac Casey, was accused of
having slain the Steeles and other English settlers in the Rising of
1641. (9) In 1641-50 it was held by numerous persons—2 Mac Casheas,
4 O'Flanagees, or Clanichies, 5 O'Davorens, including Giollananaeae
(whose curious partition deed of Cahermaunaughten between his sons
is so remarkable as elucidating the arrangements of an inhabited caher in
1675), Donough O'Brien and Dermot O'Conor. There were then evidently
3 holdings in Ballyganner North, 13 in Ballyganner South and 14
in Noughaval, which makes it remarkable how few structures of later
periods than the forts are traceable. Perhaps the houses were of earth
and timber as was so usual in the time of the Stuarts, and were crowded
round Noughaval and the castles. Ballyganner Castle was broken down
about 1655 and was a shattered ruin at the time of the Survey
of "1675," when it, Ballyhomulta and Creggane Cloggine, were held by
Captain Thomas Walcott, an old Cromwellian officer, whose chequered
and troubled career would afford the subject for a far from uninteresting
paper by itself.

As to the name Ballykinwarga and its implied fair or market—
there are numerous house foundations, and the track of an old
road where the Noughaval road dips down a steep hollow near Cahermi-
minane. I heard it vaguely suggested that there was a fair green there,
but how far suggested by the townland name, or how far genuine, I was
unable to test.

The once massive fort of Caherlaherta, beside the new road from
Kilfenora to Noughaval, recalls that its name "Caherlaherty";
was applied in the middle of the last century to the Caher of Ballykin-
varga. (10) So also I heard the name Cahernaspekee applied, in 1895, to

(9) Depositions, Co. Clare, p. 46.
(10) By "S. F.," "Dublin University Magazine," XLI., p. 505.
that fort. With regard to the last, Mr. O'Dea, of Ballygannen Castle, assures me that the field called Park Cauhernaspekee, lies, not near the fort so called on the Ordnance Survey Map, but away to the N.E., beyond Caheraneden. He also gave me the name "Cahernahbihoonach," the thieves caher, to the ring wall enclosing the dolmen.

Though we fear that to those only interested in detailed and stirring history, or picturesque folk lore, this section of our paper may prove dreary reading, we give it to impress upon others of wider interests what lies ready for study, close to the pleasure resorts of Lehinch and Lisdoonvarna. In any other country the fame of such a group of early remains would be spread abroad both in noble histories and numerous handbooks. It is indeed a place of deep fascination—so weird, so outworn, so full of the poetry of death and desolation, that it seems to utter the haunting song that the fairies sang over the cromlech-bridal-bed of Dermot and his loved Grania—

"We who are old—old and gray—oh, so old!
Thousands of years—thousands of years—if all were told,
Give to these children, new from the world, silence and love
And the long dewdropping hours of the night and the stars above."

For, restful indeed, and a possession for after days, is the lonely place of the grey crags—brightened by the blue gentian, the violet, the bedstraw, and the cranesbill, sweetened by the primrose or the wild rose, as the year goes by—between the ivied ruins
and wind-bent trees of Noughaval and Ballyganner. Strange, too, are the contrasts and full of suggestion; the great dolmen, alone on the craggy hill, with its bright outlook—

"Not neath the domes, where crumbling arch and column
Attest the feebleness of mortal hand,
But in that fane most Catholic and solemn,
Which God hath planned."

the lonely resting place of some proud chief—the crowded graves, heaped with skulls, bones and coffin planks, where, with the communism of another faith, the later chiefs and their followers were laid together in death under the shadow of the churches of Kilfenora and Noughaval. Could a few visitors, wearied of the monotony of the hotel life, spare a day for the most characteristic store house, full of object lessons from all periods of Irish history, we believe they would be well rewarded. Despite our efforts we are sure that much remains to be seen by fresher minds and eyes, and the problem of this far-reaching settlement may be better resolved than we have been able to do in this paper. (11)

(11) I have to thankfully acknowledge the loan of the blocks of Noughaval Church interior and Ballykinvara Fort by the Royal Irish Academy, and of the line blocks and plans by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)