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The Burial-Place of St. Fanchea

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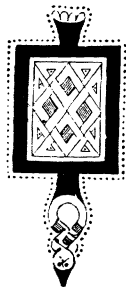


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The Burial-place of St. Fanchea.

FUINSHEOG, KILSLAUGHTERY, OR KILLANY?



IN this article I do not lay claim to be able to settle finally the location of St. Fanchea's burial-place. I merely desire to contribute to the discussion a few arguments which appeal to me, and also to show that, while the claims of Funsheog and Kilslaughterery have been put forward with great force and clearness, many arguments in favour of Killany have been entirely lost sight of.

Killaine, Fanchea's burial-place, is usually described as being near Sliabh Breagh (ad radices Montis Breagh). The first step in the discussion, therefore, is to settle the location of Sliabh Breagh. Both Fr. Lawless and Fr. Gogarty undertook to do this, but while the former located it near Collon, the latter, with the hand of a Thaumaturgus, removed it to Clogherhead. I am of opinion that both were right and both were wrong. They were right when they asserted that the mountains of Collon and Clogherhead were part of the territory of Sliabh Breagh, but in trying to confine the territory of Sliabh Breagh to South Louth, they made a mistake.

Before dealing with Sliabh Breagh, it will first be necessary to fix the extent of the territory of Magh Breagh from which Sliabh Breagh took its name. The exact limits of Magh Breagh cannot at the present day be determined. Like all the other territories of ancient Ireland, it increased or diminished according to the success of its rulers. That its ordinary limits were Annagasson on the north and Killanny on the west, can, however, be easily shown, and I can prove that, at times, it extended as far north as Sliabh Fuaid.

The first information we get as to the formation of this territory is that given in the annals of Tighernach, where we learn that Tadhg son of Cian MacCainte got all the land from near Dromiskin in Co. Louth to Cnoc Maeldoid at the Liffey. Keating gives us the same information. In O'Curry's *Manners and Customs* we are told that the little stream which after dividing off the baronies of Louth and Ardee, and forming the northern boundary of Gernonstown parish, flows by Drumleck and Castlebellingham into the sea at Seabank, was the boundary of this territory—a boundary which existed in legendary Milesian times. It is to be noted that this stream encloses Fir Rois and Killanny.

Concerning the increase of this territory, we get valuable evidence from Conaill MacGeoghegan, translator and part-compiler of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, who lived early in the sixteenth century and who had access to all the bardic annals and genealogies then existing. In a note concerning the battle of Righ (A.D. 778), where several of the O'Kellys, chiefs of Magh Breagh, fell, MacGeoghegan says:

"To the end that readers may not be ignorant of Moy Brea (Magh Breagh) and the inhabitants thereof, I will, in a few words, show the bounds thereof, and to whom it was allotted. Dermott MacKervell, king of Ireland, of whom mention was made in this history, had to issue Hugh Slane, Colman Mor, and Colman Begg. To the race of Hugh was allotted this Moyvrey (Magh Breagh), extending from Dublin to

Bealaghbrick westerlie of Kells, and from the Hill of Houthe TO THE MOUNT OF SLIEW FWAYDE (SLIAB FUAO) IN ULSTER. Of king Hugh, his race, there reigned, as monarchs of this kingdom, nine kings, as shall be shewed when I come to the place where remembrance ought to be made of them. There are many other princes of Moyvrey (Magh Breagh) besides the said kings, and because they were nearer to the invasions of the land than other Septs, they were sooner banished and brought low than others. The O'Kelly of Moyvrey was the chief of that sept, although it had many other names of by-septs, which, for brevity's sake, I omit to particulate."

According to this account, during the reign of Aedh Slaine, Magh Breagh embraced all Louth and parts of Meath, Monaghan and Armagh. It included all the Fir Rois territory in which Killanny is situated.

Other testimony we have concerning the extent of Magh Breagh. In the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 322. there is the entry :—"Fiacha Sraibhtine slain by the three Collas in the battle of Dubchomar in Crioich Rois in Breagh." Here we are told expressly that the territory of Crioich Rois was in Breagh, and we know that Killanny was in the Crioich Rois territory. Dubchomar (Dub-cumar) means the "Black confluence of waters." There is a place in Inniskeen parish called Comraghs (Cumracas), but I think that 'Dubchomar in Crioich Rois' refers to the junction of the Glyde and the Lagan near Thomastown, not very far from Killanny.

The territory of Magh Breagh seems, for a time, to have included the district of Mughdorna or Cremorne in Co. Monaghan. In the year 807 the Four Masters note that Cearnach MacFlaithri, lord of Mughdorna in Breagh, died. In 836, we are told, a battle was gained in Mughdorna-Breagh by the men of Breagh over the foreigners. In 847 Maclbreasil, son of Cearnach lord of Maghdorna-Breagh, was slain by the Danes.

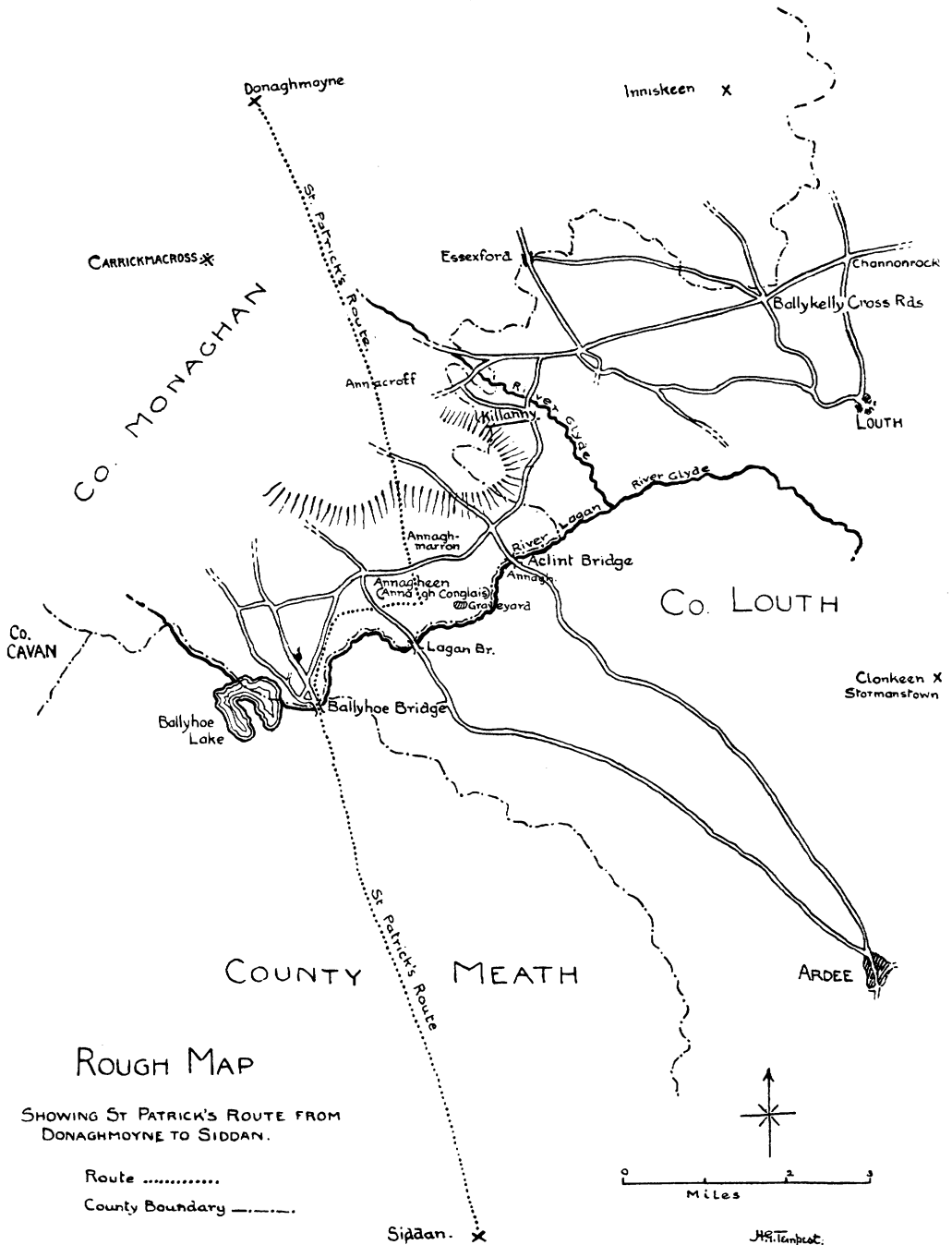
From these entries as well as from numerous others, I have come to the conclusion that the northern boundary of the ancient territory of Magh Breagh was the river Glyde, that this territory included the Fir Rois, and that, at times, owing to the success of the men of Magh Breagh, it was extended so as to include all Louth with portions of Monaghan, Cavan and Armagh.

Having thus settled the position of Magh Breagh, our work with Sliabh Breagh will be much easier. My opinion, which I shall substantiate by numerous arguments, is that the territory of Sliabh Breagh was coterminous with that of Magh Breagh. Fr. Lawless and Fr. Gogarty, will, I think, readily admit this contention. In the 1907 number of the Journal Fr. Gogarty called Sliabh Breagh a territory, by which he seems to have implied that it was synonymous with Magh Breagh. Fr. Lawless, in his first article on this subject (*L.A.J.* 1906, p. 55) made the same implication. In any case I think that they will, at least, be prepared to admit the name "Sliabh Breagh" referred to all mountains in the territory of Magh Breagh, in which case the phrase "ad radices montis Breagh" would simply be a euphuism for the outlying portions of Magh Breagh.

Lest, however, there may be any room left for objection, I will prove my contention that Magh Breagh and Sliabh Breagh were names given to the same territory, at least, as far as Co. Louth is concerned. The word SLIAB does often denote a chain of mountains, but more frequently it denotes a long stretch of moorland, whether mountain or plain.* The name is applied to numerous territories in Ireland, and in a large number of these territories there are practically no mountains. In ordinary usage among Irish speakers it often denotes everything that is not arable land. Father Dinnen tells us that in Kerry, SLIAB implies lowlying land. The term is now suitably applied to a territory in which mountain and

* Vide Dinneen, Joyce, and O'Brien.

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moorland are well blended. Hence, scarcity of mountains in any part of Co. Louth is no argument that that part of the county was not in Sliabh Breagh. Positive proofs there are, also, that the name Sliabh Breagh was not confined to one mountain nor even to one range of mountains in south Louth. Father Lawless showed clearly that the name was applied to two ranges—that between Mount Oriel and Drogheda, and that between Collon and Slane. Fr. Gogarty demonstrated that the name was applied to the mountains around Clogherhead. The entry quoted by Fr. Lawless from the Annals of Loch Cé shows that Sliabh Breagh extended as far north as Ardee. The entry is:—"The Earl was that night at Ardee, by the side of Sliabh Breagh." All this proves that the term Sliabh Breagh could be applied to any part of south Louth as far north as Ardee. This brings it within about eight miles from Killanny. But we can do better still. In the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 513, we have the following entry:—"The battle of Dedna in Droma Breagh, by Muirheartach Mac Earca, where Ardghal son of Conall son of Niall was slain." O'Donovan identified Dedna as a place in north Meath just at the junction of Meath and Cavan. Now, where Meath adjoins Cavan it also adjoins Louth—four counties, Louth, Meath, Cavan and Monaghan, practically all meet at the ford of Bellahoe. The ridges, just beyond Bellahoe, can be seen from Killanny. The higher portion of the ridges are not four miles from the latter place, and there is a gradual rise in the ground from Killanny to Bellahoe, so that anyone who cycles along the road between the two places will have no difficulty in saying that the roots of Droma Breagh extend as far as Killanny. The ridges of north Meath are certainly nearer to Killanny than the range between Collon and Slane is to Funshog.

Now, while my opinion is that the names Sliabh Breagh and Magh Breagh are synonymous, it may possibly be that Sliabh Breagh refers only to the mountainous district of Magh Breagh. Even in this case, as we have seen, Killanny is on the very borders of the mountainous territory. Anyone who takes up a map of Louth, Meath and Monaghan, and looks at the territory of Magh Breagh, will have no difficulty in marking off the hilly portion. It extends all through south Louth and through the northern portion of Meath. It extends into west Louth at Clonkeen, and again at Bellahoe it just touches Louth. It continues, too, in Killanny parish. The hills grow smaller and smaller as they approach Killanny itself, but, none the less, Killanny may appropriately be said to be "in radicibus montis Breagh." The names of the townlands in the little parish of Killanny show that only in that parish do the ridges of *Ṫrom-a-breagh* cease their course—Druimever (*Ṫruim-Eibir*=Ever's ridge); Druimgeeny (*Ṫruim-geaoinéaló*=the ridge of the weeping); Drumturk (*Ṫruim Turc*=the wild boar's ridge); Drumhaskett (*Ṫruim hearcail*=the ridge of the storms); Radrumskeen (*Raé-Ṫrom-a-rcine*=the fort of the sharp ridge); Mallachmin (*Mullaé Mí*=slender peak); Mullaghmacateer (*Mullaé-mic-an-ṫraoir*=the carpenter's peak); Shanmullagh (*Sean Mullaé*=the old peak); Tullynaskeagh (*Tullaé-na-rcéige*), &c. Hence, the position of Sliabh Breagh does not prejudice the claims of Killanny any more than it does those of Funshog or Kilslattery.

There was one argument used by Fr. Lawless with which I did not deal, as the subject requires a whole article to itself. However, it will do no harm to touch upon it here. He says that at the Council of Rathbreassil, Sliabh Breagh was fixed on as the southern boundary of Armagh diocese. Fr. Lawless must know that in bringing forward this argument he is using a two-edged weapon, which is more likely to cut himself than anyone else. The Synod of Rathbreassil was held in 1118, at which time Louth was not part of Armagh diocese, and hence the decree of the Synod is an argument against Fr. Lawless. Louth and Clogher formed one diocese until the thirteenth century, and hence, in 1118, the portion of Sliabh Breagh referred to by the Synod of Rathbreassil cannot have been in south Louth. Until

the beginning of the eleventh century we had no diocesan boundaries in Ireland as we have them at present. The jurisdiction was attached to the abbot—not to the bishop, and the abbot was usually united with the monastery and the clan. Very often the abbot was also a bishop, but sometimes he was not, and in the latter case, the bishop, while highest in orders, had no jurisdiction and simply lived in the monastery, performing the duties of his office in the same manner as the porters, lectors, priests, and those of other orders performed theirs. Before the Synod of Rathbreasil there was a tendency in Ireland to change this state of affairs and to bring the church organisation of the country into harmony with that of the rest of the Catholic world. The Synod of Rathbreasil took the matter up, and Ireland was divided into two provinces, in each of which were placed a number of bishops with territorial jurisdiction. Our diocese was sometimes called “Louth,” sometimes “Clogher,” and sometimes “Louth or Clogher.” Within thirty years from the time at which the Synod of Rathbreasil was held, Edan O’Kelly, bishop of Louth and Clogher, played a foremost part in the ecclesiastical history of the country. He helped to found the monastery of Louth and the monastery of Cnoc-na-Seangan. If Louth had been placed in Armagh diocese in 1118, how did it come to be under Edan O’Kelly before 1140? Louth seems to have been the ordinary name of Edan O’Kelly’s diocese. The diocese evidently was formed around the ancient monastery of Louth, and in the beginning Clogher was only an appanage of it. The Papal Legate, John Paparo, came to Ireland in 1151, and in the *Census Cameralis*, made out from information supplied by him to Rome, the diocese is called Lugud (Louth), no mention being made of Clogher. At the Synod of Kells, in 1152, where Paparo presided, the following Sees are given as suffragans of the Armagh province:—Connor, Down, Louth, Clonard, Kells, Ardstraw, Ardagh, and Derry. No mention is made of Clogher, which evidently at this time was included in Louth. If my memory serves me rightly, the See is called “Louth or Clogher” in the list made out at the Synod of Mellifont in 1157. In the twelfth century, of course, the famous quarrel between the bishops of Clogher and Armagh resulted in Louth being transferred to Armagh. The decree of the Synod of Rathbreasil proves that Sliabh Breagh extended outside south Louth. The portion of Sliabh Breagh referred to in the decree was probably that portion in north Meath and south-east Monaghan, just across the Louth border. The ridges in Inniskeen parish were evidently regarded as part of Sliabh Breagh. Armagh and Clogher dioceses meet at the northern portion of Inniskeen parish, at the townland of Drumgristin. The river at Drumgristin forms a boundary, and the little island in the river—Knockedaradoagh, now in Armagh, but formerly in Monaghan—was once a bone of contention between the inhabitants of the two counties.*

* In the July number of the “Irish Theological Quarterly,” Fr. Gogarty strives to show that at the time of the Synod of Rathbreasil Louth was in Armagh diocese, but that before 1140 it was transferred to Clogher. I am sorry that want of space prevents me from dealing fully with Fr. Gogarty’s article, but I intend doing so in a future number. Those who have read the article will remember that he bases his conclusions chiefly upon two facts: (1) The existence of chorepiscopi in Co. Louth in the eleventh century, (2) the fact that Sliabh Breagh was fixed at the Synod as the southern boundary of Armagh.

Nowhere in Irish historical documents is there any proof that there were ever chorepiscopi in Ireland, but the contrary can easily be proved. The organization of the early Irish Church made their existence impossible. The jurisdiction was all centered in the abbots, many of whom, in the 10th and 11th centuries, were mere laymen. As to the position of Sliabh Breagh Fr. Gogarty should not have assumed that it was confined to south Louth. As he made no attempt to prove this assumption, he probably took it for granted that Fr. Lawless had already settled the matter in the “Louth Archaeological Journal.” Hence, Fr. Lawless used the decrees of Rathbreasil to prove the position of Sliabh Breagh, while Fr. Gogarty interpreted the decrees of Rathbreasil from the position of Sliabh Breagh. Nonne hic est circulus vitiosus?

Before examining any of the claims put forward to the honour of containing St. Fanchea's birthplace, I will reproduce the quotations upon which an examination must be based. The most important is that in which is described the dispute between the Meathmen and the Lagenians :—

" Puellae, igitur, cum ejus sancto corpore in pallio suo applicarunt in Hiberniam ; ubi duo populi scilicet Lageniensium et Mediensium erant in unum congregati ; Videntes, igitur hi populi insolitum miraculum, in seditionem versi, quisque jus sibi in corpore virginis vindicabat Sed Midenses, in veritate sanctum corpus secum deferentes, viderunt boves ante se precedentes cum tribus prefatis puellis, et sic usque ad monasterium *quod cella Aine vocatur* in vulgari pervenerunt. Hoc enim monasterium ipse Endeus quondam neophytus pro hac sorore sua aedificare incept, ibi quoque boves post tanti itineris fatigationem urinam suam de terra iterum hauserunt et ideo locus ille in Hibernico nominatur, iti etiam duo postea fontes aquarum viventium eruperunt : illo quoque monasterio corpus sanctae virginis est traditum supulturae expectans resurrectionem."

In this narrative we are told that, after St. Fanchea's body had been brought to Ireland by some of her nuns, the men of Meath and the men of Leinster disputed as to who should have the honour of having her body buried amongst them. In the midst of the quarrel, a wonderful miracle happened. The Leinstermen imagined that a vehicle, drawn by two oxen and containing the saint's body travelled into their country, while the Meathmen imagined that it was going into their country. The body was really borne into Meath territory, and remained at Cella Aine, the monastery which Enda had built for his sister.

There are a few other quotations which help to determine the location of Cella-Aine. In the life of Enda (*Acta Sanctorum*, p. 710, n. 11) we have the entry :— " Est ecclesia de Killaine ad radices montis Bregii in confinibus Ultoniae in qua colitur Sanctus Sidonius "—i.e., " the church of Killaine is at the roots of Sliabh Breagh on the borders of Ulster, and in it St. Sedna is honoured." There are two saints of the name of Sedna mentioned in the *Acta Sanctorum*, and their lives furnish us with a little more data. One of them was honoured at Killaine in Breagh, as has been stated above ; the other was honoured in Drumvicubla in Hy Cremthann (in regione Crimtanorum). The *Acta Sanctorum* tells us to carefully distinguish between the two Sednas, and it also says that Drumvicubla was only a short distance from Killaine (in vicino loco). That is another clue upon which we can work. Regio Crimtanorum, we are told, was " on the borders of Meath and Ulster."

We will now compare the claims of the three places—Funshog, Kilslattery and Killanny.

FUNSHOG.

Funshog is situated near Ardee and is in the Barony of Ferrard. The Irish word *fuinnreog* means " an ash tree " ; and the words *fuinnre* and *fuinnrean* are older forms. The Ordnance Survey Letters tells us that Funshog was also called *Teapull fuinnreoge* or Teapull Funshog. Several of the old Irish martyrologists mention *Cill-fuinnre* or Killunche in Conaille (Co. Louth) as the dwelling place of St. Nectan, supposed to have been a nephew of St. Patrick. There can be no doubt that *Cill fuinnre* and *Teampull fuinnreoge* are the same, as *cill* is an older equivalent for *teampull*, and *fuinnre* is an older form of *fuinnreog*.* Hence Funshog in the barony of Ferrard is identical with Killunche of St. Nectan. Now St. Fanchea and St. Nectan lived during the same century, and if St. Fanchea had a church at Killunche, would not the annalists have made mention of St. Fanchea in

* The name is usually spelled Cillunchi in the martyrologies, though the notes from the Lebar Brecc give Cill-Funchi. In old Irish, *ch* was often an equivalent for modern *r* preceded by a slender consonant.

the life of St. Nectan, or *vice versa*? The same annalists wrote the lives of both saints. Marianus O'Gorman commemorates Nectan and Fanchea, but he never hints that their monasteries were in the same place. The Martyrology of Cashel commemorates both saints, but carefully distinguishes the names of the places in which they lived—St. Nectan at Killunche and St. Fanchea at Killaine. The *Martyrology of Tallaght* commemorates both Enda and Nectan, but it does not say that Enda built a monastery at Killunche. All the other annalists carefully distinguish between the two places. Even Colgan, on whom Fr. Lawless relies so much, gives testimony against him. In treating of St. Nectan, Colgan says that he lived at Killunche in Co. Louth. Evidently Colgan knew of Killunche, yet, when trying to locate Killaine in Sliabh Breagh, he makes no attempt to identify it with Killunche. On the testimony, therefore, of the annalists we must decide that Funshog is not Killaine.

Fr. Lawless' chief arguments in favour of Funshog are based on the fact that it is near Sliabh Breagh, and on the similarity of the names Killunche and Killaine. The first is not an argument, as I have shown that Killany is also in Sliabh Breagh. If we accept Fr. Lawless' description of Sliabh Breagh, Funshog itself is not in that territory. Fr. Lawless limits Sliabh Breagh to the two ranges from Mount Oriel to Drogheda and from Collon to Slane. Funshog is a good many miles from the nearest point of either of these ranges—further even than is Killany from the Bregian ridges of north Meath.

His second argument, based on the similarity of names is also a failure. He says that, according to Colgan, Killaine should be Kill-Fainche, commonly pronounced Killainche. He then adds: "We may go further and pronounce it Killunche from a very common form of the saint's name, Fuinche." In this chain of reasoning there are at least three missing links. In the first place, I have not seen Fuinche given anywhere as a form of St. Fanchea's name. In the second place, the change from Kill-fainche to Killunche was an impossible one. In the third place, Fr. Lawless really had not Colgan's authority for saying that Killaine is corruptly read for Killfainche. Colgan says that *perhaps* Killaine is corrupted from Killainche. It is not an absolute statement, and, even if it were, it would be only a mere guess of Colgan's, who, as I have already shown, was no authority on Louth topography. Colgan had about as much authority for changing Killaine into Kill-fainche as Fr. Lawless had for making the further change from Kill-fainche to Killainche. Though the point has no bearing on the discussion, I do not believe that Cillaine was corrupted from Kill-fainche, but that it is just what it appears to be—CILL ENNA, St. Enda's church. As far as I can gather from the lives of the two saints, Fainchea never lived at Killaine. True, she was buried there, but, during her lifetime, she was superioress of the convent of Rossory, near Enniskillen. The fact that Killaine is called "the church which Enda had built for his sister" is the only evidence that Colgan had for saying that the church was Fanchea's, but, even here, the Latin is ambiguous, and looks very like a translation of the Irish phrase "which he built at her asking," or "which he built on her advice." Could we see the original Irish of these lives it would throw light on a good many points which are now obscure. In any case, it is not of much importance whether the monastery was named after St. Fanchea or after St. Enda. The name in the old lives is Cillaine or Cella-Aine, and it is mentioned not once, but often. Fr. Lawless' theory, that it was first called Killainche, that it was afterwards corrupted to Killiane, and that it finally got changed to Killunche is not tenable. We have to find out a place, which, during the tenth century, at the time when the lives were written, was called Killaine.

Fr. Lawless makes no attempt to show that Killunche is near Druim-mhic-Ua Blae in regione Crimthannorum. As regards that part of the requirements,

Funshog is hopelessly out of the running. I could bring forward many other arguments to show that Funshog is not Killaine, but I think that I have written enough on this part of the subject. It is better to keep a few arguments in reserve for future use. By taking away from Funshog the honour of being Fanchea's burial ground, I have not done it any injustice, as I have recompensed it by giving it the honour of having been the habitation of one of the nephews of our National Apostle.

KILSLATERY.

In the 1907 number of the Journal Fr. Gogarty attempted to show that to Kilslatery and not to Funshog should be given the honour of being St. Fanchea's burial-place. He left Killany entirely out of the reckoning. His arguments did not strike me as being convincing. In the proof which he put forth, the main point was that the legend told about the burial of St. Denis in Kilslatery is similar to that told about St. Fanchea in the *Acta Sanctorum*, that there are good reasons for thinking that the legend should not be referred to St. Denis, and that therefore it refers to St. Fanchea. The legend told about St. Denis is as follows:—On his return from Rome, instead of using the ordinary methods of transportation, he sailed into Clogherhead on a stone. When he arrived he was found to be dead, and immediately the people of Clogherhead began to quarrel with those of Termonfeckin concerning the place of his burial. Two coffins appeared, one of which was seized by the people of Clogherhead while the natives of Termonfeckin took the other. The Termonfeckin people got the right one, and they buried it at Kilslaughter. The story is undoubtedly similar to that which I have already quoted from the *Acta Sanctorum*. Fr. Gogarty, after coming to the conclusion that the tradition did not refer to St. Donnchad, made up his mind that it really concerned St. Fanchea.

The intrinsic weakness of the argument will be apparent to all. Were there no other reasons against it, the substitution, without proof, of Fanchea for Denis would leave the matter open to grave doubt. But there are many reasons against Fr. Gogarty's contention. An examination of the *Acta Sanctorum* shows that the same legend is told about at least three other saints. There was the same reason for bringing any of these Saints to Clogherhead as there was for bringing St. Fanchea. Why did Fr. Gogarty choose St. Fanchea? Even our national Apostle was made the subject of a similar story. We are told that, after St. Patrick's death at Saul, the men of Orior and the Ultonians spent twelve days preparing to fight for his body, "but on the twelfth day, as each of the hosts saw Patrick's body on a bier amongst themselves, they did not come to blows" (Tírechán). Muirchú says that the biers were drawn by two oxen. Hence the narrative is exactly the same as that told about St. Fanchea. The burial place of St. Patrick is still a matter for dispute, and Fr. Gogarty should claim the honour for Kilslaughter. The truth seems to be that the legend, in the first instance, referred to St. Patrick, and, as such, was circulated through the entire country. After a time the people of different localities applied it to their favourite local saints. At Clogherhead it was fathered on St. Denis, elsewhere, SS. Fanchea, Maidoc, Aedh, &c., were made the subject of it. We find the story occurring in the lives of saints who did not belong to Ireland—e.g., St. Anthony of Padua, St. Raymond of Pennafort, &c. Hence the similarity of the two legends is not a sufficient basis for the claim of Kilslatery.

Fr. Gogarty pretended that he had other evidence to substantiate his contention, but the similarity of the legends is his only strong point. By this one argument all the others stand or fall. Fr. Lawless has already disposed of most of them, but I would like to add a few remarks. We are told that Killaine was near Druim mhic ubla in regione Crimthannorum. Fr. Gogarty made no attempt to prove

that Kilslattery was near the territory of Crimthann. Such an attempt would have been useless as Hy Crimthann is described as "in confinibus Mediæ et Orgiellæ." He does make an attempt to identify Druim mhic ubla, but the derivation which he gives for Blackhall is too fantastic to be used as an argument.

He quotes a traditional legend concerning St. Fechin's white horse, and uses it with pretty good effect. The legend is very common throughout Louth and south Armagh, but I have always heard it related, not about Termonfeckin or St. Feckin, but about the monks of Mellifont. A few years ago the Irish version of it won first prize for the best traditional story in Irish, at one of our principal Feiseanna, and in the prize-winning version, Mellifont, not Termonfeckin, was mentioned.

Finally, Fr. Gogarty produces no evidence to show that the name Killaine was ever applied to Kilslattery or to any place in its neighbourhood. He does indeed make one attempt to connect the two names. Part of the land around Kilslattery formerly belonged to the monks of Louth, and Fr. Gogarty agrees that because Killinny or Kilenni appears in one of the Inquisitions of Louth, it probably referred to some place around Kilslattery. I have not a copy of the Inquisitions available just at present. At one time I examined those Inquisitions very closely, and, if I remember rightly, the name given there is Killinny, *alias Ballybeney*. It thus turns out that Killinny mentioned in the Inquisitions is the same as Ballybinaby, a townland in the barony of Dundalk.

KILLANNY.

I have already said that I do not lay claim to be able to prove conclusively that Killanny is the burial place of St. Fanchea, but I can put forward arguments which, if not conclusive, are sufficient to show that Killanny has stronger claims to the honour than has any other place.

I have proved that Killanny is in Magh Breagh, and that it can claim also to be near Sliabh Breagh. Its position, too, away out in the north-west corner of the territory, makes the description, "in radicibus montis Breagh" very appropriate.

The fact that the two names Killanny and Killaine are practically identical gives Killanny first claim on our consideration. Tradition, too, not vague and obscure as in the cases of Funshog and Kilslattery but a clear strong tradition, substantiates Killanny's claim. Before Fr. Lawless mentioned Funshog, or Fr. Gogarty introduced Kilslattery, Killanny was always regarded as St. Enda's monastery. In the poems of the Louth poets of the seventeenth century it is called either CILL-enna or CILL-ĒANNARÓ (Enda's church). Even the writers of the Louth Letters, in whom Fr. Lawless has so much confidence, call it *monastère CILL-ĒANNARÓ*—the monastery of Enda's church. So much for the tradition.

The existence of the old ruin in Killanny graveyard is another piece of circumstantial evidence. Its remains are 29 yards long, 12 yards broad, and part of the east gable (about eight yards long) is still standing. It appears to be pre-Norman work.

There is another proof of still greater importance. We can fix the positions of Hy Crimthann and Druim-mhic-ubla. "Regio Crimannorum est regiuncula in confinibus Mediæ et Orgiellæ"—i.e., Hy Crimthann is a small territory on the borders of Meath and Oirghialla. We are told also that Druim-mhic-ubla, the church of St. Setna, was near to Killanny. Druim-mhic-ubla appears beyond all doubt to be Figevla in the parish of Inniskeen. The three syllables of Figevla have the same sound as the last three syllables of Druimmhicubla. The townland is mountainous, and even still the hilly portions of the district are sometimes referred

to as "the ridge of Figevla," an exact translation of Druim-mhic-ubla. The next townland to Figevla is called Druimmacavoy, which may also be a corruption of Druimmhicubla. Probably the two townlands together were formerly called Druim-mhic-ubhla. At the beginning of the last century, there was an old ruin, or at least a graveyard at Figevla—a fairly good proof that it once was the habitation of some saint.

There still remains, in another passage of Colgan, a topographical reference, to satisfy which Fr. Gogarty pressed Laraghmunsey into his service. The meaning of the passage is not very clear and it is difficult to make out exactly how the place was named—whether from the cows, or from their mode of acting or from the two springs. If Fr. Gogarty's interpretation is correct, there are many places in the vicinity of Killanny which would satisfy the requirements of the passage—e.g., Toberminnen (possibly *Ṭobair-muna*), Ednamo (*Eudán-na-mbo*=the hill brow of the cows), or Mullachmin (possibly *Mullaḍ-muin*). I do not, however, believe that Fr. Gogarty's interpretation is the correct one. A close examination of the passage shows that the writer intends to explain the name Cella-Aine by means of the legend of the cows :—" . . . usque ad monasterium quod Cella-Aine vocatur in vulgari pervenerunt . . . ibi quoque boves post tanti itineris fatigationem urinam suam de terra iteram hauserunt et ideo locus ille in Hibernico nominatur." The original Irish of the passage would throw a good deal of light on its true meaning, and a pun on the name Cella Aine was probably intended—such puns on the names of places being very common in Irish legendry. The pun consists in interpreting Cella Aine either as *Cill Aine* (*Aine*, genitive of *Aineam*=a blemish), or as *Cill-Ainḡnīm* (*Ainḡnīm*, genitive of *Ain-ḡnīm*=an unmannerly deed), the church of the unmannerly deed. That such a pun is intended is proved from the fact that the writer of Fanchea's life says :—*Monasterium Cella-Aine vocatur in vulgari*," the implication being that the people had twisted the name from *Cill-Ḃannaib* to *Cill-Aine* so that it might exactly fit their story. Such fantastic explanations of place-names were very common in Irish folklore. Story-tellers with full knowledge that their etymology was at fault, used the place-names to give better effect to their stories. Sliabh Gullion derives its name from the smith Cualann who trained Cuchullin. Every Irish speaker knows this well, yet they tell stories in which Sliabh Gullion is derived as *Sliab Ḣot Fīnn*, the mountain of Finn's weeping.

After he left Co. Louth Enda founded a famous monastery in the Aran Isles, and the chief church on the islands is still called Killanny, which is pronounced in the same way as in the County Louth place-name. One of Enda's chief disciples was St. Ultan after whom another church in the Aran Islands is named. It is a curious coincidence* that the patron saint of Killanny in Co. Louth is also called St. Ultan. There is a well in the parish, Toberultan, dedicated to him, and his feast day is observed on December 5th.

There remains an objection made by Fr. Lawless in his article. He says that Killanny is accounted for by Colgan thus :—*In loco Enach-Conglais, vocato hodie Killeanach vocatur.*" I have already shown, in the article on St. Patrick, that Enach-Conglais is not at Killanny, but in the townland of Annaheen. I have also shown that when Colgan mentioned Killeanach he did not refer to the Killanny of which we are writing. Even if Killanny and Enach-Conglais are identical, it would not injure the claim of the former to St. Fanchea's burial ground.

In conclusion, I may remark that, until the limits of the different territories in which Louth participated are fixed, it is not of much use for those of us who are interested in Louth archæology to try to identify particular place-names. The

* It may be only a coincidence, but I am sure that if such a coincidence had occurred near Kilsaltery Fr. Gogarty would have built a fine argument on it.

efforts of all concerned should, I think, be directed to fixing the limits of the territories. Until that is done, very little progress can be made in identifying place-names within them. The following are a few of the territories which, at different times, shared in County Louth :—Oirghialla, Magh Breagh, Meath, Conaille, Magh Murthemhne, Cuailgne, Hy Meith Mara, Farney, Fir Rois, Ferrard, Hy Segain, etc. Where they all came in it is difficult to say. They cannot all have shared Co. Louth at the same time, and some of them must have been subordinate to others. The question can only be settled by collecting all the available evidence—that is to say, by searching out in historical documents every mention made of each of these territories, noting down that reference with its context, and then making a careful examination of the whole mass of evidence.

LORCAN p. ua mureadōaig.

PLACE-NAMES MENTIONED IN THIS PAPER, WITH THEIR IRISH EQUIVALENTS :

- Ashville (same as Funshog)—Cill-*ḡuinnre*=The church of the ash-tree.
 Annagasson—*At-na-*scarán**=Ford of the paths.
 Ballybinaby—*báile-beinne-burōe*=Townland of the yellow peaks.
 Collon—*Collán*=Hazel-wood.
 Comragh—*Cumrāca*=Meeting of the waters.
 Cremorne—*Cróic-Mugdōrna*=The territory of the race of Mughdorna.
 Drumeiver—*Drum-Eibear*=Ever's ridge.
 Drumgeeny—*Drum-*ḡaoinē* (*ḡaoinēad*)*=Ridge of the file.
 Drumgristin—*Drum-*ḡriortā**=Ridge of the burning.
 Drumleck—*Drum-teac*=The ridge of the flag.
 Dromiskin—*Drum-innircleann*, or *Drum-inearcleann*=Ridge of the pure water-(spring).
 Dubhcomair—the junction of the Glyde and Lagan. *Dub-comair*=the black confluence.
 Ednamo—*Eudán-na-mbo*=The hill of the cows.
 Drumturk—*Drum-turc*=The ridge of the swine.
 Drummacavoy—*Drumac-an-buairō*=The ridge of the victory. Possibly the same as Drummacubla.
 Drumhaskett—*Drum-h-easca*=boggy ridge.
 Fennor—*ḡinn-abair* (*F.M.*)=White field.
 Figevla—*ḡiōḡ-ḡaibte*, or *Drum-ḡiōḡ-ḡaibte*=The wood of the forks.
 Funshog—*ḡuinnreos*, *Tea'pull ḡuinnroige*, or *Cill ḡuinnre*=Ashwood.
 Gernonstown—*Báile-ḡearnóin*. The Gernons were a powerful Norman family.
 Killanny—*Cill-Eannaō* or *Cill-Eanna*=The Church of St. Enna. It is also called *Máinrcir-Cill-Eannaō*.
 Kilsattery—*Cill-rlataire*=Church of the youth.
 Knockdarada—*Cnoc-dara-daim*=The hill of the oaks of the church.
 Mullachmacateer—*Mullac-meic-an-c-ráoir*=The hill of the carpenters.
 Mullacmin—*Mullac-min*=Hill of the smooth surface.
 Rathdrumskeen—*Rat-drum-rcine*=The rath of the knife-shaped ridge.
 Slane—*Báile Slainge*. Old name given in Four Masters was *ḡearca-ḡir-ḡeic*=The graves of Fiac's men.
 Sliabh Fuaid—*Sliab ḡuaid*=Fuad's Mountain. The name is still contained in Tullyfuad—*Tutac-ḡeibhe-ḡuaid*—near Newtownhamilton.
 Shanmullagh—*Sean-mullac*=Old hill.
 Tobarminnan—*Tobar-monnam*=The kid's well.
 Tullynaskeigh—*Tutac-na-rḡeige*=Thorny peak.
 Sliabh breasg—The hill of *maḡ breasg* (The beautiful plain).