

**The Holy Wells of County Kilkenny in terms of
documentary coverage, location, ritual practice and
onomastic concept**

Volume 1

Analysis

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis represents my own work and has not been submitted, in whole or in part, by me or any other person, for the purpose of obtaining any other qualification.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Abstract

Not alone is water crucial for human existence but it is fundamental to human religious practices worldwide. This thesis examines holy-well definition which establishes that holy wells are generally natural sources of water which are situated in an outdoor setting near or beside the ruins of a local parish church. The local patron saint of the parish is normally the dedicatee of the well which is visited on the saint's feastday. The saint (50 different saints are encountered at 113 wells in Kilkenny) is deemed to be the guardian of the well and is entreated for a cure or for some other intention by local pilgrims who perform rituals, many of which are of a penitential nature. Pilgrims recite prayers, drink the water, bathe the affected body part in the water and, in most instances, the penitential exercises are as important a consideration for pilgrims as the hoped-for cure. Catholic elements such as Mass, prayers, hymns, visiting nearby church ruins are fused with beliefs and legends from a distant past such as rounding, stone-worship, tree-worship and leaving a propitiary offering, mainly a rag, on a nearby tree. It is not clear if these latter, seemingly non-Christian aspects are due to pre-Christian/early Christian inheritance (evidence for which is very limited) or to modern folk-beliefs, but the majority of the rituals appear to be Christian in origin.

The thesis examines four 'surveys' pertaining to the 183 wells of County Kilkenny which stretch in time from 1837 to 1969, namely, the early Ordnance Survey, the works of William Carrigan, the Folklore Collections and the work of Owen O'Kelly. The present survey synthesises all of these works and paints a modern picture of holy-well worship in the county by scrutinizing these and up to 900 other academic sources as well as conducting very important modern-day practical fieldwork on a representational sample of wells, while many gaps have been filled by local informants with whom I corresponded concerning wells which I did not get the opportunity to visit.

The thesis shows that it is in the nineteenth century when a considerable 123 Kilkenny wells are only first documented, with many more wells being first dated in the twentieth century, there only being a mere handful of Kilkenny wells being first documented between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries.

The holy wells are examined as onomastic entities, the various locational aspects of the wells are explored and hagiographical details of 50 saints are provided which link a saint to the vicinity of the well. The various rituals are examined in detail as are the folk beliefs and legends, both hagiographical origin legends and the more common belief legends. We also discover that the possible influence of paganism is very limited indeed, with only a few possible instances being cited countrywide, none of which relate to Kilkenny.

Not alone were holy wells visited for religious reasons but they remained a prominent element of popular medication into the nineteenth century and the examination of the 37 different ailments for which cures were sought at Kilkenny wells bear testament to this, sore eyes being the most common ailment.

It would appear for the entire time frame during which the wells are documented that the people who did so were largely antiquarian in inspiration and that the practice of visiting the wells was on the wane, so much so that although best documented in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they represent a form of ritual activity which was in decay throughout that period.

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I am very grateful indeed to my supervisor, Dr. Cathy Swift (D.Phil. (Oxon.)), of the Department of History/Irish Studies at Mary Immaculate College (University of Limerick), who, from my first contact with her in August 2013, has always been very approachable, helpful, encouraging and more than willing to share her scholarly and practical advice on multipronged areas of study concerning the holy well tradition, both in County Kilkenny and further afield.

I am also very grateful to her colleagues, Dr. Liam Chambers and Dr. Clodagh Tait, to Mary Collins, to members of the MIREC Committee who advised on an appropriate procedure and questionnaire concerning fieldwork, to Dr. Julianne Stack, to Dr. Rebecca Breen, to Nicola Synan and Sharon Barry and to library staff members at the college.

I am very indebted to all of the informants in County Kilkenny who assisted me in so many ways, those with whom I corresponded in writing, emailed, spoke to by phone and/or met personally while on fieldwork trips over fifteen separate day-long outings Noreside, mainly in the spring and summer of 2016, when some twenty-five wells were visited, and those who sent me photographs of other wells. People who assisted in this latter regard include Tim Murphy, Stephen Delaney, Gerard O'Brien, Julie Dorgan, Michael Condren, Dick Claridge, Ger Mullally, Ray Brophy, Joseph Kavanagh, Mairéad Phelan, Tom Foley, Gavan and Dermot Kearney, Joe Kennedy and William Murphy. The informants (who are generally in the 55–85 age-bracket) gave generously of their time, allowed me to visit their homesteads when visiting as many wells as I could, and their descriptions of the wells, many of which are now in a very neglected state and are in danger of being lost, are especially timely and valuable.

Many thanks are due to the genial and very helpful John Kirwan, consultant archivist at St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny, who, over four two-day-long visits, made the 167 unpublished manuscript notebooks of Revd. William Carrigan available to me, and to fellow Kilkennian scholar, Dr. Fearghus Ó Fearghail, formerly of Mater Dei, who furnished me with valuable bibliographical details concerning many nineteenth-century priests, (i) who served in the Diocese of Ossory and (ii) who also contributed many articles on the antiquities of the county, including the holy wells. Revd. Ó Fearghail also facilitated my consultation of the seventeenth-century manuscript of Bishop Edmund Burke, *The Diocesan Register* (and the somewhat later entries of his episcopal successor, Bishop Troy) stored at the Ossory

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My thanks are also due to my current and former senior colleagues in the Placenames Branch, Dublin, Dr. Pádraig Ó Cearbhaill and Dónall Mac Giolla Easpaig, who kindly acted as academic referees and who wished me well, to Professor Seán Ó Coileáin, UCC, who also acted as an academic referee and with whom I corresponded from time to time, to Professor Pádraig Ó Riain, UCC, with whom I corresponded periodically on hagiographical matters (his magnificent and highly-authoritative *Dictionary of Irish Saints* has been a constant and trusty companion of mine since its publication in late 2011), to Damien Brett of Kilkenny City Library, John's Quay, to Denis Byrne of the Kilkenny City Borough Library, to Mary Cassin of the Tullaherin Historical Society, to the staff of Rothe House, Kilkenny (I remember especially here the late Edward Law with whom I corresponded from time to time and who made the numerous Grand Jury Maps of County Kilkenny available to me), to the very supportive Dr. Críostóir Mac Cárthaigh, Jonny Dillon and Claire Doohan of the Folklore Department, UCD, to Dr. Catherine Cox of the Department of History and Archives, UCD, to Dr. Bernadette Cunningham and Sophie Evans of the Royal Irish Academy, to Máire Ní Chonalláin and to Berni Metcalfe of the National Library of Ireland, to my colleague, Dr. Conchubhar Ó Cruaioich and to my former colleague, the wonderful and well-established octogenarian, Art Ó Maolfabhail, to Michael O'Dwyer, to Dr. David Woods of the Ancient Classics Department, UCC, to Paul Walsh (formerly Ordnance Survey Ireland) of the Archaeological Survey of Ireland and to his colleague, Rachel Barrett, archivist, to Professor John Sweeney of University College, Maynooth, to Dr. Ray Refausée of the Representative Church Body, to Dr. Louise Nugent, to Hew Bowers of Graigavine, Piltown, who kindly presented me with a typed copy of the Bowers' family history manuscript, to Finbar Hodge, former lecturer of Kildalton College, who furnished me with a valuable Earl of Bessborough map dating to 1847, and, to Elaine Howieson and Stephen O'Brien of the Reference Section of Cork City Library, where, during many Saturday visits, I perused, *inter alia*, O'Hanlon's *Lives of Irish Saints*, I–XI, *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* journals and many dictionaries of saints.

I am very grateful to my colleague, Aindí Mac Giolla Chomhghaill, who presented much of the work in electronic format and whose considered and highly-regarded onomastic opinion I consulted in relation to the preposterously-protean placename, Tubbernamuchthee alias Tubbernavuchthee alias Tubbernabuchthee alias Tubbernafiuchthee, to my colleague, Seán McGlinchey for his regular and very valuable electronic assistance, to Dr. Paddy Prendergast

(formerly of Ordnance Survey Ireland) of the Department of Spatial Studies, Bolton Street College of Technology, who devised and prepared four detailed maps of the wells, to Gearóid Ó Conchubhair (formerly of the Placenames Branch) who very kindly scanned the 75 photographs of the wells and prepared them for the thesis, to Áine Ní Ghadhra of UCC who typed the original lengthy database on the wells and many of the chapters, to my brother, Michael (MIC 1979–82), who often collected material from Áine, to my nephew, Patrick Daly, who accompanied me on some of the fieldwork outings, took photographs, prepared many Excel lists in collaboration with Dr. Paddy Prendergast, and whose ongoing assistance in ordering scores of books online was invaluable, to my niece, Dr. Margaret Creedon, who also assisted in purchasing many books online, to my nephew Dominic Creedon, M.A., who often asked how the work was progressing, as did my wonderful mother, Lena Daly, to other well-wishing family members, Regina (MIC 1976–9), Dominic, Grace, Tony and Aisling (MIC 1983–6), to my nonagenarian aunt, Sr. Berchmans O’Mahony of Loreto Convent, Kilkenny, to my nonagenarian uncle, Hugh Daly, who kindly paid for my third-year fees, to Yvonne O’Malley and to Mary O’Donnell.

However, I would like to dedicate this work to two people in particular, to my mother, Lena, who has been battling Parkinson’s for the past fifteen years and to my all-but lifelong brother-like friend, Dick Donovan, who became a stroke-victim in February 2015.

Would that the perceived age-old healing and restorative qualities of all the holy wells combined return them both to full physical health.

Abbreviations of sources

<i>AA Road Bk.</i>	<i>Illustrated Road Book of Ireland</i> (The Automobile Association) (Dublin, Belfast and Cork, 1963).
<i>AA Tour Guide</i>	<i>AA Touring Guide to Ireland</i> , ed. R.P. O'Beach (Hampshire, 1976).
<i>Abbeyleix Story</i>	<i>The Story of Abbeyleix</i> (An Tóstal, 1953).
<i>AClon.</i>	<i>The Annals of Clonmacnoise, being Annals of Ireland from the earliest period to A.D. 1408. Translated into English A.D. 1627 by Conell Mageoghagan...</i> , ed. D. Murphy (Dublin, 1896).
<i>AConn.</i>	<i>Annála Connacht. The Annals of Connacht (A.D. 1224–1544)</i> , ed. A.M. Freeman (Dublin, 1944).
<i>Adomnan</i>	<i>Adomnan's Life of Columba</i> , ed. A.O. Anderson and M.O. Anderson (London, New York, 1961).
<i>Agall. Sen.</i>	'Agallamh na Senórach in so', ed. S.H. O'Grady, <i>Sil. Gad.</i> I (1892), 94–233.
<i>Aher Clem. R32</i>	Grand Jury Map, County Kilkenny, R[eferece] 32, Freshford, 1817, D. Aher, H. Clements (<i>KASL</i>).
<i>Aher Clem. R33</i>	Grand Jury Map ... R33, Kilmanagh, 1817, D. Aher, H. Clements.
<i>Aher Clem. R34</i>	Grand Jury Map ... R34, Castlecomer, 1819, D. Aher, H. Clements.
<i>Aher Clem. R35</i>	Grand Jury Map ... R35, Ballyragget, 1819, D. Aher, H. Clements.
<i>Aher Clem. R36</i>	Grand Jury Map ... R36, Durrow, 1812, D. Aher, H. Clements.
<i>Aher Clem. R37</i>	Grand Jury Map ... R37, Barony of Fassaghdineen, 1812, D. Aher, H. Clements.
<i>Aher Clem. R38</i>	Grand Jury Map ... R38, Johnstown and Urlingford, 1812, D. Aher, H. Clements.
<i>Aher Clem. R39</i>	Grand Jury Map ... R39, Eirke, 1812, D. Aher, H. Clements.
<i>Aher Clem. R40</i>	Grand Jury Map ... R40, Ida, c.1818, D. Aher, H. Clements.
<i>Aher Clem. R41</i>	Grand Jury Map ... R41, Kilmacow, c.1818, D. Aher, H. Clements.
<i>Aher Clem. R42</i>	Grand Jury Map ... R42, Kells, c.1817, D. Aher, H. Clements.
<i>Aher Clem. R43</i>	Grand Jury Map ... R43, Callan, c.1816, D. Aher, H. Clements.
<i>Aher Clem. R44</i>	Grand Jury Map ... R44, Knocktopher, 1818, D. Aher, H. Clements.
<i>Aher Clem. R45</i>	Grand Jury Map ... R45, Mullinavat and Lukeswell, 1818, D. Aher, H. Clements.

- Aher Clem. R46* Grand Jury Map ... R46, Danesfort and Stoneyford, 1816, D. Aher, H. Clements.
- Aher Clem. R47* Grand Jury Map ... R47, Coolagh, Killamery, Kilmoganny, 1816, D. Aher, H. Clements.
- AIF* *The Annals of Innisfallen (MS Rawlinson B 503)*, ed. S. Mac Airt (Dublin, 1951).
- ALC* *The Annals of Loch Cé, I, II*, ed. W. Hennessy (Dublin, 1871).
- Alen's Reg.* *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register c.1172–1534*, ed. C. McNeill (Dublin, 1950).
- Anal. Hib.* *Analecta Hibernica* (1930–).
- Ann. Fern.* ‘Obligationes pro annatis diocesis Fernensis, 1413–1524’, ed. J. Ranson, *Archiv. Hib.* 18 (1955), 1–15.
- Ann. Oss.* ‘Obligationes pro annatis diocesis Ossoriensis’, ed. T.J. Clohessy, *Archiv. Hib.* 20 (1957), 1–37.
- Aongh. Ó Dál.* *Dánta do chum Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh*, ed. L. McKenna (Dublin and London, 1919).
- Arch. Ire.* *Archaeology Ireland* 1 (1987–).
- Archiv. Hib.* *Archivium Hibernicum or Irish Historical Records* (1912–).
- ARE* *Annala Rioghachta Eireann. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the four Masters, from the earliest period to the year 1616...*, I–VII, ed. J. O’Donovan (Dublin, 1848–1851).
- ASBoll.* *Acta Sanctorum*, Febrvarivs, Tomvs I, Vita I Sanctæ Brigitæ, 118–134, Ioannes Bollandvs, Godefridvs Henschenivs (Antverpiæ, 1658).
- ASE* ‘Abstracts of grants of lands ... under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, A.D. 1666–1684’, app. to Fifteenth Report from the Commissioners of Public Records of Ireland (1825), 45–280.
- ASH* *Acta Sanctorum veteris et maioris Scotiæ seu Hiberniæ*, J. Colgan (Louvain, 1645).
- ATig.* ‘Annals of Tigernach’, ed. W. Stokes (1895–7), *Rev. C* 18, 9–59, 150–197, 267–303, 374–391.
- AU* *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, I, ed. S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1983).
- AU II–IV* *Annála Uladh; annals of Ulster, otherwise Annála Senait, annals of Senait; a chronicle of Irish affairs, 431–1131, 1155–1541*, IV, Introduction and Index, ed. B. MacCarthy (Dublin, 1893–1901).
- Bailte Poist* *Ainmneacha Gaeilge na mBailte Poist* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1969).

- Ballyfoyle P&P* *Ballyfoyle past and present*. Compiled by the Ballyfoyle Foróige Club (1980).
- Ballyhale Bapt.* Parish: Ballyhale
Baptisms: 26/8/1823–4/4/1876
(NL).
- BB* *The Book of Ballymote, a collection of pieces (prose and verse) in the Irish language, compiled about the beginning of the fifteenth century*, introduction, R. Atkinson (Dublin, 1887).
- Beatha Bharra* *Beatha Bharra. Saint Finbarr of Cork: the complete life*, ed. P. Ó Riain. ITS 57 (London, 1994).
- Beatha Moch.* *Life of St. Mochuda of Lismore*, P. Power. ITS 16 (London, 1914).
- Bede* *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* written by the Venerable Bede, ed. L.C. Jane (London, 1903).
- Bessborough Map* *Maps of Estates in the County of Kilkenny belonging to the right honourable Earl of Bessborough* (Kildalton, 1847).
- Betha CC* *Betha Colaim Chille, Life of Columcille: compiled by Manus O'Donnell in 1532*, ed. A. O'Kelleher and G. Schoepperle (Chicago, 1918).
- Betha CC: Herbert* 'Betha Coluim Cille' in M. Herbert (ed.), *Iona, Kells and Derry* 218–265 (Dublin, 1996).
- Betha Chiar.* 'Betha Chiaráin tSaighre', eag. S.H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* I, 1–16 (London, 1892).
- Bethu Phát.* *Bethu Phátraic* I, ed. K. Mulchrone (Dublin, London, 1939).
- BNÉ* *Bethada náem nÉrenn/Lives of Irish Saints* I, II, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1922).
- Boazio* [Map of] *Irelande*, B. Boazio (c.1599). (PB).
- Bod. Cat.* *Catalogue of Irish Language Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Oxford College Libraries*, 2 vols, B. Ó Cuív (Dublin, 2001–3).
- Bod. Dinn.* *The Bodleian Dinnshenchas*, ed. W. Stokes (London, no date).
- Bowers Transcripts* Transcripts from "Crest and Motto of the Bowers Descended from the Ancient and Honourable family of the Bowers Shropshire England" (loaned to me, Valerie Daniels, by Hew Bowers [Graigavine] – October 2014).
[Hew informs me that the main portion of the manuscript was written around the middle of the nineteenth century. Page numbers here are to Valerie Daniels' typed version.]
- Brit. Mus. Cat.* *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum* II, R. Flower

- (London, 1926).
- BSD (KK)* Books of Survey and Distribution, County Kilkenny (*NA*).
- B. Shuibhne* *Buile Shuibhne*, ed. J.G. O’Keeffe (Dublin, 1952).
- Cal. Carew* *Calendar of the Carew manuscripts, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, 1515–74, 1575–88, 1589–1600*, ed. J.S. Brewer and W. Bullen (London, 1867–9).
- Camb. Evers.* *Cambrensis Eversus* I–III, Gratianus Lucius, J. Lynch (1662), 2nd ed. M. Kelly (Dublin, 1848–51).
- Cambr.:THEH* *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, Vol. 5, Topographica Hibernica et Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. S. Brewer, J.F. Dimock (London, 1867).
- Carlisle* *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, N. Carlisle (London, 1810).
- Carloviana* *Carloviana: Journal of the Old Carlow Society* 1 (1947–).
- Carlow Wells* ‘The Holy Wells of County Carlow’, E. O’Toole, *Béaloideas* 4, Uimh. 1 (1933), 3–23; (Cuid II) 107–130.
- Carrigan* *The history and antiquities of the diocese of Ossory* I–IV, W. Carrigan (Dublin, 1905).
- Carrigan NB* Canon William Carrigan Notebook(s).
- CDHJ* *Charleville and District Historical Journal* (1986–1992). Charleville.
- CDI* *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland, 1171–1307*, I–IV, ed. H.S. Sweetman and G.F. Handcock (London, 1875–1887).
(Vol. II, 1252–84, ed. H.S. Sweetman (London, 1877).)
- Céil Dé* *Céil Dé: Spiritual reform in Ireland 750–900*, P. O’Dwyer (Dublin, 1981).
- Cen.* *A census of Ireland, circa 1659, with supplementary material from the poll ordinances (1660–1661)*, ed. S. Pender (Dublin, 1939).
- CG* *Abstracts of Grants of Lands ... under The Commission of Grace ... 1684–1688*, ed. G. Hatchell (Dublin, 1839).
- CGG* *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh; The war of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, ed. J.H. Todd (London, 1867).
- CGH* *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae I*, ed. M.A. O’Brien (1962, Reprint 1976). (Dublin, 1976.)
- CGn.* Clárlann na nGníomhas/Registry of Deeds. (Numbers refer to volume, to page and to deed respectively).
- CGSH* *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. P. Ó Riain (Dublin, 1985).

- Cinnlae Amhl.* *Cinnlae Amhlaoibh uí Shúileabháin*, I–IV, ed. M. McGrath, *ITS* 30–33. (London, 1936–7).
- Circuit Ir.* ‘The circuit of Ireland, by Muirheartach Mac Neill, prince of Aileach; a poem written in the year DCCCCXLII by Cormacan Eigeas, chief poet of the north of Ireland’ in J. O’Donovan (ed.), *Tracts relating to Ireland* I, 24–58 (Dublin, 1841).
- Clare Wells* *The Holy Wells of County Clare*, M. Houlihan (Castleisland, 2015).
- CJR* *Calendar of the justiciary rolls or proceedings in the court of the justiciar of Ireland... I–III*, ed. J. Mills, H. Wood, A.E. Langman and M. Griffith (Dublin, 1905–1958c.).
- Clogh Ccomer Bapt.* Parish: Clogh and Castlecomer
Baptisms: 1/1/1812–2/10/1818
(NL).
- Clogh Writers* *Kilpatrick: Clogh Writers’ Anthology 2014*. (Castlecomer, 2014).
- Clyn Ann.* *The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn [1333–1349]*, ed. B. Williams (Dublin, 2007).
- COD* *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, I–VI, ed. E. Curtis (Dublin, 1932–43).
- Comerford Coll.* *Collections relating to the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin*, I, II, M. Comerford (Dublin, 1883).
- Comm. Rinucc.* *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, I–VI, ed. B. O’Ferrall, D. O’Connell (Dublin, 1932).
- Compleat Trav.* *The Compleat Irish Traveller containing A general Description of the most Noted Cities, Towns, Seats, Buildings, Loughs &c. in the Kingdom of Ireland*, [P. Luchombe] (London, 1788).
- Corkaguiney Wells* ‘The Holy Wells of Corkaguiney, Co. Kerry’, C. Ó Danachair, *JRSAI* 90 (1960), 67–78.
- Cork City Wells* ‘Holy Wells’, S. Ó Coindealbháin, *JCHAS* 51 (1946), 158–163.
- Corp. na G.* *Corpas na Gaeilge 1600–1882. Foclóir na Nua-Ghaeilge. The Irish Language Corpus* (Baile Átha Cliath, 2004).
- CPL* *Calendar of Papal Registers, Papal Letters, A.D. 1198–1521*, I–XX, ed. W.H. Bliss, J.A. Twemlow, M.J. Haren, A.P. Fuller (Dublin and London, 1893–2005).
- CPR* *Irish patent rolls of James I: facsimile of the Irish record commission’s calendar prepared prior to 1830*, introduction by M.C. Griffith (Dublin, 1966).
- Crede Mihi* “Crede Mihi”: *the most ancient register book of the Archbishops of Dublin before the Reformation*, ed. J.T. Gilbert (Dublin, 1897).
- Crown Sur., Kdare Rent.* *Crown Surveys of lands 1540–1, with the Kildare Rental begun in*

- 1518, ed. G. Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1992).
- CS I *The Civil Survey A.D. 1654–6: County of Tipperary (eastern and southern baronies)*, ed. R.C. Simington (Dublin, 1931).
- CS X *The Civil Survey A.D. 1654–6: Miscellanea*, ed. R.C. Simington (Dublin, 1961).
- CScot. *Chronicum Scotorum*, ed. W. Hennessy (London, 1866).
- Dán Dé* *Dán Dé: The poems of Donnchadh Mor O Dálaigh and the religious poems in the duanaire of the Yellow Book of Lecan* (ed.), L. McKenna (Dublin, 1922).
- Danesfort Bapt.* Parish: Danesfort and Cuffes Grange
Baptisms: 1/1/1819–13/2/1869
(NL).
- de Burgo Reg.* Registrum Diocesarum I, Thomas de Burgo (Bishop of Ossory 1759–76) (ODA).
- Dep. (KK)* Depositions, County Kilkenny (TCD).
- de Praesul. Hib.* *De Praesulibus Hiberniae ... Authore Joanne Linchaeo, nuper archidiacono Tuamensi*, I, II (1672), ed. J.F. O'Doherty (Dublin, 1944).
- DIL *Dictionary of the Irish Language, based mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials* (1913–76).
- Dinneen *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla. An Irish–English Dictionary*, ed. P.S. Dinneen (Dublin, 1927 — reprint 1970).
- Discov. Antiq.* *A short guide to Irish antiquities: sites shown on Discovery series Ordnance Survey maps*, P. Mulligan (Bray, 2005).
- Discov. Ser.* Sraith Eolais. Discovery Series. Ordnance Survey of Ireland.
- Donegal Wells* ‘The Holy Wells of Donegal’, É. Ó Muirgheasa, *Béaloides* 10 (1936), Uimh. II, 143–162.
- DS Down Survey barony maps/Hibernia Regnum, Sir William Petty (TCD).
- Duan. Osr.* *Duanaire Osraíoch*, eag. D. Ó hÓgáin (Baile Átha Cliath, 1980).
- Dublin Wells: Bran.* *Ancient and Holy Wells of Dublin*, G. Branigan (The History Press, Ireland, 2012).
- Dublin Wells: ÓD* ‘The Holy Wells of County Dublin’, C. Ó Danachair, *Report. Nov. 2*, No. 1 (1958), 68–87 (Dublin Diocesan Historical Records).
- Duiske Chart.* ‘The Charters of the Abbey of Duiske’, ed. C.M. Butler, J.H. Bernard, *PRIA* 35 C No. 1 (1918), 1–188.

- Dunne Reg.* Diocesan Register, John Dunne, Bishop of Ossory (1787–89). (*Carrigan* I 208).
- Durrow Bapt.* Parish: Durrow
Baptisms: 1/1/1789–28/2/1805, 26/5/1832–15/2/1857
(*NL*).
- East Muskerry Wells* ‘The holy wells of East Muskerry’, P.J. Hartnett. *Béaloideas* 10, Uimh. I–II (1940), 101–113.
- EC* Eugene Curry (Irish language scholar and Ordnance Survey colleague of John O’Donovan, both of whom worked on the Ordnance Survey Namebooks and the Ordnance Survey Letters).
- E1(6)* Ordnance Survey maps on the scale of six inches to one mile, County Kilkenny. First edition (*PB*).
- E2(6)* Ordnance Survey maps on the scale of six inches to one mile, County Kilkenny. Second edition (*PB*).
- E1(25)* Ordnance Survey maps on the scale of 25 inches to one mile, County Kilkenny. First edition (*TCD*).
- E2(25)* Ordnance Survey maps on the scale of 25 inches to one mile, County Kilkenny. Second edition (*TCD*).
- EIHM* *Early Irish History and Mythology*, T.F. O’Rahilly (Dublin, 1946).
- F* ‘Calendar of fiants of reign of Henry VIII, 1510–47 ... of Queen Elizabeth, 1588–1603’, app. to 7th–18th *RDK* (Dublin, 1875–86).
- Fest. Lugh.* *The Festival of Lughnasa*, M. Mac Neill (Oxford, 1962).
- FFÉ* *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn le Seathrún Céitinn*, ed. D. Comyn and P.S. Dinneen. *ITS* 4, 8, 9. (London, 1902, 1908, 1908).
- FGB* *Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla*, eag. N. Ó Dónaill (Baile Átha Cliath, 1977).
- FGorm.* *Féilire Húi Gormáin*, ed. W. Stokes (London, 1895).
- Fingallian Wells* *Fingallian Holy Wells*, P. Skyvova (Fingal, 2005).
- FNÉ* [Féilire na Naomh nÉrennach], *The Martyrology of Donegal: A calendar of the saints of Ireland*, ed. J.H. Todd and W. Reeves (Dublin, 1864).
- FNÉ(App.)* [Féilire na Naomh nÉrennach], *The Martyrology of Donegal: A calendar of the saints of Ireland*, Appendix to the Introduction xxiv–xlvii (1630c.), ed. J.H. Todd and W. Reeves (Dublin, 1864).
- FOeng.* *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé, The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, ed. W. Stokes (Dublin, 1905 — reprint 1984).
- Frag. Ann.* *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*, ed. J. Radner (Dublin, 1978).

- Freshford Bapt.* Parish: Freshford
Baptisms: 2/1/1825–28/12/1847
(NL).
- Freshford Sketches* *Historical, social and pictorial sketches of Freshford* (Freshford, 2003).
- FSÁG 1* *Foclóir Stairiúil Áitainmneacha na Gaeilge/Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames, Fascúl 1/Fascicle 1 (Names in A)*, ed. P. Ó Riain, D. Ó Murchadha, K. Murray (London, 2003).
- FSÁG 3* *Foclóir Stairiúil Áitainmneacha na Gaeilge/Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames, Fascúl 3/Fascicle 3: C–Ceall Fhursa*, ed. P. Ó Riain, D. Ó Murchadha, K. Murray (London, 2008).
- FSÁG 4* *Foclóir Stairiúil Áitainmneacha na Gaeilge/Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames, Fascúl 4/Fascicle 4: Ceall Ghabhann–Cláiríne*, ed. P. Ó Riain, D. Ó Murchadha, K. Murray (London, 2011).
- FSÁG 5* *Foclóir Stairiúil Áitainmneacha na Gaeilge/Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames, Fascúl 5/Fascicle 5: Clais an Chairn–Cnucha*, ed. P. Ó Riain, D. Ó Murchadha, K. Murray (London, 2013).
- FSCCe* *Fardal Seandálaíochta Chontae Cheatharlaigh [sic]/Archaeological Inventory of County Carlow*, tiomsaithe ag A. Brindley, A. Kilfeather (Baile Átha Cliath, 1993).
- FSCCo IV* *Fardal Seandálaíochta Chontae Chorcaí, imleabhar 4: Tuaisceart Chorcaí, Cuid 2*, ed. P.D. Sweetman et al. (Baile Átha Cliath, 2000).
- FSCLa* *Fardal Seandálaíochta Chontae Laois [sic]/Archaeological Inventory of County Laois*, tiomsaithe ag P.D. Sweetman, O. Alcock, B. Moran (Baile Átha Cliath, 1995).
- FSCUF* *Fardal Seandálaíochta Chontae Uíbh Fhailí/Archaeological Inventory of County Offaly*, tiomsaithe ag C. O'Brien, P.D. Sweetman (Baile Átha Cliath, 1997).
- Gilbert Mss.* *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland, Part II*, J.T. Gilbert (London, 1878).
- Glenmore Reg. Bapt.* Registry of Baptisms of the Parish of Glenmore, 1/1/1831–11/12/1880 (NL).
- Glenmore Reg. Marr.* Registry of Marriages of the Parish of Glenmore, 10/5/1742–12/6/1866 (NL).
- Gowran Bapt.* Parish: Gowran
Baptisms: 26/11/1818–25/12/1824
(NL).
- Gowran Clara Bapt.* Parish: Gowran and Clara
Baptisms: 1/1/1809–20/7/1828
(NL).

- Gowran Clara Marr.* Parish: Gowran and Clara
Marriages: 1/1/1810–28/11/1828
(NL).
- GPN* *Gaelic Personal Names*, D. Ó Corráin, F. Maguire (Dublin, 1981).
- Graves Oss.* Three volumes of the collectanea of Rev. James Graves, relating to the history of the diocese of Ossory, 13th–16th century (RCBL).
- Graves Patrons* The Patron Saints of the Churches in the Diocese of Ossory so far as they have been ascertained, J. Graves, 1858 (NL).
- Grose* *The Antiquities of Ireland*, I, II, F. Grose (London, 1791, 1795).
- Harb. Pilgr.* *Pilgrimage in Ireland: The Monuments and the People*, J. Harbison (London, 1991).
- Hayes's Sources* *Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish Civilisation*, I–XI, R.J. Hayes (Boston, 1965).
- Herbert Retrosp.* *Retrospections of Dorothea Herbert, 1770–1789*, G. Howe (London, 1929).
- Hib. Del.* *Hiberniae Delineatio* (Atlas of Ireland, Sir William Petty 1685) (PB).
- Hib. Dom.* *Hibernia Dominicana. Sive Historia Provinciae Hiberniae Ordinis Prædicatorum*, 'per Thomam de Burgo' ([? Kilkenny], 1762).
- Hist. Top. Notes* *Historical and Topographical Notes, etc. on Buttevant, Castltownroche, Doneraile, Mallow, and places in their vicinity*, I–IV, ed. J. Grove-White (Cork, 1905–1925).
- Hogan* *The Description of Ireland ... In Anno 1598*, E. Hogan (Dublin, 1878).
- Horace Odes* *The Odes and Carmen Sæculare of Horace*, J. Conington (London, 1882).
- IER* *The Irish ecclesiastical record* (1864–).
- IHS* *Irish Historical Studies* (1938–).
- Iliad* *Homer. The Iliad*. Penguin Classics, translated by E.V. Rieu (Suffolk, 1982).
- IMED* *Irish monastic and episcopal deeds A.D. 1200–1600, transcribed from the originals preserved at Kilkenny Castle with an appendix of documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries relating to monastic property after the dissolution*, ed. N.B. White (Dublin, 1936).
- Inistioge Bapt.* Parish: Inistioge
Baptisms: 2/12/1810–2/2/1829
(NL).

<i>Inistioge Marr.</i>	Parish: Inistioge Marriages: 22/1/1827–9/10/1876 (NL).
<i>Inq. Lag. (KK)</i>	<i>Inquisitionum in officio rotulorum cancellariæ Hiberniæ asservatarum reportorium I</i> (Lageniæ). Inquisitiones: County Kilkenny, ed. J. Hardiman (Dublin, 1826).
<i>Inq. Lag. (KK, civ.)</i>	<i>Inquisitionum in officio ... reportorium I</i> (Lageniæ), Civitas (City of Kilkenny).
<i>Inq. Lag. (KK) CI</i>	<i>Inquisitionum in officio ... reportorium I</i> (Lageniæ), tempore Caroli I, Regis (1625–1649).
<i>Inq. Lag. (KK) CII</i>	<i>Inquisitionum in officio ... reportorium I</i> (Lageniæ), tempore Caroli II, Regis (1661–1685).
<i>Inq. Lag. (KK) E</i>	<i>Inquisitionum in officio ... reportorium I</i> (Lageniæ), tempore Elizabethæ, Regin[a]e (1558–1603).
<i>Inq. Lag. (KK) G et M</i>	<i>Inquisitionum in officio ... reportorium I</i> (Lageniæ), tempore Gulielmi et Mariæ, Regis & Regin[a]e (1689–1694).
<i>Inq. Lag. (KK) JI</i>	<i>Inquisitionum in officio ... reportorium I</i> (Lageniæ), tempore Jacobi I, Regis (1603–1625).
<i>Inq. Lag. (KK) JII</i>	<i>Inquisitionum in officio ... reportorium I</i> (Lageniæ), tempore Jacobi II, Regis (1685–1688).
<i>Inq. (Tipp.)</i>	Inquisitions, County Tipperary. (RIA).
<i>Ir. Francisc.</i>	<i>The Irish Franciscans 1651–1665</i> , B. Millett (Roma, 1964).
<i>Ir. Jacob.</i>	‘Irish Jacobites’, ed. J.G. Simms, <i>Anal. Hib.</i> 22(1960), 11–220.
<i>Ir. Mon. Poss.</i>	<i>Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions, 1540–1541, from manuscripts in the Public Record Office, London</i> , ed. N.B. White (Dublin, 1943).
<i>ISS</i>	Irish Saint Stubs (Memphis, Tennessee, 2010).
<i>ITAS (KK)</i>	Irish Tourist Association Topographical and General Survey, County Kilkenny (KCL).
<i>ITS</i>	Irish Texts Society (Comann/Cumann na Sgríbhéann (n)Gaedhilge).
<i>JCHAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society</i> (1892–).
<i>JKAS</i>	<i>Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society</i> (1891–).
<i>Jocelin</i>	<i>The life and acts of Saint Patrick, the archbishop, primate and apostle of Ireland; now first translated from the original Latin of Jocelin, the Cistercian monk of Ferns, who flourished in the early part of the twelfth century: with the elucidations of David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory</i> , J.C. O’Haloran (Philadelphia, 1823).

- Johnswell MR* Johnswell Millenium Reunion.
- JRSAI* *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (1849–).
- JWSEIAS* *Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society* (1894–1920).
- Kd.:HS* *Kildare: History and Society. Interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county*, ed. W. Nolan, T. McGrath (Dublin, 2006).
- Keegan Poems* *Legends and poems by John Keegan now first collected*, edited by the late Very Rev. J. Canon O’Hanlon with memoir by D.J. O’Donoghue (Dublin, 1907).
- K:HS* *Kilkenny: History and Society. Interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county*, ed. W. Nolan, K. Whelan (Dublin, 1990).
- Kildare Wells* ‘The Holy Wells of Co. Kildare’, P. Jackson, *JKAS* 16, No. 2 (1979–80), 133–161.
- KP* *Kilkenny People* (1895–).
- Kts.’ Fees* *Knights’ Fee in counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny (13th–15th Century)*, E. St. John Brooks (Dublin, 1950).
- La:HS* *Laois: History and Society Interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county*, ed. P.G. Lane, W. Nolan (Dublin, 1999).
- Lanigan* *An ecclesiastical history of Ireland: from the first introduction of Christianity among the Irish, to the beginning of the thirteenth century: Compiled from the works of the most esteemed authors..., I–IV*, J. Lanigan (Dublin, 1822).
- Lanigan Reg.* Diocesan Register, James Lanigan, Bishop of Ossory (1789–1812). (*Carrigan* I 214, 215).
- Latin Lives St. P.* *Four Latin Lives of St. Patrick*, ed. L. Bieler (Dublin, 1971).
- LB* *Leabhar Breac, the Speckled Book, otherwise styled Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighre; ... now for the first time published from the original manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin, 1876).
- Lec.* *Facsimiles in collotype of Irish manuscripts II: The Book of Lecan, Leabhar Mór Mhic Fhir Bhisigh Lecáin*, introduction, K. Mulchrone (Dublin, 1937).
- Ledwich Antiq.* (1803) *Antiquities of Ireland*, second edition, E. Ledwich (Dublin, 1803).
- Ledwich Antiq.* (1804) *Antiquities of Ireland*, enlarged edition, E. Ledwich (Dublin, 1804).
- Ledwich Ir. Kilk.* *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicus. Number IX, containing the History and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny* 349–544, E. Ledwich (Dublin, 1781).
- Lewis* *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* I, II, S. Lewis (London,

- 1837).
- LGab.* *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* I–IV, ed. R.A.S. Macalister, *ITS* 34, 35, 39, 41, 44 (Dublin, 1938–56).
- LGen.* *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach/The Great Book of Irish Genealogies, compiled (1645–66) by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh* I–V, ed. N. Ó Muraíle (Dublin, 2003).
- Lib. Albus Oss.* ‘Ancient charters in the Liber Albus Ossoriensis’, ed. H. Berry, *PRIA* 27 C (1908), 115–125.
- Lib. Ardm.* *Liber Ardmachanus. The Book of Armagh*, ed. J. Gwynn (Dublin, London, 1913).
- Lib. Hymn.* *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, ed. J.H. Bernard, R. Atkinson (London, 1898).
- Lib. Lov.* *Liber Lovaniensis: A Collection of Irish Franciscan Documents 1629–1717*, ed. C. Giblin (Dublin, London, 1956).
- Lib. Prim. Kilk.* *Liber Primus Kilkenniensis*, ed. C. McNeill (Dublin, 1931).
- Lib. Rub. Oss.* ‘Calendar of the Liber Ruber of the Diocese of Ossory’, ed. H.J. Lawlor, *PRIA* 27 C (1908), 159–208.
- Limerick Wells* ‘The Holy Wells of Co. Limerick’, C. Ó Danachair, *JRSAI* 85 (1955), 193–217.
- Liostaí Log. CC* *Liostaí Logainmneacha, Contae Chill Chainnigh, An tSuirbhéireacht Ordanáis* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1993).
- Liostaí Log. PL* *Liostaí Logainmneacha, Contae Phort Láirge, arna ullmhú ag Brainse Logainmneacha na Suirbhéireachta Ordanáis* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1991).
- Lis.* *Facsimiles in collotype of Irish manuscripts V: The Book of Mac Carthaigh Riabhach, otherwise the Book of Lismore*, introduction, R.A.S. Macalister (Dublin, 1950).
- Lis. L* *Lives of saints from the Book of Lismore*, ed. W. Stokes (Oxford, 1890).
- LL* *The Book of Leinster formerly Lebar na Núachongbála* I–VI, ed. O. Bergin, R.I. Best, M.A. O’Brien and A. O’Sullivan (Dublin, 1954–83).
- Loc. Pat.* *Loca Patriciana: an identification of localities chiefly in Leinster, visited by Saint Patrick and his assistant missionaries and of some contemporary kings and chieftains...*, J.F. Shearman (Dublin, 1882).
- Lodge Ms.* [John] Lodge Manuscript (NA).
- Log. ME 5* *Logainmneacha Mhaigh Eo 5: Barúntacht Cheara*, F. Mac Gabhann (2014). Baile Átha Cliath: Coiscéim.

<i>Longfield (KK)(1–26)</i>	Longfield Maps, Contae Chill Chainnigh (<i>NL</i>).
<i>Louth Wells (1998)</i>	<i>Stone and Tree Sheltering Water: An Exploration of Sacred and Secular Wells in County Louth</i> , S. Connolly, A.-M. Moroney (Drogheda, 1998).
<i>Louth Wells (1999)</i>	‘The Holy Wells of County Louth’, L. Conlon, <i>Journal of the Louth Archaeological and Historical Society</i> , Vol. 24, No. 3 (1999), 329–356.
<i>LU</i>	<i>Lebor na hUidre, Book of the Dun Cow</i> , R.I. Best and M.A. O’Brien (Dublin, London, 1929).
<i>MDind.</i>	<i>The Metrical Dindsenchas</i> , I–IV, ed. E. Gwynn (Dublin, London, 1903–35).
<i>Meath Wells</i>	<i>Meath Holy Wells</i> , N.E. French (Trim, 2012).
<i>Med. Rel. Ho.</i>	<i>Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland</i> , A. Gwynn and R.N. Hadcock (Harlow, 1970).
<i>Mercator</i>	<i>Irlandiae Regnum</i> , G. Mercator. 1595. (Map) (<i>PB</i>).
<i>MIA</i>	<i>Miscellaneous Irish Annals (A.D. 1114–1437)</i> , ed. S. Ó hInnse (Dublin, 1947).
<i>Misc. Hag. Hib.</i>	<i>Miscellanea Hagiographica Hibernica: Vitae adhuc ineditae sanctorum Mac Creiche, Naile, Cranat...</i> , ed. C. Plummer (Brussels, 1925).
<i>Moll</i>	<i>A New Map of Ireland divided into its Provinces, Counties and Baronies wherein are distinguished the Bishopricks, Borroughs, Barracks, Bogs, Passes, Bridges with the Principal Roads and the common Reputed Miles</i> , 1714, H. Moll. (<i>PB</i>).
<i>Monenna Life</i>	‘The Life of Saint Monenna by Conchubranus’, Part 1, <i>Seanchas Ard Mhacha</i> , Vol. 9, No. 2 (1979), 250–273; Part 2, <i>op. cit.</i> , Vol. 10, No. 1 (1980–1), 117–141.
<i>Mon. Hib.</i>	<i>Monasticon Hibernicum or, an history of the abbeyes, priories and other religious houses in Ireland...</i> , M. Archdall (Dublin, 1786).
<i>MTall.</i>	<i>The Martyrology of Tallaght</i> , ed. R.I. Best and H.J. Lawlor (London, 1931).
<i>Mullinavat Bapt.</i>	Parish: Mullinavat Baptisms: 21/2/1843–15/12/1880 (<i>NL</i>).
<i>Nat. Mon. Harb.</i>	<i>Guide to the National and Historic Monuments</i> , J. Harbison (Dublin, 1992).
<i>NFC</i>	National Folklore Collection (Main collection) (<i>UCD</i>).
<i>NFCS</i>	National Folklore Collection (School Survey) (<i>UCD</i>).

NJCP	<i>Heritage Conservation Plan: Newtown Jerpoint, County Kilkenny</i> (The Heritage Council, 2007).
NLTimes page, column	<i>The Nationalist and Leinster Times</i> (1883–).
North Kerry Wells	‘The Holy Wells of North County Kerry’, C. Ó Danachair, <i>JRSAI</i> 88 (1958), 153–163.
O’Brien	<i>Focalóir Gaoidhilige–Sax–Bhéarla</i> , ed. J. O’Brien (Paris, 1768).
O’Byrne Qn’s Co.	<i>The History of the Queen’s County</i> , D. O’Byrne (Dublin, 1856).
OD	John O’Donovan/Seán Ó Donnabháin.
OED	<i>The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary</i> , I, II, ed. C.T. Onions (Oxford, 1950).
Ogygia	<i>Ogygia, seu rerum Hibernicarum chronologia</i> , R. O’Flaherty (London, 1685).
O’Hanlon Churches 1	‘Old Leix Churches: Tascoffin or Tiscoffin’, <i>The Irish Builder</i> 26.589.193 (1/7/1884), 26.590.209 (15/7/1884), J. O’Hanlon (NL).
O’Hanlon Churches 2	‘Old Leix Churches: Erke or Eirke’, <i>The Irish Builder</i> 29.660.164 (15/6/1887), J. O’Hanlon (NL).
O’Hanlon & O’Leary	<i>History of the Queen’s County</i> , Volume 1, J. O’Hanlon, E. O’Leary (Dublin, 1907).
O’Hanlon Saints	<i>Lives of the Irish saints: with special festivals, and the commemorations of holy persons, compiled from calendars, martyrologies, and various sources relating to the ancient church history of Ireland</i> , I–IX, J. O’Hanlon (Dublin, 1875–(?)1905).
O’Hanlon St. David	<i>The life of St. David, Archbishop of Menebia, chief patron of Wales, and titular patron of Naas church and parish, in Ireland</i> , J. O’Hanlon (Dublin, 1869).
O’Kelly	<i>Kilkenny – a history of the county</i> , O. O’Kelly (Kilkenny, 1969).
OKR	<i>Old Kilkenny Review</i> (1948–).
OLL	<i>Ossory, Laois and Leinster</i> 1 (2004).
Oning T.orum Bapt.	Parish: Oning and Templeorum Baptisms: 7/10/1803–21/6/1815 (NL).
Onom. Goed.	<i>Onomasticon Goedelicum locorum et tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae. An index, with identifications, to the Gaelic names of places and tribes</i> , E. Hogan (Dublin, 1910).
O’Reilly	<i>An Irish–English Dictionary</i> . E. O’Reilly, with a supplement by John O’Donovan (Dublin, 1864).

<i>Ó Riain Feastdays</i>	<i>Feastdays of the Saints: A History of Irish Martyrologies</i> , P. Ó Riain, (Subsidia hagiographica, 86), Société des Bollandistes (Bruxelles, 2006).
<i>Ó Riain Saints</i>	<i>A Dictionary of Irish Saints</i> , P. Ó Riain (Dublin, 2011).
<i>OSFM (KK)</i> (Index number)	Ordnance Survey Field Memorandum Book, County Kilkenny, 1947–8 (<i>ASI</i>).
<i>OSFP</i>	Ordnance Survey Fair Plan Maps (<i>NA</i>).
<i>OSITS (KK)</i>	Ordnance Survey alphabetical index to townlands and small names, County Kilkenny, 1841 (<i>NA</i>).
<i>OSL (Ca)</i>	Ordnance Survey Letters, Counties Cavan and Leitrim, 1836 (<i>RIA</i>).
<i>OSL (FM)</i>	Ordnance Survey Letters, County Fermanagh, 1834–5 (<i>RIA</i>).
<i>OSL (KK)</i>	Ordnance Survey Letters, County Kilkenny, I, II, 1839 (<i>RIA</i>).
<i>OSL (Ky)</i>	Ordnance Survey Letters, County Kerry, 1841 (<i>RIA</i>).
<i>OSL (Meath)</i>	Ordnance Survey Letters, County Meath, 1836 (<i>RIA</i>).
<i>OSL (MO)</i>	Ordnance Survey Letters, County Mayo, I, II, 1838 (<i>RIA</i>).
<i>OSL (RC)</i>	Ordnance Survey Letters, County Roscommon, I, II, 1837–8 (<i>RIA</i>).
<i>OSM (KK)</i>	Ordnance Survey Memoranda, County Kilkenny, 1839–1842 (<i>NA</i>).
<i>OSNB</i>	Ordnance Survey Namebook(s) (according to civil parish) (<i>NA</i>).
<i>OSNB:Descr. Rem.</i>	Ordnance Survey Namebook, Descriptive Remarks.
<i>OSNB:OD</i>	Ordnance Survey Namebook, John O’Donovan entry (mainly Irish language forms. His main task, however, was to provide official English or anglicised spellings of placenames prior to engraving on <i>EI</i> (6)).
<i>OSNBPB (KK)</i>	Ordnance Survey Namebook, Parish and Barony Names, County Kilkenny (<i>NA</i>).
<i>OSNB:pl</i>	Ordnance Survey Namebook, pencil entry (very often reflective of a local Irish version or pronunciation of a name).
<i>OSNB:Sit.</i>	Ordnance Survey Namebook, Situation (Situational details).
<i>Oss. Vis.</i>	Typed copies of documents relating to Ossory diocese, including visitations 1731–2, 1777, 1781–1800 (<i>RCBL</i>).
<i>Oss. Wills</i>	<i>Indexes to Irish Wills, Vol. 1, Ossory, Leighlin, Ferns, Kildare</i> , ed. W.P.W. Phillimore (London, 1909).
<i>Otway Pres.</i>	Presentation by Thomas (Otway) Bishop of Ossory, of Thomas Way, M.A., to rectories of Jerpoint, Ballylinch, Grangelegane, and several

- others (in Co. Kilkenny). May 7, 1686 (*NL*).
- Otway Vis.* Typescript copy of the visitation of the diocese of Ossory, 1679, Thomas Otway (*RCBL*).
- Pap. Tax.* [Papal Taxation], ‘Ecclesiastical Taxation of Ireland’, *CDI V* (London, 1886).
- Par. Sur.* *A Statistical Account, or Parochial Survey of Ireland...*, I–III, W. Shaw Mason (Dublin, 1814, 1816, 1819).
- Pat. Texts* *The Patrician texts in the Book of Armagh*, ed. L. Bieler (Dublin, 1979).
- Philip Bocht* *Philip Bocht O Huiginn* (ed.), L. McKenna (Dublin, 1931).
- PNDecies* *The Place-names of Decies/Log-ainmneacha na nDéise*, P. Power (Cork, 1907 — reprint 1952).
- PNI 3* *Place-Names of Northern Ireland. Volume Three. County Down III. The Mourne*s, M. Ó Mainnín (Belfast, 1993).
- PNI 5* *Place-Names of Northern Ireland. Volume Five. County Derry I. The Moyola Valley*, G. Toner (Belfast, 1996).
- PNSkye* *Place-names of Skye and adjacent islands with lore: mythical, traditional, and historical*, A.R. Forbes (Paisley, 1923).
- Pont. Hib.* *Pontificia Hibernica: Medieval Papal Chancery Documents concerning Ireland 640–1261*, I, II, ed. M.P. Sheehy (Dublin, 1962, 1965).
- Post Chaise* *The Post Chaise Companion: or Traveller’s Directory through Ireland*, W. Wilson (Dublin, 1786).
- Power O’Shee* ‘Power O’Shee Papers’, J.F. Ainsworth, E. MacLysaght, *Anal. Hib.* 20 (1958), 215–258.
- PP* [Phelan’s Patrons], ‘Nomina Patronorum Ecclesiarum in Diocesi Ossoriensi eorumque Dies Festivi’, James Phelan, Bishop of Ossory (1669–95). (*Spic. Oss.* I, 6–10; *Carrigan* II–IV (*passim*)).
- PRIA* *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (1836–).
- Prim-Anders. Nooks* *Nooks and Corners of the County Kilkenny by John G.A. Prim, formerly attributed to Paris Anderson; with an introduction and notes by Conleth Manning* (Grangesilvia, 2003).
- RBO* *The Red Book of Ormond*, ed. E. Curtis (Dublin, 1932).
- RDK* Report(s) of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland.
- Reg. St. T* *Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin*, ed. J. Gilbert (Dublin, 1889).

- Rennes Dind.* ‘The Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindshenchas’, ed. W. Stokes, *Rev. Celt.* 15.272–336, 418–84 (1894), 16.31–83, 135–167, 269–312 (1895).
- Report. Nov.* *Reportorium Novum*, Dublin Diocesan Historical Record, 1 (1955–).
- Rev. C* *Révue Celtique* (1870–1934).
- RIA Cat.* *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, Fasciculus XVII, L. Duncan (Dublin, 1935).
- RMPKK* Records of Monuments and Places, County Kilkenny, Issued By The Commissioners of Public Works In Ireland, National Monuments and Historic Properties Service, 1996.
- Seward* *Topographica Hibernica*, W.W. Seward (Dublin, 1795).
- Shadow Steeple* *In the Shadow of the Steeple*, Tullaherin Heritage Society, 1 (1987–).
- Shell Guide Harb.* *The Shell Guide to Ireland*, Lord Killanin, M.V. Duignan (1962). Revised and updated, P. Harbison (Dublin, 1989).
- Shell Guide Killanin* *The Shell Guide to Ireland*, Lord Killanin, M.V. Duignan (1962). London. (Referred to when certain references appear in this work only and are not included in Harbison’s 1989 version).
- Sil. Gad.* *Silva Gadelica. A collection of tales in Irish with extracts illustrating persons and places I*, ed. S.H. O’Grady (London, 1892).
- Slievrué Par. Reg.* Slievrué Parochial Registry, 1778–1801 (NL).
- SMR* Sites and Monuments Record (Suirbhé Seandálaíochta na hÉireann).
- Speed* *The Kingdome of Ireland*, J. Speed [Map] (1610). (PB).
- Spic. Oss.* *Spicilegium Ossoriense – being a collection of original letters and papers illustrative of the history of the Irish church, from the reformation to the year 1800*, I–III, ed. P.F. Moran (Dublin, 1874, 1878, 1884).
- Stat. Sur. (KK)* *Statistical Survey of the County of Kilkenny*, W. Tighe (Dublin, 1802).
- Stat. Sur. (KK)(Map)* *Statistical Survey of the County of Kilkenny made in the years 1800 & 1801*, W.Tighe (1802). Dublin – County of Kilkenny [Map].
- St. Canice’s Bapt.* Parish: St. Canice’s
Baptisms: 3/1/1845–30/12/1880
(NL).
- St. Canice’s Marr.* Parish: St. Canice’s
Marriages: 10/1/1811–26/11/1841, 7/1/1845–24/11/1880
(NL).
- St. John’s Bapt.* Parish: St. John’s

- Baptisms: 1/1/1809–8/7/1830, 1/2/1842–17/2/1875
(NL).
- St. Lachtain's CP* *Saint Lachtain's Church, Freshford, County Kilkenny, Conservation Plan*, M. Quinlan, T. Foley (The Heritage Council, 2004).
- St. Mary's CP* *St. Mary's Church and Graveyard, St. Mary's Lane, Kilkenny. Conservation Plan*. (The Heritage Council, 2005).
- St. Mary's Marr.* Parish: St. Mary's
Marriages: 8/11/1858–18/11/1880
(NL).
- Stud. Hib.* *Studia Hibernica* (1961–). Dublin.
- S&V* *Report from the Select Committee on the Survey and Valuation of Ireland*. (Dublin, 1824).
- Tacitus Annals* *The Annals: The Reigns of Tiberius, Claudius and Nero*/Tacitus; translated by J.C. Yardley (Oxford, 2008).
- TCDCat.* *Catalogue of the Manuscripts on the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*, T.K. Abbott (Dublin, 1900).
- Tenison Vis.* The State of the Diocese of Ossory, as far as the same could be collected from my parochial visitation, A.D. 1731, Edward Tenison (RCBL).
- Thomastown* *Thomastown: Through the Mists of Time*. (Cork, 1995).
- Thomastown Bapt.* Parish: Thomastown
Baptisms: 9/1/1810–28/3/1834
(NL).
- Thomastown T.herin Bapt.* Parish: Thomastown and Tullaherin
Baptisms: 23/6/1782–27/9/1809
(NL).
- TOAS* *Transactions of the Ossory Archaeological Society* 1 (1874)–3 (1883).
- Townland Index* *Census of Ireland. General alphabetical index to the townlands and towns, parishes, and baronies of Ireland* (Dublin, 1861).
- Trip. Life (Stokes)* *The Tripartite Life of Saint Patrick, with other documents relating to that saint*, ed. W. Stokes, 2 vols (London, 1887).
- Troy, Dunne, Lanig. Reg.* Registrum Dioecesarum II, diocesan matters pertaining to the episcopates of John Thomas Troy (Bishop of Ossory, 1777–1786), John Dunne (Bishop of Ossory, 1787–1789) and James Lanigan (Bishop of Ossory, 1789–1812) (ODA).
- Troy Reg. (de Burgo)* Registrum Dioecesarum I, John Thomas Troy (Bishop of Ossory, 1777–1786). (De Burgo's Register of the Diocese of Ossory pertaining to the (subsequent) period of Bishop Troy) (ODA).

- T&S* *Maps of the Roads of Ireland*, G. Taylor and A. Skinner (London, 1778).
- TT* *Triadis Thaumaturgæ ... Patricii, Columbæ, et Brigidæ ... Acta* I, II, J. Colgan (Louvain, 1647).
- UJA* *The Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 1 (1853–).
- UM* *Facsimiles in collotype of Irish manuscripts IV: The Book of Uí Maine, otherwise called “the Book of the O’Kelly’s”*, introduction, R.A.S. Macalister (1942). Dublin.
- Urlingford Bapt.* Parish: Urlingford (Graine)
Baptisms: 5/5/1805–15/2/1844
(NL).
- Ussher* *The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher*, C.R. Elrington, 18 vols (Dublin, 1864).
- Vallencey* *The Royal Map of Ireland*, C. Vallencey. 1785 (PB).
- Vet. Mon.* *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum quæ ... disposuit Augustinus Theiner* (Rome, 1864).
- Vis.Bk.:Kd.Oss.FL* Visitation book, Dioceses of Kildare, Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin, 1705–1727 (NL).
- VSBG* *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, A.W. Wade-Evans (Cardiff, 1944).
- VSHH* *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae ex codice olim Salmanticensi nunc Bruxellensi*, ed. W.W. Heist (Brussels, 1965).
- VSHP* *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae...* I, II, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1910).
- Ware’s Antiq.* *The works of Sir James Ware, Volume II. Containing the Antiquities of Ireland*, W. Harris (Dublin, 1745).
- Ware’s Bishops* *The works of Sir James Ware, Volume I. Containing the History of the Bishops*, W. Harris (Dublin, 1739).
- Ware’s Writers* *The works of Sir James Ware, Volume III. Containing the Writers of Ireland*, W. Harris (Dublin, 1746).
- Westmeath Wells* ‘The Holy Wells of Ireland – Westmeath’, J.M. Thunger, *IER* Ser. 3, Vol. 8 (1887), 818–823.
- Wicklow Wells* ‘The Holy Wells of County Wicklow: Traditions and Legends’, G. Lynch, in K. Hannigan, W. Nolan (ed.), *Wicklow: History and Society* 625–648. (Dublin, 1994).
- Windgap Bapt.* Parish: Windgap
Baptisms: 18/8/1822–27/2/1852
(NL).

General abbreviations

<i>bar</i>	barony
<i>BVM</i>	Blessed Virgin Mary
<i>CEA</i>	County Electoral Area (in relation to <i>Reg. Elect.</i> , NA: ID 58 126)
<i>ch. ruins</i>	church ruins (under summary details)
<i>ch. site</i>	church site (under summary details)
<i>cp</i>	Catholic Parish
<i>g.</i>	genitive case
<i>gr.</i>	graveyard (under summary details)
<i>Hag.</i>	References to the Hagiographical Evidence chapter mentioned in summary details for each relevant name.
<i>KASL</i>	Kilkenny Archaeological Society Library, Rothe House, Kilkenny
<i>KCBL</i>	Kilkenny City Borough Library, Kilkenny
<i>KCL</i>	Kilkenny City Library (John's Green House, Kilkenny)
<i>Legends</i>	References to the chapter on Legends in summary details for each relevant name.
<i>NA</i>	National Archives, Dublin
<i>Nat. Grid</i>	National Grid
<i>NL</i>	National Library of Ireland
<i>NMS, ASI</i>	National Monuments Service, Archaeological Survey of Ireland (www.archaeology.ie)
<i>ODA</i>	Ossory Diocesan Archive, Kilkenny
<i>Onom.</i>	References to the chapter on Onomastic Evidence in summary details for each relevant name.
<i>OS</i>	Ordnance Survey Map sheet number on the scale of six inches to one mile
[<i>OS</i>]	Ordnance Survey Map sheet number (same scale) of townlands in which wells are not shown
<i>p</i>	civil parish
<i>PB</i>	Placenames Branch, Dublin
<i>RCBL</i>	Representative Church Body Library, Dublin
<i>Reg. Unit</i>	Registration Unit (mentioned in relation to <i>Reg. Elect.</i> , NA: ID 58 126)

<i>RIA</i>	Royal Irish Academy
<i>Rituals</i>	References to the chapter on Rituals in summary details for each relevant name.
<i>TCD</i>	Trinity College, Dublin
<i>tld</i>	townland
<i>UCD</i>	University College, Dublin

Phonetical symbols

A broad phonemic transcription is employed in phonetically transcribing the Hiberno-English sounds of the English-speaking informants of County Kilkenny and in some cases Irish-language sounds come to the fore.

Vowels

/a/	/se:nt'nikəlas wel/ (no. 110) (Saint Nicholas Well)
/ɑ/	/d̪ə'manistri:/ (no. 68) (The Monastery)
/a:/	as in <i>ardent</i> , <i>arduous</i>
/ɑ:/	/tobərə'fɑ:drig/ (no. 25) (Toberfawdrig)
/a:/	/se:nt'pɑ:triks wel/ (no. 2) (between /a/ and /a:/, semi-long) (Saint Patrick's Well)
/e/	/'bɑstən wel/ (no. 36) (Boston Well)
/e:/	/se:nt'mɑ:rgrits wel/ (no. 26) (Saint Margaret's Well)
/i/	/d̪ə'sbriŋ/ (no. 1) (The Spring)
/i:/	/se:nt'sgohi:nz wel/ (no. 73) (Saint Scoheen's Well)
/i:/	/d̪ə'hɔ:li'wel/ (no. 48) (The Holy Well)
/o/	/d̪ə'pɒmp/ (no. 45) (The Pump)
/o:/	/se:nt'mo:liŋz wel/ (no. 140) (Saint Mowling's Well)
/u/	/d̪ə'kʉpnə wel/ (no. 63) (The Cupna Well)
/u:/	/tobərə'tu:/ (no. 38) (Toberattoo)
/ə/	epenthetic/auxiliary vowel, as in /d̪ə'pɒmp/ (no. 45) (The Pump); /tobərə'tu:/ (no. 38) (Toberattoo)

Consonants

/k/	/se:nt'pɑ:triks wel/ (no. 2) (Saint Patrick's Well)
/x/ (<i>ch</i>)	/bɑ:nə'xɑmpə/ (Bán an Champa) (no. 177)
/dʒ/	/d̪ə'bridʒ/ (no. 112) (The Bridge)
/tʃ/	/d̪ə'tʃɔrtʃfi:ld/ (no. 55) (The Church Field)
/ŋ/ (<i>ng</i>)	/tobər'ɑ:liŋ/ (no. 85) (Tobar Álainn)
/ʃ/ (<i>slender s</i>)	/tobərə'wiʃə/ (no. 71) (Toberawizza)

Diphthongs

/ɔi/	/ɫ̪ə 'fɔil fi:lɪd/ (no. 1) (The Foyle Field)
/əi/	/se:nt 'məikilz wel/ (no. 21) (Saint Michael's Well)
/əu/	/ɫ̪ə 'grəund/ (no. 32) (The Ground)
/uə/	/tobərmə 'luə/ (no. 131) (Tobermooloa)

Other symbols

'consonant	primary stress (only shown)
/ɫ̪ə/	<i>the</i> /ɫ̪ə/ (dental <i>d</i> as opposed to <i>th</i> /θ/).

Introduction

Holy wells/sacred waters worldwide — water, water everywhere

In her 2014 publication entitled *The Origin of Ireland's Holy Wells*, Professor Ray Celeste relates in the first two lines of her treatise that ‘fostered by our daily physical need for water, hydolatry is panhuman’ and that ‘sacred wells and springs can be found around the globe’ (Ray 2014, 1). Water is crucial for human existence and it makes sense that it is fundamental to human religious practices throughout the globe.

R.C. Hope states that ‘well-worship, embracing that of Rivers, Lakes, Fountains and Springs generally, is of great antiquity’ and that ‘from all parts of the globe a vast accumulation of legendary lore connected to this cult has from time to time been brought to light, taking us back to ages far anterior to Christianity’ (Hope 1893, vii). He refers to early primeval man ‘who looked upon every object around him from which he derived personal benefits, as a physical iota like himself — the sun which gave him warmth and light, hence fire-worship; the trees that sheltered him, hence tree-worship’ (*ibid.*). Similarly, ‘in an especial manner, the waters from above that moistened his soil, and those from below which provided him with a very necessity of life’ and ‘the upheaval of the waves, the rise and fall of the tides and floods, would greatly intensify his belief in the vitality and reality of their powers’ (*ibid.* viii — see also Burne & Hope 1893, 1, 2).

Writing in the same year (1893), J.M. MacKinlay proffers a similar argument stating that ‘certain characteristics of water specially recommended it as an object of worship in primaeval times’, that ‘its motion and force suggested that it had life, and hence a soul’ and that ‘men therefore imagined that by due attention to certain rites it would prove a help to them in time of need’ (MacKinlay 1893, 20).

In his thought-provoking publication entitled *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, Professor Mircea Eliade writes in a somewhat similarly philosophical manner that ‘water symbolizes the whole of potentiality’, that ‘it is *fons et origo*, the source of all possible existence’, that ‘waters are the foundations of the whole world’, that ‘they are the essence of plant life, the

elixir of immortality’, that ‘they ensure long life and creative energy’, and that ‘they are the principle of all healing’ (Eliade 1958, 188).

In addition, ‘water symbolizes the primal substance from which all forms come and to which they will return either by their own regression or in a cataclysm. It existed at the beginning and returns at the end of every cosmic or historic cycle ... in cosmogony, in myth, ritual and iconography, water fills the same function in whatever type of cultural pattern we find it [worldwide], it *precedes* all forms and *upholds* all creation’ (*ibid.*).

The ubiquitous sacredness of water and its various applications through time and across cultures is explained by Professor Veronica Strang when she states that ‘the concept of water as a ‘sacred substance’ is ubiquitous in religious history: cultures located on alluvial plains made sacrifices and propitiatory gifts to their river gods’ and that ‘water has been used in baptisms, libations, holy ablutions, fertility rites, for blessing and protection from the ‘evil eye’ and for mortuary rituals’ (Strang 2004, 85).

Gary R. Varner (American author of no less than 33 published works on topics pertaining to folklore, early religions, holy wells and, *inter alia*, the study of myth) writes, in a fashion similar to Strang above, that ‘the importance of water as a sacred element is reflected in the number of myths and legends associated with it throughout time and throughout all cultures’ and that ‘“Living water” represents both physical and spiritual life, it purifies, it renews’ (Varner 2009, 12).

Well-worship vis à vis pagan practice in remote periods, in more modern eras and Christian practice

Ritual activities around water during prehistoric times are known from votive offerings at wells and from legendary cures associated with wells.

Gary Varner mentions a sacred well in Kissonerga, Paphos, where human skeletal remains of a child as well as animals, plants and bones dated to 8300 BC have been found (Varner 2009, 75, 75) as well as ‘The Giant’s Spring’ at Duchov, a huge bronze cauldron with offerings deposited in dedication to local deities around the third and second century BC (*ibid.* 80). Celeste Ray refers to Bronze Age deposits found in the “offering well” in Budsene, Denmark (Ray 2014, 18), while the Fontes Sequanae healing sanctuary uncovered offerings, many being of an anatomical nature, which date to the first century AD (Green 1999, 1).

Allied to the notion of early votive deposits is the notion of healing at wells, as evidenced at Sequana's healing spring, while Patrick Galliou, as well as referring to this spring, also mentions the Sanxay healing sanctuary near Vienne and the Aquae Sulis complex, Bath, where pilgrims came 'to find temporary relief or a final cure to their ailment' (Galliou 2006, 7, 8). Writing in 97AD, Sextus Julius Frontinus, a senator and Water Commissioner of the City of Rome, refers to wells as being 'objects of veneration, having the repute of healing the sick, as for example, the springs of the Prophetic Nymphs (Camenae) of Apollo and Juturna' (Varner 2009, 38).

Modern practices which seem to mirror such pagan beliefs are encountered in South Africa where Inkosazana features as a well-known mermaid deity of healing and fertility, while in Madagascar, springs associated with the formidable *vazimba* spirits require offerings and can cause illness or calamity if not appeased (Ray 2014, 1). Jebisu, the Japanese sea-god, is offered cloth, rice and rum as many of the Japanese deities were conceived through contact with the sea (Croutier 1992, 15), Japanese children are protected from smallpox by throwing seven beans into a well and praying at it seven times, and expectant mothers must circumambulate a well three times (Rattue 1995, 21).

James Rattue refers to evil water demons, the Rusalka-ye in Russia (Rattue 1995, 21) and as recently as the beginning of the twentieth century Korean well-dragons had to be appeased whenever a child was born by casting rice into the water, at which time it was also believed that the spirits of the dead also resided in wells (*ibid.*).

Famous healing springs in America include the Saratoga Springs, the Vichy Springs, Zaca Lake, McCloud Falls, revered by various groups of Indians in the not-too-distant past, while in Yucatan, south Mexico, is the venerated sink hole (Chichen Itzá) used by the ancient Maya for sacrificial offerings in the Yucatan Peninsula (Whelan 2001, 83, 89; Varner 2009, 43, 46, 122).

On the other hand, there are also activities which appear inspired by Christian practice which is or used to be strongly Roman Catholic. For instance, among the 47,000 religious buildings in France, 94% are Roman Catholic and as a result, it is hardly surprising that at La Salette in the French Alps we learn of a supposed apparition at a healing spring (Varner 2009, 168). Our Lady is supposed to have appeared at a well in Querrien, and the renowned healing waters of Lourdes, the scene of another Marian apparition, have yielded some 2,500 cures since 1858 (*ibid.* 38). Sacred wells are also found in the Cathedrals of Chartres, Nimes, Sangres, in St. Martin of Tours, in the Abbey of Jobbes, in the Church of Gamache, in the Augustinian Chapel at Avignon (Courtney 1916, 59), all of which are undoubtedly Christian.

So numerous are the cures reported for blindness, sores of the mouth and tongue, deafness, paralysis and a variety of internal ailments at St. Winifred's Well, Wales, that it has often been styled "the Lourdes of Wales" (Varner 2009, 116), Catholicism being the second most commonly practised faith here, behind the Church of Wales. Both in Wales and in Scotland, Roman Catholicism would have been bolstered by immigration from Ireland in the nineteenth century. Pilgrims in North Uist seeking a cure for toothache frequent a well and are required by tradition to remain silent, not to eat or drink until they reach the well, drink three handfuls of the healing water and utter the words "the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost" (Varner 118).

However, Christian elements also feature in countries where Catholicism is very limited or even non-existent. In Ethiopia crowds gather at 6am each morning at the holy spring of Gondar where deacons and priests dispense holy water and blessings to treat and cure spiritual and physical ailments (Varner 2009, 40, 41). Lac St. Anne in Alberta, which has been a pilgrim site since 1889 and is used for healing purposes by many of the Cree Indian population living nearby, is visited by up to 40,000 pilgrims each year in the last week of July (*ibid.* 122), as the saint's feastday falls on July 26th. Moroccans used to wash cattle in rivers on St. John's Eve to keep illness and bad luck at bay (*ibid.* 130), which may imply a Christian context, while St. Praskeva Pyatnitsa, a third-century virgin martyr in Russia, was patroness of healing springs, and near St. Helene's Well, Tisvilde, Denmark, pilgrims into the nineteenth century slept on the saint's grave on St. John's Night before taking the waters for cures (Ray 2014, 22). A Christian context is also implied here. Somewhat similarly, the Australian Aborigines venerated the Waters of Windulka (referring to Windulka the Bandicoot) (Whelan 2001, 107), and the 'Bubbling Spring' in the south coast of Australia was a famous location for legendary cures (Varner 2009, 107, 171), yet an apparition of the Blessed Virgin acted as a guide to a healing stream at Yankalilla Well (*ibid.* 171), also situated in the south of the country. Once again Catholicism and non-Catholic elements appear in close conjunction in our records of practices at holy wells.

It is natural therefore that even in Ireland, a land where access to water is easy and constant, religious practice has had close ancestral ties to water worship in various forms.

The number of sacred/holy wells in Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales

Given that Professor Arthur Gribben published a 179 page bibliography of sources on holy wells and sacred waters in Ireland and Britain in 1992 (and this list excludes many site-specific articles by folklorists, antiquarians and historians on Irish wells), it is hardly surprising that ‘the grand total for Great Britain and Ireland may be in excess of 8000, of which unfortunately only a fraction survive’ (Bord & Bord 1985, 37; Strang 2004, 86).

Ruth and Frank Morris list almost 1,000 holy wells on the Scottish mainland alone in their *Scottish Healing Wells* (Bord & Bord 1985, 36; Ray 2014, 4), Francis Jones studied around 1200 wells while researching *The Holy Wells of Wales* (Bord & Bord 26; Ray 2014, 4), while in his 1970 survey of Cornish holy wells the Reverend A. Lane-Davies listed 150 wells for that county alone (Bord & Bord 37). The Bords continue: ‘Cornwall is better endowed with holy wells than most other counties, so guessing an average of 50 wells per county, multiplied by 44 counties, gives a very approximate and probably conservative estimate of 2,000 holy wells in England’ (*ibid.*).

The approximate number of wells in Ireland is even higher than in England, standing at around 3000, a figure which is cited by many authors:

1902 Although many holy wells have now, in a greater or less degree, lost their sacred character, they are still numerous; probably there are not less than three thousand throughout Ireland.

Wood-Martin II 47

1910 The cult of fountains, and the number of sacred wells existing in Ireland to this day shows how widely diffused that cult was. Probably there cannot be less than three thousand throughout Ireland.

Plummer, *VSHP* I cxlix

1980 Charles Plummer in his study of the *Lives of the Irish Saints* estimated that there were about 3,000 holy wells in Ireland. Certainly there are few parishes in which there is not at least one, but in many parishes there are more.

Logan 14

2005 Michael Carroll has reviewed the estimates of the number of holy wells and suggests that the often repeated figure of over three thousand is a fairly uncritical acceptance of a rough estimate of the archaeologist.

Ó Giolláin 13

See also in this respect Bord & Bord 1985, 36, Murphy & Whiteside 1991, 13, Lynch, *Wicklow Wells* 625 (1994), Carroll 1999, 21, Foley 2001, 16, Healy 2001, 19, Rackard & O'Callaghan 2001, 1, Ó Cadhla 2002, 11, Varner 2009, 8, Ray 2011, 272, Ray 2012, 139, Ray 2014, 4, 114, 272 and Nugent & Scriven 2015, 17.

It may be worthy of note here that both Wood-Martin and Plummer may have been basing their conclusions on the earlier Ordnance Survey data, which may go some way to reinforce the general point that wells were identified as 'holy' by the Ordnance Survey and by John O'Donovan. In addition, while both Wood-Martin and Plummer had many strings to their respective bows, archaeology per se was not one of them. Plummer, an English historian who edited many Irish and Hiberno-Latin texts, often quotes Wood-Martin's *Traces of the Elder Faiths* in his *Lives of the Irish Saints*, while Aideen Ireland points out that Wood-Martin was a fellow of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Society of Ireland and a member of the Royal Irish Academy (Ireland 2001, 1), but he was not an archaeologist. It must be remembered also that up until the 1990s there were no data-bases of Irish monuments and any figures were based on the work of individual scholars and on their own resources rather than on the State.

Distribution of wells in Ireland

Within Ireland, Connacht has 709 wells or 23·6% of the country's total, the highest number of wells being in County Galway (325, 10·8%), while the lowest number of 41 wells (1·3%) is in Leitrim. A somewhat greater number of 957 wells or 31·9% of the country's total are recorded in Leinster, the highest number of 175 (18·3%) being recorded in Wexford, while the lowest number of 26 wells (0·86%) is in County Longford. By far the greatest number of wells are recorded in the province of Munster, which has 1,123 or 37·5% of the country's total, the highest number being 357 (11·9%) in County Cork and 79 wells only (2·6%) in County Waterford. Only 208 wells (6·9%) are recorded in the province of Ulster, spread over three counties, Donegal having 164 wells (5·4%), while Monaghan has a figure of only 8 wells (0·26%).

Not surprisingly, County Cork, which has by far the greatest number of townlands and the greatest surface area has the most number of wells. Galway, which contains the second highest number of wells also has the second highest number of townlands. However, County Clare has the third highest instance of wells even though the county has less townlands than Mayo, Tipperary, Kerry, Donegal and Wexford. County Roscommon has a very low instance of wells for a county which contains more than 2,000 townlands. While Donegal and Kilkenny contain roughly the same number of wells, County Donegal contains over 1,000 townlands more than County Kilkenny. Although County Monaghan contains almost 300 townlands more than County Kilkenny, the number of wells in Monaghan is at the bottom of the table by a considerable margin yielding a surprisingly low figure of only eight wells. Although Counties Cavan and Limerick contain roughly the same number of townlands, Limerick contains between four and five times the amount of wells which are enumerated for Cavan, which, like Monaghan, accounts for another low Ulster instance of wells.

Somewhat similarly, Counties Meath and Kilkenny contain roughly the same amount of townlands, yet the wells in County Kilkenny are nearly four times more numerous than those in County Meath. While Counties Roscommon and Waterford contain the same number of wells, yet Roscommon contains more than 400 more townlands than does Waterford. While Counties Wicklow and Westmeath contain almost the same number of townlands, yet the number of wells in County Wicklow outnumber the wells in Westmeath by a ratio of almost 3:1. Both Meath and Westmeath contain the same reasonably low number of holy wells (47), however, County Meath contains some 250 more townlands than does its western counterpart, while the county with the fewest number of townlands, Carlow (602), contains

more wells than Meath, Westmeath, Longford and Monaghan. Although County Carlow and County Laois contains almost exactly the same number of wells, yet Laois has more than 500 townlands more than Carlow. Finally, the greater population of Dublin over Kildare may account for the greater number of almost 50 more wells in County Dublin, although County Kildare has over 150 townlands more than does Dublin.

The case of Northern Ireland

While understandably no wells appear on the NMS database for counties Antrim, Armagh, Derry, Down, Fermanagh or Tyrone, yet it must be added that the recorded number of wells for these counties in available Ordnance Survey Letters and in other sources appears to be very low indeed. For example, the Armagh section of the Ordnance Survey Letters for Armagh and Monaghan (1835) does not contain any reference to a holy well, one encounters only two holy wells in the Ordnance Survey Letters for County Fermanagh, namely, Tobar Laistreach of Killesher (*OSL(FM)* 79 (1834); *Ó Riain Saints* 394) and Tobar Náile of Kinawley (*OSL(FM)* 83 (1834); *Ó Riain Saints* 510), while references from other sources pertaining to counties Antrim, Derry and Down also appear to be very scant: Toberdoney (*p*: Billy) (*Townland Index* 863), ‘well of Sunday’; Toberhead (*p*: Maghera), ‘St. Taoide’s Well’ (Toner (*PNI* 5 1996, 200, 201)), and Tobar Mo Choille (*p*: Kilkeel), ‘Mahula’s Well’ (*Ó Mainnín* (*PNI* 3 1993, 62)) respectively. Possible reasons for this may be that the first Ordnance Survey, which started in the north and started working systematically southwards, were still on a learning curve while investigating data in the Ordnance Survey Letters and the fact that the six counties of Ulster were not covered in the Schools’ Folklore Collection of the 1930s.

While I am not claiming here that my search for holy wells in these six counties has been comprehensive or exhaustive, yet it is feasible that the relatively low figure of 208 holy wells (6%) in the other three Ulster counties mentioned above could be increased a little in the case of the overall Ulster picture.

For an insight into the number of wells according to province and county, see Appendix I.

Definitions of a holy well

In her book entitled *Cures and Curses: Ritual and Cult at Holy Wells* (in which no fewer than 75 thematic areas of study connected with holy wells are discussed at length), Janet Bord states that to define a holy well is no easy task and, indeed, the various locations or manifold positions of well-sites does not make the task any easier: ‘Defining the holy well is not a straightforward matter. One thing is clear: a holy well is not always a well! That is, it is not always a stone-lined tank, sometimes with a structure built over it, which is what the word ‘well’ means to most people. A holy well is almost never a deep draw-well: in fact it is almost invariably a surface spring, which on occasion may degenerate into a muddy hole in the ground. Sometimes it may be a pond, a pool, or even a small lake. Sometimes it may be water that has collected inside a tree stump, or inside a bullaun (basin stone)’ (Bord 2006, 3).

Writing some two years after Bord, Jeremy M. Harte (who has written widely on folklore, industrial archaeology, holy wells and local history) also refers in one of his published works entitled *English Holy Wells: A Sourcebook* to the difficulty of defining a holy well: ‘a great deal is known about holy wells, but sometimes it is hard to marshal our knowledge. That may be because, as Father Horne put it many years ago, it is not easy to define a holy well’ (Harte 2008, 4; Horne 1923, 7).

A narrowly-based definition of a holy well is proffered by the editor of *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, C.T. Onions: ‘a well or spring reputed to possess miraculous healing properties’ (*OED* II 1950, 913).

Based on his study of 159 holy wells in County Limerick, Dr. Caoimhín Ó Danachair stated in 1955 that ‘a holy well may be defined as a well or spring at which prayers and ceremonies of a Christian religious nature have been performed in recent times’ (Ó Danachair, *Limerick Wells* 193).

Based on his study of some 130 holy wells and associated sacred sites in County Meath, Noel French concluded in 2012 that ‘a holy well is a source of water where there is a tradition of veneration or has a religious dedication. They are sacred sites’ (French, *Meath Wells* ii).

Writing around the same time as French, Gary Branigan in his survey of some 110 holy well sites in County Dublin presents a somewhat more comprehensive and wide-ranging definition, arguing that ‘a holy well is a location where water issues from the earth and where the site is a focal point for supernatural divination, the curing of illness through ritual, the cursing of third parties, and/or the veneration of early Christian saints, Pagan deities, or elements of nature, specifically the water itself’ (*Dublin Wells: Bran.* 2012, 9).

Although Dr. Ó Danachair rightly referred to the Christian religious nature pertaining to holy wells above, it is also important to emphasise the Pagan element or ‘pagan deities’

attaching to them while undertaking a definition of a holy well. Both Pagan and Christian elements are taken into consideration in the following, as part of the definition, ‘a holy well or sacred spring is a spring or other small body of water revered either in a Pagan or Christian context, often both. Holy wells were frequently pagan sacred sites that later became Christianized. The term ‘holy well’ is commonly employed to refer to any water source of limited size (i.e. not a lake or river, but including pools and natural springs and seeps), which has some significance in the folklore of the area where it is located, whether in the form of a particular name, an associated legend, the attribution of healing qualities to the water through the numinous presence of its guardian spirit or Christian saint, or a ceremony or ritual centred on the well site’ (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Holy_well (accessed 26/4/2016)).

An element such as the presence of a saint or guardian and further elements concerning folklore and the possible healing reputation of a well are also included by Janet Bord, ‘there are several aspects to defining a holy well, including its possible location within a sacred landscape, the involvement of saints or other holy persons in its history and folklore, and possibly also the well’s healing reputation. The simplest definition of a holy well might be that if people thought of it as such, or treated it as such, then it *was* a holy well. This definition sees a holy well as a water source which may be one element in a sacred landscape, which may have gained a healing reputation over many generations, and around which folklore has grown up, and which has become a focal point in the life of the community; so much so, that it becomes revered and venerated, and is known as a holy well’ (Bord 2006, 3).

In her book *The Magic and Mystery of Holy Wells*, Edna Whelan presents a rather descriptive, orderly and somewhat elaborate definition of the holy well as she focuses on certain legends which may make the well-water renowned for its special sacred qualities and she also draws attention to the fact that a holy well is an onomastic entity which distinguishes it from other such springs. As well as being identified by name, the well is in many cases enclosed in a well-house, its clear, mineral-rich waters often containing healing properties and, finally, she refers to customs/rituals performed at wells, very often at certain times of the year, (without actually specifying any of these customs) before mentioning, once again, ‘the accompanying legends’ as well as folk tales attaching to them.

Component elements of her lengthy definition are provided in the following order:

- (1) A Holy Well is a natural spring of water issuing from the ground of its own accord. The water never runs dry, even in the longest drought, nor does it completely freeze over in

the longest, coldest, winter. This is just one of the reasons why the water is renowned for its special sacred qualities.

- (2) In order to specify a Holy Well and to identify it from other continuously running springs, it has been given a name.
- (3) A stone or brick trough is usually set to catch and contain the water for a while and in many cases this trough is also covered by a roofed stone or brick enclosure named a Well House.
- (4) The water of a Holy Well is always, originally, crystal clear and contains certain minerals which give it certain healing qualities.
- (5) Many different customs were once performed at the wells at certain times of the year, and in some places they still are, and, because of their ancientness and sanctity, the wells have, inevitably, acquired accompanying legends and folk tales (Whelan 2001, 2).

It would appear, however, that the most comprehensive, multifaceted and intercomplementary definition of all is suggested by Tristan Gray Hulse in an article entitled ‘What makes a Holy Well “holy”?’’, *Source 2*, series 3 1995, 33, which is also quoted in Harte 2008, 4 (most of which elements or facets are referred to continually in the documented evidence of the holy wells of County Kilkenny): ‘a natural (or, rarely, an artificial) source of water, either with or without some form of material structure, for which, either in the past or in the present, some evidence (either actual or presumed) of some form of cult may be demonstrated: evidence of cult to include onomastics; topography (i.e. associations in space — the ‘sacred’ landscape); history, archaeology; hagiography; legend; pilgrimage; bathing or drinking for sanative, penitential or other ends; presence of votive deposits; architecture; folklore and local oral/written tradition’.

Of particular relevance here is that practically all of the wells of County Kilkenny bear a name (very few only being de-onomised in the documented sources, unlike many of the spoken forms), the well is discussed in terms of its location in an ecclesiastical setting or milieu and items of historical interest are brought to light in the documented evidence, as are relevant details concerning archaeology (*SMR* reference numbers), hagiography (local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint), folk-beliefs and legends (1–29.3), rituals (1–27), folklore (which pertain largely to legends and rituals and very often also to hagiography) and to local oral tradition or fieldwork conducted on the ground, which complements the scholarly, academic research of the documented sources and breathes life into them by making them practical and locally relevant.

Although not strictly a definition of a holy well *per se*, Celeste Ray offers a descriptive, multifactorial account of what she believes to be at play in the case of Irish holy wells: ‘In Ireland, toibreacha naofa (holy wells) and toibreacha beannaithe (blessed wells) are water sources, usually springs (but sometimes ponds or lakes), which are sites of religious devotion. In distinction from a human-excavated hole or shaft for the collection of water, *holy* “wells” most commonly appear on their own and can also include seepage pools, and even the hollows of rocks or the cavities of trees left by broken branches where dew and rain collect. Holy wells can have structures over them, and stone impoundments with steps into their waters, or they can simply be unadorned depressions in the ground’ (Ray 2014, 1, 2). She continues her description by adding hagiographical and legendary/curative dimensions, ‘whether they are now along the edges of busy roads or within landscaped gardens, these sacred sites are commonly dedicated to a saint and their waters can be “blessed with a cure” for particular ailments’ (*ibid.*).

Her definition of 2012 is somewhat more succinct and less descriptive but is equally pertinent: ‘A holy well is a water source, most often a spring (but sometimes a lake, or a hollow in a rock or tree where dew and rain collects). These sites of religious devotion are commonly, but not always, dedicated to a saint and may possess miraculous qualities’ (Ray 2012, 139).

An attempted personal definition of a holy well

An attempted personal definition of a holy well would also lead me towards one of the multifaceted and somewhat descriptive variety.

A holy well may be defined as a mainly natural source of water or surface spring which is very often circular in shape and which may have some stones strewn around it, and even though many wells have now been disfigured and are often reduced to a muddy pool in a farmer’s field, in a wood or on the side of a road, yet, more often than not, they are situated in an ecclesiastical milieu, mainly near a local medieval parish church ruins and ancient graveyard. The patron saint of the church (whether he/she has a local cult or is a national or international saint) often features in the name of the well and is, in essence, regarded as the spirit or guardian of the well.

Devotees generally visit the well on the saint’s feastday where many rituals are performed (recital of prayers, rounding, drinking of water, bathing of afflicted body parts before, finally, a propitiary votive offering (usually a rag) is left on a nearby tree) in the hope of securing a

cure or some other request through the saint's intercession. The hope of securing a cure and the often-encountered penitential exercises are equally important considerations for visitors to the well. Even though many wells (which may have been venerated before Christianity or in early Christian times) have now lost their reputation for sanctity altogether, yet many belief-legends of a supernatural nature are still often imputed into the well-water, whereby the water never runs dry, it never freezes over or it simply cannot be boiled, while hagiographical origin-legends which often record thaumaturgical feats of a saint, are less frequent.

Although Catholic elements such as the Mass, the recital of prayers, the singing of hymns, processions, stations of the Cross, visiting of nearby churches and graveyards are fused with a variety of beliefs and legends from a distant past such as tree-worship, stone-worship and circumambulation, yet it is not clear if these non-Christian aspects are due to pre-Christian/early Christian inheritance or to more modern folk-beliefs.

Finally, terms such as local history, archaeology, topography, local oral tradition and the historical background of a patron saint in a particular area must also be factored in to an overall definition of a holy well and, as most wells bear or bore a name, the study of onomastics must also be given due consideration.

Some concluding remarks

I have endeavoured in the preceding pages to show the ubiquitous sacredness of water, its various applications through time and across cultures and that holy wells appear to belong to a continuum of water worship.

The ritual of drinking well-water is commonplace across cultures as is that of leaving a rag or some other propitiary gift or votive offering behind. Common legends are also found across cultures, the most striking one here being the notion that sacred waters become dry or move location when profaned, which legend is commonly found in Ireland (County Kilkenny included), England, Scotland, Wales and even in Iceland (Varner 2009, 120).

Saints, as well as benign and evil spirits, often act as guardians over waters which are deemed to have a special sanctity and which are renowned for healing properties.

Seemingly Christian and non-Christian elements or practices also appear across cultures, for example, at St. Helene's Well near Tisvilde, Denmark, 'pagan use of the site continued into the Christian era' while in Russia we encounter the virgin martyr, Praskeva Pyatnitsa, in the context of healing waters and the less benign Rusalka-ye or Russian water demons.

It is shown elsewhere (in the chapter on Rituals) that some rituals practiced by well-visitors in Ireland and elsewhere demonstrate a syncretic mix of both non-Christian and Christian elements.

Ireland, which is documented as having roughly 3,000 wells (the highest instances being recorded in Munster and Leinster) appears to punch above its weight in terms of holy well occurrence when compared to England (2,000) and Scotland (1,000). However, it must be cautioned that this figure of 3,000 was initially arrived at by Wood-Martin in the early twentieth century, a figure which Charles Plummer was to use shortly afterwards, only to be repeated over and over by subsequent authors.

Chapter 1: Literature review – primary and secondary sources

Of the five sections into which this material has been divided hereafter, the first four sections, and especially the first two, are focussed on the evidence for holy wells in County Kilkenny in primary sources and their nature as bodies of evidence. All four sets of sources or studies pertain to different times, stretching over a period of around 130 years (1837–1969). This is followed by a broader discussion of the nature of sources used in the thesis.

The first of these sources dates to the period 1837–1842 and deals with the background to the early Ordnance Survey maps on the scale of 6":1 mile, the reasons for the Survey, the background and influence of Kilkennian scholar, John O'Donovan, and others on the Survey, the material consulted by O'Donovan and his colleagues, the fieldwork conducted by them and the material which they produced, namely, The Ordnance Survey *Namebooks* for County Kilkenny (1837–1839), The Ordnance Survey *Letters* (1839), The Ordnance Survey *Memoranda* (1839–41), The Ordnance Survey *Fair Plan* maps (1839–1840) and the final product or result of all these, the first edition Ordnance Survey Maps on the scale of 6":1 mile (1842).

Attention is drawn to the number of references to holy wells in each of these Ordnance Survey studies, to patron feastdays/pattern days where applicable, to Irish language name-forms where applicable, to situational details, to hagiographical details, to the surnames of landowners where applicable and to the commonness of rituals and legends associated with the wells.

While we encounter a sizeable 492 references to holy wells in the county in the early Ordnance Survey sources, the somewhat later works of another Kilkenny scholar and antiquarian, Revd. William Carrigan (a self-inspired lone ranger in earnest compared to the communal efforts of the earlier survey) date to the period 1880–1920 and yield a phenomenal 1,230 references to the holy wells of his county, 940 references of which appear in his manuscript notebooks (the product of his studious scholarship and of his widespread fieldwork throughout the county and beyond) while his 1,600-page, four-volume Diocesan History entitled *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, published in 1905, contains a further 290 references.

Both manuscript and printed works treat of the history and antiquities of each parish, the townland names, the ancient churches, patron saints attached to them, graveyards, holy wells, raths, abbeys, monasteries, moats, castles and the history of many families and landowners.

My discussion on Revd. Carrigan treats of his early life and moulding influences, of his preparatory work for his Diocesan History, of the layout and content of his printed magnum opus, of his association with the Irish language, of the number of references to holy wells in his works, of situational details, of the commonness of surnames associated with the wells, of patron feastdays, of rituals practised at the wells and of legends pertaining to them.

The third important source, The Folklore Collections (both the Main Collection and The Schools' Survey) dates to the 1930s and contains 336 references to 96 holy wells in the county.

As well as outlining situational details, Irish language forms, commonness of surnames, feastdays, rituals and legends here, I have provided a definition of Folklore as given by Dr. Seán Ó Súilleabháin of the Irish Folklore Commission, I have described the background to folklore studies in Ireland, the Schools' Folklore Collection which outnumbers the Main Collection in terms of references to holy wells by a considerable amount, and, inter alia, reliance on Revd. Carrigan's earlier works.

The fourth important source in terms of references to holy wells in the county, A History of County Kilkenny, was published by the Tyrone-born Owen O'Kelly in 1969. He had come to Kilkenny as an Irish teacher with the Vocational Educational Committee in 1925 where he soon became immersed in the local history of his adopted county following his bicycle rounds as múinteoir taistil and his longterm fieldwork throughout the county, especially in the 1950s and 1960s.

In so far as concerns us here, the work, which is very impressive in terms of microtoponymy, contains 167 references to 129 holy wells in the county.

Once again, Irish language forms are discussed here as well as locational details of wells, feastdays, surnames of landowners of wells, rituals and legends. While his indebtedness to the earlier works of the Ordnance Survey and William Carrigan is acknowledged, examples of his independence of thought/new material are also provided.

A miscellaneous grouping of sources, yielding some 1,279 references to holy wells in the county, comprises the fifth category of sources under discussion, the most important of which are: works other than those of Carrigan which pertain to the history and antiquities of the county, e.g. the works of John Hogan (1884), William Healy (1893, 1907) and P.M. Egan (1884), certain map sources which predate the early Ordnance Survey (9 references), map references which postdate the early Ordnance Survey (270 references), references from the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and from the Transactions of the Ossory Archaeological Society, from the Old Kilkenny Review (1946–7–), from works

which pertain to local or parish histories, from The Irish Tourist Association Survey, from early Baptismal and Marriage records as well as, inter alia, printed works pertaining to hagiography, placenames and National Monuments, including many works on holy wells of both a specific and general nature.

By the early nineteenth century, the governing powers in Ireland realised that the system of local taxation in the country was inequitable and, as a result, the British government decided to embark on the systematic, scientific, country-wide mapping of Ireland on the scale of six inches to a mile (Ó Maolfabhail 1989, 3). In a publication entitled *John O'Donovan (1806–1861): a biography* (1987), Dr. Patricia Boyne reveals that in June 1824 the Spring Rice Committee instituted by the English parliament recommended that ‘a complete survey and valuation be undertaken’ (Boyne 1987, 8), the purpose of which ‘was to redefine townland boundaries and, by a national valuation of land and buildings, make rate striking more equitable’ (*ibid.*). Major Thomas Colby, Superintendent of the Ordnance Survey in Southampton, England, was to quickly realise that he would need a deputy to represent him at the Ordnance Survey headquarters in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, and in 1827 Lieutenant Thomas Aiskew Larcom of the Royal Engineers was appointed to the post (*ibid.*, 9). The survey which ‘became popularly known as Larcom’s survey’ (*ibid.*) was to work in tandem with Richard Griffith’s Boundary Survey which had been established in 1825.

Great attention to detail was to be given to the correct spelling of the placenames on the engraved maps, the majority of which had their origins in the Irish language. Those names of Irish language origin were to be transliterated from Irish to English with the intention of supplying a relatively standardised, anglicised orthography, there being no fewer than 62,000 townland names alone countrywide (*ibid.*, 16), not to mind the myriad of placenames pertaining to microtoponymy such as names of churches, crosses, forts, castles, hills, rivers, lakes, streams and wells — both holy and otherwise.

Larcom was soon to realise ‘that the key to Irish place-names lay in their Gaelic origin’ (*ibid.*) and, as a result, he decided to learn Irish from John O’Donovan in 1828 (*Carrigan IV* 357).

John O'Donovan (1806–1861): early education and moulding influences

John O'Donovan was born in the townland of Attateemore in the south-eastern portion of County Kilkenny in the civil parish of Kilcolumb and Catholic parish of Slieverue on 25/7/1806 (de hÓir 1962, 5). He was raised in the Irish-speaking parish of Slieverue (Doherty 2004, 58; Ó Muraíle 1997, 12) but 'the household language of the O'Donovans was English' (Swift 1994, 92). He spent his early formative years in a local hedge school (Doherty 2004, 58; Ó Muraíle 1997, 12) where his teacher knew Irish (Swift 1994, 92) and by the age of nine he was learning Irish and Latin (*Carrigan* IV 357; Boyne 1987, 4; Swift 1994, 92). His father's brother, Patrick O'Donovan, who lived in nearby Ballyrowragh, appears to have had a profound influence on the young John especially after the death of his father and Patrick's brother in 1817, in that he (Patrick) was 'an Irish speaker who had travelled widely on the continent before coming in the words of his nephew 'the living repository of the counties of Kilkenny, Carlow and Waterford'' (*ibid.*). From him John was moulded considerably in his love of Irish and Anglo-Irish history and traditions and 'was imbued with an intense interest in and feeling for local history, topography and genealogy' (Boyne 1987, 3).

John opened a school at Balynarg [< ?An Bhearna Dhearg/Redgap (*Liostaí Log:CC* 88)], County Kilkenny, at the age of nineteen where he was to teach 'reading and writing in Irish and English, Christian doctrine through Irish, mensuration, agriculture, navigation and astronomy' (Swift 1994, 92). Prior to this in 1821 he had been sent to a school in Waterford where he had studied Arithmetic, English Grammar and Book-Keeping (*Carrigan* IV 357).

Arriving in Dublin in 1823 he attended a Latin school till 1827 (*ibid.*). He worked with a Mr. Hardiman, author of the history of Galway, till March 1830, during which time he copied Peter Connell's Irish Dictionary and other manuscripts (*ibid.*). Soon after, during a health-improving sojourn at Heath House, County Laois, he translated the *Book of Fenagh* and some extracts from the *Annals of the Four Masters* and familiarised himself with the hagiographical works of James Ussher, James Ware and John Colgan (*ibid.*; Boyne 1987, 6, 12).

In 1830 O'Donovan applied for the post left vacant by the death of Edward O'Reilly and 'Larcom appointed him to the staff of the survey in the capacity of names-expert, to advise on the meanings of tens of thousands of Irish place-names and the most correct form of orthography to be engraved on the maps' (*ibid.*, 11).

In an article entitled 'Seán Ó Donnabháin agus a Lucht Cúnta' Dr. Ruaidhrí de Valéra divided the work conducted by O'Donovan and others both at the Dublin headquarters and

thereafter their painstaking circumambulating of the country during the period 1830–1842 into three periods, namely, Ré an Ullmhúcháin, 1830–1834; An Ré Órga, 1834–1840; and Ré an Mheatha, 1840–1842 (de Valéra 1949, 152), or the period of the survey which was preparatory (Boyne 1987, 15), the period of achievement (*ibid.*) and the period of decline.

O'Donovan was to spend most of his working hours from 1830–1834 in preparatory mode reading in libraries such as the Royal Irish Academy, Trinity College and Marsh's Library (Boyne 1987, 12; Swift 1994, 95; Doherty 2004, 20). He was, for example, from the beginning of 1832 till the autumn of the same year busily engaged in copying and translating 'Mac Firbisse's Pedigrees' as well as providing a placenames-index of the same work (Ó Muraíle 1997, 17).

While in these libraries he was 'extracting from records, books and manuscripts the ancient names of Irish places and noting items of historical and archaeological interest' (Boyne 1987, 12). Boyne asserts that those who stayed at home researching in Dublin (O'Donovan, his brother-in-law Eugene Curry, George Petrie, *et al.*) during this period were to provide a back-up service for the fieldworkers' (*ibid.*, 14), the fieldworkers being English sappers or military surveyors. Among the works researched and copied in Dublin were the seventeenth-century land *Inquisitions*, the *Down Survey Papers* (Maps), the *Annals*, the *Topographical Poems of Ó Dubhagáin and Ó hUidhrín*, Keating's *History of Ireland*, the *Lives of the Saints of Ireland*, the *Lives of St. Patrick*, the *Genealogies of Duaid Mac Firbis*, the *Calendar* (Féilire) of Aengus the Culdee, the writings of Archbishop Ussher, Sir James Ware and John Colgan (Boyne (1987), 12), Dr. John Lanigan's *Esslesiastical History of Ireland* (1822) and, *inter alia*, Mervyn Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum* (1786) (*ibid.*, 14).

O'Donovan would have been very familiar with all of these sources, many of which were still in manuscript form only in the 1830s. He perused 'two seventeenth century MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy, press-marks C II 1 (Stowe) and 23 N 28 ... both were used by O'Donovan' (Carney, *Top. Poems* xi) in relation to the aforementioned *Topographical Poems*, he would have been very au fait with a TCD manuscript by Dr. John O'Fergus (*TCDCat.* 321; O'Donovan, *ARE* I vii) concerning the *Annals of the Four Masters* and with a seventeenth-century *RIA* manuscript (*RIACat.* 2112, 2113, No. 687; O'Donovan, *ARE* I vii, viii) relating to the same source and would have studied manuscripts of these *Annals* bought by George Petrie (head of the Topographical Section from 1835–1842) in 1830 (Ó Muraíle 1997, 17, 30). O'Donovan states concerning Keating's *History of Ireland* that 'the most valuable copy of it is now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (H. 5. 26)' (Comyn, *FFÉ* I vii) and as early as January 1832 he was translating 'Mc Firbisse's

Pedigrees’, using a 1721–2 manuscript by Séamus Mág Uidhir (RIA MS 584) (Ó Muraíle 1997, 17; *idem.*, *LGen.* I 51). He would also have been familiar with manuscripts in Marsh’s Library (V. 3. 4) and in Trinity College (E. 3. 11, ‘numbered 175 in Dr. Abbott’s Catalogue’) (Plummer, *VSHP* I ix) concerning the *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, edited many years later by Charles Plummer in 1910, and he may have been aware of an early eighteenth-century Royal Irish Academy manuscript (RIA 23 D 9, No. 148), a considerable part of which (pp.422–551) is ‘A Calendar of Irish Saints in Irish ... based according to Plummer (*Misc. Hag.* 225) on *Mart. Don.*’ (*RIACat.* IV 423), the Martyrology of Donegal.

References extracted from scholarly sources such as these were to complement the anglicised names of places obtained by the surveyors on the ground, normally about half a dozen spellings per name, received from landowners, from parish priests and ministers, from elderly informants in the locality, from old maps and rent rolls, and, *inter alia*, from the Tithe Applotment Books.

After over four years of scholarly research, O’Donovan ‘set out on his first assignment to fieldwork, that in County Down’ in March 1834 (Boyne 1987, 13). The period of achievement (1834–1840) or Ré Órga was when the bulk of the meaningful fieldwork was carried out by O’Donovan and by Eugene Curry, his brother-in-law. George Petrie, who was appointed a Royal Irish Academy member in 1828 (Murray 2000, 14), was to describe O’Donovan in June 1833 as ‘the most able and judicious Irish scholar and topographer Ireland has produced for the last century’ (Ó Muraíle 1997, 21).

Fieldwork in County Derry was to follow (1834) and thereafter tireless surveying and investigative work was carried out in counties Fermanagh (1834–5), Armagh (1835), Monaghan (1835), Donegal (1835), Cavan (1836), Leitrim (1836), Sligo (1836), Longford (1837), Dublin (1837), Westmeath (1837), Kildare (1837), Offaly (1837–8), Mayo (1838), Wicklow (1838–9), Kilkenny (1839), Clare (1839), Wexford (1840), Limerick (1840), Tipperary (1840) and Laois (1840). Fieldwork was conducted in counties Waterford and Kerry in 1841, the period of decline.

Although both Larcom and Major Colby were strangers to Ireland before the six-inch survey, ‘both’, according to Dr. Boyne, ‘were deeply disturbed by the state of the poor, and became quickly involved in Ireland’s affairs’ (Boyne 1987, 42). In addition, ‘having witnessed conditions first-hand, studied the literature, and participated in debates about causes and remedies, they concluded that Ireland’s poverty, unemployment and popular discontent were due to its underdeveloped economy, agriculture and infrastructure, and they accused elites and policy makers of negligence, ignorance and mismanagement’ (*ibid.*).

Thomas Larcom planned to publish a comprehensive memoir for each county surveyed which was to include topography, geology, natural history, antiquities, old records, economic and social conditions, but the only one which was eventually published was that of part of Londonderry, Parish of Templemore, in 1837. The proposed memoirs were to accompany the maps (*ibid.*, 9, 21). Indeed, Larcom planned to enlarge the scope and broaden the focus of the Irish survey beyond a mere map-producing authority by hoping to complete ‘a full face portrait of Ireland’ (*ibid.*, 9), which in addition to the above, was to contain observations on local customs and traditions (*ibid.*, 9, 10). The topographers’ investigations were to yield insights into government and society in ancient Ireland, and in studying the evolution of Irish placenames, they had to, ‘in effect, pass in review the local history of the whole country’ (Doherty 2004, 20).

Dr. Doherty draws attention to the fact that ‘writers like Jonathon Swift [1667–1745], [Sir] Harcourt Lees [1776–1852, an Irish clergyman and political pamphleteer on behalf of Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland], Edward Ledwich [1738–1823], and John Pinkerton [1758–1826], whose works Ordnance Survey staff consulted, drew on an established tradition that Irish people were inevitably and innately inferior to the English’ (*ibid.*, 45), the majority of whom were mere Catholics and aborigines. She mentions the decline in Irish culture which had been in progress for many centuries (e.g. the destruction of the bardic schools, the enforced closure of the monasteries, the Reformation, the Elizabethan and Cromwellian wars, the dispossession of the Irish ruling class and the Catholic Church being important factors here), so much so, that by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ‘it was increasingly displaced by a hegemonic, state-supported, highly patronized English-language culture’ (*ibid.*, 57). She further cites ‘anglicization, modernization, urbanization and emigration which led to the abandonment of inherited traditions and customs’ (*ibid.*, 70).

Ordnance Survey scholars were acutely aware of defective methods of research, of partisanship, of ignorance of the Irish language, of oral tradition and topography on the part of many historians/commentators who had not been conversant in the Irish language and who knew little or nothing about the ancient manuscript tradition or folklore and folk customs. Indeed, they ‘complained about the weak state of scholarship in Ireland: amateurish and flawed methodologies, namely, neglect of physical, material and oral evidence’ (*ibid.*, 79).

All of these factors were to lead to a noticeable urgency in the Ordnance Survey investigations. The topographers would promote ‘a spirit of impartial investigation by publishing the ancient records in a faithful and ungarbled manner and by comparing them with the physical remains’ (*ibid.*, 85), unlike other writers who were to receive a lambasting

or at least a recommendation less than laudatory from some of the Survey staff (mainly, but not exclusively, by O'Donovan), notable personages in this category being William Beauford (Boyne 1987, 43, 44; Swift 1994, 97; Ó Muraíle 1997, 24, 52; Ó Cadhla 2013, 346), Mervyn Archdall (Boyne 1987, 43; Ó Muraíle 1997, 62), Edward Ledwich (Boyne 1987, 43, 53; Ó Muraíle 1997, 24, 52; Ó Cadhla 2013, 346), Charles Vallancey (Boyne 1987, 43; Ó Muraíle (1997), 24, 63; Ó Cadhla 2013, 346, 351), Charles Coote (Boyne 1987, 43), Crofton Croker (*ibid.*, 44, 45; Ó Cadhla 2013, 347), William Betham (Boyne 1987, 45; Doherty, 112, 117), Roger O'Connor (Boyne 1987, 43; Ó Cadhla 2013, 346), and Thomas James Rawson (Boyne 1987, 43).

Writing from Ballina in May 1838, O'Donovan shuns the writings of Archdall, and 'all the Dublin Society investigators, who have either omitting noticing these ruins all together, or come to the most puerile and ridiculous conclusions concerning their names and origin' (*OSL(MO)* I 34).

In addition, O'Donovan was to complain to Larcom 'about settlers' ignorance of Irish culture and indifference towards Irish history and tradition even though they had been in Ireland for three centuries or more' (Doherty 2004, 134). People razed forts to reclaim the land, cottages were often built from the stones of ancient buildings and monuments, 'even churches and graveyards were considered legitimate quarries' (*ibid.*, 91). Landowners often 'blocked and diverted wells believed to be holy or to have curative powers because of antipathy towards 'superstition'' (*ibid.*, 131), while clerics discouraged visitations to sacred sites such as wells, trees, bushes, and ruined churches, known as stations, rounds and patrons' (*ibid.*, 130). O'Donovan was to even lament the fact that persons in Cavan (May 1836) were more interested in politics than in 'miracles and holy wells' and knew more about elections than patron saints (*ibid.*, 137; *OSL(Ca)* 70). He was also dispirited by the contempt of younger generations towards folklore, so much so that they 'cannot spare time to be rehearsing old stories, which, to a people now possessed of no ordinary cunning and sagacity, appear too silly and worthy only of the folly of their grandfathers who, having little or no rent to pay, spent a great part of their time idle, talking of the wonders of the golden age' (Doherty 2004, 132).

In addition, the loss of popular folklore and the decline in popular practices put traditions about 'local history, prominent people, patron saints, religious orders, ancient sites and institutions of religious and political importance' (*ibid.*, 136, 137) at risk and there was now an urgent and pressing need to try and salvage as many of the customs and monumental sites as possible from the threat of ignorance, disregard and potential oblivion. This daunting task

was to be considerably facilitated by O'Donovan and his dedicated and scholarly associates, given their understanding of the myriad of problems outlined above and their willingness to apply their knowledge and expertise to urgently address the situation.

They were tasked with safeguarding the past for future generations, George Petrie's letter to O'Donovan, dated July 7th, 1837, being somewhat reflective of this task and pressing need, 'do not hurry but try to get as much of everything as you can, manners, customs, traditions, legends, songs, etc. The opportunities at present afforded may never occur again' (Boyne 1987, 40; Ó Cadhla 2013, 338), the Ireland of the then Ordnance Survey being described by Dr. Stiofán Ó Cadhla as 'uncivilised, native, poor [and] underdeveloped' (Boyne 1987, 40; Ó Cadhla 2013, 338).

William Carrigan (1860–1924): early life and moulding influences

William Carrigan was born of farming stock in the townland of Ruthstown in the civil parish of Kilmadum and Catholic parish of Muckalee to the north-east of Kilkenny city during the summer of 1860, the youngest of thirteen children (Coleman 1927, 624, 625; Ó Fearghail 2000, 109; Ó Fearghail 2005, xii). His father, James, and his mother, Johanna, both good Irish speakers, were born in the early nineteenth century, James being born in the townland of Kilmagar and civil parish of Kilderry (a neighbouring parish of Kilmadum to the south-east) in September 1817 and Johanna in the townland of Killarney (Kilfarney) to the south-east of Kilkenny city in the spring of 1816 (*Carrigan NB* 48.56, 57), some ten years after the birth of John O'Donovan in the townland of Attateemore (some distance to the south-east of Killarney) on 25/7/1806 (de hÓir 1962, 5).

He attended the local national school in nearby Ballyfoyle and in 1871, aged eleven, both he and his brother, Patrick, went to a classical school in Wellington Square in Kilkenny (Coleman 1927, 626; Ó Fearghail 2005, xiii) and in 1873 they went to St. Kieran's College where William was to spend five years as a student (Coleman 626). In 1874 he figured in prize lists for Latin, Greek, French, Geometry and Algebra, History and Geography (Ó Fearghail (2005), xiv). In 1877 he secured a B.A. in Philosophy (*ibid.*) and was awarded a Catholic University scholarship (Ó Fearghail 2000, 109). He subsequently spent five years in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth (1878–1883) (*ibid.*), where, surprisingly, 'he did not distinguish himself in Ecclesiastical History' (Ó Fearghail 2005, xiv).

It is recorded that during his youth he used to accompany his father, James, as he deciphered old tombstone inscriptions in the local graveyards and that the young Carrigan tried to decipher them himself when he had just learned to read (Coleman 1927, 625). His father was also given to ‘entertaining *seanachies* who were able to recite Ossianic poems, and tell tales handed down by tradition from ancient times’ (*ibid.*) and ‘it was thus in early childhood that William Carrigan’s mind received the bent towards the love and study of the past’ (*ibid.*).

While Carrigan’s magnum opus, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, was published in four volumes in 1905, his collection of manuscript writings were begun in Maynooth in October 1881, at the beginning of his second year in theology (Ó Fearghail 2005, xv). In his early notebooks he was to take comprehensive notes of Ossorian interest from Keating’s *History*, Lanigan’s *Ecclesiastical History*, *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* and the *Annals of the Four Masters* (*ibid.*).

Around the same time he used to spend much of his free time with a Mr. Shelley of Callan, ‘helping him to make “rubblings” of inscriptions on tombstones’ (Brennan 1953, 2; Ó Fearghail 2005, xv).

Dr. Ó Fearghail lists the following nineteenth-century developments which were to play major roles in shaping the young Carrigan’s historical interests: ‘John O’Donovan and Eugene Curry had left a valuable collection of letters on County Kilkenny written in the course of the Ordnance Survey of 1838–39. The Kilkenny Archaeological Society, founded in 1849, together with its journal, had given an undoubted impetus to the study of local history and archaeology in the county. The Ossory Archaeological Society founded by Bishop Moran in 1874 and its transactions had done much to awaken an interest in ecclesiastical history, especially the history of individual parishes and of the diocese as a whole’ (Ó Fearghail 2000, 109).

The Kilkenny Archaeological Society was to develop later into the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and the Ossory Archaeological Society was founded expressly for the promotion of the study of the ecclesiastical history of the diocese. Among the Kilkenny priests who contributed papers to the Journal of the Society were Fathers Nicholas Murphy, Philip Moore, John Holohan and William Healy, while Dr. Comerford, afterwards Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, was also a valued contributor. It has been recorded that it was Carrigan’s ‘reading of this Journal, more than anything else, that fixed his mind on the history of the diocese’ (Coleman 1927, 630).

Bishop Moran ordained Carrigan to the priesthood in the Cathedral of Kilkenny on 24th February 1884 (Coleman 1927, 627) and after ordination he joined the Ossory Archaeological Society, making three contributions in the year 1886 alone on matters concerning the priests of the parish of Muckalee, the priests of the parish of St. John's, Kilkenny, and the priests of the parish of St. Patrick's, Kilkenny (Ó Fearghail 2005, xxxvi).

It was around this time (1886) that Carrigan began a practice which he was to continue for the rest of his life, namely, 'spending some weeks of the summer working in the Public Record Office, Dublin, and in various Dublin libraries' (Ó Fearghail 2005, xvii), 'thirty-seven years' vacations in all (*ibid.*).

Instead of taking summer holidays, he was, according to Bishop Brownrigg, who was to replace Bishop Moran as bishop of Ossory, to bury 'himself for weeks together amid the musty tomes and worm-eaten manuscripts of the Record Office, the Royal Irish Academy, the British Museum or the Bodleian Library' (*Carrigan I xvii* (Preface); Coleman 1928, 70).

He left St. Kieran's College in August 1886 at his own request and was appointed curate in Ballyragget where he was to remain for five years, August 7th, 1886 to June 20th, 1891 (Coleman 1928, 65) and where he began to gather historical, archaeological, ecclesiastical, onomastical and genealogical material in his notebooks in a systematic fashion concerning the parish of Ballyragget and the neighbouring parishes of Lisdowney, Conahy, Freshford and Castlecomer (Ó Fearghail 2005, xviii) and indeed further afield in the parishes of Urlingford, Rathdowney, Borris-in-Ossory, Callan, Dunamaggan, Danesfort and Windgap (Ó Fearghail 2000, 110). Dr. Ó Fearghail expresses the view that 'it is likely that he was already thinking seriously of a diocesan history' (*ibid.*) during his curacy in Ballyragget.

In the Autumn of 1890 Bishop Brownrigg expressed to Carrigan his wish that he should write a diocesan history and assured him that he would give him a firm commitment of support (Ó Fearghail 1997, 194). The following year he was appointed curate at Conahy where he was to serve for two years, June 20th, 1891 to July 22nd, 1893 (Coleman 1928, 65). While here he continued his note-taking based on his fieldwork and on his visits to the Public Record Office. Here he took copious notes from many old Irish speakers 'who could give the old names of townlands and families for miles around' (Coleman 1928, 58). While in Conahy he also wrote what was to later become notebooks 166 and 167, which contain the succession of priests in every parish of the diocese from as far back as he could go and also parish priests and curates (Ó Fearghail 1997, 194). These notebooks were to greatly embellish his later magnum opus concerning all matters of an ecclesiastical nature therein and were completed by 1897.

He was appointed curate at Templeorum in July 1893 where he was to serve for two years, July 22nd, 1893 to May 11th, 1895 (Coleman 1928, 65) and it was here that he gathered material on the southern parishes. During his curacy here a certain James Walsh recalled that after saying Mass and visiting the sick, the young curate would, 'without returning home, hunt up some old man to gather local history, taking pencilled notes, and subsequently correcting or modifying the tradition thus received by a slightly different version of the same incidents obtained from some other old man, and perhaps that same afternoon he'd be on his knees in some neighbouring churchyard rubbing over some semi-indecipherable moss-smothered tombstone' (Ó Fearghail 2000, 112).

After being appointed curate at Rathdowney, where he was to serve for two years, May 11th, 1895 to 3rd May, 1897 (Coleman 1928, 65), he gathered material on the northern parishes of the diocese (Ó Fearghail 2000, 112) and on his appointment as curate to Durrow on May 5th, 1897 (where he was to serve until June 4th, 1909) that he began to write his diocesan history by which time (May 1897) 'he had systematically visited every parish in the diocese. He had walked the ground, covered every townland, surveyed every ruin, and with his observant eye and ever ready measuring tape, recorded items of archaeological interest no matter how inaccessible. He had gathered information on churches and chapels that had long disappeared or were in ruins, old graveyards, holy wells, raths, castles, old roads, indeed any significant element on the landscape. He had interviewed a great many people, particularly old people, Irish speakers; and local seanachies, gathering old traditions and making careful inquiries about placenames and surnames and their Irish pronunciation' (*ibid.*).

Some illustrative examples of the Irish pronunciations of placenames, of surnames, of personal names and of common nouns in Irish gathered from elderly inhabitants and entered into his notebooks are as follows:

Shawn Tresnawn = John Sexton (*Carrigan NB 32.129*)

Shawn O Maghezh = John Maher (*Carrigan NB 32.129*)

Ballyhimmen = Baile Shaemeen (*Carrigan NB 32.130*)

Kilmacow = Killacoo (*Carrigan NB 32.130*)

Michael Fogarty, born in Ballinaslee in 1817, supplied him, *inter alia*, with the following:

Shawn Acusthigeen = John Costigan (*Carrigan NB 48.15*)

Walsh, Shawn Bronnoch (*Carrigan NB 48.19*)

Dillon, Shawn Dhileen (*Carrigan NB* 48.19)
Archer, Shawn Awshure (*Carrigan NB* 48.19)
Feehan, Shawn O Feechawn (*Carrigan NB* 48.23)
Sour milk, Bongageear (*Carrigan NB* 48.23)
A foal, shorrach (*Carrigan NB* 48.26)
a cattle pen, crō (*Carrigan NB* 48.26)
Lime, ay-olh (*Carrigan NB* 48.26)
Plough, ceoghtha (*Carrigan NB* 48.29).

And ‘the following from Paddy Broderick of Aharney born about 1820’ (*Carrigan NB* 71.64):

Ballykealy, Bolleechaela (*Carrigan NB* 71.64)
Aharney, Aughurna (*Carrigan NB* 71.64)
John Moylan, Shawn Maelown (*Carrigan NB* 71.65)
Peg Garret, Mawzhee nhee Geroadh (*Carrigan NB* 71.65)

For a scholarly and insightful compilation of and discussion on such surnames see Ó hÓgáin 2000–1, 191–210.

In the Preface to the later magnum opus Abraham Brownrigg, Bishop of Ossory, noted the importance of such elderly informants/interviewees in securing information from the past which was disappearing now some twenty-one years after Carrigan began to gather materials for his diocesan history (a view with which Carrigan would have undoubtedly concurred): ‘When he started with his labours he found in almost every parish a few venerable octogenarians—men and women—who linked in their persons the glorious Ireland of the past with the new, changed, and still changing Ireland of today. These venerable men and women, for reasons easily understood, could not call upon much book-knowledge or learning, but they had qualifications of a much more valuable character to the hunter after the lore, legends, and traditions of our country. They spoke and loved the Irish language and scarcely knew any other, they were full of Irish genius, steeped up to their grey hairs and over with the Irish spirit, and their eyes never kindled with such a holy fire, as when they were asked, above all by the priest [Carrigan], to recount the folk-lore and traditions of their country. They are now gone, one and all, and have left their country all the poorer by their departure’ (*Carrigan I* xiv (Preface)).

Just as John O'Donovan had spent most of his working hours during 1831 and 1832 in preparatory mode reading in Dublin libraries, 'extracting from records, books and manuscripts the ancient names of Irish places and noting items of historical and archaeological interest' (Boyne 1987, 12) before he was to engage in countrywide fieldwork, so too Carrigan's note-taking (beginning in 1881 when he was a student in Maynooth and only ending in 1923, the year before his death) while preparing his diocesan history was to fill no fewer than 'a dozen large folio and quarto books and a hundred and fifty or so of small octavo and still smaller notebooks' (Coleman 1928, 384), the legible writing always being on both sides of the page. Illustrative examples of his studious and comprehensive note-taking include extracts from Freeman's Journal, 1764–1780 (*Carrigan NB 2*), extracts from Finn's Journal, 1767–1784 (*Carrigan NB 2*), from the Book of Lecan, the Book of Leinster (*Carrigan NB 9*), from O'Hart's Irish Pedigrees (*Carrigan NB 15*), from the Book of Ballymote (*Carrigan NB 17*), from Keating's History of Ireland (*Carrigan NB 80*), from Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History (*Carrigan NB 56, 77*), from the Annals of the Four Masters (*Carrigan NB 77, 80*), from the Ordnance Survey Letters (*Carrigan NB 5, 74, 82, 89, 165*), from the Annals of Loch Cé (*Carrigan NB 100*), from O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary (*Carrigan NB 100*), from Joyce's Irish Placenames (*Carrigan NB 100*), from Burke's Landed Gentry (*Carrigan NB 106*), from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (*Carrigan NB 126*), from the Calendar of Papal Registers (*Carrigan NB 83, 155*), from the Irish Ecclesiastical Record (*Carrigan NB 56*), from Archdall's Monasticon Hibernicum (*Carrigan NB 20*), as well as, *inter alia*, Parish Registers (*Carrigan NB 19*), graveyard inscriptions (*Carrigan NB 19* (Callan), *Carrigan NB 24* (Templeorum)), notes on County Kilkenny families, such as the Shortalls, the Daltons, the Purcells, the Dens, the Cantwells (*Carrigan NB 21*), the Walshes of Tullaherin and the Purcells of Mullenbeg (*Carrigan NB 46*) and townland names in south Kilkenny (*Carrigan NB 66, 97*).

Nor indeed was the information garnered in these wide-ranging notebooks confined to the diocese of Ossory or the county of Kilkenny, as Ambrose Coleman, the Dominican historian and Carrigan's biographer, points out: 'In one of them he has 'Notes on the succession of parish priests in the diocese of Waterford and Lismore'. In another he gives 'Lists of Dublin priests returned from abroad' in the Penal Times. In another 'Priests of the Kilmore diocese, 1750' and in [yet] another, the succession of parish priests in the diocese of Cork' (Coleman 1928, 388).

The actual writing of the diocesan history of Ossory in Durrow was to take six years, 1897–1903 (Coleman 1928, 69) and in the opinion of Ambrose Coleman, it 'far surpasses in

extent, minuteness and accuracy all other diocesan histories hitherto published' (Coleman 1927, 624).

Carrigan's first of four volumes treats of the extent of the kingdom of Ossory, its civil divisions and history, especially that of the Mac Gillpatrick's after which he presents a series of chapters on the Bishops of Ossory, from the first occupant of the See, Ciarán of Saighir, to Bishop Brownrigg (seventy bishops in all).

The second volume deals with the history and antiquities of the northern deanery, beginning with Seirkeiran (26 pages) after which are discussed the parishes of Aghaboe (54 pages), Ballyragget (45), Borris in Ossory (21), Camross (10), Castlecomer (15), Castletown (17), Clough (4), Conahy (18), Durrow (36), Freshford (30), Galmoy (23), Johnstown (18), Lisdowney (21), Rathdowney (22) and Urlingford (20).

The third volume treats of the middle deanery including Kilkenny City and aspects of its civil and ecclesiastical history, the parishes in question here being St. Mary's (52 pages), St. Canice's (67), St. Patrick's (32), St. John's (49), Callan (63), Clara (18), Danesfort (28), Gowran (28), Kilmanagh (26), Muckalee (38), Tullaherin (12) and Tullaroan (19).

The final volume treats of the parishes of the southern deanery, namely Aghaviller (13 pages), Ballyhale (20), Dunnamaggan (54), Glenmore (15), Inistioge (29), Kilmacow (17), Mooncoin (24), Mullinavat (10), Rosbercon (19), Slieverue (14), Templeorum (42), Thomastown (55) and Windgap (20).

In his treatment of individual parishes the author appears to follow a clear pattern, beginning with a short description of the parish after which he proceeds to give the history and antiquities of the parish and of the townlands therein. He generally discusses the placenames giving their pronunciation and meaning in Irish and treats of ancient churches (very often giving detailed measurements of the ruins and describing architectural details (325 churches in total)), patron saints attached to them, adjoining ancient graveyards, ancient tombstone inscriptions, holy wells, raths, abbeys (8), monasteries (31), moats, old roads, castles (193), the history of the families associated with them and the succession of parish priests in each post-reformation parish.

The 1,660 closely-printed pages of the entire work are greatly embellished and enhanced by the inclusion of some 240 photographs and many illustrations from books and archaeological journals, by the inclusion of 1,500 medieval inscriptions (Phelan 1976, 148) and no less than 'almost a thousand will extracts' (Ó Fearghail 2000, 117).

Dr. Fearghus Ó Fearghail remarks that Carrigan included in his *History* a 'great deal of illustrative material — photographs, drawings and illustrations — about two hundred and

forty in all' (Ó Fearghail 2000, 113) which was something of a new departure for a diocesan history, and that 'in comparison with the then existing diocesan histories of [Anthony] Cogan [*The Diocese of Meath: ancient and modern*, 1862–70], [Michael] Comerford [*Collections relating to the dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin*, 1883–86] and [James] Lavery [*An historical account of the diocese of Down and Connor — ancient and modern*, 1878–95], Carrigan's work had a more elaborate design and a much broader focus' (*ibid.*).

An indication of the thoroughness of the Irish language name-forms garnered and secured by the author may be seen by the following illustrative example of Ballyconra in which phonetical versions such as *Bollia-coonraw*, *Bollia-counraw*, *Bollia-chounrawin*, *Beeoll-ō-coonraw* and *Beeoll-ō-counraw* were documented (*Carrigan II* 319).

Two years after the publication of his work an anonymous and virulent critique in book form extending to 115 octavo pages was published. Margaret Phelan refers to the work in question, *Criticism of the History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory* by G.P.O. (subsequently discovered to be William Healy, P.P. of Johnstown) stating that the dissenter 'so thoroughly disapproved of the History that he wrote not a review, not a letter, but a whole book of 115 pages in carping disagreement with William Carrigan' (Phelan 1976, 155). Although the author (Healy) 'showed considerable acquaintance with the history of the diocese and with Irish history in general' (Coleman 1928, 73), yet, 'the tone of the production was sneering and contemptuous' (*ibid.*). By way of illustration he took Carrigan to task 'for putting into 'imperishable print' the incredible legends taken from the mouths of country clowns and cronies' (*ibid.*). Ó Fearghail notes that 'Healy was clearly nettled by what he perceived as a lack of recognition of [Bishop] Moran's work and by Carrigan's sharp dismissal at times of the opinions of authorities such as O'Donovan, O'Curry, Joyce, Moran and his own' (Ó Fearghail 2005, xxxi, xxxii). The critic devotes thirty pages of the work 'to show that Father Carrigan was an unblushing plagiarist and he places in parallel columns the respective accounts given by the author and the Cardinal [Moran] of several of the Bishops' (Coleman 1928, 74), much of which Ambrose Coleman refutes in defence of the subject of his biography (*ibid.*). In addition, the critic disparaged at length 'several of the author's theories and conclusions with regard to the ancient boundaries of the diocese, his interpretation of certain place-names and the identification of sites of ancient battles' (*ibid.*), to which criticism Coleman remarks in a somewhat neutral fashion that 'authors must always be prepared for honest criticism' (*ibid.*)

Although Dr. Ó Fearghail is hugely complimentary of Carrigan's magnum opus as a whole, describing it as a 'monumental work' (Ó Fearghail 2005, ix), yet he remarks that 'one

drawback that Carrigan's work had in common with works of the time was the incomplete nature of the index, particularly the index of persons' (*op. cit.* xxxvi).

Carrigan and the Irish language

Although his father, James, was 'a good Irish speaker' and his mother, Johanna, was 'a fine Irish speaker' with a 'rich store of Gaelic' (*Carrigan NB* 48.56, 57), yet the young Carrigan was brought up as an English speaker and he appears to have regretted this all his life and although he had many Irish words, yet he was never a really fluent Irish speaker (Brennan 1953, 1; Phelan 1976, 148, 149; Nic Eoin 1990, 468). In addition to the fact that James Carrigan does not appear to have spoken Irish to his children, the Irish language was not taught in primary schools (Brennan 1953, 1). The young William did, however, learn some Irish while attending Mr. McDonald's school in Kilkenny from an Irish teacher, Mr. Meany, whom both William and his brother, Patrick, used to meet on their walks (Ó Fearghail 2005, xiii). He was subsequently taught Irish at St. Kieran's College by a Patrick Murphy, 'a native of Ballyhale, who was pro-president of the college from 1875 to 1885' (*ibid.* xiv) and in the Christmas examinations of 1877 he acquitted himself well in German and Irish (*ibid.*).

Ambrose Coleman informs us that although Carrigan never became fluent in the language, yet 'he knew eighteen hundred Irish nouns and adjectives, nearly all of them place-names' (Coleman 1927, 625), a fact which is clearly seen in his notebooks and in his *History*. Dr. Máire Nic Eoin, however, stresses that many of his informants during the course of his fieldwork were bilingual and not necessarily regular users of the Irish language, but yet, he does mention some individuals who were 'specifically Irish speakers' (Nic Eoin 1990, 468).

Towards the end of his life Carrigan remembered the days of his youth with an element of nostalgia when nearly all the older generation around him were Irish speakers. He recalled the congregation at his native chapel of Ballyfoyle some fifty years previously, 'the old men all dressed up in the Irish style, even to the riding coat, and the married women in their picturesque hooded cloaks; and all of them Irish speakers' (Coleman 1927, 626). One such person would have been a Máire Brían, 'the last of our Kilkenny people who never sullied her lips with English' (Coleman 1928, 392). He clearly recalls her coming out from Mass at Ballyfoyle chapel about 1876 at around ninety years of age, 'with hooded cloak covering her widow's cap' (*ibid.*). He would also include his grandmother, Margaret Hoban, in this category of Irish language speakers of yore: 'My own grandmother lived beside her [Máire Brían], only a wall separating the two yards. She, too, I am proud to say, never spoke a word

of English. How sad it is to think that there's scarcely a single word of Irish now among the old people in the Ballyfoyle Glens. Please God, it will not be so in future, and that a day will come when the people of the Glens will be just as blissfully ignorant of English as were Máire Brían and Máirgréad Ní Óbáin' (*ibid.*).

Writing to a friend the previous year [1922] he recalls that while a curate in Conahy some thirty years previously 'there were still some good old Irish speakers there, who could give the old names of townlands and families for miles around' (Coleman 1928, 58) and that he took copious notes from them and 'from many Irish speakers all through Co. Kilkenny' (*ibid.*).

By 1851 only 15% of the population of the county claimed to have a knowledge of Irish, a figure which was to drop to under 5% by 1891 (*Duan. Osr.* 12; Nic Eoin 1990, 467), while the population of the county after the Famine decreased from 158,746 in 1851 to 87,261 in 1891 to 79,159 in 1901 (Nic Eoin 467).

Ambrose Coleman contends that Carrigan was not taught Irish at home during his youth as 'the spirit of the time was against it. The people were struggling to free themselves from the stranglehold of landlordism and the dominant Protestant Church. Irish, they thought, was the mark of the helot, and by common consent they tried to suppress it in the coming generation' (Coleman 1927, 625).

Dr. Nic Eoin remarks that Carrigan's 'life story is indicative of a broad trend in nineteenth century society Ireland — the language shift associated with upward mobility in the well-to-do Catholic class of big farmer [e.g. James Carrigan], shopkeeper and merchant' (Nic Eoin 468). She adds that 'Carrigan's *History* is the main source of information on clerical attitudes in the diocese of Ossory and it is apparent that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the clergy of the diocese did not use Irish in their communications with each other. The bishops in particular seem to have been loath to use the language and only refer to it when it is of the utmost importance that some message be communicated to the ordinary people' (*ibid.*).

Yet Carrigan was to retain a lifelong interest in the language and to use it effectively in his phonetic versions of placenames in his *History* and of placenames, surnames and common Irish nouns in many of his notebooks.

'Carrigan's *History* and antiquities appeared in mid-August 1905' (Ó Fearghail 2005, xxix) at which time he was still a curate in Durrow where he was to serve in that capacity for another four years until 4/6/1909 (Coleman 1928, 65) when he was appointed parish priest of Durrow (*ibid.*). At Bishop Brownrigg's request he was conferred with the degree of Doctor of

Divinity in 1906 (*ibid.*; Ó Fearghail 2005, xxxi) and we learn that the almost twenty years ‘remaining to William Carrigan after the publication of the History were just like the 44 that preceded it. He still kept on recording antiquities, reading in the Public Record Office and the libraries and becoming more and more unworldly every day’ (Phelan 1976, 155).

He appears to have followed a rigid and somewhat ascetic daily routine, attending to his parochial duties in the mornings, saying Mass, visiting the schools and the sick, taking lunch at three o’clock followed by a short walk and eventually retiring at four o’clock to his study where he would work into the night without any fire and with only candles to light the page (*ibid.*).

He was promoted to the position of Canon of Mayne on October 30th, 1911, was a member of the Kildare Archaeological Society and found a place for some of his unpublished material in the Journal of the County Waterford Archaeological Society while in Durrow and Mayne concerning matters or items of interest such as the ‘Derivation of Fenoagh’ (1906), ‘Scraps on Walsh Mountain history’ (1906), ‘The O’Neills of Ballyneal’ (1906), ‘Old Waterford Wills’ (1906), ‘The ancient temporalities of the united dioceses of Waterford and Lismore’ (1907), further ‘Scraps on Walsh Mountain history’ (1907), (1909), (1911), (1913) (Ó Fearghail 2005, xxxvi, xxxvii). He contributed papers to *Archivium Hibernicum* (1912), (1913), (1914), (1915) concerning Catholic episcopal wills and had previously written a paper concerning ‘The old priests of the Co. Cork’ in the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* (1909). Two papers were subsequently published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* concerning ‘Entries relating to John O’Donovan and his immediate relatives’ (1915) and ‘The Wayside Cross at Errill’ (1923), the year before his death (Coleman 1928, 270; Ó Fearghail 2005, xxxvii).

Canon Carrigan developed a valvular disease of the heart during a flu epidemic in 1918, he contracted a severe cold in November 1924 which was to develop into pneumonia from which he died the following month (December 12th, 1924) aged 64 (Ó Fearghail 2000, 115).

Folklore Collections (1930s): origins and formative influences

In one of his many scholarly publications pertaining to folklore entitled *Irish Folk Custom and Belief*, Dr. Seán Ó Súilleabháin of the Irish Folklore Commission attempted in 1967 to define the wide-ranging and multifaceted term, folklore, as follows: ‘Folklore is a very comprehensive term to connote the complex of oral traditions of all peoples. It embraces not

only their popular beliefs and customs, but also their traditional tales, legends, songs, proverbs, prayers, charms and riddles — in fact, any type of oral literature which has a more or less set form. It also includes local social history or *seanchas*, as it is called, and it can contribute to a science such as ethnology by providing material for a study of the ways in which people have lived in the past' (Ó Súilleabháin 1967, 7).

Given such words as 'popular beliefs and customs', 'traditional tales', 'legends', 'prayers' mentioned above, it will hardly come as a surprise that sources pertaining to folklore contain a far greater instance of rituals and legends associated with holy wells than the early works of the Ordnance Survey and even outnumber or outweigh the comprehensive works of Carrigan concerning folkloric details.

In his informative and intuitive publication entitled *Locating Irish Folklore: tradition, modernity, identity*, Dr. Diarmuid Ó Giolláin mentions, inter alia, that the Gaelic League, founded by Douglas Hyde in 1893, had 'a membership approaching fifty thousand by 1904' (Ó Giolláin 2000, 119) and that the full-time organisers (*timirí*) and travelling teachers, mostly native speakers of Irish, 'taught the Irish language as well as Irish dancing, history, folklore and music' (*ibid.*) as well as organising competitions and entertainments (*feiseanna, céilithe, aeraíochtaí*).

Writing in 1927, Dr. Séamus Ó Duilearga acknowledged the contribution made by the Gaelic League in its attempts at promoting Irish folklore over the previous few decades: 'apart from the publication of occasional books and pamphlets containing small collections of folklore during the last 40 years, no serious and systematic attempt has hitherto been made to record that rich heritage of folklore which has been recognised by continental scholars to be of first-rate importance. An exception may be made, perhaps, in the case of the Gaelic League which, annually, over a period of 30 years, awarded prizes at its *feiseanna* and at the annual *Oireachtas* for folk-tales, folk-songs, collections of place-names, and so on' (Ó Duilearga 1927, 6). He also regrets the fact that a considerable body of such collections had been irretrievably lost during the troublous period, 1916–1921.

He does, however, acknowledge the positive contribution made by certain publications in their attempts at promoting folklore, namely, *An Lóchrann* in Munster (1907), *An Stoc* in Connacht (1917) and *An tUltach* in Ulster (1924) (*ibid.*; Ó Giolláin 2000, 131). Ó Giolláin (*ibid.* 128) points to the fact that 'the legacy of the Gaelic League was instrumental in getting official support 'for the task of recording the folklore of Ireland' and he mentions the Swedish folklorist, Carl Wilhelm von Sydow, who played a role in encouraging Séamus Ó Duilearga and others in Ireland. He was, for example, to assist Ó Duilearga in visiting

‘folklore institutions in the Nordic countries in order to study their methods’ (*ibid.* 128, 129). Von Sydow, who had first come to Ireland in 1920, arranged a meeting with Éamon de Valera in 1924, ‘convincing him of the importance of recording Ireland’s folklore’ (*ibid.* 129).

The following year (1925), Ó Duilearga attempted to found a folklore society along with a fellow Antrim man, Fionán Mac Coluim (*ibid.* 130), who was busy collecting folklore and folk songs, promoting the Irish language and raising funds. By the end of 1926, as a result of a notice placed by Mac Coluim in the newspapers, ‘a meeting was held by sixteen people, including Douglas Hyde and Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha (1883–1964)’, the purpose of which meeting was to explore the possibility of founding a folklore society. Ó Duilearga was also to consult ‘the eminent Norwegian folklorist and Celtic scholar Reidar Christiansen on such a society’ (*ibid.*) and at a meeting held on November 1st, 1927 the Folklore of Ireland Society was founded, at which juncture the members undertook to publish a folklore journal *Béaloideas I* (June 1927–), having Ó Siochfhradha as its president, Hyde as its treasurer, Mac Coluim as one of its two secretaries and ‘Ó Duilearga as editor of the journal and librarian’ (*ibid.*).

By 1932 Ó Duilearga was already able to announce that the Society, some five years after its founding, had amassed two million words in its collection of folklore (*ibid.* 132), the Irish Folklore Institute having been founded in 1930 with him (Ó Duilearga) as its director, and in 1935 the Irish government established *Coimisiún Béaloideas Éireann* (the Irish Folklore Commission) with Ó Duilearga (who had been appointed a lecturer in folklore at University College Dublin the previous year and was to be on secondment to the Commission from 1935) being appointed as honorary director and Seán Ó Súilleabháin (1903–1996) as archivist (Ó Giolláin 2000, 129, 132). Some two years later Ó Súilleabháin was to publish a handbook for folklore collectors, based on the Uppsala classification system, entitled *Láimhleabhar Béaloideas* (1937) and an enlarged version of the work, entitled *A Handbook of Irish Folklore* was to appear in 1942 (*ibid.* 132).

Ó Súilleabháin’s *Láimhleabhar* and *Handbook* publications were to guide the folklore collectors who were to work assiduously on the main collection covering matters such as ‘Settlement Dwelling’, ‘Communication and Trade’, ‘The Community’, ‘Human Life’, ‘Nature’, ‘Folk Medicine’, ‘Time’, ‘Principles and Rules of Popular Belief and Practice’, ‘Mythological Tradition’, ‘Historical Tradition’, ‘Religious Traditions’ and ‘Popular Oral Literature’ (*ibid.* 135) and some years previously, in April 1934, the Secretary General of the Department of Education, Seosamh Ó Néill, had issued an official departmental circular

(Circular 9/34) concerning the gathering of information on holy wells, many questions regarding which were to appear in the main collection around the same time (*NFC* 468.4).

In 1937–8 it was decided that a scheme to record folklore with the aid of schoolchildren was to be carried out with the co-operation of the Department of Education and the Irish National Teachers Organisation, during which time some 100,000 senior primary school pupils in 5,000 primary schools in the twenty-six counties of the Irish Free State were to amass some 5,000 notebooks, totalling around half a million words (Ó Catháin 1988, 19), from suitable informants, mainly parents, grandparents and neighbours, over the period 1/7/1937–31/12/1938 (*ibid.* 22). The work was to cover 55 thematic categories (*ibid.* 21), along the lines of the main collection outlined above, relevant themes being covered by the pupils vis à vis holy wells being ‘In the Penal Times’, ‘Local Place-Names’, ‘Local Cures’, ‘My Home District’, ‘Our Holy Wells’, ‘Festival Customs’, ‘The Local Patron Saint’, ‘Local Monuments’, ‘Local Ruins’, ‘Religious Stories’, ‘The Old Graveyards’ and ‘Historical Traditions’ (Ó Giolláin 2000, 135).

The total number of pages gathered for the six counties of Munster amounted to 123,840, followed by Connacht (104,580 pages), Leinster (87,900 — there being no fewer than 9,000 pages alone amassed in the case of County Kilkenny, somewhat behind counties Meath (12,000) and Westmeath (11,340) only in the same province) and Ulster (68,340 — which composite figure includes counties Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan only) (Ó Catháin 1988, 23, 25).

A feature which would appear to be unique to the Folklore Collections is the recurrent and somewhat humorous and biased mindset of the schoolchildren concerning Protestants, a mindset which in the 1930s would appear to have been shaped or influenced by informants of a previous generation in the form of parents, grandparents, elderly neighbours and other relatives. Neither the early Ordnance Survey documents nor Carrigan’s works which predate the folklore collections nor the writings of Owen O’Kelly which postdate them by some thirty years, contain references which portray Protestants in such a fashion, illustrative examples of this uniquely folkloric phenomenon with specific reference to Kilkenny material being as follows:

1. A ‘tyrannical and bigoted landlord named Pratt’ had St. Brandon’s Well (3) on his Castlemorris estate filled in, only to find that his house was flooded the following morning (*NFCS* 849.137). He is described elsewhere (*NFCS* 849.149) as ‘the evictor [who] caused the well to be closed’.

2. During the Penal Laws a priest named Fr. Leahy was murdered by the ‘enemy’ or Protestant soldiers while celebrating Mass at a Mass bush near Lady’s Well (11). ‘When the enemy was gone’, having stabbed the priest, the congregation carried his body over to the well where they respectfully washed him (*NFCS* 849.80, *NFCS* 854.174, *NFCS* 854.176, *NFCS* 854.230, *NFCS* 855.214).

For these and other examples, see Appendix II.

In the case of St. James’s Well, tld: Coughlanstown, County Kildare, a Protestant landowner of Stonebrook tried ‘to do away with the well by putting all his stock around it, but finally they all died’ (*NFCS* 780.228). At Lady’s Well, tld: Newtown or Skirk, County Laois, ‘Protestants got possession of the church’ and ‘made game of the water’ of the well, so much so that ‘the well disappeared and sprung up in the trunk of a tree’ (*NFCS* 826.247), while at Tobersaran, tld: Moystown Demesne, County Offaly, ‘Protestants named L’Estranges’ who were opposed to pilgrimages on their land had the sacred well closed but by way of punishment ‘it rose up and flooded their lands and house’ (*NFCS* 813.61, *NFCS* 816.212).

Possible reasons behind this mindset

In his publication *Modern Ireland 1600–1972*, Professor Roy Foster sets the scene of Ireland in the 1930s which enables us to gain an insight into the Ireland of the time and into the *modus putandi* of many of its inhabitants around the time of the folklore collections presently under discussion. He states that de Valera’s Ireland ‘became a twenty-six-county state with thirty-two-county pretensions, institutionalizing a powerful Catholic ethos that was symbolically celebrated in the Eucharistic Congress of 1932, and effectively enshrined in the constitution of 1937’ (Foster 1988, 537).

Somewhat along similar lines Professor Diarmaid Ferriter argues in his monumental work, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900–2000*, that there are various levels at which the influence of the Catholic Church in the 1930s and 1940s can be assessed. Chief among these are the increased number of Catholics during this period, the aforementioned Eucharistic Congress and the centenary celebrations of Catholic emancipation, which latter two congressional celebrations were to provide an insight into the Free State’s religious identity. He informs us that ‘the percentage of the Catholic population in the Free State increased throughout this period, accounting for 92.6 per cent in 1926, 93.4 per cent in 1936 and 94.3 per cent in 1946’ (Ferriter, *op. cit.* 408). He subsequently states that ‘The Eucharistic Congress held in Dublin

in 1932 involved the close collaboration of Church, state and citizens' (*ibid.*) and that 'the centenary celebrations of Catholic emancipation in 1929 had already set a precedent for large-scale, often dramatic expressions of the Free State's religious identity for both domestic and foreign audiences, with a heavy emphasis on the idea of survival amidst centuries of oppression before ultimate triumph' (*ibid.*).

Part of the 'centuries of oppression' would include, for example, 'the wholesale confiscation and destruction of churches in the century and a half between the 1540s and 1690s, in which Ireland was devastated again and again by wars which were mainly of a religious character' (Danaher 1972, 180) and the fact that 'the Catholic share of Irish land had fallen from 59 per cent in 1641 to 22 per cent in 1688, to 14 per cent in 1703 after fresh attainders [and] by the 1770s it had fallen to 5 per cent as a result of the penal code' (Corish 1981, 74; Connolly 1982, 25). In addition, the penal laws were to prohibit Catholics 'from parliament, from holding any government office — high or low — from entering the legal profession, and from holding commissions in the army and navy' (Wall 1967, 218).

Mass was frequently celebrated in 'Mass-houses', which were 'generally mean thatched cabins, many, or most of them, open at one end' (Corish 1981, 100), some relevant County Kilkenny examples being Templeorum's rudimentary séipéal na ngabhar which was open at both ends and Coolagh's cisheach which was 'a hovel or shed covered with furze or fraoch' (Ó Fearghail 1990, 227). We also hear of 'mass rocks' in the open fields and of 'scathlans', 'little shelters where the priest and altar were at least partially protected from the elements' (Wall 1967, 226).

The Popery Act introduced by the government in 1704 would also have done little to quell anti-Protestant sentiment, part of which included 'a fine of ten shillings on all who met at wells', a fine of twenty shillings on 'all and every person and persons who at such assemblies build booths, sell ale, victuals and other commodities' with a public flogging to attend any defaulter, and magistrates being tasked with destroying 'all crosses, pictures and inscriptions' that would be in any way redolent of 'popish superstitions' (Conlon, *Louth Wells* 332).

Turning to a different matter from the much later 1930s, although 'housing remained dominated by the single-storey cottage, living conditions were basic; families large [and] emigration and tuberculosis part of life' (*ibid.* 537), yet 'the two-storey slated farmhouse was appearing alongside the thatched cottage' and 'Land Commission dwellings were raised in considerable numbers' (*ibid.*) during this decade, so much so that 'the influential Folklore Commission was founded at the very moment (1935) when the society it celebrated was

entering its final stage' (*ibid.* 538), which point is also cited by Diarmaid Ferriter (*op. cit.* 377, quoting Foster).

The popular beliefs and customs of the people as well as their traditional tales, legends, songs, proverbs, prayers, charms and riddles and other forms of local seanchas (Ó Súilleabháin 1967, 7) were therefore recorded, rescued and preserved by the senior primary school pupils, perhaps somewhat unwittingly, just in time for future generations. The accounts of holy well visitations, now clearly on the wane, were particularly welcome.

Changes in the application of seanchas over time

Edel Bhreathnach argues that 'recourse to history, myth and tradition has always been a critical element of the Irish construct of their place in the known world and the world's view of them' and that 'History, myth and tradition were often interwoven and defined by the native term seanchas' (Bhreathnach 2014, 2). She explains that 'in Modern Irish, seanchas is used to describe storytelling, tradition and folklore, but in its earlier articulation seanchas once encompassed the collective consciousness of the Irish as expressed by their historians' (*ibid.*), the historians in medieval Ireland being an esteemed class who were senchaide, the custodians of seanchas (*ibid.*). The term seanchas entailed different branches, scélsheanchas 'the lore of stories', laídsheanchas 'the lore of poetry', náemsheanchas 'the lore of saints' and dindsheanchas 'the lore of places' (*ibid.* 3) and 'part of the tradition was also linked to law (recht, fénechas) and to genealogy (cráeb choibnesa 'a branch of blood relationship') and in practical terms seanchas was often essential to the legal rights to land and inheritance' (*ibid.*).

Owen O'Kelly (1897–1980)

Owen O'Kelly came to Kilkenny in 1925 as an Irish teacher with the Vocational Education Committee (Lyng, *OKR* Vol. 2, No. 4 1982, 405), having been born in the Kilskeery district of the far-distant county of Tyrone (Bhreathnach, Ní Mhurchú 1997, 290), on March 6th, 1897. He spoke northern Irish fluently and 'in north Kilkenny he commenced the bicycle rounds of *múinteoir taistil* with a somewhat fiery enthusiasm that could be a psychological reaction to his very recent memories of Belfast pogroms and 1922 excesses' (Lyng 1982, 406). He taught Irish in the Technical School in Kilkenny and gave classes in Thomastown where he prepared people for the Fáinne examination.

In 1953 his work *Cois Feoire*, which gives Irish forms of the townlands of County Kilkenny and meanings in English, was published. In the foreword to this work he states that he had consulted Canon Carrigan's History as well as the Ordnance Survey Namebooks and the Ordnance Survey Letters (O'Kelly 1953, 2).

In the same year (1953), he took over from Hubert Butler as secretary of the new Kilkenny Archaeological Society (Lyng 1982, 406), a position which, according to his wife, Sheila, in the foreword to the 1985 edition of *The Place-Names of the County of Kilkenny*, he was to hold until 1963.

In 1969 his work *A History of County Kilkenny* was published, the contents of which as described therein comprised 'baronies and their location, rock formation and minerals, elevations, civil parishes, townlands and their acreages and subdivisions, river and stream names, ancient churches, holy wells and castles, raths, forts, ancient landmarks, archaeological discoveries, hamlets, field names with their English equivalents and items of folklore and individual beliefs recorded from local inhabitants'.

It is to this work that we refer hereunder, as the aforementioned *Cois Feoire*, valuable as it is, does not as a rule mention subdivisions of townlands or minor names, holy wells included.

While surnames of landowners on which holy wells are situated are of common occurrence in the works of Carrigan and the Schools' Folklore Collection, they rarely feature in O'Kelly's work (as was also the case in the early Ordnance Survey documents), some noticeable examples being as follows: 117. Toberachree, 'Tobar an chrainn is in Drea's land' (O'Kelly 81); 120. Tubber a' teampaill, 'at the Blackmore residence' (O'Kelly 128); 130. Trinity Well, 'adjoining the Langrishe kitchen' (O'Kelly 171) and 131. Tobermolua, 'is in O'Halloran's field' (O'Kelly 185).

While references to local legends, including legendary cures sought at and often granted at holy wells and rituals practised at wells abound in the works of Carrigan and even more so in the documents of the Schools' Folklore Collection, they feature rarely in O'Kelly's work (as was also the case in the early Ordnance Survey documents), notable exceptions of recorded legendary cures being the following: 84. Tobernasool, 'Tobar na Súil, from the traditional belief of the curative properties of its water in eye diseases' (O'Kelly 162); 136. Toberacluggeen, 'Tobar an chloigín, a cure in its waters for sore eyes' (O'Kelly 131) and 173. Thibberachollickeen, 'Tobar an chailcín, well of the eye-disorder, formerly frequented for cures' (O'Kelly 129).

The legend of St. Patrick and the yellow hound in the Conbhuí field near Thubber Phaudhrig, Davidstown, is also noted here (O'Kelly 113), as is that of the seven bishops, sons

of Scoithín, Tobernanaspog, Grange Lower, who were supposed to be buried here (*O’Kelly* 98).

The author often acknowledges that his name-forms are based on the Ordnance Survey maps for County Kilkenny: *viz.*: 81. Tobermamonine, ‘marked on the O.S. sheet’ (*O’Kelly* 156); 82. Tobermathulla, ‘marked on the O.S. sheet’ (*O’Kelly* 156); 101. Kilcross Well, ‘marked on the O.S. sheet’ (*O’Kelly* 80); 138. Toberpatrick, ‘marked on the O.S. sheet’ (*O’Kelly* 90) and 152. Tobernaliha, ‘marked on the O.S. sheet’ (*O’Kelly* 81).

He appears to have been even more indebted to the works of Carrigan:

2. St. Patrick’s Well, ‘on the right of the avenue from Silverspring House to the lodge gate’ (*O’Kelly* 124; *Carrigan* IV 154); 16. Trinity Well, ‘Carrigan records Trinity Well in this townland’ (*O’Kelly* 40; *Carrigan* NB 74.342); 18. Thubberathoggarth, ‘Tober an tsagairt’ (*O’Kelly* 57; *Carrigan* NB 28.44); 43. Holy Cross Well, ‘He [Carrigan] states that the well between the chapel and the village was holy’ (*O’Kelly* 182; *Carrigan* III 391); 49. Toberadrugh, ‘Tobar an Dithreabhaigh, the hermit’s well’ (*O’Kelly* 25; *Carrigan* II 327); 60. Thubber Eheen, ‘Tobar Fheichín, once called Felix’s well, now known as Desert well’ (*O’Kelly* 191; *Carrigan* NB 6.126, 127; *Carrigan* NB 71.94); 68. Tubber Finnawn, ‘the Monastery Well’ (*O’Kelly* 39; *Carrigan* NB 27.52); 72. Sruthán na Ceárdcha (*O’Kelly* 37; *Carrigan* II 199). For further examples, see Appendix III.

A complete numbered list of the well-names which feature in the works of Carrigan and O’Kelly only (and not in the early Ordnance Survey documents or in the Schools’ Folklore Collection) may be viewed in the case of the following eighteen names: 2, 18, 35, 54, 57, 60, 67, 68, 72, 97, 98, 105, 118, 143, 146, 158, 173 and 182.

O’Kelly’s reliance on Carrigan’s works is, although quite considerable, not exhaustive as well-numbers 39, 46, 80, 103, 132, 139, 144 and 161 pertain to Carrigan’s works only, of which, in these instances, O’Kelly makes no mention.

Certain references are gleaned from O’Kelly’s work only (there being no accompanying references from any of the three earlier ‘surveys’ or sources examined above), *viz.*: 9. St. Brigid’s Well, ‘St. Brigid’s Well at which a pattern was held on the saint’s feastday is south of the church’ (*O’Kelly* 54); 27. Tober Bríde, ‘a well called Tobar Bríde is covered over’ (*O’Kelly* 74); 28. Lady’s Well, ‘Tobar San Dalláin is in the middle of the townland and there is also a Lady’s Well in the same field’ (*O’Kelly* 175); 50. Tobar Mhuire/Coolnatobar, ‘the location of a well called Tobar Mhuire, the Virgin’s well, is now unknown but there is a field locally known as Coolnatobar, probably Cúil an tobair which may refer to its location’ (*O’Kelly* 41) and 69. ‘Nanny’s Well or St. Anne’s’ (*O’Kelly* 35).

Further examples of O’Kelly’s independence of thought and judgement may be viewed as follows:

21. St. Michael’s Well/Lady’s Well ‘is immediately north of Bayswell House’ (*O’Kelly* 58); 33. St. Michael’s Well, ‘down by the Sallybog stream’ (*O’Kelly* 79); 34. St. James’s Holy Well, ‘in the southern angle on the Kilmakevoge border’ (*O’Kelly* 116); 36. Bostionfort Well, ‘south of the Chapel road’, (*O’Kelly* 72); 38. Toberatoo, ‘Toberatoo alias Tobar Chiaráin, near Kilfane bogs’ (*O’Kelly* 83); 45. Tobermurry, ‘near the derelict flour mills on the Nuenna river’ (*O’Kelly* 11); 49. Toberadrugh, ‘is in an angle north-east of the cross-roads’ (*O’Kelly* 25); 51. St. Columbkille’s Well, ‘near the road from Thomastown to Graignamanagh’ [*sic*] (*O’Kelly* 68); 56. St. John’s Well, ‘by the boreen one field from the Nore near Norelands House’ (*O’Kelly* 164); 61. Donaghmore Well, ‘east of the church beside the railway’ (*O’Kelly* 39); 64. St. Ronagh’s Well, ‘near the Glory river’ (*O’Kelly* 146); 66. Tobermogue, ‘300 yards from the church, now supports a wayside pump’ (*O’Kelly* 182). For further examples, see Appendix IV.

A list of well-names which do not feature in O’Kelly’s work can be found in Appendix V.

References to holy wells found in all four of the above sources, namely, early Ordnance Survey documents, Carrigan’s works, the Schools’ Folklore Collection and in Owen O’Kelly’s work may be viewed in Appendix VI.

Additional sources

References to holy wells throughout the county of Kilkenny abound in the foregoing sources yielding a combined total of 2,225 references (63.5% of the entire number of documented historical references to holy wells in the present work, 2,225/3,504).

The remaining 1,279 references to holy wells are extracted from a wide range of sources which may be classified as follows:

(1) Works (other than those of Carrigan) which pertain to the history and antiquities of County Kilkenny (98 references):

- (i) J. Hogan (1884) *Kilkenny: the ancient city of Ossory, the seat of its kings, the see of its bishops and the site of its cathedral* (60 references)
- (ii) W. Healy (1893, 1907) *History and antiquities of Kilkenny* (13)

(iii) P.M. Egan (1884) *The illustrated guide to the city and county of Kilkenny* (3); M. Sparks, E. Bligh (1926) *Kilkenny: pen and picture pages of its story* (13); J. O'Carroll (2004) *Historic Kilkenny: Kilkenny and its glorious past, a guide to historic Kilkenny* (6); J. Keane (2013) *Hidden Kilkenny* (1); K. Lanigan, G. Tyler (1977) *Kilkenny: its architecture and history* (1); and P. Tynan (2006) *Kilkenny: history and guide* (1).

(2) Ordnance Survey documents which postdate those of the early Ordnance Survey (270 references)

- (i) References from the first edition Ordnance Survey maps on the scale of 25" to a mile (1900–1902) (78 in number)
- (ii) References from the second edition Ordnance Survey maps on the scale of 6" to a mile (1946–8) (79)
- (iii) References from the second edition Ordnance Survey maps on the scale of 25" to a mile (1946–8) (20)
- (iv) References from the Ordnance Survey *Discovery Series* (1990s) (63), and
- (v) References extracted from the Ordnance Survey Field Memorandum Books of County Kilkenny (1930s) (30).

(3) References extracted from maps which predate the first edition Ordnance Survey maps (9):

- (i) G. Mercator (1595) *Irlandiæ Regnum* (1);
- (ii) W. Longfield (1784–1839) *Longfield maps of County Kilkenny* (1);
- (iii) C. Vallencey (1785) *The Royal Map of Ireland* (1); and
- (iv) D. Aher, H. Clements (1812–19) *Grand Jury Maps of County Kilkenny* (5).

(4) 52 references are extracted from the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* with relevant essays on the antiquities of the county having been penned by J. Commins (*JRSAI* 6 (1906), 265–275), by H.S. Crawford (*JRSAI* 39 (1909), 256–260), by John Hogan (*JRSAI* 5 (1859), 468–480; *JRSAI* 6 (1861), 355–387; *JRSAI* 8 (1864), 189–214; *JRSAI* 9 (1867), 109–138 and *JRSAI* 12 (1873), 261–281), by G.H. Orpen (*JRSAI* 39 (1909), 312–342), by J.F. Shearman (*JRSAI* 14 (1878), 336–404), by P.D. Vigors (*JRSAI* 23 (1893), 251–260) and by P. Walters (*JRSAI* 12 (1872), 50–59).

(5) 68 references are extracted from the *Transactions of the Ossory Archaeological Society (TOAS)* Vol. I (1874)–III (1883) where essays of similar antiquarian interest pertaining to the diocese of Ossory are penned by a variety of authors (many of whom served as priests in the diocese), including M. Comerford (*TOAS* 3 (1883), 35–80), E. Farrell (*TOAS* 1 (1874–9), 201–3), W. Healy (*TOAS* 1 (1874–9), 41–56), J. Hogan (*TOAS* 2 (1880–3), 33–49; *TOAS* 3 (1883), 3–15), J. Holohan (*TOAS* 3 (1883), 81–122), P. Moore (*TOAS* 1 (1874–9), 23–40), P.F. Moran (*TOAS* 1 (1874–9), 89–100), N. Murphy (*TOAS* 1 (1874–9), 101–114) and P. Neary (*TOAS* 1 (1874–9), 78–87).

(6) 52 references are extracted from the *Old Kilkenny Review (OKR)* journal (1946–7–) where matters of a similar antiquarian and historical bent pertaining to County Kilkenny are explored by a variety of local historians (from the first volume up to the present time) including ‘An tAthair Mícheál’ (*OKR* 1 (1946–7), 63–67 — Kilferagh), D. Birthistle (*OKR* No. 21 (1969), 31–47 — Inistioge), J. Brennan (*OKR* 47 (1995), 127–139 — monastic sites in Ossory), C. Drennan (*OKR* No. 4 (1951), 11–19 — Tullaroan), M. Hegarty (*OKR* Vol. 2, No. 5 (1983), 553–6 — Johnswell), J. Higgins (*OKR* 41 (1989), 59, 60 — Coolcashin), E. Hughes (*OKR* 22 (1970), 58–61 — Ullard), J.J. Hughes (*OKR* No. 2 (1948), 42–47 — Inistioge), M. Kenealy (*OKR* 17 (1965), 22–30 — Kieran’s Street, Kilkenny), T.P. Lyng (*OKR* 11 (1959), 23–30, Fartagh), J. Mac Mahon (*OKR* 64 (2012), 27–40 — Franciscans in Kilkenny), E. Maher (*OKR* No. 13 (1961), 48–56 — Kilferagh), W. Murphy (*OKR* No. 22 (1970), 42–44 — Mullennakill), B. Murtagh (*OKR* No. 52 (2000), 26–108 — Kilmurry), S. O’Doherty (*OKR* Vol. 2, No. 1 (1979) — Coolaghmore), J. O’Leary (*OKR* No. 2 (1948), 20–25 — Ullard), W.J. Phelan (*OKR* 11 (1959), 31–41 — Paris Anderson), J. Ryan (*OKR* Vol. 3, No. 3 (1986), 302–304 — Kilmanaheen), P. Smithwick (*OKR* Vol. 3, No. 5 (1988), 521–527 — St. Francis Abbey, Kilkenny), M. Sparks (*OKR* 12 (1960), 32–37 — St. Canice’s Well), T. Waldron (*OKR* 11 (1959), 13–17 — Tubbridbritain; *OKR* 11 (1959), 49–51 — Clontubbrid) and P. Watters (*OKR* No. 6 (1953), 38–46 — The Approaches to Kilkenny).

(7) 33 references are extracted from two historical journals of a more local interest, namely, from *Deenside* (1960–2002) (17 references) which pertains to Castlecomer, T.P. Lyng being the main contributor here and from *In the Shadow of the Steeple* (1987–) (16 references) published by the Tullaherin Heritage Society.

(8) 155 references are gleaned from books which pertain to local history, wherein references to holy wells, to patron saints and to antiquities near the wells, such as church ruins and graveyards, often appear. The relevant places of note covered here are: Abbeyleix (*Abbeyleix Story* (1953); K.P. O'Brien (1998)); Aghaboe (A. Dowling (1981)); Ballycallan, Kilmanagh and Kilree (J. Holohan (1875)); Ballyouskill, Attanagh (D. Dorgan (1996)); Birr (G. Carville (1977)); Black Abbey, Kilkenny (H. Fenning (1975)); Callan (T.C. Butler (1977); J. Fitzgerald (2003); P.P. Lynch (2010); M. O'Grady (2013); P. Roughan (2010)); Clara (*Clara Hist.* (2006)); Coolagh(more) (J. Brennan (1996); M. Saunders (1996)); Dunnamaggan (W.J. Phelan (1952); R. Lahert (1956)); Freshford (D. McCheane (1982); *Freshford Sketches* (2003)); Graiguenamanagh (P. O'Leary et al. (1924); J. Joyce (1993)); Inistioge (R. Tighe (1965)); Johnstown, Galmoy and Urlingford (A. Dowling (1978)); Kilmacow (K. Laffan (2005); J. Cooke (2008)); Kilmanagh, Killaloe and Ballycallan (R.P. Larkin (2006)); Kilree (M.M. Phelan (1973)); Knocktopher (M.M. Phelan (1988)); Mooncoin (E. McDonald (1959)); Paulstown (P. Dunleavy (2007)); Rosbercon (J. Murphy (2000)); St. Fiachra's Noreside lands (M. O'Dwyer (2002)); St. Rioc's graveyard (M. O'Dwyer (2007)); Templeorum (M. O'Shea (1999, 2014); Thomastown (W.J. Pilsworth (1972)); Timahoe (E. Johnston (1999)); Threecastles (E. Cantwell (2000)); Tullamaine, Newtown and Mallardstown (J. Brennan (2001)); Tullaroan (C. Walsh (1991)); J. Kennedy (2001)) and Ullard (P. O'Leary (1924)).

(9) 76 references to holy wells are documented from sources (other than the above) which pertain to hydolatry in general, relevant authors and sources here being:

M.P. Carroll (1999) *Irish Pilgrimage: Holy Wells and Popular Catholic Devotion*

D. Dorgan, J. Dorgan (2008) *Ladywell*

Johnswell MR (2000) *Johnswell Millennium Reunion*

P. Logan (1980) *The Holy Wells of Ireland*

E. O'Toole (1933) 'The Holy Wells of County Carlow', *Béaloides* Iml. IV, Uimh. I (1933), 3–23

A. Rackard, L. O'Callaghan (2001) *Fishstonewater: holy wells of Ireland*, and

G.R. Varner (2009) *Water of Life, Water of Death: The Folklore and Mythology of Sacred Waters*.

(10) Approximately the same number of references to holy wells are gleaned from Baptismal and Marriage records (75), the relevant parishes in question here being Danesfort Baptisms (1820s, 1830s, 1860s); Mullinavat Baptisms (1840s); St. Canice's Baptisms (1860s, 1870s, 1880s); St. Canice's Marriages (1830s, 1840s, 1860s, 1870s); St. John's Baptisms (1811–1842); St. Mary's Marriages (1860s, 1870s, 1880s); Thomastown and Tullaherin Baptisms (1820s); and Thomastown Baptisms (1820s).

(11) 28 references are sourced from the Irish Tourist Association Survey, County Kilkenny (1940s).

(12) 10 references are gleaned from sources which pertain to the study of placenames (Joyce (1869, 1875); *Liostaí Log. CC* (1993); and *Onom. Goed.* (1910)), while

(13) 353 references are gleaned from other miscellaneous sources, including *Records of Monuments and Places, County Kilkenny* (1996), *The Shell Guide to Ireland* (1967, Lord Killanin, M. Duignan), *The Shell Guide to Ireland* (1989, P. Harbison), *Guide to National and Historic Monuments of Ireland* (1992, P. Harbison), *The traveller's guide to sacred Ireland* (2008, C. Meehan), *Statistical Survey of the County of Kilkenny* (1802, W. Tighe), Humphrey O'Sullivan's cinnlae or diary (1820s, 1830s), *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (1837, S. Lewis), John O'Hanlon's *Lives of the Irish Saints* (1875–1907), William Reeves *Life of Saint Columba* (1874), Laurence Flanagan's *A chronicle of Irish saints* (1990), P. O'Farrell's *Irish Saints* (2002), John Bradley's 'Canice and Kilkenny' in *Kilkenny through the Centuries* (2009), Pádraig Ó Riain's *A dictionary of Irish Saints* (2011), *et varia/miscellanea* (172 references).

Unprinted manuscript references to holy wells

Almost three quarters of all the manuscript references in the thesis as a whole issue from early Ordnance Survey material (*OSNB* (176), *OSM (KK)* (92)) and from Revd. Carrigan's manuscript Notebooks (940) alone (72.3%, 1,208/1,670).

The remaining 462 documented manuscript references hail from the National and Schools' Folklore Collections (19 + 317 respectively = 336), from nineteenth-century Baptismal and Marriage parish records (75), from the Bowers family history (3), from the Irish Tourist

Association Survey, County Kilkenny (early 1940s — 28 references) and from the roughly-contemporaneous Ordnance Survey Field Memorandum books, County Kilkenny (1930s). In total a considerable 47.7% of all the documented references to holy wells in the work issue from unprinted manuscript material (1,670/3,504).

An insight into primary and secondary sources consulted

Some 900 works have been consulted in total, mainly in the form of books and articles in Latin, English and Irish, both of a primary and secondary nature, as well as many manuscript sources. It is upon these that the bulk of work on the database of wells and on the various chapters is based. Indeed, the meticulous and often painstaking compilation of material for the database over time and the subsequent analytical data required for the chapters has often necessitated the consultation of both primary and secondary material at once.

Primary sources for the existence of wells in general date to an early period and are based on hagiographical matters or on matters concerning church-related administration or both. Sources pertaining to the former include the works of Tírechán and Muirchú (c.700) in *The Patrician texts in the Book of Armagh*, the *Vita Columbae* of Adomnan (c.624–704), abbot of Iona Abbey (also dating to around 700), the Martyrologies of Oengus and Tallaght (early 9C.), the Martyrology of Gorman (c.1170), the considerably later Martyrology of Donegal (1630), each of which supply important information on patron saints and their feastdays, *Bethu Phátraic* (c.900), the *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, II (Plummer), John Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* (1645) and *The Works of James Ware, Vol. I, Containing the History of the Bishops* (1739).

Sources pertaining to medieval church administration include *Pontificia Hibernica: Medieval Papal Chancery Documents concerning Ireland, 640–1261*, I, II (M. Sheehy), the *Calendar of Papal Registers*, I–XX (based on the Papal Regesta in the Vatican Archives and pertaining to the period 1198–1521), the *Calendar of the Liber Ruber of the Diocese of Ossory* (ed. H.J. Lawlor), which deals with ecclesiastical taxations and benefices in Ossory (early 14C.–mid 15C.) and the *Annates of Ossory* (ed. T.J. Clohessy) (15C., 16C.). It may be worthy of note here that the Papal Registers and Annates often also contain valuable information concerning patron saints and their feastdays. A somewhat later ecclesiastical/episcopal document is entitled *Registrum Diocesarum*, Thomas de Burgo (Bishop of Ossory, 1759–1776), who made a copy of the patron saints and feastdays drawn up by his predecessor, Bishop James Phelan (Bishop of Ossory, 1669–1695) and a somewhat similar work, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, I–III (ed. P.F. Moran), is a collection of original letters and papers illustrative of the history of the Irish church in Ossory from the reformation to the year 1800 (patron saints

and feastsdays included). We may also mention here the visitations of the Diocese of Ossory by Thomas Otway (1679) and by Edward Tenison (1731).

Pivotal primary sources also include the works of the Ordnance Survey (*Namebooks, Letters, Memoranda, Fair Plan Maps* and first edition maps (1837–1842, five sources) for County Kilkenny), Revd. William Carrigan’s seminal *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, I–IV (1905), his 167 unpublished manuscript notebooks which predate and postdate his published magnum opus (171 works counted as two sources only), the many Schools’ Folklore Collection manuscripts and the National Folklore Collection manuscripts (1930s — counted likewise here as two separate sources only), Owen O’Kelly’s *Kilkenny — a history of the county* (1969), which is especially informative concerning microtoponymy (including holy wells), Baptismal and Marriage Parish Registers, Martin Martin’s *Description of the Western Isles of Scotland* (1716) (although the Parish Registers and Martin’s work predate the four previously-cited works, I have listed the ‘four surveys’ together) and, inter alia, the doctoral dissertations of Diarmuid Ó Laoghaire (UCD, 1967) and Salvador Ryan (NUIM, 2002).

Secondary sources

The majority of the actual books and articles consulted, however, fall into this category.

Not surprisingly, we encounter references to holy wells in parish histories (e.g. *A Short History of Paulstown*, P. Dunleavy (2007)), in many articles on local history in the *Old Kilkenny Review* journal (e.g. ‘Ullard’, *OKR* 22 (1970), 58–61, E. Hughes; and ‘Tullaroan’, *OKR* 4 (1951), 11–19, J.P. Healy) and in more specifically-titled articles or books concerning holy wells themselves (e.g. ‘St. Canice’s Well’, *OKR* 12 (1960), 32–37, M. Sparks; *Johnswell: millennium reunion* (2000), W. Hennessy; ‘The Pattern of Coolagh’ (2006), M. O’Dwyer (ed.), *Coolagh: history and heritage*).

72 references which refer mainly to rituals at 28 different wells in the county have also been sourced via an electronic trawl of the *Kilkenny People* newspaper (1895–).

Many rituals and legends found at the holy wells of County Kilkenny are also evidenced in articles on holy wells in other counties (i.e. Westmeath (J.M. Thunger (1887)), Carlow (E. O’Toole (1933)), Donegal (É. Ó Muirgheasa (1936)), Limerick (C. Ó Danachair (1955)), Dublin (C. Ó Danachair (1958), G. Branigan (2012)), Kildare (P. Jackson (1979–80)), Wicklow (G. Lynch (1994)), Louth (L. Conlon (1999)), Clare (M. Houlihan (2015))).

Valuable cross-referencing material is also gleaned from the holy wells of the barony of East Muskerry, County Cork (P. Hartnett (1940)) and the barony of Corkaguiney, County Kerry (C. Ó Danachair (1960)), while Petra Skyvova treats of Fingallian wells, a county council area within Dublin county and Dr. Stiofán Ó Cadhla focuses on the pattern of one particular well, namely St. Declan's of Ardmore and its history over the period 1800–2000.

Works of a more general nature on the holy wells of Ireland include *The Holy Wells of Ireland* (P. Logan (1980)) and *The Origins of Ireland's Holy Wells* (C. Ray (2014)), while similar works further afield include *The Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall* (M. & L. Quiller-Couch (1894)), *The Holy Wells of Wales* (F. Jones (1954)), *Sacred Waters: holy wells and water-lore in Britain and Ireland* (mainly Britain) (J. Bord, C. Bord (1985)), *Holy Wells in Britain: A Guide* (J. Bord (2008)), *English Holy Wells: a sourcebook*, 3 vols (R. Harte (2008)) and *Scottish Healing Wells* (R. Morris, F. Morris (1981)).

Works which cast much information on the holy well tradition and on water-worship per se (outside of Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales) include *Folklore of Wells, Being a Study of Water-Worship in East and West* (R.P. Masani (1918)), *Taking the Waters: spirit, art, sensuality* (A.L. Croutier (1992)), *The Living Stream: Holy Wells in historical context* (J. Rattue (2001)) and *Sacred Wells: A Study in the History, Meaning, Mythology of Holy Wells and Waters* (G.R. Varner (2009)).

Returning to Ireland, the notion of pilgrimage and its many facets is discussed by J. Neary, 'Pilgrimages to Sacred Wells' (Neary 1926, 272–9), by Peter Harbison, *Pilgrimage in Ireland: The Monuments and the People* (1992) and by M.P. Carroll, *Irish Pilgrimage: Holy Wells and Popular Catholic Devotion* (1995); Caoimhín Ó Danachair discusses 'Holy well legends in Ireland' (Ó Danachair 1959, 35–43), locational characteristics pertaining to holy wells, such as nearby sacred trees and sacred stones, are presented in Wood-Martin II 1902, 152–205; Lucas 1963, 16–54 and in Wood-Martin II 1902, 206–261; *Fishstonewater* (Rackard & O'Callaghan 2001) respectively, 'The Cult of the Holy Well' is discussed by W.S. Corder (Corder 1946, 124–36), while Diarmuid Ó Giolláin examines various aspects of 'The Pattern' (Ó Giolláin 1998, 201–220).

D.L. Gougard's *Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages* (1927) has also been of benefit and of interest as has J. Gager's *Cure Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (1999) and R.S.O. Tomlin's *Tabellae Sulis: Roman inscribed tablets of tin and lead from the sacred spring at Bath* (1988), while scholarly works on non-native saints featuring at wells and their cults in Ireland have also been of relevance: David (H. James (1993); B.

Cunningham (1999)), Martin (A. Gwynn (1966); M. Richter (1999); M. Herbert (2002)) and Catherine (A. Spears (2006)).

The authoritative and very indispensable *Dictionary of Irish Saints* (P. Ó Riain (2011)) was also very timely in its publication and it has served me well.

Chapter 2 – Kilkenny wells in four key data-sets

Ordnance Survey sources

The variety of Ordnance Survey documents produced during the topographers' investigations ranging from the Namebooks to the eventually-engraved maps bears testimony to the methodical and professional approach adopted by the scholars involved.

The sources in question here are the Ordnance Survey *Namebooks*, the Ordnance Survey *Letters*, the Ordnance Survey *Memoranda*, the Ordnance Survey *Fair Plan maps* and the eventually-engraved six-inch maps.

References to holy wells in County Kilkenny are sourced from one or more of the foregoing early Ordnance Survey documents in the case of 93 well-names, or just over half of the total number of names (93/183, 50.8%), the total number of documented references from all such sources (492) being 14% of all the documented written references in the entire corpus of sources in the work as a whole (3,504). A composite picture of all such early Ordnance Survey sources yielding no fewer than 492 references may be viewed in Appendix I.

Ordnance Survey Namebooks (*OSNB*)

These are what Dr. Breandán Ó Cíobháin refers to as 'the most important O.S. documents from the point of view of toponymy' (Ó Cíobháin 1985, xxii). He explains that 'they are booklets whose dimensions of c. 20 x 7.5 cm. made them eminently suitable for field-work' (*ibid.*), that 'they are arranged by parish, with each pair of opposite pages devoted to a single name, or to one or more names in the case of minor names' (*ibid.*). The entries are arranged in five columns, namely: Received Name, Orthography (normally some half a dozen English or anglicised spellings sourced from local inhabitants/locally-recruited civil assistants and Royal Sappers on the ground), Authority of the source of the entry, Situations and Descriptive Remarks. Ó Cíobháin adds that 'they were made by the officers of the Royal Engineers or their assistants' (*ibid.*, xxii, xxiii). He stresses the importance of the pencil-versions of Irish names therein, calling them 'by far the most important entries in the

Namebook' (*ibid.*), where conventional Irish spellings were employed, 'but at times a partially phonetic spelling is resorted to when the meaning of the name is not clear' (*ibid.*).

In the case of names of Irish origin, an Irish form was normally entered in ink by O'Donovan or Eugene Curry, with an explanation of the name in English and a recommended anglicised orthography which was included for Larcom's eventual approval concerning engraving.

P.W. Joyce explains that O'Donovan's 'usual plan was to seek out the oldest and most intelligent of the Irish-speaking peasantry in each locality' (Joyce 1869, I 7) and that 'he caused them to pronounce the townland and other names, and used their assistance in interpreting them' (*ibid.*), which interpretations were to appear in the Ordnance Survey Namebooks. He adds that 'the names of all the townlands, towns and parishes, and of every important physical feature in Ireland, are contained in these books, restored to their original Irish forms, and translated into English, so far as O'Donovan's own knowledge, and the information he received, enabled him to determine (*ibid.*).

In the case of the present study of the holy wells of County Kilkenny, name-forms are extracted from the Namebooks in the case of 60 names, yielding 176 references in total, which total accounts for 35.8% of the entire amount of references sourced from the early Ordnance Survey documents (176/492). They may be viewed in Appendix VII.

The vast majority of the Irish name-forms in the *Namebooks* are correct, e.g.: 3. St. Brandon's Well, tobar bréanaill (*OSNB(24):OD*); 36. Bostionfort Well, tobar bhaiste an phoill ('well of the baptising of the hollow/trough') (*OSNB(56):OD*) and 167. Toberkieran, tobar chiaráin (*OSNB(35):OD*), while a few are, admittedly, somewhat wide of the etymological mark, e.g.: 49. Toberadrugh, tobar a' drúdh, 'well of the druid' (*OSNB(16):OD*), (*recte* Tobar an Díthreabhaigh, 'well of the hermit'), 117. Toberachree, tobar a' chroidhe, 'well of the heart' (*OSNB(60):OD*), (*recte* Tobar an Chrainn, 'well of the (holy) tree') and 152. Tobernaliha, tobar na líthe, 'well of the colours' (*OSNB(56):OD*), (*recte* Tobar na Leice, 'well of the flagstone'). These three latter-mentioned Irish-language forms, *tobar a' drúdh*, *tobar a' chroidhe* and *tobar na líthe*, are shown to be incorrect in Revd. Carrigan's later works, viz.: *Carrigan* II 330, *Carrigan* IV 114; *Carrigan NB* 66.78, *Carrigan NB* 67.9, *Carrigan NB* 94.57, and *Carrigan NB* 66.74, *Carrigan NB* 67.79 respectively, the forms *Tobar an Díthreabhaigh*, *Tobar an Chrainn* and *Tobar na Leice* being based on his very comprehensive fieldwork.

The order of entries usually encountered in the case of minor names (holy wells included) is that of an English or transliterated spelling supplied by a Field Examiner or by a local

informant, followed by fairly scant and sometimes reasonably self-evident information concerning the situation of the well and descriptive remarks which inform us that a certain well was holy, e.g.:

26. St. Margaret's Well

1838	St. Margaret's Well	<i>OSNB(42):Inhabitants</i>
	In the townland of Brabstown	<i>:Sit.</i>
	The name of a holy well	<i>:Descr. Rem.</i>

94. St. John's Well [John the Baptist]

1838	John's Well	<i>OSNB(28):BS (Boundary Surveyor)</i>
	John's well	<i>:Revd. Fowler</i>
	In the village of John's well	<i>OSNB(40):Sit.</i>
	A holy well which gives name to the village	<i>:Descr. Rem.</i>

139. St. Mullin's Well [Moling Luachra]

1838	St. Mullin's Well	<i>OSNB(76):Field Examiner</i>
	Townland of Mullennakill	<i>:Sit.</i>
	A holy well	<i>:Descr. Rem.</i>

Details of a hagiographical nature are supplied in certain cases but these are of a general nature and are not very informative, e.g.:

56. St. John's Well [John the Baptist]

1838	St. John's Well	<i>OSNB(39):Field Examiner</i>
	Townland of Cottrellsbooly	<i>:Sit.</i>
	A holy well dedicated to St. John	<i>:Descr. Rem.</i>

75. St. Canice's Well [Cainneach of Achadh Bhó and Cill Chainnigh]

1838	St. Canice's Well	<i>OSNB(48):Inhabitants</i>
	In the townland of Gardens	<i>:Sit.</i>
	A well containing a perpetual spring, and dedicated to St. Canice	<i>:Descr. Rem.</i>

127. St. Luke's Well

- 1838 St. Luke's Well OSNB(4):Field Examiner
This well is situated in the south of Knockmoylan townland :*Sit.*
This well was dedicated to St. Luke :*Descr. Rem.*

181. St. Fiachra's Well [Fiachra 'in the Carlow/Kilkenny area', *Ó Riain Saints* 316]

- 1838 St. Fearagh's Well OSNB(28):Field Examiner
Townland of Ullard :*Sit.*
He [Fiachra] is the patron saint of Ullard :*Descr. Rem.*

The situational details provided are sometimes more specific in that a well is mentioned in connection with a nearby church:

32. St. Kieran's Well [Ciarán of Saighir, patron of Ossory]

- 1838 Brittaus OSNB(37):Field Examiner
Townland of Cappagh :*Sit.*
A small village, close to it are St. Keeran's well and site of church :*Descr. Rem.*

73. St. Scoheen's Well [Scoithín of Tiscoffin]

- 1838 St. Scoithin's Well OSNB(40):Field Examiner
In the village of Freneystown close to the Parish Church :*Sit.*
A holy well :*Descr. Rem.*

101. Kilcross Well

- 1838 Kilcross. Here are the ruins of a church close to which is a holy well OSNB(19):*Descr. Rem.*

168. St. Martin's Well

- 1838 Templemartin. It contains St. Martin's Church and well OSNB(50):*Descr. Rem.*

170. Toberelleen [Eibhlín, person unknown]

1838 10 chains north of the remains of the old church *OSNB(53):Sit.*

176. Tubbrid Holy Well

1838 Is situated about 800 links north west of Tubrid *OSNB(8):Sit.*
[sic] Church in the townland of Tubrid

181. St. Fiachra's Well

1838 north of the ruins of the old church *OSNB(28):Sit.*

In other cases, the well might be located near a by-road, a road, or on a road:

89. Tobernanaspog ['well of the bishops']

1838 close to a bye-road *OSNB(41):Sit.*

138. Toberpatrick

1838 Townland of Mt. Nugent Lower close to the *OSNB(41):Sit.*
roadside

152. Tobernaliha [Tobar na Leice, 'well of the flagstone']

1838 In Powerswood on the road from Thomastown to *OSNB(56):Sit.*
Mullinvat

Generalised guides as to the location of the well within the townland (e.g. southern part, northern part) is given in yet further instances:

83. Toberkyle [Tobar Coill, 'well of [the] hazel']

1838 Gurteen. It contains Tubber Kyle, a holy well near *OSNB(16):Sit.*
to the southern extremity

89. Tobernanaspog

1838 In the southern part of the Townland of Grangehill *OSNB(41):Sit.*

127. St. Luke's Well

1838 This well is situated in the south of Knockmoylan townland *OSNB(56):Sit.*

171. St. Finan's Well [Finnian, Confessor]

1837 There is a holy well called Saint Finan's Well near the North West boundary *OSNB(4):Sit.*

There are also 'descriptive remarks' which often state simply that the well was holy but which are, however, sometimes quite informative in that they reveal that patterns used to be held at certain wells (prior to the late 1830s) or that wells had by then been closed and were not used for any religious purpose:

124. Tobermurry [Tobar Mhuire, 'Our Lady's well']

1839 There has been patterns held here formerly but not at present *OSNB(20):Descr. Rem.*

127. St. Luke's Well

1838 It is now closed up and is not used for any religious purpose *OSNB(14):Descr. Rem.*

130. Trinity Well

1838 There were formerly stations performed at this well, at present none *OSNB(2:12):Descr. Rem.*

159. Tobernacask [Tobar an Ghaisc, 'well of the drinking-vessel']

1838 At this well formerly there were stations performed but at present none *OSNB(28):Descr. Rem.*

171. Tubbrid Holy Well

1838 Was formerly a place for patterns but that practice has been there relinquished *OSNB(8):Descr. Rem.*

On occasion, neither situational details nor ‘descriptive remarks’ are supplied in certain cases — the information supplied in such cases is very scant indeed, e.g.:

31. St. Augustine’s Well

1838 Well of St. Augustine *OSNB*(1:54)

110. St. Nicholas Well

1839 St. Nicholas Well *OSNB*(35)

135. St. James’s Well [Apostle]

1837 St. Jame’s [*sic*] Well, Antiquity *OSNB*(38)

166. St. Fiachra’s Well [of ‘Carlow/Kilkenny area’, *Ó Riain Saints* 316]

1838 St. Fiachra’s Well *OSNB*(11):*OD*

The information supplied for other names which are devoid of situational details and ‘descriptive remarks’ is not quite so minimal as the instance outlined above in that at least an attempt is made to unravel the origin of certain names of Irish origin:

20. Tobernaskeagh

1838 Tobernaskeagh *OSNB*(1:30)

tobar na sgeach, well of the briars *:OD*

[*recte* Tobar na Sceiche]

64. St. Ronagh’s Well [St. Rynard < St. Lionard]

1838 St. Rynard’s well *OSNB*(25)

Tobar Raighnéid, St. Rynad’s Well *OSNB*(26)

126. Tobernaglohin

1839 Tobarnagluhen *OSNB*(43):*OD*

tobar na glcoigeann, well of the skulls [*sic*]

150. Tobernavan [‘well of the bands/troops’]

1838	Tubbernavhen	OSNB(38):Field Examiner
	Tobernavean	:OD
	Tobar na bhfian, well of the Fians or Fingallians	

Ordnance Survey Letters (*OSL*)

Ordnance Survey Letters are available for all counties except Antrim and Tyrone (de Valéra, 1949, 147). The Ordnance Survey Letters for County Kilkenny begin on August 8th, 1839 and continue until early October of the same year, Irish-language scholars, Eugene Curry, who was employed at the Ordnance Survey during the period November 21st, 1835–August 8th, 1842 (*ibid.* 151) and John O’Donovan being the main contributors.

The letters are arranged by civil parish and were written to Captain Larcom at the Dublin headquarters. Dr. Ó Cíobháin states that they ‘discuss the names of the parish itself and places of historical interest within it’ (Ó Cíobháin 1985, xxv) but he stresses that ‘the main focus of attention, however, is on the antiquities, which are described in great detail on the basis of examination on the ground’ (*ibid.*).

Initially, locational details of the parish in question are generally provided and adjoining parishes are normally listed. A brief explanation of the name is then discussed, where attention is drawn to as to whether or not it is of ecclesiastical origin. An indication of the local pronunciation of the name is provided, normally by way of transliteration and/or an Irish version and explanation in English. Thirdly, minute details concerning local antiquities, such as church ruins, graveyards, forts, castles, round towers and, *inter alia*, holy wells are presented, as are relevant hagiographical details of the patron saint of the parish and holy well, often extracted from the martyrologies, the *Lives of the Saints*, the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* of John Colgan and from the ecclesiastical works of John Lanigan and Mervyn Archdall.

The following civil parishes were surveyed and researched by John O’Donovan: Ballygurrim, Clonamery, Freshford, Graiguenamanagh, Grangesilvia, Kills, Kilbride, Kilcolumb (the parish of his birth place), Kilfane, Kilmacahill, Kilmakevoge, Kilree, Powerstown, Rathcoole, Rathpatrick, (?) St. Columbkille’s, Tiscoffin, Tullaherin and Ullard, while letters for the remainder of the parishes in the county, the veritable bulk of the work, were written by Eugene Curry.

In the case of the present study of the holy wells of County Kilkenny, name-forms are extracted from the Ordnance Survey Letters in the case of 54 names, yielding 80 references in total, which total accounts for 16.3% of the entire amount of references sources from early Ordnance Survey documents (80/492).

The vast majority of the Irish name-forms appearing in the Letters are correct, e.g. 29. St. Dallan's Well, Tobar San Dallán (*OSL(KK)* II 31); 64. St. Ronagh's Well, Tobar San Lionairt (*OSL(KK)* II 92), and 84. Tobernasool, Tobar na Súil (*OSL(KK)* I 156), only a very few being incorrect, *viz.*: 49. Toberadrugh, Tobar a Drúdh (*OSL(KK)* I 92) (*recte* Tobar an Díthreabhaigh, 'the hermit's well') and 159. Tobernacask, Tobar a Chaisg, 'the Well of Easter' (*OSL(KK)* II 140) (*recte* Tobar an Ghaisc, 'well of the drinking-vessel').

The importance and value of the Ordnance Survey Letters lies in their descriptive, discursive and elaborate accounts of wells, churches, patron saints and patterns compared to the *Namebooks* which predate the Letters by some twelve to eighteen months in general. The *Namebooks* are generally less informative on matters which concern us here (wells, churches, patron saints), a fact which is understandable given the function and smallness in size of the *Namebooks*. In addition, the earliest documented historical forms of the well-names in County Kilkenny and descriptions of the same and related matters date from the Letters in numerous instances, *viz.*: 8. Trinity Well, 13. Tobernakill, 29. St. Dallan's Well, 34. St. James's Well, 37. Tobermagibboge, 40. Lady's Well, 45. Tobermurry, 48. Toberaghcanice, 55. St. Monchin's Well, 61. Donaghmore Well, 71. Tobermurry, 84. Tobernasool, 88. Toberaphuicin, 95. Toberbride, 96. Thubberniclaush, 112. Thubber Murrha, 123. Tubberachreene, 125. Kealy's Well, 131. Tobermolua, 136. Toberacluggeen, 145. Toberakin, 147. Toberuna, 155. Tobermagolumb, 156. Toberkieran and 177. Toberpatrick.

The first references to wells which are older than those mentioned in the *Namebooks* occur only in a smaller number of instances *viz.*: 19. Toberbride, 21. St. Michael's Well, 32. St. Kieran's Well, 64. St. Ronagh's Well, 73. St. Scoheen's Well, 101. Kilcross Well, 110. St. Nicholas Well, 124. Tobermurry, 130. Trinity Well, 153. St. Catherine's Well, 159. Tobernacask, 166. St. Fiachra's Well, 167. Toberkieran, 168. St. Martin's Well, 170. Toberelleen, 171. St. Finan's Well, 174. Toberapeastia, 176. Tubbrid Holy Well, 179. Thubbervweenia, 180. Lady's Well and 181. St. Fiachra's Well.

While wells are reported to be located in the vicinity of a church (generally in ruins) and/or a graveyard in a handful of instances only in the *Namebooks* (and the appearance of such details in this latter source was indeed welcome given the fewness of such references), it can be noticed how often wells are/were situated in an ecclesiastical milieu of a church

and/or graveyard (the distance to the ruined church being often recorded in 1839 while many of the graveyards were even by then obsolete or disused). An illustrative example is provided; for a full list, see Appendix VIII

8. Trinity Well, ‘there was a holy well a furlong [220 yards] to the east of the Church called Trinity Well’ (*OSL(KK)* I 208 (*EC*));

The *Letters* provide considerably more hagiographical detail than do the *Namebooks*. It is clear from some of the notes provided by Eugene Curry and by John O’Donovan in connection that they had studiously perused certain sources of a hagiographical nature (the *Leabhar Breac* (*LB*), *The Martyrology of Donegal: A Calendar of the Saints of Ireland* (*FNÉ*, 1630), which O’Donovan was to later translate, John Colgan’s *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ* (*ASH*, 1645), Mervyn Archdall’s *Monasticon Hibernicum* (*Mon. Hib.*, 1786) and John Lanigan’s *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* (*Lanigan*, 1822)). Hagiographical references from the foregoing sources are not encountered in the slightly earlier and physically smaller *Namebooks* (where space would have been more at a premium).

In his discussion on Toberlaghteen (No. 137) in the vicinity of Freshford/Achadh Úr, for example, O’Donovan provides the following hagiographical details of the saint (*OSL(KK)* I 188) which link Laichtín with Achadh Úr:

1410c.	Lachtain achaid úir	<i>LB</i> 18d
1630	Lachtnáin Achaidh úir	<i>FNÉ</i> 80
1645	Lachneanus Achadhur	<i>ASH</i> 590.11

O’Donovan confirms from the foregoing sources that March 19th was the saint’s feastday (*ibid.*).

Although the holy well Toberaniddaun (No. 151) (< Tobar Nadáil < Natalis) of the Pottlerath/Kilmanagh district appears to be curiously omitted from the *Letters*, details of Saint Natalis are linked to Kilmanagh by Eugene Curry (*OSL(KK)* I 238, 240) from mostly the same source (outlined above):

1630	Natal, o Chill na manach	<i>FNÉ</i> 206
1645	S. Natalis Abbas in Ecclesia de Kill-namanach	<i>ASH</i> 169.4

1786	St. Natalis, the founder and abbot of Kilnamanach	<i>Mon. Hib.</i> 375
1822	Natalis or Naal, abbot of Kilmanagh	<i>Lanigan</i> I 444

He confirms from the Calendar of the Saints that July 31st was the saint's feastday (*ibid.*).

In somewhat similar fashion Eugene Curry discusses Tibberaghny/St. Faghtna's Well (No. 169) and links St. Modomnoc to the place (*OSL(KK)* II 221, 222) via certain hagiographical sources:

1645	Modomnoc de Tiprat Fachtna	<i>ASH</i> 328.18
1786	Saint Dominic or Modomnoc flourished about the middle of the 6 th century; his feast is celebrated in Tipradfachtna, 13 th February	<i>Mon. Hib.</i> 377

Other hagiographical details which connect a saint to a holy well or nearby church or road or moat are gleaned from local legendary lore obtained by Eugene Curry in the year 1839. He states in relation to Toberaphuicin (No. 88) at Grangefertagh that 'Kieran Saighir must have been the founder' (*OSL(KK)* I 134), that the same saint 'was in the habit of watering his cow' at the well (*ibid.* 135) and that 'they [local people] show the site of an old road which they call Bóthar Chiaráin, Kieran's Road' (*ibid.*).

In relation to TubbernaevMulleeng (No. 133) of Listerlin he reveals that 'there is a tradition that St. Mullen [Moling Luachra] formerly resided in the Moat of Listerling and consecrated a well in its vicinity', that the well, 'which, the tradition says, sprung from St. Mullen's walking staff that he struck down in that spot' and that subsequently 'he removed to Mullen's Hill now Mullennakill' (*OSL(KK)* II 166) where there is another holy well dedicated to the saint.

In a similar fashion John O'Donovan relates the legend of St. Scoithín (of Frenystown/Tiscoffin) whose wife gave birth to seven sons after a multiple pregnancy, after which the poverty-stricken saint entertained thoughts of drowning them in a local stream. On halting the frustrated Scoithín just in time, a primitive Irish Bishop/Saint ('St. Kieran or Patrick') prophesied that the sons would be all 'raised to episcopal dignity' and 'though they died in different parts of Ireland they were buried along with their father at Tigh Scoithin' (*OSL(KK)* I 223–227), in the original graveyard of the original church wherein 'are shewn seven flags under which seven Bishops, the seven sons of Scoithin, are said to be buried' (*ibid.* 222).

Other hagiographical references appear more doubtful in terms of historical accuracy Eugene Curry reveals in relation to Coolcashin/Cúil Chaisín (in which was located St. Monchin's Well (No. 55)) that 'the inhabitants assert that this Parish derives its name from St. Caishin, hence Coolcaishin' (*OSL(KK)* I 101), a fact which is correct. However, he subsequently adds rather tentatively that 'I have no reference to this Saint, if such a person there was' (*ibid.*).

Professor Ó Riain, however, enlightens us that Mainchín of Coolcashin, according to early genealogical hagiographical evidence, 'was one of the seven sons of Maonach, others being Fachtna [cf. St. Faghtna's Well, Tibberaghny], patron of the church and diocese of Ross, Lóchán, patron and eponym of the parish of Rathlogan (Ráith Lócháin) [cf. Tubber Ullacawn], now adjoining Coolcashin, where St. Monchin's (Mainchín's) Well was located' (*Ó Riain Saints* 425, 426), Casán/Caisín being another sibling (*ibid.* 159, 160).

Eugene Curry states elsewhere in relation to Kilcoan/Cill Chuáin near Tobermurry (No. 71) that 'it is probable that this Church was originally built by the celebrated St. Cuan of Ahascragh' [County Galway] before the Anglo-Normans converted the patronage to the Blessed Virgin (*OSL(KK)* II 176). Once again, however, Professor Ó Riain links the eponymous Cuán to Kilquaine/Cill Chuáin 'in the Galway barony of Longford' (*Ó Riain Saints* 239), Ahascragh civil parish being situated in the Galway baronies of Kilconnell, Killian and Clonmacnowen.

In addition Eugene Curry's explanation of Tullamaine parish appears to be incorrect as he mistakenly believes the name Tulach Mhaighne, 'hill of the spot/place' (cf. *DIL*, s.v. maigen) to be of hagiographical import, 'the name of this Parish appears to me to be of ecclesiastical origin. The natives call the place in Irish Tulamaoin, from a Saint of the name of Maon' (*OSL(KK)* II 55).

The *Letters* provide considerable information concerning saints' feastdays/pattern days unlike the slightly earlier *Namebooks*. An illustrative example is provided; for a full list see Appendix IX.

8. Trinity Well, 'there was a Patron held here on Trinity Sunday until twenty years ago' (*OSL(KK)* I 207);

Certain hagiographical legends pertaining to patron saints of certain holy wells have already been alluded to above. To these may be added the legendary stones on 'which Saint Columbkille left the impress of his head and two knees' near Tobernagolumb and to the north

of the church (*OSL(KK)* II 180) and the legend of St. Patrick and the yellow hound in the Conbhúí field near Thubber Phaudhrig, Davidstown, where the hound was given to Patrick to eat, whereupon the hound leapt from the bowl and Patrick, in disgust, cursed the people of nearby Ballinorea (*OSL(KK)* II 183) — this onomastico-hagiographical tale leading to the locally-held meaning of the field in question, *The Conbhúí*.

References to rituals practised at wells are of rarer occurrence still in the *Letters*, the two most striking instances being witnessed at Tobernagibboge (No. 37), ‘the Well of the Rags’, ‘from the quantity of rags left there formerly and still by its votaries’ (*OSL(KK)* II 58) and at Tobernapastia (No. 174), ‘well of the worm’ where ‘people were accustomed to wash their hands to cure the worm’ (*OSL(KK)* I 188), which ritual may conjure up the notion of ring-worm.

Ordnance Survey Memoranda (*OSM*)

Ordnance Survey Memoranda documents are available for all counties except Antrim and Derry (de Valéra 1949, 147). The *Memoranda* for County Kilkenny date from the period 1839–1842 and focus (like all other counties for which they are available) on the orthography of placenames and antiquities which were to be engraved on the first edition Ordnance Survey maps (*EI(6)*).

Dr. de Valéra divides the work of the *Memoranda* into three main groupings, namely (a) passages from the Ordnance Survey *Letters* worked on by John O’Donovan which were sent out to officers and surveyors on the ground to ensure that the antiquities would be properly engraved, (b) correspondence between the surveyors on fieldwork and those stationed at headquarters concerning placenames and antiquities vis à vis sources additional to the Ordnance Survey *Namebooks* and Ordnance Survey *Letters*, and (c) the orthography of house-names of the gentry (*ibid.* 148)

Arranged by 6" sheet, Dr. Ó Ciobháin describes the *Memoranda* as ‘a heterogeneous collection of queries, emanating mainly from Captain Larcom, and replies made by the Royal Engineer officers in the field or their assistants, and by John O’Donovan’ (Ó Ciobháin 1985, xxv).

As well as questions or queries emanating from Larcom concerning orthographical and other issues, questions were posed by Lieutenant Robert Fenwick, by Major Marcus Waters and by Lieutenant George Wynne (Cantor & Dawson 2014, facing page 458). It appears that

Fenwick cared little about Irish history (Boyne 1987, 16) and that as a Divisional commander (answerable to Larcom and Colby), he was not a clear favourite with staff serving beneath him — John Tyndall, renowned scientist, who in the late 1830s and early 1840s was employed by the Survey, being stationed at Leighlin Bridge, Carlow, and later in Youghal, County Cork, respected some of the military men under whom he served but ‘was highly critical of some of the superior officers, especially Lieutenant Robert Fenwick’ (Cantor & Dawson 2014, xli).

Name-forms of holy wells in County Kilkenny are extracted from the *Memoranda* in the case of 58 names, yielding 92 references in total, which total accounts for 18.7% of the entire amount of references sourced from early Ordnance Survey documents (92/492). They may be viewed in Appendix X.

The majority of the Irish language forms appearing in the *Memoranda* are correct, e.g. 25. Toberpatrick, Tobar Patraig (*OSM(KK)* 105); 29. St. Dallan’s Well, Tobar San Dallán (*OSM(KK)* 45); 64. St. Ronagh’s Well, Tobar San Lionairt (*OSM(KK)* 413) and 88. Toberaphuicin, Tobar a Phúicín (*OSM(KK)* 1), Tobar an Fheadáin (*OSM(KK)* 403) being clearly incorrect in the case of 151. Toberaniddaun < Tobar Nadáil, ‘the well of St. Nadáil/Natalis’.

Two instances concerning questions pertaining to orthography for engraving unique to OS *Memoranda* may be viewed at 37. Tobernagibboge, ‘Tobernagibboge for engraving’ (*OSM(KK)* 26) and 38. Toberatoo, with such forms as Tubber a Choo and Tubbera Thoo to hand, the question, ‘How should the name be engraved?’ (*OSM(KK)* 367), arose. The ultimate decision was to come from Thomas Larcom as man in overall charge.

Given that the situational details of holy wells via à vis their common proximity to an old church (usually a ruin) and/or an old graveyard are set out in detail under the Letters (*supra*) and given that such descriptions are repeated, in many instances verbatim, in the contemporaneous *Memoranda*, they are not recounted here in full again.

Bare, succinct references from the *Memoranda* which mirror the Letters are noted in Appendix XI. There are no examples of situational detail which are unique to the *Memoranda*.

No information concerning holy wells or their patrons is contained in the *Memoranda* in the case of St. Michael’s Well (No. 21), St. Ronagh’s Well (No. 64), Thubberniclaush (No. 96), Trinity Well (No. 130) or Toberaniddaun (No. 151) even though such information is presented in the (corresponding) contemporaneous Letters.

Much of the additional information contained in the *Letters* but which is omitted from the *Memoranda* outlines details pertaining to the date of patron days and/or hagiographical details which are not always very accurate and/or certain legends and/or to the fact that many holy wells had, by 1839, lost their local reputation for sanctity. An illustrative example is provided while a full list is provided in Appendix XII:

13. Tobernakill, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘No Patron Saint or day is remembered’ (*OSL(KK)* II 239);

Ordnance Survey Fair Plan maps (*OSFP*)

References to holy wells in County Kilkenny which are sourced from these maps date to the period 1839–40 and cover 100 civil parishes. They are the actual maps compiled in the field at this time, they are arranged by civil parish rather than by the 6" map sheet, and, at times, more than one sheet is required to cover a parish, while in other cases, more than one parish is covered in the one sheet.

Dr. Ó Cíobháin makes the following interesting and discerning observation regarding names appearing in the same source, ‘the fact that these names were committed to writing from local speech by sappers of English origin has its advantages and disadvantages. Ignorance of Irish was an advantage in that it ensured a purely phonetic rendering of the name, unmodified by hasty interpretation and the conventions of Irish spelling. However, many renderings are quite arbitrary and idiosyncratic, and reveal the problems encountered by these English sappers in accommodation their ears to the sounds of the Irish language’ (Ó Cíobháin 1985, xxii).

References to holy wells in County Kilkenny are sourced from these maps in the case of 67 well-names, yielding a total of 68 references (note 71 (2)) which accounts for 13.8% of all the references to holy wells in the county sourced from early Ordnance Survey material (68/492). They may be viewed in Appendix XIII.

While many transliterated and English-language name-forms appearing on these maps were later engraved on the first edition Ordnance Survey maps (1842), there being no difference in orthography in such cases, yet O’Donovan and, ultimately, Captain Larcom were to have many *OSFP* forms changed to a more refined and standardised (official) spelling before their final engraving on *E1(6)* (which was to be the final cartographical end product). A list of these may be viewed in Appendix XIV.

First edition Ordnance Survey maps (*EI(6)*)

The at times subtle differences in spelling in the case of the foregoing 48 names are noted here, while in certain instances the differences between *OSFP* and *EI(6)* is considerable.

References to holy wells in County Kilkenny pertain to 76 names (and 76 references in all) which total accounts for 15.4% of the entire amount of references sourced from early Ordnance Survey material (76/492). These may be viewed in Appendix XV.

Carrigan's works

In the case of the present study of the holy wells of County Kilkenny, name-forms are extracted from Carrigan's works in the case of 135 names yielding 1,230 references (290 from his printed works and 940 from his unpublished notebooks) in total, which total accounts for 35.1% of the entire amount of documented references to holy wells in the present work (3,504). A high percentage of 73.8% of names, 135/183, contain a reference or references to Carrigan's works. These may be viewed in Appendix XVI.

References to holy wells which feature in both Ordnance Survey and in Carrigan's work are evidenced in the case of 75 names (75/183, 40.5% of the total) which may also be viewed in Appendix XVII.

Carrigan's 940 references to holy wells which are sourced in his manuscript notebooks account for 56.3% of all the manuscript references in the thesis as a whole (1,670). His 290 references to holy wells sourced from his printed works account for 15.8% of all the references from printed sources in the thesis as a whole (1,834). Almost three quarters of all the manuscript references in the thesis as a whole (1,670) or 72.3% of the total (1,208) are sourced from Ordnance survey documents (268: *OSNB* (176) + *OSM (KK)* (92)) and from Carrigan's works (940) in conjunction.

Only a little over a quarter of all the printed references in the thesis as a whole (1,834) or 28.02% of the total (514) are sourced from Ordnance Survey documents (224: *OSL (KK)* (80) + *OSFP* (68) + *EI(6)* (76)) and from Carrigan's works (290).

Carrigan's name-forms for wells

The vast majority of Carrigan's transliterated name-forms are very accurate reflections of their original Irish form, e.g.: 3. St. Brandon's Well, Thubber Bzhee-annll (Tobar Bréanail) (*Carrigan* IV 4); 11. Lady's Well, Tubberwizzha (Tobar Mhuire) (*Carrigan NB* 66.59); 20. Tobernaskeagh, Tobarnaskeha (Tobar na Sceiche) (*Carrigan* III 321); 25. Toberpatrick, Thubber Phawdhrig (Tobar Phádraig) (*Carrigan* II 355); 26. St. Margaret's Well, Tubber-Vawzheedh (Tobar Mháiréid) (*Carrigan* III 497); 31. St. Augustine's Well, Tubber Agustheen (Tobar Agaistín) (*Carrigan NB* 71.192); 32. St. Kieran's Well, Tober Kierawn (Tobar Chiaráin) (*Carrigan NB* 43.3); 63. Cruckny Well, Thubber-na-cruch-neeagh (Tobar na Croiche Naoimh) (*Carrigan NB* 73.206); 94. St. John's Well, Thibber-Oan-Boshdha (Tobar Eoin Baiste) (*Carrigan NB* 29.117); 155. Tobernagolumb, Thubbernagullm (Tobar na gColm) (*Carrigan* IV 96).

Some of the transliterated forms in Carrigan's works are, however, somewhat inaccurate or incorrect, viz.: 1. St. Bridget's Well, Tubberavzheedha (Tobar Bhríde) (*Carrigan* IV 154); 8. Trinity Well, Tobar a Trínóidha (Tobar na Tríonóide) (*Carrigan NB* 35.18); 30. ThubbernaMydan, Thubbernaveidhan (Tobar na Maighdine) (*Carrigan NB* 48.67); 71. Tobermurry, Tubbera Wizzha (Tobar Mhuire) (*Carrigan NB* 33.170); 81. Tobermamonine, Tobarnamonn, Tobernamonna, Tobernamonnav (Tober Moninne) (*Carrigan NB* 66.50); 113. Lady's Well, Tubbera Muire (Tober Mhuire) (*Carrigan* IV 326); 129. Tobernaraha, Thubberarawha (Tobar na Rátha) (*Carrigan NB* 26.81); and 165. St. Fintan's Well, Tubber Vounthawin (Tobar Fhionntain) (*Carrigan NB* 61.55).

Carrigan often introduces us to early variant name-forms or to local variant name-forms pertaining to his period of fieldwork, a phenomenon which is almost unheard of in the earlier Ordnance Survey documents, e.g.: 21. St. Michael's Well, Thubber Bay (*Carrigan* II 303); 33. St. Michael's Well, Ballachullia Well (*Carrigan* IV 116); 49. Toberadrugh, The Saint's Well (*Carrigan* II 329); 60. Thubber Eheen, St. Phoenix's well, St. Phelix's well, Desart Well (*Carrigan NB* 6.126, 127; *Carrigan NB* 73.191); 81. the "wood well" (*Carrigan NB* 73.191); 81. Tobermamonine, Broderick's Well (*Carrigan* IV 328); 88. Toberaphuicin, St. Kyran's Well (*Carrigan NB* 43.161); 127. St. Luke's Well, Thubbernahowdhee, Tobar na habha duibhe (*Carrigan* IV 21); 141. St. Mullin's Well, Tubbermulleenh (*Carrigan NB* 61.36); Tubberchraown Mulleeng (*Carrigan NB* 61.39); 147. Toberuna, Tubberowning (*Carrigan NB* 27.37); Tubbernamuchthee, Tubbernavuchthee, Tubber nabuchthee, Tubbernagraoun

(*Carrigan* IV 239); 156. Toberkieran, the Grove Well (*Carrigan* IV 160); and 175. Toberacrin, Tobar Breannain (*Carrigan* III 196).

Carrigan is not reluctant to bring certain earlier Ordnance Survey forms with which he disagrees to our attention, e.g.: 82. ‘Tobermathulla or correctly Tobarmochuille’ (*Carrigan NB* 47.143); 117. Toberachree, ‘the well is incorrectly entered as “Tubberachree” on the Ordnance Map’ (*Carrigan* IV 114), Tubberachreen (Tobar an Chrainn) (*ibid.*); 152. Tobernaliha, Tobernalicca (Tobar na Leice) (*Carrigan NB* 66.74); and 159. Tobernacask, ‘the well is incorrectly entered as “Tobernacask” on the Ordnance Survey Map’ (*Carrigan* IV 173); Tubberaghawsh (Tobar an Ghaisc, ‘well of the drinking vessel) and not ‘Easter Well’ (*Carrigan NB* 67.74).

Whereas surnames of the owners of land on which wells were situated were rarely in evidence in the case of the early Ordnance Survey documents, references to landowners abound in Carrigan’s works, *viz.*: 4. Broochgarrig, ‘in Michael Brenan’s land’ (*Carrigan* II 190). (For full list, see Appendix XVIII). Furthermore, not alone are the names of numerous landowners given but Carrigan often mentions or specifies the name of the actual field in which the well is located (such a phenomenon is not evidenced in the earlier Ordnance Survey documents), *viz.*: 3. St. Brandon’s Well, ‘in a field called the Church Meadow’ (*Carrigan NB* 6.155); 5. (Further examples in Appendix XIX).

Carrigan also provides information concerning certain wells which were destroyed at an early period (around the time of the first Ordnance Survey), items of information which are not alluded to in the earlier (but more temporally-relevant) Ordnance Survey material, *viz.*: 99. Thubbervzheedha, ‘destroyed in the year 1842’ (*Carrigan* IV 92); 113. Lady’s Well, ‘a house was built over it and its mouth was covered with a large flag in 1845’ (*Carrigan* IV 326); and 120. Tubbera’teampaill, ‘a modern fence has been built right over it’ (*Carrigan* IV 240)

Compared to the earlier Ordnance Survey material, there is an obvious increase in the type and number of rituals practised in Carrigan’s works. Pilgrims recite prayers (1), drink of the water of the well (2), take water home (3), and leave *ex voto* offerings (propitiatory gifts) of linen or cloth on a tree beside the well (4). Examples of all four rituals are given below:

(1)

19. Toberbride, ‘the pilgrimage and prayers at St. Bridget’s holy well’ (*Carrigan* III 321);

21. St. Michael’s Well, ‘the people always wound their devotions with prayers before an effigy of the Crucifixion’ (*Carrigan* II 303);

46. Tubber Broondhawin, ‘pilgrimages and praying here’ (*Carrigan NB* 94.63);
51. St. Columbkille’s Well, ‘people still assemble here on each recurring 9th of June to beseech the patron’s intercession’ (*Carrigan IV* 272);
63. Cruckny Well, ‘old people still come to pray here’ (*Carrigan II* 160); and
68. Tubber Finnawn, ‘in olden times people praying around it’ (*Carrigan NB* 27.52).

(2)

51. St. Columbkille’s Well, ‘people still assemble here on each recurring 9th of June to drink of the well’ (*Carrigan IV* 272).

(3)

81. Tobermamonine, ‘there was an old custom of taking away the water of Tobermamonine on the 1st of May’ (*Carrigan IV* 238).

(4)

37. Tobernagibboge, ‘from ex-votos of linen and cloth &c. which used formerly be hung on a tree growing over it’ (*Carrigan III* 330);
169. St. Faghtna’s Well, ‘people used to pilgrim here formerly, and make the usual votive offerings of pieces of cloth’ (*Carrigan IV* 228).

Finally, when compared to the earlier Ordnance Survey material, one encounters a marked increase in the type and number of legends met with in Carrigan’s works, be they related to origin or *in illo tempore* legends (Ó Giolláin 1998, 206) where saints are linked with the well (1), a nearby tree (2) or stone (3), to holy wells going dry because of desecration (4), to wells which never go dry (5), to holy trees being desecrated with the profaning offender being punished (6) or to legendary cures sought at certain holy wells (7):

(1)

89. Tobernanaspog, the seven sons of Scoithín of Tiscoffin ‘became bishops and are all buried in Freneystown churchyard’ (*Carrigan NB* 70.201) near this well;
140. St. Mullin’s Well, ‘the saint, as tradition has it, suffered from ulcerous feet. Every day he went to bathe his sores at a well’ (*Carrigan IV* 292), presumably at this well; and

174. Tobernapeastia, ‘a tradition that a Saint attacked and slew the piast, and that, when exhausted and parched with thirst, after the encounter, the well miraculously burst forth to refresh him’ (*Carrigan II* 256).

(2)

140. St. Mullin’s Well, ‘a very large and most ancient alder tree, still in full bloom, said to have been planted by St. Mulling’ (*Carrigan IV* 192), beside the well.

(3)

13. Tobernakill, ‘certain marks on a stone beside it are the imprint of his [St. Patrick’s] knees’ (*Carrigan IV* 161);

23. St. Patrick’s Well, ‘the marks of his knees are there on the rocks’ (*Carrigan NB* 54.16), on the bank of the Munster River;

133. TubbernaevMulleeng, ‘beside the well there are three rough stones still held in veneration, like the well itself, from their supposed connection with the saint’ (*Carrigan IV* 190); and

165. St. Fintan’s Well, ‘it is said that St. Fintan stepped across the river and stood there. This stone is called Clogh Fintan’ (*Carrigan NB* 40.172).

(4)

49. Tobernadrugh, ‘Blanchfield, born in 1820, says it was profaned before his time and has been dry ever since’ (*Carrigan NB* 71.65);

60. Thubber Eheen, ‘a holy well which having been profaned by a woman washing blankets in it one Sunday, went dry’ (*Carrigan NB* 6.126);

112. Tubber Murrha, ‘was profaned and ran dry’ (*Carrigan II* 201);

159. Tobernacask, ‘was profaned and went dry’ (*Carrigan NB* 6.171);

169. St. Faghtna’s Well, ‘it was profaned and immediately went dry’ (*Carrigan NB* 6.80);
and

173. Thibberachollikeen, ‘a woman washed clothes once and it at once went dry’ (*Carrigan NB* 6.132).

(5)

58. Thubber Phaudhrig, ‘a holy well never dry’ (*Carrigan NB* 149.27); and

68. Tubber Finnawn, ‘a remarkably good spring never going dry’ (*Carrigan NB* 74.20).

(6)

4. Broochgarrig, ‘a neighbour interfered with the tree and he got reason to regret his interference’ (*Carrigan NB* 73.165).

(7)

84. Tobernasool, ‘famous for curing sore eyes’ (*Carrigan II* 334);

94. St. John’s Well, ‘they had travelled all the way [from County Laois] to pray at the shrine of St. John and bathe her sightless orbs in the healing waters of the well’ (*Carrigan III* 280);

136. Toberacluggeen, ‘formerly much resorted to by persons suffering from sore eyes’ (*Carrigan IV* 234);

140. St. Mullin’s Well, ‘every day he [St. Moling] went to bathe his [ulcerous] sores at a well’ (*Carrigan IV* 192);

171. St. Finan’s Well, ‘pilgrimages used to be made for headaches’ (*Carrigan NB* 27.52); and

173. Thibberachollikeen, ‘its waters being famous for curing sore eyes’ (*Carrigan NB* 6.132).

However, although the types and number of rituals and legends show a marked increase from the previous Ordnance Survey records, yet a far greater increase in both rituals and legends will be noticed in the case of the later Schools’ Folklore Collection of the 1930s.

Precise situational details are frequently provided by Carrigan in relation to holy wells being situated near ruins of churches or graveyards (a scenario which, not surprisingly, was very much in evidence in the case of the earlier Ordnance Survey documents), e.g.: 8. Trinity Well, ‘about 400 yards south east of the graveyard’ (*Carrigan II* 266); 25. Toberpatrick, ‘a little to the west of the church’ (*Carrigan II* 366); 32. St. Kieran’s Well, ‘immediately outside the churchyard on the east side’ (*Carrigan NB* 6.75); 34. St. James’s Holy Well, ‘a little to the north of the church’ (*Carrigan IV* 93); 42. St. Colman’s Well, ‘a few perches to the north of the church’ (*Carrigan III* 356); 43. Holy Cross Well, ‘100 yards to south [of church]’ (*Carrigan NB* 84.8.7); 46. Tubber Broondhawin, ‘two fields south east of Cloone Church’ (*Carrigan NB* 94.55); 49. Toberadrugh, ‘about 4 yards east of the sacristy of Clonetubrid chapel’ (*Carrigan II* 327); 97. St. Broghan’s Well, ‘about 30 perches north of the site of the churchyard’ (*Carrigan IV* 194); 118. St. Andrew’s Well, ‘a couple of hundred yards south of the church’ (*Carrigan III* 464); 143. Tobaratiampuill, ‘beside the graveyard’ (*Carrigan IV* 323); 171. St. Finan’s Well, ‘about a furlong south east of the church’ (*Carrigan II* 106); 176.

Tubbrid Holy Well, ‘150 yards west of the church’ (*Carrigan* IV 156); and 180. Lady’s Well, ‘about 200 yards north of the churchyard’ (*Carrigan* III 495).

Unlike the earlier Ordnance Survey documents, Carrigan’s situational descriptions are not confined to ruins of churches and graveyards alone, *viz.*: 2. St. Patrick’s Well, ‘on the right of the avenue from Silverspring House to the Lodge gate’ (*Carrigan* IV 154); 16. Trinity Well, ‘opposite the iron gate near the road’ (*Carrigan* NB 109.42); 20. Tobernaskeagh, ‘on the south bank of the river’ (*Carrigan* NB 137.118); 23. St. Patrick’s Well, ‘on the bank of the Munster river’ (*Carrigan* NB 54.16); 35. Tubbernafauna, ‘in a field under the school’ (*Carrigan* NB 34.23); 77. St. Kieran’s Well, ‘in the Fish Market’ (*Carrigan* III 173); 81. Tobermamonine, ‘in the first field after passing Bregaun’ (*Carrigan* NB 6.152); 95. Kilbride, ‘on the roadside inside fence’ (*Carrigan* NB 6.54); 103. St. John’s Well, ‘in “the Glen” under Bessborough House’ (*Carrigan* NB 6.162); 105. Lady Well, ‘on the slope of Shragh’ (*Carrigan* II 372); 111. Friar’s Well, ‘within a few yards of the Lingawn [river]’ (*Carrigan* IV 241, 242); 174. Tobernaeastia, ‘close to the road a little to the west of Freshford town’ (*Carrigan* II 256); and 182. Lady’s Well, ‘beside the Togher road as it crosses into Co. Tipperary’ (*Carrigan* II 364).

In common with the earlier Ordnance Survey documents, references to the patron’s feastday or to the pattern day abound in Carrigan’s works, a fact which is hardly surprising given his detailed knowledge of hagiographical matters throughout, *viz.*: 3. St. Brandon’s Well, ‘the patron of the church is St. Brendan of Birr’ (*Carrigan* IV 4). (For full list, see Appendix XX.)

Folklore Collections

Similar to the early Ordnance Survey material and to the later works of Revd. Carrigan, references to holy wells throughout the county feature prominently in the Schools’ Folklore Collection (1937–8 — 317 references pertaining to 95 wells) and to a lesser extent in the main or national collection (1934 (in the case of the references for County Kilkenny obtained here) — 19 references pertaining to nine names), yielding a collective total of 336 references which pertain to 96 well-names (i.e. 9.6% of all documented references in the thesis (336/3,504, or a somewhat more considerable 20.3% of all the unprinted manuscript references therein (336/1,670)).

The numbered well-names which feature in the Schools' Folklore Collection (with the number of references to each well appearing thereafter in brackets may be viewed in Appendix XXI.

The majority of the Irish name-forms of holy wells which appear in these sources are correct, or almost so, e.g. 85. Thibberawling, Tobar Álainn (*NFCS* 840.203); 127. St. Luke's Well, Tobar na habha duibhe (*NFCS* 848.237); 135. St. James's Well, Tobar Sean [*sic*] Seum (*NFCS* 853.250); 136. Toberaclugheen, Tobar a Chluigín [*sic*] (*NFCS* 842.171); 147. Toberuna, Tobar Úna (*NFCS* 862.276), and 147. Toberuna, alias Tobar na gCrann (*NFCS* 844.171).

A few inaccurate or incorrect Irish forms are, however, noted as follows, viz.: 41. Tubberkilkierawn, Tubber Ciarán (*NFCS* 843.336); 88. Toberaphuicin alias Tobar na Ciarain (*NFCS* 868.167); 127. St. Luke's Well alias Tobar na habha díghe (*NFC* 468.113); 135. St. James's Well, Tobar San Seáin (recte Tobar San Séam) (*NFCS* 854.21); and 145. Toberakin, Tobar an Cinn (*NFCS* 854.21).

Similar to the case of Revd. Carrigan's published and manuscript works, variant name-forms are of common occurrence in both folklore collections, illustrative examples here being as follows: 49. Toberadrugh, alias St. Fiachra's Well (*NFCS* 866.321); 88l. Toberaphuicin, alias St. Kieran's Well (*NFCS* 868.167); 127. St. Luke's Well, alias Tobar na habha díghe (*NFC* 468.113, *NFCS* 848.193); 147. Toberuna, alias Tobar na gCrann (*NFCS* 844.8); 170. Toberelleen, alias St. Fiachra's Well (*NFCS* 468.107); and the polytoponymical Thubbervweenia (179), alias Tullamaine Well, Couchlan's Well, St. Catherine's Well (*NFCS* 853.248).

On comparing the works of the folklore collection with those of Carrigan, it becomes clear that there was a certain reliance in the case of the former on the latter, relevant examples here being the following: 70. 'Thubberchooann is about a quarter of a mile from the site of the Church' (*NFCS* 845.9, 10 per *Carrigan* IV 91); 71. Tobermurry, 'Thubber Wizzha enclosed by a small wall' (*NFCS* 845.10 per *Carrigan* IV 91); 93. Thubberathoggarth, 'a little to the north of the churchyard' (*NFCS* 845.8 per *Carrigan* IV 89); 103. St. John's Well, 'in the glen under [below] Bessborough house' (*NFCS* 842.301 per *Carrigan* NB 6.162); 120. Tubber a' teampaill, 'a few perches to the south [of Kilmanahin Church] in the hollow ... a modern fence has been built right over it' (*NFCS* 843.342 per *Carrigan* IV 240); 123. Tubberachreene, 'In Tortán there is a holy well which in former times was much frequented. It was called Tobar a' Crainn' (*NFCS* 842.170 per *Carrigan* IV 233); 130. Trinity Well, 'there is a well under the servants' hall' (*NFCS* 848.135 per *Carrigan* IV 26); 145.

Toberakin, ‘in a field known as Rillig’ (*NFCS* 854.21 per *Carrigan* III 329); 169. St. Faghtna’s Well, ‘Tibberaughna in the glen under [below] the railway a short distance south of the church’ (*NFCS* 843.346 per *Carrigan* IV 228); and 183. Tobar Muire, ‘100 perches to the west [of the church] at Cregg bridge’ (*NFCS* 843.334 per *Carrigan* IV 241).

The folklore collections do, however, contain many references to holy wells in which references to the same are wanting in Carrigan’s works, viz.: 7. Ballinvarry Well, 15. St. Laurence’s Well, 22. St. Cranagh’s Well, 32. Derrynahinch Holy Well, 65. St. Patrick’s Well, 79. Garryduff Holy Well, 86. Lady’s Well, 107. Kilkeasy Well, 114. Tobar Brigid, 119. St. Mogarra’s Well, 154. St. Philomena’s Well, 162. St. Rosentha’s Well, and 170. Toberelleen.

In addition, although references to rituals and to legends associated with holy wells abound in Carrigan’s works, they are more numerous still in the folklore collections (as shall be seen later). It is also worthy of note here that in relation to St. Fintan’s Well (165), an elderly informant named Mrs. Green disagreed with Carrigan’s location of the well who placed it a few yards west of the church. She, however, recalling the days of her youth, remained quite adamant that it was located south or south-east of the church (*NFCS* 846.105, 106).

Similar to the earlier works of Carrigan, usage of surnames of landowners on whose land the wells are/were located is also of very common occurrence in the folklore collections (they are practically non-existent in the early Ordnance Survey material), viz.: 4. Broochgarrig, ‘in the land of J. McGrath’ (*NFCS* 864.168). (For full list see Appendix XXII).

Again, as already noted in the earlier discussion of the Ordnance Survey and Carrigan’s works, precise locational details are commonplace in the folklore collections. Wells are often situated near a church ruins, a church site, a chapel or a graveyard, the proximity being specified or noted in many instances, viz.: 3. St. Brandon’s Well, ‘200 yards from the ruins of Aghaviller Church’ (*NFCS* 849.149). Precise locational details of holy wells in non-ecclesiastical contexts also loom large in the folklore collections, the well may, for example, be situated near a river, in a bog, near an old castle or a village, viz.: 13. Tobernakill, ‘it is situated in a slight hollow about 600 yards east of the river Suir’ (*NFC* 468.118).

In common with the earlier Ordnance Survey documents and with Revd. Carrigan’s voluminous works, references to the patron saint, to the patron’s feastday or to the pattern day also abound in the wide-ranging, multithematic folklore collections, viz.:

As already noted, there is a marked increase in the type and number of ritualistic observances practised at holy wells in Carrigan’s works compared to the earlier Ordnance

Survey material and the increase is even more stark in the case of the folklore collections compared to Carrigan's comprehensive works.

Pilgrims take part in a procession before visiting Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 865.105); they sing hymns while visiting St. Brandon's Well (3) (*NFCS* 858.40) and St. Columbkille's Well (51) (*NFCS* 858.40); they engage in the stations of the Cross in the course of visiting Toberlaghteen (137) (*NFCS* 855.341); they reverentially genuflect at or around Lady's Well (3) (*NFCS* 849.80), at Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 831.43), and at Toberelleen (170) (*NFC* 468.107); they walk barefoot at St. James's Well (34) (*NFCS* 845.63); they engage in pre-ordained circular 'rounds' in a clockwise direction at Lady's Well (11) (*NFCS* 849.80), Tobernakill (13) (*NFCS* 840.176), Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 866.183), St. Colman's Well (42) (*NFCS* 859.401), Thibberawling (85) (*NFC* 468.115), and St. Martin's Well (168) (*NFCS* 859.403); they recite specific prayers at St. Brandon's Well (3)/The Rosary (*NFCS* 849.149), Lady's Well (11)/The Rosary (*NFCS* 849.81), Tobernakill (13)/Nine Our Fathers and Hail Marys (*NFCS* 840.176), Lady's Well (40)/The Rosary (*NFCS* 831.43), St. Columbkille's Well (51)/The Rosary (*NFCS* 858.42), St. Ronagh's Well (64)/The Rosary (*NFCS* 852.293), Tobernasool (84)/Five Our Fathers and Hail Marys and Glorias (*NFC* 468.93), Tobersenan (116)/The Rosary (*NFCS* 843.229), Lady's Well (141)/The Rosary (*NFCS* 858.43), St. Fiachra's Well (166)/The Rosary (*NFCS* 854.195), and Toberelleen (170)/The Rosary (*NFC* 468.107). Unspecified prayers are recited at many more wells, viz.: Lady's Well (11) (*NFCS* 854.175), Trinity Well (16) (*NFCS* 863.272), St. James's Well (34) (*NFCS* 845.63, 64), Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 864.398), St. Colman's Well (42) (*NFCS* 859.40), St. Columbkille's Well (51) (*NFCS* 858.39), St. Columbkille's Well (91) (*NFCS* 859.236), Thubber Murrha (112) (*NFCS* 868.14), St. Luke's Well (*NFCS* 848.193), Toberacluggeen (136) (*NFCS* 842.122), and at St. Martin's Well (168) (*NFCS* 859.403).

Water-related rituals are/were commonly practised, none more so than the well-water being consumed or tasted in pursuit of a cure, viz.: Lady's Well (3) (*NFCS* 855.372), Tobernakill (13) (*NFCS* 840.176), Trinity Well (16) (*NFCS* 863.272), St. Michael's Well (21) (*NFCS* 869.145), St. Patrick's Well (23) (*NFCS* 867.184), St. James's Holy Well (34) (*NFCS* 845.64), Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 864.398), St. Columbkille's Well (51) (*NFCS* 858.43), St. Ronagh's Well (64) (*NFCS* 852.294), St. Patrick's Well (65) (*NFCS* 860.72), Tobernasool (64) (*NFCS* 468.93), Thibberawling (85) (*NFCS* 840.173), St. John's Well (94) (*NFC* 468.115), Tobersenan (116) (*NFCS* 843.229), St. Luke's Well (127) (*NFCS* 848.194), Toberacluggeen (136) (*NFCS* 842.122), St. Mullin's Well (140) (*NFCS* 846.252), and Lady's Well (141) (*NFCS* 858.43).

Pilgrims bathe in, or rub the affected body-part in the water of, the following holy wells: Broochgarrig (4) (*NFCS* 865.141), Lady's Well (3) (*NFCS* 849.35), Tobernakill (13) (*NFC* 468.176), Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 865.105), Tubberkilkierawn (41) (*NFCS* 844.119), St. Ronagh's Well (64) (*NFCS* 852.295), Tobernasool (84) (*NFC* 468.93), Thibberawling (85) (*NFC* 468.115), Columbkille's Well (91) (*NFCS* 859.187), Thubbervzheedha (99) (*NFCS* 845.49), Toberlaghteen (138) (*NFCS* 866.361), St. Mullin's Well (140) (*NFCS* 848.303), and Toberelleen (170) (*NFCS* 468.107).

Pilgrims used to walk into the water of St. Ronagh's Well (64) (*NFCS* 852.294), while, more commonly, they used to take well-water home in bottles to guard against sickness in the future while visiting Lady's Well (3) (*NFCS* 849.36), Tobernakill (13) (*NFCS* 468.118), St. Michael's Well (21) (*NFCS* 869.145), Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 864.398), St. Ronagh's Well (64) (*NFC* 468.118), Garryduff Well (79) (*NFCS* 844.9), Tobernasool (84) (*NFC* 468.93), Thibberawling (85) (*NFC* 468.115), St. John's Well (94) (*NFC* 468.105), Tobersenan (116) (*NFCS* 843.229), Toberuna (147) (*NFCS* 844.8), St. Fiachra's Well (166) (*NFCS* 855.135), Toberelleen (170) (*NFC* 468.107), and St. Fiachra's Well (181) (*NFCS* 857.55).

Well-water was reportedly used for baptismal purposes in the case of Bostionfort Well (36) (*NFCS* 860.115) and St. Fiachra's Well (181) (*NFCS* 857.145), while the affected body-part was rubbed with a rag after being doused in the well-water and thereafter being left on a nearby (holy) tree to rot (the disease was to be transferred from the sick person's garment or part thereof (the rag) and left to rot, the sickness was to subside as the rag was to decompose) in the case of Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 864.398), Tobernasool (84) (*NFCS* 868.141), and Toberaclugheen (136) (*NFCS* 842.121).

Pilgrims were to leave a rag or cloth at a nearby tree or bush for the aforementioned reason or as a propitiatory gift to the guardian or patron of the well while visiting Tobernakill (13) (*NFCS* 843.58), Tobermagibboge/'Well of the Rags' (37) (*NFCS* 853.249), Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 865.105), Tobernasool (84) (*NFCS* 468.93), St. Mullin's Well (140) (*NFCS* 846.252), Toberelleen (170) (*NFCS* 857.55), and St. Fiachra's Well (181) (*NFCS* 857.425).

Pilgrims' predilection for the magico-mythical number 3 or multiples thereof in the fulfilment of certain rituals (one encircles the well three times or takes three mouthfuls or sips of the well-water or recited prayers to the multiple of 3 (nine Our Fathers and nine Hail Marys) or returns to the well on nine successive Sunday mornings in the hope of a cure) is evidenced in the case of Lady's Well (3) (*NFCS* 849.80), Tobernakill (13) (*NFCS* 840.176), Trinity Well (16) (*NFCS* 863.272), St. Patrick's Well (23) (*NFCS* 867.184), Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 865.105), Tobernasool (84) (*NFC* 468.93), Thibberawling (85) (*NFCS* 840.173),

Toberacluggeen (136) (*NFCS* 842.121), St. Fiachra's Well (166) (*NFCS* 855.347), and Toberelleen (170) (*NFCS* 468.107).

Other seemingly less-frequently practised rituals included the lighting of candles at Lady's Well (3) (*NFCS* 854.174), the dressing of Columbkille's Well (91) with flowers (*NFCS* 859.187), the rubbing of a stone near the well for a cure at Thubber Murrha (112) (*NFCS* 868.14), and the bringing home of blessed clay near the well, e.g. Lady's Well (3) (*NFCS* 849.81), St. Columbkille's Well (51) (*NFCS* 858.39), and Lady's Well (141) (*NFCS* 858.43) (the occurrence of which is considerably less common than the bringing home of 'prescriptive' well-water in bottles).

As we have seen above it is clear that there was a marked increase in the ritualistic observances practised at holy wells from the time of the early Ordnance Survey material to the later works of Revd. Carrigan and thereafter in the folklore collections of the 1930s which postdate the early Ordnance Survey documents by almost a century. The same can be said regarding a corresponding increase in the incidences of folk-beliefs and cures which feature in the above-named sources, from the Ordnance Survey to Carrigan to the folklore collections, there being a striking increase in the case of the latter from even the enormously comprehensive and assiduously researched works of Carrigan.

It should hardly come as a surprise that Dr. Seán Ó Súilleabháin's multipronged and multi-inclusive definition of folklore would mention or include legends in the folkloric company of popular beliefs and customs, traditional tales, songs, proverbs, prayers, charms, riddles and 'any type of oral literature which has a more or less set form' (Ó Súilleabháin 1967, 7).

Origin legends, which connect the patron saint of a holy well with the well or nearby church as if the saint was officiating in situ or in an in illo tempore capacity, are, indeed, common. Illustrative examples here relate to the reclusive St. Fiachra of Sheastown having supposedly used the water of St. Fiachra's Well (166) (*NFCS* 854.195), to the same anchorite having lived near Toberelleen (170) (*NFCS* 468.108), to St. Patrick having supposedly tasted the waters of Tobernakill (13) (*NFCS* 468.118) and St. Patrick's Well (23), Boggan (*NFCS* 867.185), to St. Laurence having supposedly prayed in the townland of Boggan, so that a well named in his honour (15) sprung up (*NFCS* 857.47), to St. Columbkille having prayed in the townland of Columbkille so that a well named after him (51) also sprung up (*NFCS* 858.45), to St. Patrick having supposedly used the well-water of Bostionfort (36) for baptismal purposes (*NFCS* 860.169), to St. Fiachra of Ullard officiating likewise at St. Fiachra's Well, (181) (*NFCS* 857.145), to the same saint having supposedly said Mass at the holy well in Sheastown (166) (*NFCS* 854.145), to St. Patrick having supposedly built a church at or near

Gowran (65) (*NFCS* 860.170), to the same saint, presumably following frequent and lengthy sessions of ardent and fervent prayer, having left the imprints of his knees on a flag near St. Patrick's Well (13) (*NFCS* 840.176) and St. Patrick's Well (23) (*NFCS* 867.185), to the same saint having supposedly cursed a defiant and disrespectful woman at Ballinorea (58) (*NFCS* 843.36), to St. Kieran of Saighir having left the imprint of his knees on a flag at Tubberkilkierawn (41) (*NFCS* 844.119), to an unnamed saint and promoter of Christianity and of all that is good, wrestling with and overcoming an evil, anti-Christian serpent (174) (*NFCS* 866.351), and to supposed legendary apparitions of the Blessed Virgin at Lady's Well (11) (*NFCS* 849.80), at Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 831.129), and at Thubber Murrha (112) (*NFCS* 864.149).

Popular 'belief' legends which were inextricably entwined in the folk region of the country folk for a period of time before the beginning of the nineteenth century (when efforts were made by the upper echelons of the Catholic clergy to suppress patterns on the grounds of drunkenness and general misconduct (Connolly 1982, 141–3) do, however, considerably outnumber their 'origin' legend counterparts outlined above.

By far the most common 'belief' legend pertained to a legendary cure, either specific or general, being sought in the waters of a holy well, often through prayerful interaction with the patron saint. The broad range of cures sought for specific illnesses in the holy and often locally-held 'medicinal' well-water was, in folkloric terms at least, to prove to be multicurative, approaching the omniscurative, a comprehensive alphabetically-arranged list of maladies being as follows: ague and 'fever' at Thibberawling (85) (*NFCS* 840.173); blindness at Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 831.126) and at St. Fiachra's Well (166) (*NFCS* 855.346); cuts and sores at Tobernakill (13) (*NFCS* 843.58) and at St. Ronagh's Well (64) (*NFCS* 853.68); deafness at St. Michael's Well (21) (*NFCS* 869.145); diabetes at St. Patrick's Well (23) (*NFCS* 867.184); headaches at St. John's Well (94) (*NFC* 468.105), at Thubbervezheedha (99) (*NFCS* 845.49), at Kilcross Well (101) (*NFCS* 847.517), at Tobersenan (116) (*NFCS* 843.229), at TubbernaevMulleeng (133) (*NFCS* 846.1), at Toberelleen (170) (*NFC* 468.107), and at St. Fiachra's Well (181) (*NFCS* 857.31); lameness at St. Columbkille's Well (51) (*NFCS* 858.45), at St. John's Well (94) (*NFCS* 863.52), and at Thubber Murrha (112) (*NFCS* 868.14); paralysis at Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 831.126) and at Lady's Well (113) (*NFCS* 852.214); rheumatism at Mickel's Well (12) (*NFCS* 854.177), at Columbkille's Well (91) (*NFCS* 859.186), and at Toberelleen (170) (*NFC* 468.107); ringworms at Tobernasool (84) (*NFCS* 869.23); scurvy at Tobar Brigid (114) (*NFCS* 852.214); sore ears at ThubbernaMydan (30) (*NFCS* 853.128), and at Kilcross Well (101)

(*NFCS* 847.517); sore eyes at Broochgarrig (4) (*NFCS* 865.141), at Lady's Well (11) (*NFCS* 849.36), at ThubbernaMydan (30) (*NFCS* 869.145), at Donaguile Well (62) (*NFCS* 865.51), at St. Ronagh's Well (64) (*NFC* 468.101), at Tobernasool (84) (*NFCS* 829.36), at Kilcross Well (101) (*NFCS* 847.517), at Thubber Murrha (112) (*NFCS* 865.371), at Tobar Brigid (114) (*NFCS* 852.214), at Toberacluggeen (136) (*NFCS* 842.121), at Toberlaghteen (137) (*NFCS* 866.361), at St. Fiachra's Well (166) (*NFCS* 855.9), and at St. Finan's Well (171) (*NFCS* 868.49) (the modern-day optician or ophthalmic surgeon would have been a *rara avis* indeed, even in the early nineteenth century); sore feet at Bostionfort Well (36) (*NFCS* 860.115), at TubbernaevMulleeng (133) (*NFCS* 846.1), and at St. Finan's Well (171) (*NFCS* 868.10a); sore hands at Bostionfort (36) (*NFCS* 860.115); sore knees at TubbernaevMulleeng (133) (*NFCS* 846.264); sore limbs at St. Ronagh's Well (64) (*NFCS* 852.294); sore throats at Columbkille's Well (91) (*NFCS* 859.187); sore wrists at ThubbernaMydan (30) (*NFCS* 853.128); swellings and strains at St. Augustine's Well (31) (*NFCS* 853.152); toothaches at St. Patrick's Well (65) (*NFCS* 860.72), at St. John's Well (94) (*NFC* 468.105), at Tobersenan (116) (*NFCS* 843.229), at Toberelleen (170) (*NFC* 468.107), and at St. Fiachra's Well (181) (*NFCS* 857.31) (neither dental hygienists nor dentists nor orthodontic specialists would have been at all as common as they are today in times of yesteryear); and warts at Thubber Phaudhrig (58) (*NFCS* 845.96).

Cures for unspecified illnesses or illnesses of a general nature are also commonplace in the folklore collections, viz.: The Church Well (5) (*NFCS* 864.167, *NFCS* 864.183, *NFCS* 865.113); Lady's Well (11) (*NFCS* 849.81, *NFCS* 853.12); Tobernakill (13) (*NFCS* 856.195); St. Cranagh's Well (22) (*NFCS* 830.221); Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 866.183); St. Colman's Well (42) (*NFCS* 859.401); St. Patrick's Well (65) (*NFCS* 860.116); St. Canice's Well (75) (*NFCS* 855.156, *NFCS* 856.79); Thibberawling (85) (*NFCS* 840.203); Tobersenan (116) (*NFCS* 843.9); Toberuna (147) (*NFCS* 844.8); St. Philomena's Well (154) (*NFCS* 860.120); St. Rosentha's Well (162) (*NFCS* 852.5); St. Martin's Well (168) (*NFCS* 859.403); and Tubbrid Holy Well (176) (*NFCS* 840.153).

In addition to locally-sought cures at holy wells, the sanctity or special quality of the well-water is often realised in a variety of other legendary contexts. It was believed locally, for example, that the water of certain wells could not be boiled for domestic purposes, viz.: Tobernakill (13) (*NFC* 468.118), Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 864.399), St. Ronagh's Well (64) (*NFCS* 852.293), Tobernasool (84) (*NFC* 468.93), and Toberelleen (170) (*NFC* 468.108). Certain wells never run dry, viz.: Tubberkilkierawn (41) (*NFCS* 844.119), Columbkille's Well (91) (*NFCS* 859.187), Kilkeasy Holy Well (107) (*NFCS* 848.63), and St. Mullin's Well

(140) (*NFCS* 851.47); others remain ice-cold even in the warmest day of summer, viz.: Garryduff Holy Well (79) (*NFCS* 844.9) and Thibberawling (85) (*NFCS* 840.203); while a legendary fish, often thought to be an omen for a cure if spotted, resides (resided) in Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 831.43), in St. Ronagh's Well (64) (*NFCS* 852.294), in Columbkille's Well (91) (*NFCS* 859.186), and in Kilcross Well (101) (*NFCS* 859.232). Legendary magical candles were reportedly seen at Lady's Well (11) (*NFCS* 854.174, 175); a legendary dove used to appear at midnight on St. John's Eve at St. John's Well (94), which was also a signal for a miraculous cure (*NFCS* 863.52); and red-stained stones situated at or beside holy wells were often believed to be the blood stains of martyr-like clerical persons who died for their faith, viz.: Lady's Well (11) (*NFCS* 854.174), Thibberawling (85) (*NFCS* 840.203), Friar's Well (111) (*NFCS* 844.112), and Thubbervweenia (179) (*NFCS* 853.248).

The locally-perceived sanctity of the water is confirmed by the legendary 'running dry' of certain wells once profaned or treated disrespectfully, viz.: Lady's Well (11) (*NFCS* 855.372), St. Michael's Well (21) (*NFCS* 869.146), Thubber Murrha (112) (*NFCS* 865.388), and St. Fintan's Well (165) (*NFCS* 846.107). Similarly, St. Bridget's Well (172) moves location by way of insult or objection to some act of profanity (*NFCS* 867.46), while ill luck or misfortune often personally attends those who profane the well-water in some way, viz.: Tobernakill (13) (*NFCS* 840.176), Tobernaskeagh (20) (*NFCS* 848.281), Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 831.126), St. Columbkille's Well (51) (*NFCS* 858.44), Tubber Kilkeerawn (108) (*NFCS* 859.204), and St. Mullin's Well (140) (*NFCS* 846.251).

The legendary personal misfortune mentioned above would also appear to have extended to those who interfered in any way with holy trees or bushes situated at or near holy wells, cases in point here being evidenced under St. Cranagh's Well (22) (*NFCS* 830.211, 222), Lady's Well (40) (*NFCS* 831.129), Thibberawling (85) (*NFCS* 840.174), and TubbernaevMulleeng (133) (*NFCS* 846.414).

References to Kilkenny wells in O'Kelly's work

In the case of the present study of the holy wells of County Kilkenny, name-forms are extracted from O'Kelly's work in the case of no fewer than 129 well-names, yielding 167 references in total, which total accounts for 4.8% of all written or documented historical references to holy wells in this thesis (3,504) or 9.1% of all the references appearing in print

(1,834). 70.5% of all the well-names appearing in the thesis feature in O’Kelly’s work (129/183). These may be viewed in Appendix XXIII.

The majority of the Irish name-forms of holy wells appearing in his work are correct, e.g. 1. St. Bridget’s Well, Tobar Bhríde (*O’Kelly* 124); 4. Broochgarrig, Bruach dearg, (*O’Kelly* 33); 13. Tobernakill, Tobar na Cille (*O’Kelly* 134); 19. Toberbride, Tobar Bríde [*sic*] (*O’Kelly* 142); 25. Toberpatrick, Tobar Phádraig (*O’Kelly* 56); 71. Tobermurry, Tobar Mhuire (*O’Kelly* 109), while a few inaccurate or incorrect Irish forms are noted as follows, viz.: 3. St. Brandon’s Well, Tobar Brandáin (*O’Kelly* 158); 34. St. James’s Holy Well, Tobar Shan Shém (*O’Kelly* 116); 155. Tobernagolumb, Tobar Choilm (*O’Kelly* 110) (*recte* Tobar na gColm) and 159. Tobernacask, Tobar na Cásca (*O’Kelly* 169) (*recte* Tobar an Ghaisc, ‘well of the drinking vessel’).

Precise locational details are commonplace in O’Kelly’s work, the wells often being situated near church ruins, viz.: 5. The Church Well, ‘the Tiobraid beside the church’ (*O’Kelly* 33); 8. Trinity Well, ‘400 yards south east of the church’ (*O’Kelly* 4); 9. St. Brigid’s Well, ‘south of the church’ (*O’Kelly* 54); 20. Tobernaskeagh, ‘close by the site of the ancient church and graveyard’ (*O’Kelly* 142); 25. Toberpatrick, ‘west of the church’ (*O’Kelly* 56); 52. Tobar Phóil, ‘a little to the north of the parish church’ (*O’Kelly* 43); 54. Thubberakilleen, ‘in the churchyard field’ (*O’Kelly* 143); 61. Donaghmore Well, ‘east of the church’ (*O’Kelly* 39); 66. Tobermogue, ‘300 yards from the church’ (*O’Kelly* 182).

References to the patron’s feastday or to the pattern day of the holy well are very common in O’Kelly’s work. An illustrative example is provided (for a full list, see Appendix XXIV): 3. St. Brandon’s Well, ‘a pattern was held here on the 12th of August’ (*O’Kelly* 158).

Chapter 3: The onomastic evidence

The main focus of attention here is on treating holy wells as onomastic entities, on selecting a particular name-form in each case for labelling purposes throughout the thesis, including the database of wells, on presenting a variety of name-forms in the documented evidence, on evaluating variant name-forms, on categorising and explaining name-forms, on categorising and examining spoken name-forms in detail and on attempting to ascertain the relative age of the wells as per the earliest documented evidence of each name-form.

Irish-language forms and anglicised transliterated forms from Irish put in context

Máirín Nic Eoin states that ‘by 1851, only 15% of the population of the county claimed to have a knowledge of Irish’ (Nic Eoin 1990, 467). Commenting on the 1851 and 1891 census figures, she quotes Éamonn Ó hÓgáin’s identification of the extreme south of the county as the main Irish-speaking region, that is to say, the baronies of Ida and Iverk (*ibid.*; *Duan. Osr.* 10). ‘The western region’, she continues, ‘had also at the mid-century a considerable proportion of Irish speakers, while the language was on the decline in the north and north-east of the county’ (*ibid.*).

William Shaw Mason describes in his three-volume publication entitled *A Statistical Account or Parochial Survey of Ireland (Par. Sur. (1814–1819))* how in the Union of Fiddown (baronies of Iverk and Knocktopher), English was spoken by all descriptions of people while Irish was common in the mountainous parts (*Par. Sur.* I 366 (1814)). In the parish of Grangesilvia (barony of Gowran) all of the inhabitants could speak English but among themselves they spoke Irish mostly (*Par. Sur.* II 419 (1816)). In Kilmacahill (barony of Gowran), the language was mainly English while Irish was on the decline, being understood by all but just used occasionally (*Par. Sur.* II 339 (1816)). In the parish of Listerlin, both English and Irish were used although ‘many of the people, particularly advanced in years, know no other language than the latter’ (*Par. Sur.* III 244 (1819)) and in Tullaroan parish (barony of Crannagh) both languages were spoken but ‘the latter is greatly on the decrease’ (*Par. Sur.* III 625 (1819); Nic Eoin 1990, 466).

Dr. Éamonn Ó hÓgáin has made an in-depth study of many of Revd. William Carrigan’s informants (entered into his notebooks) who were conversant in Irish in County Kilkenny throughout his fieldwork years (Ó hÓgáin 2000–1, 193–6). Interestingly, only one informant,

a Tom Forrestal from Ballyverneen, who was aged 85 years when interviewed on 31/8/1900, was ‘a very good Irish speaker’ who hailed from the barony of Ida (*op. cit.* 196). However, Carrigan also interviewed such people who hailed from the baronies of Gowran, Fassadinan (in the north of the county), Crannagh (in the north-west of the county) and Callan. The relevant findings concerning these informants (outside of Ida and Iverk, where Irish had been reportedly strongest) are tabulated in Appendix XXV.

Exactly two thirds of the well names (122/183, 66·6%) have an Irish language form and/or an anglicised form transliterated from Irish. Gowran barony tops the list of frequency of Irish and/or transliterated forms (21), followed by Iverk (17), Crannagh (15), Fassadinan (13), Kells (13), Shillelogher (12), Ida (10), Knocktopher (8), Galmoy (7), while the baronies of Callan and Kilkenny have three each. This list tallies well with Ó hÓgáin’s mention of Ida and Iverk above as well as with Carrigan’s baronial list.

Selected name-forms

While nearly all of the wells contain several documented name-forms, be they an English-language form or forms and/or an Irish-language form or forms and/or transliterated name-forms (names in this latter category being the most numerous of all when one considers the vast array of variously-spelt transliterations in question), yet one particular spelling has been adopted for introductory purposes in each case which assists in identifying each well and which is used thereafter throughout the work for labelling and cross-referencing purposes.

By far the greatest number of name-forms belong to the category of name-forms adopted from Ordnance Survey sources. 77 names alone are extracted from the first edition Ordnance Survey maps on the scale of six inches to one mile (*EI(6)* – 1842, A), two names are applied from the later second edition Ordnance Survey maps which do not feature on the earlier maps (*E2(6)* – mainly 1902, B), while only one spelling each is taken from the Ordnance Survey *Letters (OSL(KK))* – 1839, C) and from the Ordnance Survey *Memoranda (OSM(KK))* – 1839–1841, D). This accounts for a total of 81 names ($81/183 = 44·3\%$), while just over 95% of these apply to *EI(6)* alone ($77/81 = 95·06\%$).

The aforementioned distribution of names is presented as follows:

A. 3. St. Brandon’s Well, 8. Trinity Well, 11. Lady’s Well, 13. Tobernakill, 19. Toberbride, 20. Tobernaskeagh, 25. Toberpatrick, 26. St. Margaret’s Well, 29. St. Dallan’s

Well, 31. St. Augustine's Well, 32. St. Kieran's Well, 33. St. Michael's Well, 34. St. James's Holy Well, 36. Bostionfort Well. For a more complete list, see Appendix XXVI.

- B. 116. Toberenan, 174. Tobernapeastia (*E2(6)*)
- C. 84. Tobernasool (*OSL(KK)*)
- D. 88. Toberaphuicin (*OSM(KK)*)

Other name-forms are adopted from Carrigan's works. Mainly in the absence of Ordnance Survey name-forms, forms from Carrigan's printed works (1905, A) and from his Notebooks (1888–1920, B) are employed. These number 53 name-forms in total (49, A) and (4, B) or a total of almost 29% (53/183) of all names, names from the printed works being to the fore here ($49/53 = 92.5\%$, $49/183 = 26.7\%$).

Forms are selected from Carrigan's Notebooks (B) when forms from the printed works are wanting:

- B. 12. Mickel's Well, 16. Trinity Well, 18. Thubberathoggarth and 80. ToberaChoinee.

If name-forms do not exist in either of the two proceeding categories, they are adopted from the Schools' Collection (*NRCS*). Mainly in the absence of names from the earlier Ordnance Survey works and from Carrigan's sources, 16 name-forms are selected from the Folklore Collections ($16/183 = 8.7\%$), the documented evidence for such names being comparatively late (1937–8):

7. Ballinavarry Holy Well, 15. St. Lawrence's Well, 21. St. Michael's Well, 22. St. Cranagh's Well, 23. St. Patrick's Well, 52. Tobar Phóil, 59. Derrynahinch Holy Well, 62. Donaguile Holy Well, 65. St. Patrick's Well, 79. Garryduff Holy Well, 100. Tobar na Coille, 107. Kilkeasy Holy Well, 114. Tobar Brigid, 119. St. Mogarra's Well, 154. St. Philomena's Well and 162. St. Rosentha's Well (a pseudo-hagiographical name).

Next in declining order of sources employed for name-selection are sources of an archaeological nature ($15/183 = 8.2\%$), chief among these being online references from the Archaeological Survey of Ireland/National Monuments/ritual sites/holy wells (*NMS, ASI* ($12/15 = 80\%$), A) and references from Records of Monuments and Places (*RMPKK*, 1996 ($3/15 = 20\%$), B).

In all such cases the name of the townland is inserted before the words *Holy Well* for identification purposes, the numbered wells in question being as follows:

A. 10. Ballyda Holy Well, 14. Ballyneale Holy Well, 44. Clogharinka Holy Well, 47. Clonmore Holy Well, 102. Kildalton Holy Well, 104. Kildrinagh Holy Well, 115. Kilmacow

Holy Well, 122. Kilmogue Holy Well, 128. Knockroe Holy Well, 134. Maudlin Holy Well, 157. Rathlogan Holy Well, and 161. Riesk Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*).

B. 17. Ballyreddy Holy Well, 121. Kilmog Holy Well and 148. Pollagh Holy Well (*RMPKK*).

Name-forms extracted from Owen O’Kelly’s *Kilkenny* (O’Kelly, 1969 (5/183 = 2.7%)) include:

9. St. Brigid’s Well, 27. Tobar Bríde, 28. Lady’s Well, 50. Tobar Muire and 69. Nanny’s Well or St. Anne’s Well.

Miscellaneous sources (1850c.–1884) (numbering 10 name-forms, 5.5%):

1850c. 87. St. Bridget’s Well (*Bowers Transcripts 7*);
1850–60 43. Holy Cross Well (*Graves Patrons 3*);
172. St. Bridget’s Well (*Graves Patrons 1*);
1882 6. Aughkiletaun Well (*Loc. Pat. 200*);
1883 163. Rossdama Holy Well (*TOAS 3.83*);
1884 74. Angel’s Well (Hogan 262);
76. St. Francis Well (Hogan 261);
77. St. Kieran’s Well (Hogan 253);
78. St. Mary’s Well (Hogan 260), and
92. St. Rock’s Well (Hogan 262).

Miscellaneous sources (1989–2012) (numbering 3 name-forms, 1.6%):

1989 55. St. Monchin’s Well (Higgins 600);
2006 53. St. Mary’s Well (Brennan 137), and
2012 106. Kilfane Holy Well (Walsh 70, 71).

It is worth pointing out that there are a variety of name-forms in the documented evidence of well-names. These include:

1A. English-language form(s) + Irish-language form(s) + a form or forms transliterated from Irish.

Names in this category account for 40.9% of all the names in the database (85/208 — the figure 208 has been arrived at here when one factors in most names for which more than one name has been obtained in the documentary evidence). A single triad of references for each such name is provided in the following instance (for a full list see Appendix XXVII):

1. St. Bridget's Well (*EI*(6))
Tobar Bhríde (*O'Kelly* 124)
Toberavreedha (*Carrigan NB* 6.6)

1B. Next in order of frequency are names in which an English form or English forms only are in evidence (53/208 = 25.5% — variant forms of names are included here). A single reference is given here (for a full list see Appendix XXVIII):

5. The Church Well (*Carrigan II* 190)

1C. A transliterated form or transliterated forms only are evidenced in the case of 32 names (32/208 = 15.4%). Transliterated forms of townland names of Irish origin which are sourced mainly from archaeological sources (*NMS*, *ASI*; *RMPKK*) for holy well references and which have the words *Holy Well* added to the townland name, are included here. The provision of a single reference is given here (for a full list see Appendix XXIX):

7. Ballinvarry Holy Well (*NFCS* 847.128)
(The townland name is used in this instance (as it is for wells in the archaeological sources above for which no well-names were obtained) for labelling and naming purposes only)

1D. A combination of a transliterated and English form or transliterated and English forms is evidenced in the case of 17 names (17/208 = 8.17% — variant forms included). A single example is given here (for a full list, see Appendix XXX):

6. Auchailten Well (*Comerford Coll.* III (1886) 226), the field of Cailtan (*Loc. Pat.* 200)

1E. A broad combination of a Latin form, English form(s), Irish form(s) and transliterated form(s) is evidenced in the case of 6 names (inclusive of variant name-forms, 6/208 = 2.9%):

75. fons Sancti Kannici (*Gilbert Mss.* lxxii, No. 2 (1244–50)), St. Canice's Well (*EI(6)*), Tobar Chainnigh (*OSNB(48):OD*), Thubber Chinnock (*Carrigan NB* 86.146)
77. iuxta fontem Sancti Kenorici in Kilkennia (*IMED* 309 (1260)), St. Kieran's Well (Hogan (1884), 255), Tobar Chiaróg (*Carrigan III* 103), Tubber Ciarog (*Loc. Pat.* 281)
89. fons episcoporum (*OSNB(41):OD*), well of the bishops (*OSNB(41):OD*), Tobar na n-easpag (*OSNB(41):OD*), Tobernanaspog (*EI(6)*)
124. Fons Mariae (*OSL(KK)* II 292 (*OD*)), Lady's Well (*OSNB(20):OD*), Tobar Muire (*OSL(KK)* II 292), Tobermurry (*EI(6)*)
155. fons Columbarum (*OSL(KK)* II 180 (*OD*)), Well of the Doves (*OSL(KK)* II 180), Tobar na gColumb (*OSL(KK)* II 180), Tobernagolumb (*EI(6)*)
169. fons Fachtnai (*OSNB(31):OD*), Fachtna's Well (*OSNB(31):OD*), Tiobraid Fachtna (*OSNB(31):OD*), Tybroughney (*OSNB(31):OD*).

1F. A combination of an English and Irish form (or forms) only is evidenced in the case of 5 names only (2.4% of the total), a return which seems surprisingly low:

51. St. Columbkille's Well (*EI(6)*), tobar c. [*sic*] cille (*OSNB(26):OD*)
65. St. Patrick's Well (*NFCS* 860.116), Tobar Pdraig (*sic*) (*NFCS* 860.169)
72. the forge stream (*Carrigan* II 199), a translated version of Sruthán na Ceárdcha (*ibid.*)
178. David's Well (*EI(6)*), Tobar Dháith (*OSNB(48):OD*)
181. St. Fiachra's Well (*EI(6)*), Tobar Fiachrach (*OSNB(28):OD*)

1G. A combination of an Irish and transliterated form only is seen in the case of just 3 names (1.4%):

18. Tobar an tsagairt (*sic*) (*O'Kelly* 57), Thubberathoggarth (*Carrigan NB* 29.103)
27. Tobar Bríde (*O'Kelly* 74), Tober Bridgig (Joyce 1993, 191)

120. tobar a' tiompail (*sic*) (*Carrigan NB* 6.14), Tubber a' teampaill (*Carrigan IV* 240)

1H. A combination of a Latin and English form only is evidenced in just the same number of names (3, 1.4%):

76. fons Sancti Francisci (*Anal. Hib.* 6.83 (1617)), St. Francis Well (*Carrigan III* 110)

77. iuxta fontem Sancti Kenorici in Kilkennia (*IMED* 309 (1260)), St. Kieran's Well (Hogan 1884, 50)

78. usque ad fontem Beate Mariae Kilkenie (*Lib. Prim. Kilk.* 154 (1312)), St. Mary's Well (Hogan 1884, 253, 407)

1I. 3 names only (1.4%) contain an Irish language form:

38. Tobar Chiaráin (*O'Kelly* 83 — a variant form of the earlier and etymologically-unrelated name, Toberatoo (*EI(6)*)

52. Tobar Phóil (*NFCS* 865.385 — a variant form of the earlier and etymologically-unrelated name, Monteenafyna (*Carrigan NB* 85.57)

100. Tobar na Coille (*NFCS* 847.91)

1J. An English, Irish and Latin form are in evidence in the case of one name only (.49%):

175. St. Brendan's Well (*Carrigan III* 196, 197 — a seemingly older variant form of the etymologically-unrelated name, Toberacrin (*EI(6)*), Tiobar Breannain (*Carrigan III* 196), a rivulo fontis Brandani (*Carrigan III* 196)

2. Multiple names for individual wells

It would have appeared *in primo studio* or at least having initially assembled a documented corpus or database of name-forms that such a phenomenon was of very rare occurrence indeed but as one progressed from an early superficial examination of the evidence to a more rigorous re-examination of the documented historical name-forms and of certain spoken forms secured during fieldwork that the phenomenon was not so uncommon as initially

envisaged, there being no fewer than 33 names in question which are the bearers of more than one name (33/183 = 18.03%).

Having revisited the database on several occasions, many illustrative examples were secured. One example is provided here (for a full list, see Appendix XXXI):

1. 6. Aughkiletaun Well (*Loc. Pat.* 200) (townland name), St. Fiachra's Well (2015, Pat Ryan, Aughkiletaun)

There are no fewer than four separate names evidenced in the case of Toberuna 23.147 (mentioned in Appendix XXVII), the origins of which are discussed in somewhat greater detail here than in the Appendix:

There is a multi-onomastical dimension to the name as transliterated forms of no fewer than four different names are evidenced, namely:

- (i) Toberuna / Tobar Úna, Winifred's Well (this may be a folk etymology derived from the following name Tobar Ónainn);
- (ii) Tubberowning / Tobar Ónainn (a general or unspecific appellation);
- (iii) Tubbernagraoun / Tobar na gCrann, and
- (iv) the very complex and conflicting transliterated name-forms, Tobar-na-muchthee, Tobarnabuchthee, Tobarnafiuchthee and Tobarnavuchthee, none of which forms admit of ready elucidation.

Some attempts at unravelling these multisyllabic anglicised name-forms are tentatively given as follows:

- (i) The *-muchthee* and *-buchthee* terminations may be reflective of a *Tobar na mBochtaí* origin, 'well of the poor people' (or 'well of the poor man' [*sic*], *Carrigan NB* 30.12).

See, for example, in this respect the strong plural/tréaniolra instanced in 'na sagartaí agus na heaspagaí' featuring formerly in the Johnswell district of County Kilkenny (Ó hÓgáin 2011, 203);

- (ii) These two terminations may also reflect a *Tobar na mBocht Dé*, 'well of God's poor' origin according to *Carrigan NB* 30.13, and

(iii) perhaps, *Tobar na mBoth Tuí*, 'well of the straw-strewn booths/huts', which may be defended at least phonetically as follows where we note that a final *-th-* may be pronounced as *-ch* in Kilkenny Irish, *viz.* 'Shanboth, old tent – in English it is always called "Shanbuch" by the people of the neighbourhood, and in Irish always Shannavuch' (*Carrigan IV* 194). See also in this respect *guch* for *guth*, formerly evidenced in the Ballyfoyle area of the county

(Ó hÓgáin 2011, 197). While a -th- may reflect a slender t in Carrigan's works, e.g. Tubberatheemore/Tobar an Tí Móir (*Carrigan* IV 161) and Gurtheenafinnoogue / Goirtín na Feannóige (*Carrigan* IV 245), a broad t may also be intended, e.g. Therthawn / Tortán (*Carrigan* IV 233) and Bollia-na-meeathach / Baile na mBiatlach (*Carrigan* IV 236). The scenario of temporarily-erected pattern booths where drinking and entertainment took place, may be envisaged here.

(iv) The *-muchthee* endings may reflect a *Tobar na Miochtaí* origin with the possible introduction here of a strong plural, *- na Miochtaí* (for *- na Miochtanna*), *miocht* (being a rarely-met and obscure noun) meaning an 'amice worn by a priest when saying Mass' (*FGB* 863).

(v) The *-fiuchthee* and *-vuchthee* endings may convey a *Tobar na bhFiuchtaí* origin, 'well of the boilings' with a possible strong plural featuring here once again. The possibility of the *boiling* derivation in the sense of *boiling well* is documented above in *Carrigan* NB 30.13, *Carrigan* NB 32.180, *Carrigan* NB 32.193 and in *Carrigan* NB 97.347. It must be stated, however, that *fiuchadh* as a common noun is of quite rare occurrence in the Irish Language Corpus (*Corp. na G.*) (which covers the period 1600 – 1882) with no example of a genitive plural, not amind a strong genitive plural, being in evidence. Support for this derivation may be found in the name *Boiling Well* which appears on the Ordnance Survey maps in the townland of Grangecoor in County Kildare.

This well, formerly the bearer of so many names, was also known as *Con Neil's well* (*Carrigan* 30.13).

Regarding (iii) above, Tubber-na-graoun (1905), Tobernagrown (1920), Tobernagroun (1920), *Tobar na gCrann* (1938) and *Tobar na gCrann* (1944), these name-forms are to be distinguished from those of an unholy well around the 'strand' of Fiddown, situated a few miles to the south-east of the well under scrutiny here: Tubbernagraoun (*Carrigan* IV 218), Tober-na-greown (*Carrigan* NB 47.131), Tobernagraoun (*Carrigan* NB 67.54).

3. Name-forms categorised and explained

Given the area of study in question, it is hardly surprising that *Tobar*, and variant spellings thereof, would appear as an initial element in the case of 74 names (40.4% of the total) (*Tobar* + qualifier) and that a further 76 English names (41.5% of the total), nearly all of which are saints' names, actually have —*Well* as their termination.

Variant spellings of *Tobar* include *Tober-* (40 instances: 13, 19, 20, 25, 37, 38, 45, 48, 49, 66, 71, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 88, 89, 95, 116, 124, 126, 129, 131, 136, 137, 138, 145, 147, 149, 150, 151, 152, 155, 159, 167, 170, 174, 175, 177), *Tubber-* (14 instances: 24, 35, 41, 46, 67, 68, 93, 98, 109, 120, 123, 133, 158, 160), *Thubber-* (10 instances: 18, 30, 54, 58, 60, 70, 96, 99, 112, 179), *Thibber-* (2 instances: 85, 173), *Tubbrid* (one example: 176) while *Tobar-* (features in the case of 7 names (27, 50, 52, 100, 114, 143, 183).

Name-forms which have —*Well* as their termination are slightly more numerous than the initial *Tober-* and variant spelling forms (76 : 74, the relevant numbered names in question here being as follows: 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 39, 40, 42, 43, 51, 53, 55, 57, 61, 64, 65, 69, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 86, 87, 90, 91, 92, 94, 97, 101, 103, 108, 110, 111, 113, 118, 119, 125, 127, 130, 132, 135, 140, 141, 142, 146, 153, 154, 162, 164, 165, 166, 168, 171, 172, 178, 180, 182).

Neither *Tober-* nor — *Well* are evidenced in the case of 4. Broochgarrig or 72. Sruthán na Ceárdcha, while the words — *Well* or — *Holy Well* have been added to other townland names. Most of these latter names bearing the structure *townland name* (inserted) + — *Well*— *Holy Well* (inserted) may never have actually had a name at all or at least there is no documented evidence generally to suggest that such was the case. It is for convenient labelling purposes alone that a name has been fabricated (townland name + (Holy) Well) in the following instances (and as a result the etymology of the added townland names are not taken into account while assessing the overall meanings of the wells): 6. Aughkiletaun Well (*Loc. Pat.* 200), 7. Ballinvarry Holy Well (*NFCS* 847.128), 10. Ballyda Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*), 14. Ballyneale Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*), 17. Ballyreddy Holy Well (*RMPKK*), 44. Clogharinka Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*), 47. Clonmore Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*), 17. Ballyreddy Holy Well (*RMPKK*), 44. Clogharinka Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*), 47. Clonmore Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*), 59. Derrynahinch Holy Well (*NFCS* 848.85), 62. Donaguile Holy Well (*NFCS* 865.71), 79. Garryduff Holy Well (*NFCS* 844.8), 102. Kildalton Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*), 104. Kildrinagh Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*), 106. Kilfane Holy Well (Walsh, *Shadow Steeple* 11 (2012), 70), 107. Kilkeasy Holy Well (*NFCS* 848.63), 115. Kilmacow Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*),

121. Kilmog Holy Well (*RMPKK*), 122. Kilmogue Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*), 128. Knockroe Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*), 134. Maudlin Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*), 139. Muckalee Holy Well (*Carrigan IV 454*), 148. Pollagh Holy Well (*RMPKK*), 157. Rathlogan Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*), 161. Riesk Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*) and 163. Rossdama Holy Well (Holahan 1883, 83).

Saints' names

Such names feature in no fewer than 61.7% of all the names (113/183), the names of the saints and their frequency being presented in Appendix XLIII.

Names of churches, abbeys and monasteries

Given that holy wells are very often located in an ecclesiastical milieu/context (mainly church ruins + graveyard), it should hardly come as a surprise that such elements are factored into the overall etymological equation of name-forms: 5. The Church Well, 13. Tobernakill (*Tobar na Cille*), 43. Church Well (a variant form of Cruckny Well), 54. Thubberakilleen, 61. Donaghmore Well (*Domhnach Mór*), 68. The Monastery Well (a variant of Tubber Finnawn), 74. Blackabbey (a variant of Angel's Well/St. Dominic's Well), 120. Tubber a' teampaill, 143. Tobaratiampuill and 144. Templeorum Well.

Similarly, a name or names which refer to holy/clerical persons (A), to the Holy Cross (B), to trees at or near wells (C), to cures associated with wells (D), to rituals (E), to a nearby rath or flagstone (F) and to possible bell-ringing (G) at a well, can easily and understandably be slotted into the etymological mix of name-forms, *viz.:*

A. 18. Thubberathoggarth, 89. Tobernanaspog, 93. Tubberathoggarth, 111. Friar's Well

B. 24. TubbernaCruchthanee, 43. Holy Cross Well, 63. Cruckny Well, 67. Tubbernacrusha, 101. Holy Cross Well (a variant of Kilcross Well), 160. Tubbernacruchnhee

C. 20. Tobernaskeagh (*Tobar na Sceiche*), 23. Thubberadhrynee (*Tobar an Draighnigh*, a variant of St. Patrick's Well), 83. Toberkyle (*Tobar Coill*, well of the hazel), 117. Toberachree (*Tobar an Chrainn*), 127. Tubberachreene (*Tobar an Chrainn*), 147. Tubbernagraoun (*Tobar na gCrann* — a variant of Toberuna) and 175. Toberacrin (*Tobar an Chrainn*)

- D. 84. Tobernasool (sore eyes), 145. Toberakin (*Tobar an Chinn*, probably for headaches) and, 173. Thibberachollikeen (*Tobar an Chailcín*, sore eyes)
- E. 36. Bostionfort Well (tobar bhaiste an phoill, well of the baptism of the hollow/font), 37. Tobernagibboge (*Tobar na nGiobóg*, well of the rags) and 159. Tobernacask (*Tobar an Ghaisc*, well of the drinking vessel)
- F. 129. Tobernaraha, 152. Tobernaliha (*Tobar na Leice*, well of the flagstone)
- G. 136. Toberacluggeen (*Tobar an Chloigín*, well of the small bell).

Wells may be located near the bank of a river (A), on a slope (B), in a bog (C), in a wood (D), in a grove (E) or near a stream (F).

- A. 4. Broochgarrig (*Bruach Dearg*), 127. Tubbernahowdhee (*Tobar na hAbha Duibhe*, well of the Black Water, a variant of St. Luke's Well)
- B. 35. Tubbernafauna (*Tobar na Fána*, well of the slope)
- C. 52. Monteenafyna (*Móintín na Finne*, small bog of the white (cow))
- D. 63. The Wood Well (a variant of Cruckny Well), 100. *Tober na Coille* (well of the wood)
- E. 156. The Grove Well (a variant of Toberkieran)
- F. 72. Sruthán na Ceárdcha (streamlet of the forge).

Personal names (A), surnames (B) and a pseudo-hagiographical name (C) are also in evidence:

- A. 52. Tobar Phóil, 125. Tober Philip (a variant of Kealy's Well), 147. Toberuna (*Tobar Úna*, Winifred's Well), 152. Kitty's Well (current spoken form of Tobernaliha), 170. Toberelleen (*Tobar Eibhlín*) and 182. Connie's Well (current spoken form of Lady's Well). In relation to 119. St. Mogarra's Well, Mogarra was probably not a saint but was supposedly a companion of Colmán of Holdenstown, Ceall Mo-ghorra, church of my Guaire (*Ó Riain Saints* 189, 190).
- B. 81. Broderick's Well (a variant of Tobermamonine), 125. Kealy's Well, 165. Hennessy's Well (a current spoken form of St. Fintan's Well), 179. Coughlan's Well (a variant of Thubbervweenia) and 179. Ashbrook Well (another earlier variant of Thubbervweenia). 'Crowds or groups' of (unnamed) people are in evidence in the case of 150. Tobernavean (*Tobar na bhFian(n)*)

C. 162. St. Rosantha's Well (*tld*: Rossaneany (Reade) < *Ros Ó nÉanna*, the wood of the Uí Éanna, a tribal and not a hagiographical name).

Colour attributes are of rare occurrence:

4. Broochgarrig (*Bruach Dearg*), 74. Blackabbey Well (a variant of Angel's Well and St. Dominic's Well), 127. Tubbernahowdhee (*Tobar na hAbha Duibhe*, well of the Black Water river, a variant of St. Luke's Well) and 149. Toberboy (*Tobar Buí*, yellow well).

Animals and birds are encountered:

33. Ballachullia Well (*Baile an Choiligh*, town of the woodcock, a variant of St. Michael's Well), 52. Monteenafyna (*Móintín na Finne*, small bog of the white (cow)), 57. Caereeachth (*Caoraíocht*, pertaining to sheep) and 155. Tobernagolumb (*Tobar na gColm*, well of the doves).

An angel (A), a sprite (B) and a monster or serpent (C) also populate the hydrolatrous landscape of County Kilkenny:

A. 74. Angel's Well

B. 88. Toberaphuicin (*Tobar an Phúicín*, well of the sprite)

C. 174. Tobernapeastia (*Tobar na Péiste*, well of the monster or serpent).

Other elements:

38. Toberatoo < *Tobar an Chumha* (probably, well of the sorrow), 72. *Sruthán na Céárdcha* (well of the forge), 85. Thibberawling (*Tobar Álainn*, lovely well), 126. Tobernagloghin (*Tobar na gCloigeann*, well of the skulls (? pertaining to headaches, perhaps)), 144. Templeorum Well (*Teampall Fhothram*, church of noises), 147. Tubbernamuchthee (*Tobar na (?) mBoth Tuí*, well of the tents strewn with straw (tentative) — a variant of Toberuna) and 173. Tobernabrone (*Tobar na Brón*, well of the quern, name of the townland and a variant form of Thibberachollickeen).

4. The spoken name-forms — categories and considerations

Spoken name-forms of one form or another have been secured in the case of 160/183 wells (87.4% of the total) although it will become obvious later that many such forms are of a deonomised nature only. Attention is drawn as to whether a well still exists or whether there is only a locally memory of a well, or more tenuously still, whether all that remains of a well is confined to local tradition alone. Some name-forms are replacement names, others are translated or corrupted, other wells contain more than one name-form while others still (28 instances) bear no name whatsoever, not even by way of local memory or even local tradition.

A broad phonetic transcription of name-forms is supplied followed by the name or names of the informant(s). Additional items of information, mainly of an onomastic nature, are also supplied.

Category A. No fewer than 69 well-names (37.7% of the total) are reasonably in accordance with documented name-forms which are mainly of an English language or transliterated nature. The well still exists in the case of 56 of these wells (81.1%) (Category A1), memory of a well and well-name applies to 8 names (A2), while the local tradition of a well and well-name is found in the case of 5 wells only (A3).

Category A1 (56 names)

3. St. Brandon's Well, /se:nt 'brendinz wel/, Carmel Raggat, Joseph Nolan, Aghaviller. The spoken form differs slightly here from the Ordnance Survey version, St. Brandon's Well (*EI(6)*).

6. Aughkiletaun Well, /se:nt 'fi:krəz wel/, Pat Ryan, Aughkiletaun. The spoken form is not found in any of the documented name-forms.

8. Trinity Well, /'triniti wel/, Sean Fitzpatrick, Ballycannon.

11. Lady's Well, /'le:di wel/, Tim Murphy, Ballyda, Con Walsh, Danesfort. While the spoken form differs slightly from the Ordnance Survey version, Lady's Well (*EI(6)*), at least Lady Well is mentioned in many of the documented sources, viz.: *Carrigan NB* 61.43, *Carrigan NB* 71.196, *Carrigan III* 395, *Carrigan NB* 66.59, *Carrigan NB* 67.65 and *Carrigan NB* 97.248.

12. Mickel's Well, /'mikilz wel/, Tim Murphy, Ballyda, Con Walsh, Danesfort.

13. Tobernakill, /tobərnə'kil/, John Dunphy, Ballygorey.

16. Trinity Well, /'trɪnɪtɪ wɛl/, Martin Brennan, James Dowling, Ballyraughton.
21. St. Michael's Well, /se:nt 'mæɪkɪlz wɛl/, Stephen Delaney, Carmel Delaney, Bayswell.
23. St. Patrick's Well, /se:nt 'pɑ:trɪks wɛl/, Hugh Breen, John Breen, Renaghmore.
26. St. Margaret's Well, /se:nt 'mɑ:grɪts wɛl/, Margaret Hennessy, Teresa Feehan, Brabstown.
33. St. Michael's Well, /se:nt 'mæɪkɪlz wɛl/, John Bryan, Andrew Doyle, Cappagh.
34. St. James's Holy Well, /se:nt 'dʒe:mzɪz wɛl/, Tom Mullally, Busherstown. The spoken form here differs slightly from the Ordnance Survey version, St. James's Holy Well.
36. Bostionfort Well, /'bɒstən wɛl/, Mary Phelan, Pat Phelan, Castle Ellis. While the spoken form differs somewhat from the Ordnance Survey version, Bostionfort Well, at least Boston Well is found in many of the documented sources, viz.: *Carrigan* II 62, *Carrigan* IV 432, *Carrigan NB* 71. 27, *NFCS* 860.115 and *NFCS* 860.169.
40. Lady's Well, /'le:di wɛl/, Dermot Dorgan, Julie Dorgan, Attanagh. While the spoken form differs slightly from the Ordnance Survey version, Lady's Well (*EI*(6)), at least Lady Well is found in many of the documented sources, viz.: *Carrigan* II 113, *Carrigan NB* 48.67, *Carrigan NB* 97.206, *NFCS* 864. 399, *NFCS* 866.280, 281, 293, *Abbeyleix Story* 1953, 37, *Deenside* (Meán Fómhair, 1965), 6, Feehan 1983, 434, Dorgan 1996, 130, O'Brien 1998, 65, 66 and Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 4.
41. St. Kieran's Well, /se:nt 'ki:rənz wɛl/, Mary O'Shea, Raheen.
42. St. Colman's Well, /se:nt 'kɔ:lmənz wɛl/, Margaret O'Keeffe, Philip O'Keeffe, Churchlara.
49. Toberadrugh, /se:nt 'fɪ:krəz wɛl/, May Maher, Larry Hamilton, Ballyconra. The spoken form is different from the obsolete Ordnance Survey version, Toberadrugh. However, St. Fiachra's Well is documented in *Carrigan NB* 35.52.
56. St. John's Well, /'dʒɒnz wɛl/, Jim O'Connell, Knockanore, Vincent Daly, Cottrellsbooly. The spoken form differs slightly from the Ordnance Survey version, St. John's Well (*EI*(6)).
57. Caereeachth Well, /'ki:rək wɛl/, Ann Healy, Seamus Cody, Croghtenclogh.
58. Thubber Phaudhrig, /se:nt 'pɑ:trɪks bɔ:l/, Dick Claridge, Liam Murphy, Davidstown. The somewhat descriptive —*Bowl* is not evidenced in any of the documented sources.
63. Cruckny Well, /'krɒkni wɛl/, Maura Downey, Kiltown.
64. St. Ronagh's Well, /se:nt 'lenərdz wɛl/, Kathleen Kirwan, Eamonn Kirwan, Dunnamaggan. While the spoken form differs from the Ordnance Survey version, St. Ronagh's Well, at least St. Leonard's Well is found in many of the documented sources, viz.: *Carrigan NB* 137.114, *Carrigan NB* 137.116, 117, *Carrigan NB* 33.53, *Carrigan NB* 85.46,

Carrigan NB 6.40, *NFCS* 852.272, 293, 294, 295, *NFCS* 853.63, *NFC* 468.101, Lahert 1956, 11, and *Shell Guide Killanin* 1967, 314.

71. Tobermurry, /tobərə'wifə/, Thomas Mullins, Dick Duggan, Flemingstown. While the spoken form differs somewhat from the Ordnance Survey version, Tobermurry (*EI(6)*), at least Tober-awizzha is evidenced in certain documented sources, viz.: *Carrigan NB* 33.170, *Carrigan NB* 67.15 and *Carrigan NB* 67.45.

73. St. Scoheen's Well, /se:nt 'sgohi:nz wel/, John Nolan, Pat Fitzgerald, Freneystown.

75. St. Canice's Well, /'keni:z wel/, John Hackett, Kennyswell Road. The spoken form differs somewhat from the Ordnance Survey version, St. Canice's Well (*EI(6)*) which is evidenced in many of the historical sources. However, a Kenny's Well appellation is found at Hogan 1884, 41, 253, 257, 259, 260, 366, *Carrigan I* 37, 40, *Carrigan NB* 48.9 and *Carrigan NB* 97.28, while references to Kenny's Well/Kennywell as an address-name abound in the documented sources, viz.: *St. Canice's Marr.* (s.n. Nicholas Mullholland, Anne Kavanagh, 24/4/1866), *St. Canice's Bapt.* (s.n. Ellen Murry, 1/3/1867), *St. Canice's Bapt.* (s.n. John Talbot, 29/4/1875) and *St. Canice's Bapt.* (s.n. Mary Delaney, 24/10/1880), to mention just a few references.

84. Tobernasool, /tobərnə'su:l/, Pat O'Loughlin, Joan O'Loughlin, Gorteennamuck,

85. Thibberawling, /tobər'ɑ:liŋ/, Hugh Bowers, Graigavine, Edward Brennan, Grange.

86. Lady's Well, /'le:di wel/, Colm Walsh, John Cushen, Graiguenamanagh. The spoken form differs slightly from the Ordnance Survey version, Lady's Well (*EI(6)*). A form such as Lady Well is not found in the documented evidence in this instance.

87. St. Bridget's Well, /se:nt 'bridʒits wel/, Edward Brennan, Grange.

88. Toberaphuicin, /se:nt 'ki:rənz wel/, William Nicholson, Richard Nicholson, Farranmurray. While the spoken form differs from the obsolete Ordnance Survey version, Toberaphuicin (*OSM(KK)* 2), at least St. Kyran's Well is documented in *Carrigan NB* 43.161, 188, *NFCS* 830.295 and in *NFCS* 868.167.

90. Lady Well, /'le:di wel/, Margaret Holahan, Pat Curran, Grange Lower.

91. St. Columbkille's Well, /se:nt koləm'kilz wel/, David O'Dwyer, Inistioge.

94. St. John's Well, /'dʒanz wel/, Mary Brophy, Pat Murphy, Johnswell. The spoken form differs slightly from the Ordnance Survey version, St. John's Well (*EI(6)*).

95. Toberbride, /'bridʒits wel/, Gerard Mullally, Kilree, Alan Sheridan, Kells. While the spoken form is a translated version of the Ordnance Survey (and other) forms, Toberbride (*EI(6)*), at least such English forms are evidenced in certain documented sources, viz.: *OSFM(KK)* 9703 (1948), Lahert 1956, 22, 36 and Lynch 2010, 11.

96. Thubberniclaush, /se:nt 'nikələs wel/, Tom Fitzpatrick, James Nugent, Kilballykeefe. Such translated forms of the selected spelling, Thubberniclaush, are evidenced in *Carrigan* IV 436, *Carrigan NB* 47.106, *O'Kelly* 9, 15 and in Larkin 2002, 119.
99. Thubbervzheedha, /se:nt 'bridʒits wel/, Mary O'Doherty, Kilbride, Tom Mullally, Busherstown. A translated version of the selected spelling, Thubbervzheedha, is found in *Carrigan* IV 92 only.
101. Kilcross Well, /'ho:li:kras 'wel/, Pat Grace, John Knox, Kilcross. The spoken form differs somewhat from the Ordnance Survey version, Kilcross Well (*EI(6)*). See, however, *The Well of the Holy Cross (OSL(KK) II 285)* and *Holy Cross Well (O'Kelly 80)*.
110. St. Nicholas Well, /se:nt 'nikələs wel/, Paul Ryan, Gerry O'Meara, Killamery.
116. Toberenan, /se:nt 'senənz wel/, Mairéad Phelan, Ned Reddy, Kilmacow. The spoken form is a translation of the Ordnance Survey version, Toberenan. Other such English versions are evidenced in *Carrigan NB* 97.356, *ITAS(KK) Kilmacow, Form A, page 4, O'Kelly* 130 and in Laffan 2005, 25, 26.
126. Tobernaglohin, /tobərnə'gləkin/, Liam Meagher, Kiltrassy.
130. Trinity Well, /'trɪnɪti' wel/, Derek and Liz, Knocktopherabbey (Four Seasons).
135. St. James's Well, /'dʒe:mzɪz wel/, John Somers, Mai Fennelly, Mill Island. The spoken form differs slightly from the Ordnance Survey version, St. James's Well (*EI(6)*).
137. Toberlaghteen, /se:nt 'laktɪnz wel/, John Cahill, Sean Ryan, Moat. The spoken form is a translation of the Ordnance Survey version, Toberlaghteen (*EI(6)*). Other such English forms are found in a variety of documented sources, viz.: *OSNB(30):OD*, Shearman 1878, 391, Healy 1893, 148, *Carrigan* II 256, Sparks & Bligh 1926, 101, *NFCS* 866.351, 352, 466, *AA Road Bk.* 1963, 170, *O'Kelly* 13, *Shell Guide Harb.* 186 and *Freshford Sketches* 2003, 48.
138. Toberpatrick, /se:nt 'pɑ:trɪks wel/, Mary Brophy, Seamus Dowling, Mountnugent. The spoken form is a translation of the Ordnance Survey version, Toberpatrick (*EI(6)*), the only other English form being *OSNB(41):OD*.
140. St. Mullin's Well, /se:nt 'mo:lɪŋz wel/, John Mackey, John Kennedy, Mullennakill.
142. St. Bridget's Well, /se:nt 'brɪdʒɪts wel/, Robert Whitford, Kells, Stephen Hoyne, Ballymack.
159. Tobernacask, /tobərnə'kask/, Andy Frisby, Pat Frisby, Redacres.
166. St. Fiachra's Well, /se:nt 'fi:kɾəz wel/, Tom Hoyne, Sheastown, Joseph Wallace, Kilferagh.
167. Toberkieran, /tobər'ki:rən/, John Phelan, Stonecarthy, Gerard Mullally, Kilree.

169. St. Faghtna's Well, /tobər'aknə/, Louis Dowley, Daphne Dowley, Tibberaghny. The spoken form obtained appears to be influenced by the townland name, Tibberaghny, and not by the Ordnance Survey version, St. Faghtna's Well (*EI(6)*).

170. Toberelleen, /se:nt 'fi:krəz wel/, Margaret Wade, Richard O'Keeffe, Tikerlevin. The spoken form is altogether different from the obsolete Ordnance Survey version, Toberelleen (*EI(6)*). See, however, St. Fiachra's Well (*NFC 468.107*).

172. St. Bridget's Well, /'bridzits wel/, Paul Harrison, Toberbreedia, Tom Fitzpatrick, Kilballykeefe. The spoken form differs slightly from the Ordnance Survey version, St. Bridget's Well (*EI(6)*).

177. Toberpatrick, /tobər'fɑ:rik/, John Campion, Tubbrid Upper. The spoken form is closer to the original Tobar Phádraig than the transliterated, standardised Ordnance Survey version, Toberpatrick (*EI(6)*), might suggest.

179. Thubbervweenia, /'kəklənz wel/, William Maher, Tullamaine, Stephen Hoyne, Ballymack. The spoken form differs completely from the selected spelling, Thubbervweenia. See, however, Couchlan's Well (*NFCS 853.248, 249*).

180. Lady's Well, /se:nt 'me:ri:z wel/, Fr. Patrick Guilfoyle, P.P. Tullaroan, Anthony Dillon, Tullaroan. The spoken form differs slightly from the Ordnance Survey version, Lady's Well (*EI(6)*).

181. St. Fiachra's Well, /se:nt 'fi:krəz wel/, Catherine Doyle, Myles Doyle, Ullard.

Category A2. Name-forms of wells remembered locally which are reasonably in accordance with documented versions (8 names)

4. Broochgarrig, /d̪ə bru:k'darig/, Michael Condren, Slatt Lawn, P.J. McGrath, Aughkiletaun. The spoken form is somewhat closer to the original Irish, Bruach Dearg, than the selected spelling, Broochgarrig, might suggest.

25. Toberpatrick, /tobərə'fɑ:drig/, Margaret Tynan, Pat Tynan, Borrismore. The spoken form is closer to the original Irish form, Tobar Phádraig, than the Ordnance Survey version, Toberpatrick (*EI(6)*), might suggest, the presence of the epenthetic vowel in medial position notwithstanding.

75. St. Francis Well, /se:nt 'fransiz wel/, Paddy Neary, Wolfe Tone Street, Kilkenny, a former employee of St. Francis Brewery who remembers the well.

112. Thubber Murrha, /tobər'mwɪʃə 'bridz/, Mary Healy, Colm Healy, Kilmacar, who recall this bridge-name (and not well-name) only. The spoken form is closer to the original Irish, Tobar Mhuire, than the selected form, Thubber Murrha, might suggest. Documented forms

reflecting the spoken form are found in *Carrigan* II 201, *Carrigan* IV 433, *Carrigan NB* 29.120, *Carrigan NB* 97.170 and in *NFCS* 865.371.

129. Tobernaraha, /tobərnə'ra:hə/, Martin O'Shea, Knockroe, Tom Meagher, Oldcastle.

131. Tobermolua, /se:nt mo'luəz wel/, Pat O'Halloran, Kylenaskeagh, James Cahill, Killaloe. The spoken form is a translation of the Ordnance Survey version, Tobermolua (*EI(6)*). English forms are also evidenced in many documented sources, *viz.*: Holahan 1875, 37, *Carrigan* II 440, Larkin 2002, 117 and Moss 2014, 181.

141. Lady's Well, /'le:di' wel/, Ellen Maher, Ladywell, Chris Kavanagh, Ladywell Street. Forms such as Ladywell/Lady Well are also richly attested in the documented sources, *viz.*: *OSNB(34):OD*, *Carrigan* IV 262, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 23, Dunphy 2009, 43, Cullen 2012, 40 and Egan 2012, 85. They are also encountered in the Thomastown Baptismal Registers of the 1820s.

165. St. Fintan's Well, /se:nt 'fintinz wel/, Pat Hennessy, Thomas Green, Shanbogh.

Category A3. Name-forms of wells residing in the realm of local tradition only which are reasonably in accordance with documented versions (5 names)

61. Donaghmore Well, /se:nt 'pa:triks wel/, John Walsh, Barry O'Reilly, Donaghmore. The spoken form is more in tune with other documented English forms than the Ordnance Survey version, Donaghmore Well (*EI(6)*), *viz.*: St. Patrick's Well (Murphy 1874–9, 14, Lyng 1956–7, 34, *O'Kelly* 39, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 17).

111. Friar's Well, /dʒə 'frɪərz wel/, Peter O'Dwyer, Killonerry. The well was piped around 50 years ago by his father when Peter was five years of ages and as such he does not recall seeing the well.

113. Lady's Well, /əur'le:di'z wel/, Eamon Doyle, Curragh(nadimpaun), Brian Hennessy, Kilmacoliver.

171. St. Finan's Well, /se:nt 'fininz wel/, Dermot Dorgan, Attanagh, Michael Staunton, Tinnalintan.

178. St. David's Well, /se:nt 'de:vidz wel/, William Murphy, Castlegarden.

Category B.

While 69 wells are discussed in Category A, almost the same number of spoken forms of wells (68) pertain to this section where the name-forms have been de-onomised, resulting in name-forms such as The Spring, The Spring Well, The Well, The Well Field, The Pipe, The Pump, The Land Drain, The Holy Well, The Blessed Well, The Tubber and The Shore.

54.4% of the wells in this category (37/68) are still in existence (Category B1), while there is still a memory only of the wells locally in the case of 16 names (16/68, 23.5%, Category B2), a further 15 wells (15/68, 22.05%) have de-onomised name-forms which pertain to a local tradition only (Category B3), the wells being no longer in existence in the case of these last two subcategories.

Category B1 (37 names)

1. St. Bridget's Well, /d̪ə 'sbrɪŋ/, Christopher Spencer, The Coachman's Lodge, Silverspring
2. St. Patrick's Well, /d̪ə 'landre:n/, Christopher Spencer, Silverspring
5. The Church Well, /d̪ə 'wel fi:ld/, Michael Condren, Slatt Lawn, The Swan
7. Ballinvarry Holy Well, /d̪ə 'wel/, John Mahon, Ballavarra (English)
15. St. Lawrence's Well, /d̪ə 'wel/, Willie Barron, Graignamanagh, formerly of Ballyogan
17. Ballyreddy Holy Well, /d̪ə 'wel fi:ld/, Paddy Grennan, Luke Grennan, Ballyreddy
19. Toberbride, /d̪ə 'wel fi:ld/, Jimmy O'Brien, Cannafahy, Joe Kennedy, Callan historian
27. Tobar Bríde, /d̪ə 'wel/, Willie Barron, Graiguenamanagh, formerly of Brandondale House, Emma Hamilton, Toberbride Estate. (The spoken form of this latterly mentioned housing estate appears to be keeping the name alive almost unwittingly on a local level.)
35. Tubbernafauna, /d̪ə 'wel/, /d̪ə 'pəɪp/, /d̪ə 'pomp/, Michael Long, Cashel
37. Tobernagibboge, /d̪ə 'wel/, Stephen Hoyne, Gerard O'Brien, Castle Eve
39. St. David's Well, /d̪ə 'wel/, Liam Delahunty, Luke Roche, Castleinch
45. Tobermurry, /d̪ə 'pomp/, Liam Comerford, Edward Holahan, Clomantagh
46. Tubber Broondhawin, /d̪ə 'wel/, Carmel Cummins, Brendan Cummins, Clonamery
52. Tobar Phóil, /d̪ə 'wel/, Ann Downey, Pat Downey, Connahy
55. St. Monchin's Well, /d̪ə 'wel/, Jim Fitzpatrick, Joseph Fitzpatrick, Coolcashin
60. Thubber Eheen, /d̪ə 'pomp/, Breda Walsh, David O'Connor, Desart
71. Tobermurry, /d̪ə 'wel/, Thomas Mullins, Dick Duggan, Flemingstown (see also Category A1.71)
80. ToberaChoinée, /d̪ə 'wel fi:ld/, Mary Reid, Garrygaug, Mary O'Shea, Raheen
97. St. Broghan's Well, /d̪ə 'sbrɪŋ/, Richard Merrigan, John Joe Gahan, Kilbraghan
100. Tobar na Coille, /d̪ə 'wel/, Pat Galvin, Kilconnelly
119. St. Mogarra's Well, /d̪ə 'wel/, Tom Brennan, Clarabricken
121. Kilmog Holy Well, /d̪ə 'pomp/, Dermot Kearney, Kilmog
123. Tubberachreene, /d̪ə 'wel fi:ld/, Angela Donovan, Lilly Hennessy, Kilmogue
124. Tobermurry, /d̪ə 'wel/, Pat Conway, Ballinakill, Jim Power, The Rower

132. St. Bridget's Well, /ɫə 'wel/, John Comerford, Lamoge
133. TubbernaevMulleeng, /ɫə 'wel/, Eddie Long, Darren Atkins, Listerlin
136. Toberacluggeen, /ɫə 'hol:i' wel/, Tom Reid, Mary Reid, Milltown
143. Tobaratiampaill, /ɫə 'wel/, Tom Meagher, Liam Meagher, Oldcastle
145. Toberakin, /ɫə 'tobər/, Dick Walsh, Newtown, Kells, Robert Whitford, Kells
146. Lady's Well, /ɫə 'sbrɪŋ/, Noreen Kenneally, Con Nolan, Owing
149. Toberboy, /ɫə 'wel/, Ned Moran, Skeaghavasteen, John Foley, Pollagh
150. Tobernavean, /ɫə 'blesid wel/, John Foley, Shay Foley, Pollagh
154. St. Philomena's Well, /ɫə 'sbrɪŋ/, Tom Brennan, Clarabricken, Eddie Phelan, Rathcash
156. Toberkieran, /ɫə 'sbrɪŋ wel/, Tom Doody, Eddie Sullivan, Rathkieran
160. Tubbernacruchnhee, /ɫə 'wel/, Mary Alice Holden, Andy Frisby, Redacres
161. Riesk Holy Well, /ɫə 'fɔ:r/, Ned Brennan, Bridie Brennan, Riesk
162. St. Rosantha's Well, /ɫə 'wel/, John Lanigan, Elizabeth Lanigan, Rossaneany.

Category B2 (16 names)

20. Tobernaskeagh, /ɫə 'wel/, John Grace, Baunta (Commons), Joe Kennedy, Callan historian
29. St. Dallan's Well, /ɫə 'wel/, Con Barry, Danesfort
51. St. Columbkille's Well, /ɫə 'wel/, John Maher, Pat O'Keeffe, Columbkille
54. Thubberakilleen, /ɫə 'hol:i' wel/, Dick Grave, Eamon Saunders, Coolagh(more)
59. Derrynahinch Holy Well, /ɫə 'wel/, Tom Corcoran, Kiltorcan
66. Tobermogue, /ɫə 'pomp/, Donal Sheridan, Ennisnag
79. Garyduff Holy Well, /ɫə 'wel/, James Power, Garryduff
83. Toberkyle, /ɫə 'wel/, Ned Moran, Skeaghavasteen, Michael Maloney, Gorteen
103. St. John's Well, /ɫə 'sbrɪŋ/, Finbar Hodge, Kildalton College
105. Lady Well, /ɫə 'pomp/, Billy Phelan, Kildrinagh (memory of the pump)
108. St. Kieran's Well, /ɫə 'wel/, Robbie Hennessy, Kilkieran, Andrew Doyle, Cappagh
114. Tobar Brigid, /ɫə 'sbrɪŋ/, Eamon Doyle, Curragh(nadimpaun)
120. Tubber a' teampaill, /ɫə 'wel/, Mary O'Driscoll, Mick O'Driscoll, Kilmanahin
125. Kealy's Well, /ɫə 'wel/, /ɫə 'pomp/, Michael Walsh, Firoda, Grace Rothwell, Kiltown
163. Rossdama Holy Well, /ɫə 'wel/, Billy Butler, Ballycallan, Tom Doheny, Rossdama
176. Tubbrid Holy Well, /ɫə 'wel/, Leo Dunphy, James Dunphy, Tubbrid

Category B3 (15 names)

43. Holy Cross Well, /ɫə 'wel/, /ɫə 'pomp/, Anthony Dillon, Bernie Martin, Church Hill (tradition only)
48. Toberaghcanice, /ɫə'hol:i' wel/, Eddie Doyle, Ann Doyle, Clonmore
67. Tubbernacrusha, /ɫə 'wel fi:ld/, Matt Crotty, The Rower
77. St. Kieran's Well, /ɫə 'flagsdo:nz/ (The Flagstones), Nicola Flynn, Richard Condren, Kyteler's Inn
98. Tubbervrachawin, /ɫə 'wel fi:ld/, Pat Marnell, Kilbraghan
106. Kilfane Holy Well, /ɫə 'wel/, William Murphy, Castlegarden
112. Tobermurry, Tobar Muire Bridge (E2(6)), /ɫə 'bridʒ/, Nellie Healy, Con Healy, Kilmacar. (The bridge is still in existence but the well is not)
117. Toberachree, /ɫə 'wel fi:ld/, Eamon Drea, Matt Drea, Kilmacshane
118. St. Andrew's Well, /ɫə 'wel/, Ray Brophy, Kilmadum
127. St. Luke's Well, /ɫə 'wel/, Mícheál Ó Diarmada, Owen Darmody, Lukeswell
139. Muckalee Holy Well, /ɫə 'wel/, Pádraig Hunt, Gaulstown
144. Templeorum Well, /ɫə 'wel/, Mary O'Shea, Raheen
147. Toberuna, /ɫə 'wel fi:ld/, Noreen Kenneally, Tom Kenneally, Owing
153. St. Catherine's Well, /ɫə 'wel/, James Walsh, Rathbeagh
168. St. Martin's Well, /ɫə 'wel/, Nicholas Long, Templemartin.

Category C.

The spoken forms of a further 6 names are of a de-onomised nature also but they have an additional descriptive quality attaching to them, yielding such forms as The hollow in the graveyard, The Old Abbey Well, The hole in the ground, The Rosary Well, Kilquan Well (identification by townland only) and The hollow in the tree:

14. Ballyneale Holy Well, /ɫə 'hɒlɔ' inɫə'gre:vjard/, Pat Heffernan, Ballyneale (tradition only)
31. St. Augustine's Well, /di: o:l'dabi' wel/, John Somers, Callan, Joe Kennedy, Callan historian (the well still exists)
32. St. Kieran's Well, /ɫə 'ho:l inɫə'grəʊnd/, John Doyle, Philip Knox, Cappagh (the well still exists)
50. Tobar Mhuire, /ɫə 'ro:zəri' wel/ (possibly the well in question), Paul Kinsella, Coan (the well still exists)
70. Thubberchooann, /kil'kwɒn wel/, Tom Mullally, Busherstown (the well still exists)

107. Kilkeasy Holy Well, /d̪ə 'haloː ɪnd̪ə'triː/, Tom Holden, Kilkeasy (the well still exists)

Category D. Replacement name-forms:

68. Tubber Finnawn, /d̪ə 'mənəstriː wel/ (The Monastery Well), Dermot Dorgan, Julie Dorgan, Attanagh (memory of well only)

152. Tobernaliha, /'kɪtiːz wel/ (Kitty's Well), Eamon Dempsey, Powerswood (memory of well only)

179. Thubbervweenia, /'kɑklənz wel/ (Coughlan's Well, cf. Couchlan's Well (*NFCS* 853.248)), Willie Maher, Tullamaine, Stephen Hoyne, Ballymack (the well still exists)

182. Lady's Well, /'kəniːz wel/ (Connie's Well), Des Fitzgerald, John Queally, Urlingford (memory of well only)

183. Tobar Muire, /'kreg wel/ (Cregg Well), Betty Hanrahan, Whitechurch (from the adjoining townland to the west of Whitechurch, Cregg, in County Tipperary, the well, which is still in existence, being in Whitechurch)

Category E. Wells with more than one spoken form

38. Toberatoo, /tobər(ə)'tuː/, William Murphy, Castlegarden (Toberatoo *El(6)*), alias Tobar Chiaráin, /tobərkiː'raːn/, Maeve Galway, Breda Galway, Castlegarden (this latter form being the more commonly used one locally) (well still exists)

69. Nanny's Well or St. Anne's Well (*O'Kelly* 35), /'naniːz wel/, /seːnt 'anz wel/, Michael Walsh, Firoda (well still exists)

74. Angel's Well, /'eːndʒɪlz wel/, Joseph Kavanagh, O.P., Blackabbey, Ann Walsh, St. Rioch's Court, alias Blackabbey Well (Hogan 1884, 262), /blak'abiː wel/, Joseph Kavanagh, O.P., alias St. Dominic's Well, /seːnt 'dɒmɪnɪks wel/, Joseph Kavanagh, O.P. (from the Dominican Blackabbey) (well still exists). The well is currently known as The Blackabbey Well and as St. Dominic's Well.

While references to the well are relatively sparse, documented references to the Black Abbey abound:

Nat.Grid: 250287, 156112, *SMR*: *KK* 019-02621: the black Abby, *Lib.Prim.Kilk.* 51 (1406); the fryers preachers and fryers Minors of Kilkenny, Black Abbey, *IMED* 116 (1509); Dominican Friary (Black Abbey), *IMED* 296 (1509); the monastery of the Blackefriers, Kilkenny, *F5854* (1594); le Blackfryeren abby, *Inq.Lag.(KK, civitas)*, 9C1 (1633); in Dominicanorum ecclesia, *Comm.Rinuucc.* II 486 (1646); Prior Monasterii Dominicanorum Kilkenniensium, *Comm.Rinuucc.* IV 219 (1649); Blackabbey, *Inq.Lag.(KK)*, 4 Car. II (1662);

Blackabby, *Inq.Lag.(KK)*, 1 *Gul. et Mar.* (1692); Kilkenny Friary of Holy Trinity (Monasteries of Dominican or Black-Friers), *Ware's Antiq.* 276 (1764); the Black Abbey in Irishtown, *Mon.Hib.* 371 (1786); the noble ruins of this friary may still be seen, *Mon.Hib.* 373 (1786); the Dominican Abbey, *Lewis II* 114 (1837); Blackfriars Br[idge]; Abbey Street, *EI(6)* (1842); the Black Abbey, Hogan 1884 257, 258, 262, 400; the *Monasthir Dhu*, *Abbatia Nigra*, or Black Abbey, Kilkenny, founded, in honour of the One and Undivided Trinity, by William Marshall, the younger, Earl of Pembroke, in 1225, *Carrigan III* 177; Black Abbey, *Carrigan III* 180; Black Abbey Church; the Black Abbey churchyard; the Abbey Church, *Carrigan III* 181; the Black Abbey, *Carrigan III* 182; the Abbey Church, *Carrigan III* 183; the Black Abbey, Gaffney 1965, 44-46; the Dominican Black Abbey, *O'Kelly* 20; The Dominican Friars, Kilkenny; Holy Trinity Priory of Irishtown, *Med.Rel.Ho.* 226 (1970); the Black Abbey, Fenning 1975, 2, 4-6, 8, 9, 13, 16-18, 21, 23, 24, 26-28, 30, 31, 36-38; Religious house – Dominican friars, *RMPKK*; The Black Friars' Church or Black Abbey was founded for the Dominicans around 1226. It has a lovely medieval alabaster statue of the Trinity. A wooden carving of St. Dominic, once used in procession, is kept in the church, Meehan 2008, 343; the Dominican priory; Black Freren Lane, Bradley (2009), 27; Black Freren Gate, Bradley 2009, 28, 29; the Black Abbey, Fenning 2009, 17, 27, 32, 120, 123, 130, 151, 153; O'Keefe 2015, 10, 11.

Francis J. Cotter, O.F.M., assigns the date of the Dominican friars' arrival in Ireland (Dublin) to the year 1224 (Cotter 1994, 16), as does Gerry O'Keefe (O'Keefe 2016, 10).

Category F. Corrupted spoken forms

63. Cruckny Well, /d̪ə'kopnə wel/, Michael Walsh, Firoda Lower (the well still exists)

81. Tobermamonine, /tobərnə'ne:n/, Gerard Doyle, Curragh(nadimpaun). No such form is found in the documented sources (the well still exists)

82. Tobermathulla, /tobərnə'holə/, Gerard Doyle, Curragh(nadimpaun). At least forms such as this are richly documented in the historical sources, corrupt though they may be: *Carrigan NB* 47.13, 14, *Carrigan NB* 66.48, 50, *Carrigan NB* 97.339, *Carrigan NB* 127.44, *Carrigan IV* 328 (memory only of well)

126. Tobernaglohin, /tobərnəgli'gi:n/, Tom Meagher, Kiltrassy. His brother, Liam, has /tobərnə'glakin/, a form loyal to the Ordnance Survey version, Tobernaglohin (*EI(6)*). See, however, Tobernagluggin (*Carrigan NB* 97.337) and Tobernagloigin (*O'Kelly* 150) in partial defence of Tom's somewhat corrupted form (well still exists)

150. Tobernavean, /tobərnə'ne:n/, John Foley, Shay Foley, Pollagh — perhaps as a result of a misreading of -v- for -n-. The form is to be distinguished from No. 81 above (the well still exists).

Category G. Spoken forms based on accurate and not so accurate translations

155. Tobernagolumb, /ɫə'wel av ɫə'dovz/, The Well of the Doves, a translation of *Tobar na gColm*, Tom Mullally, Busherstown, Áine Irish, Rathinure (cf. Well of the Doves (*OSL(KK)* II 180 (*OD*)) (the well still exists)

173. Thibberachollikeen/Tobernabrone < *Tobar na Brón*, well of the quern, /wel av ɫə'kwɛrɪn/, Michael Long, Jack Kearns, Tobernabrone (an accurate translation), /wel av ɫə'sarɔ:z/, Michael Long, Jack Kearns, an inaccurate translation, this latter form being the more commonly used locally (the well still exists). It is also occasionally called /ɫi:'əi wel/ (The Eye Well) which is understandable given the perceived historical eye-cure sought there (*Tobar an Chailcín*)

174. Tobernapeastia < *Tobar na Péiste*, well of the worm, /wel av ɫə'wɔrəmz/, — of the worms, a less than accurate translation, Paul Walsh, Thomas Doheny, Tobernapeastia. For documented forms, The well of the Worm (singular), see *OSNB(29):OD*, *OSL(KK)* I 188, *OSM(KK)* 14 and Cantwell (2000), 34 (the well still exists).

While this latter spoken form shows a plural being used in place of a singular, a similar phenomenon is to be observed in the case of 93. Thubberathoggarth < *Tobar an tSagairt*, /tobərnə'sagərt/, Tobar na Sagart, Tom Mullally, Busherstown, and in the case of 89. Tobernaspog, *Tobar na nEaspag*, a singular is used in place of a plural in the spoken version, /tobərə'naspig/, Matthew Corr, Grangehill. These last two mentioned plural and singular forms are not evidenced in any of the documented sources (while singular and plural forms are).

A spoken form of one kind or another (A–G) has been ascertained in the case of 160 names (160/183 = 87.4%) although the initial excitement of such a high percentage is dampened somewhat when one considers that 74 wells (74/183 = 40.4% : 68 (Category B1–B3) + 6 (Category C)) have de-onomised name-forms only.

Wells for which no location whatsoever was found, not amind spoken forms dependent on even memory or on a local tradition, are included in the following:

Category H

9. St. Brigid's Well, 18. Thubberathoggarth, 22. St. Cranagh's Well, 24. TubbernaCruchthanee, 28. Lady's Well, 30. ThubbernaMydan, 53. St. Mary's Well, 62. Donaguile Well, 65. St. Patrick's Well, 72. Sruthán na Ceárdcha, 78. St. Mary's Well, 92. St. Rock's Well, 109. Tubberkilkierawn and 164. Loughman's Well.

The same, indeed, applies to ten other wells which are listed as having holy wells in the *SMR* but for which no location or spoken form was found:

10. Ballyda Holy Well, 44. Clogharinka Holy Well, 47. Clonmore Holy Well, 102. Kildalton Holy Well, 104. Kildrinagh Holy Well, 115. Kilmacow Holy Well, 122. Kilmogue Holy Well, 128. Knockroe Holy Well, 148. Pollagh Holy Well and 157. Rathloghan Holy Well.

Other notable absentees (which may be viewed in Appendix XXXII), are obsolete forms of names which contained more than one name, the obsolete form being italicised in each case.

Indeed, many of the name-forms not italicised above have also been long since de-onomised, yielding a current, simple appellation of only /d̪ə 'wel/, or some such form.

Other considerations pertaining to spoken forms

1. Whether a well still exists or whether it no longer exists and is confined to the realm of memory or even more precariously and vulnerably to the tenuous and often endangered realm of a local tradition only, such facts have direct implications for the future safeguarding of spoken forms.

2. The commonness/frequency or otherwise of the spoken forms of names may be viewed in Appendix XXXIII.

Although 106 wells (according to my computation) are still in existence in one shape or another and even though name-forms of one class or another were secured for 160 wells (160/183, 87.4%), yet 23 wells do not appear to have been located at all, that many others have a de-onomised status only (74/183, 40.4%), and a few others have been corrupted. A considerable figure of 51 wells (51/183, 27.9%) are reliant on local memory and local tradition (combined) as to the procurement of relevant details and descriptions, while 109 wells (59.5%) are known to very few informants only and are very occasionally referred to locally (if indeed at all) and that, in contrast, a disappointingly low 4.4% of wells only are very well known locally and beyond. When one takes all of these factors into consideration, the future of the name-forms (which are likely to undergo further de-onomisation over future

generations) and of the wells themselves (many more which may be lost over the same period) is not a hugely inspiring or hopeful one.

Added to this is the vulnerable nature of microtoponyms in general (compared to more secure administrative units such as townland and parish names), the fact that the age-profile of the informants interviewed ranges from 49–95, the majority of these being in the ageing 60–80 age-group, and the reality that placenames in general, not amind microtoponyms such as holy wells, may not figure too highly in the thought processes of younger generations given the societal changes over the last few decades and those still to come.

The relative age of the holy wells of County Kilkenny as per the earliest documented evidence of each name-form

It must be pointed out here that all of the following references serve as a guide to the relative age of the wells from an evidential point of view only and that the exact age of the wells clearly remains unknown.

Five out of the first six earliest name-forms are in Latin, dating from the period 1244c.–1617, while a late sixteenth-century transliterated name-form is gleaned from a map of Ireland drawn by the Flemish geographer and cartographer, Gerardus Mercator (1595). Another, Trinity Well, has a plaque bearing the words ‘Dated to 1356’:

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 1200–99 | St. Canice’s Well, <i>tld</i> : Gardens, fons Sancti Kannici (<i>Gilbert Mss.</i> lxxii, No. 2 (1244–50))
St. Kieran’s Well, <i>tld</i> : Gardens, iuxta fontem S[ancti] Kenorici (<i>IMED</i> 309 (1260)) |
| 1300–99 | St. Mary’s Well, <i>tld</i> : Gardens, usque ad fontem Beate Mariae (<i>Lib. Prim. Kilk.</i> 154 (1312)) |
| 1400–99 | Toberacrin, <i>tld</i> : Troyswood, a rivulo fontis Sancti Brandani (<i>Carrigan III</i> 196 (1430–1)) |
| 1500–99 | Bostionfort Well, <i>tld</i> : Castle Ellis, Boaspole (<i>Mercator</i> (1595)) |
| 1600–99 | St. Francis Well, <i>tld</i> : Gardens, fons Sancti Francisci (<i>Anal. Hib.</i> 6.83 (1617)) |

Only three wells appear to date from the eighteenth century according to the documented sources which include an episcopal edict pertaining to St. John’s Well, Rathcoole, a reference extracted from a map of Ireland by General Charles Vallancey, a British military surveyor sent to Ireland and a book of Ossory poetry in Irish:

- 1700–99 St. John’s Well, *tld*: Johnswell, St. John’s Well near Kilkenny (Ó Fearghail 2006, 15 (5/5/1761))
 St. Luke’s Well, *tld*: Knockmoylan, St. Lukes Well (*Vallancey* (1786))
 St. Mullin’s Well, *tld*: Mullennakill, Tiobra deas Chrann Moling (*Duan. Osr.* 61 (1700s))

No fewer than 123 wells appear to date from the nineteenth century as per the documented evidence (123/183, 67.2%). The relevant sources in question here include a Statistical Survey of County Kilkenny by William Tighe, early nineteenth-century maps of County Kilkenny drawn up by David Aher and Hill Clements, a parochial survey of the parish of Listerling by William Shaw Mason, baptismal records, Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin’s cinnlae or diary, Ordnance Survey sources which account for no fewer than 69 names (the source material here can be divided into Ordnance Survey Namebooks (40), Ordnance Survey Letters (24), Ordnance Survey Memoranda (1) (independent of *OSL(KK)*), Ordnance Survey Fair Plan maps (2), the first edition maps of County Kilkenny on the scale of six inches to one mile (2), and the Bowers family history manuscript (3 — *c.*1850).

A further 19 wells date from the period 1859–1883 as per sources which are connected with writings on ecclesiastical and archaeological matters pertaining to County Kilkenny, the relevant authors here being John Hogan, Revd. Philip Moore, Revd. Edmund Farrell, Revd. James Holohan and Revd. William Healy. Additional nineteenth-century sources include Revd. Francis Shearman’s *Loca Patriciana*, P.M. Egan’s *Kilkenny* and 20 references gleaned from Revd. William Carrigan’s Notebooks (1887–1899). For a full list of these nineteenth-century names, see Appendix XXXIV.

38 names (38/183, 20.8%) date to the twentieth century according to the documented sources which include further entries from Revd. Carrigan’s notebooks (7), references gleaned from his printed works (9), references from the Schools’ Folklore Collection (15) and from Owen O’Kelly’s *Kilkenny: a history of the county* (5) and two late twentieth-century references from the archaeological source, Records of Monuments and Places, County Kilkenny (1996). For a list of these twentieth-century names, see Appendix XXXV.

Twelve wells (12/183, 6.5%) are dated to the twenty-first century, nearly all of which are sourced in the National Monuments Service, Archaeological Survey of Ireland:

- 2000– St. Mary’s Well, *tld*: Coolaghmore, St. Mary’s Well (Brennan 2006, 137;

Saunders 2006, 141)

Ballyda Holy Well, *tld*: Ballyda, Ritual site — holy well (*NMS, ASI (2016)*)

Clogharinka Holy Well, *tld*: Clogharinka, Ritual site — holy well (*NMS, ASI (2016)*)

Clonmore Holy Well, *tld*: Clonmore, Ritual site — holy well (*NMS, ASI (2016)*)

Kildalton Holy Well, *tld*: Kildalton, Ritual site — holy well (*NMS, ASI (2016)*)

Kildrinagh Holy Well, *tld*: Kildrinagh, Ritual site — holy well (*NMS, ASI (2016)*)

Kilmacow Holy Well, *tld*: Kilmacow, Ritual site — holy well (*NMS, ASI (2016)*)

Kilmogue Holy Well, *tld*: Kilmogue, Ritual site — holy well (*NMS, ASI (2016)*)

Knockroe Holy Well, *tld*: Knockroe, Ritual site — holy well (*NMS, ASI (2016)*)

Maudlin Holy Well, *tld*: Maudlin, Ritual site — holy well (*NMS, ASI (2016)*)

Rathlogan Holy Well, *tld*: Rathlogan, Ritual site — holy well (*NMS, ASI (2016)*)

Riesk Holy Well, *tld*: Riesk, Ritual site — holy well (*NMS, ASI (2016)*)

A very substantial 176/183 (96.1%) wells are dated, according to the documented sources and to a number of current online references (www.archaeology.ie), from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present day, the majority of the first-encountered references (123/183, 67.2%) being confined to three main sources, namely, Ordnance Survey material (69), Revd. Carrigan's works (38) and the Schools' Folklore Collection (16).

For a tabular summary of the earliest documented evidence of the wells across the centuries, see Appendix XXXVI. This appendix reveals, *inter alia*, that 67.2% of wells have their names first documented in the nineteenth century and that a further 20.8% are first documented in the twentieth century. However, seeing as many or all of the wells may date to a time earlier than these first-recorded nineteenth- and twentieth-century references, it would be mistaken to conclude that popular culture was at its strongest during the same period.

We may also note here the relative lack of Irish in Kilkenny during the period when the wells were first documented which helps to put in context the relative lack of Irish saints noted in the chapter on hagiography.

Chapter 4: Locational characteristics of the holy wells

1. Holy wells near ecclesiastical structures

1.1 Old ecclesiastical structures and/or graveyards relative to the position of the well

(151/183 = 82.5%)

Commenting in general on the position of holy wells, Dr. Patrick Logan refers, not surprisingly, to Church Wells and states that ‘in the great majority of cases the holy well can be found close to the ruins of the medieval parish church, or to the ruins of some other ancient church. In some cases the remains of the church may have long disappeared, and been forgotten, but there may be an old graveyard close to the well or in some cases a Cillin may be found’ (Logan 1980, 66).

Such findings certainly hold true in the case of the location of the holy wells of County Kilkenny where over four fifths of the wells (151/183, 82.5%) are or were located near an ecclesiastical structure which in the vast majority of cases has or had an old graveyard adjoining.

The greatest percentage of these (34.4%) were described on the first edition Ordnance Survey Maps on the scale of six inches to one mile as ‘Church (in ruins)’, ‘graveyard’, numbering 63 in total, the relevant townlands being listed in Appendix XXXVII.

1.2 23 of the wells (12.6%) are located near a church site and graveyard in the following townlands: Ballyreddy, Baunta Commons (x2), Cappagh, Church Hill, Desart Demesne, Flemingstown (x2), Freneystown, Garrygaug, Jamesgreen, Kilbraghan, Kilkieran, Killonerry, Kilmanahin, Kilmacow, Lamoge, Listerlin, Oldcourt, Sheastown, Templemartin, Templeorum and Tullamaine (Ashbrook).

1.3 A mere local tradition of a church or monastery or chapel and graveyard survives in the case of fourteen names (7.6% of the total): Aughatubbrid (church), Brabstown (church and graveyard), Davidstown (church), Finnan (monastery), Gardens (old chapel — St. Kieran’s well), Garryduff (old graveyard), Kilconnelly (church and graveyard), Kildalton (church and graveyard) (x2), Kilmagar (church), Kilmog or Racecourse (church and graveyard), Kilmogue (church and graveyard) (x2) and Powerswood (chapel).

1.4 Church ruins only are met with in the case of nine names (4.9% of the total) — there being no graveyard in evidence: Afaddy or Silverspring, Aughkiletaun, Borrismore, Castlemarket, Grange, Kilbraghan (*bar*: Ida), Knocktopher Abbey, Rathlogan (x2) and Shanbogh Upper (x2).

1.5 Mention is made of nine churches which do not appear to be ruinous with an adjacent graveyard (4.9% of the total): Burnchurch (x2), Drumgoole, Ennisnag, Farrantemple, Gardens (St. Mary's Church), Moat, Newtown (Thomastown) and Whitechurch.

1.6 Holy wells located near Roman Catholic chapels account for eight names (4.4% of the total): Ballyda (x3), Castle Ellis, Gorteen, Johnswell, Knockmoyle and Ovenstown.

1.7 A further eight wells are or were located near the site of a church with no evidence of an adjacent graveyard: Ballyogan, Kilmacshane, Kilmadum, Kilmurry, Pollagh (x3) and Tikerlevin.

1.8 Seven holy wells are or were located near friaries or abbeys (3.8% of the total): Callan North (Augustinian Friary), Gardens (Black Abbey — Angel's Well), Gardens (Black Abbey — St. Canice's Well), Gardens (Black Abbey — St. Francis Well), Graiguenamanagh (Duiske Abbey), Grangefertagh (Fertagh Priory) and Inistioge (ruins of Augustinian Priory and graveyard).

1.9 A combination of church ruins + graveyard + Roman Catholic chapel is evidenced in the case of six names (3.27% of the total): Dunnamaggan East, Graigavine, Kilmacoliver (x2) and Owing (x2).

1.10 A chapel and graveyard is seen in the case of a further four names (2.18% of the total): Clontubbrid, Coan West, Connahy and Kylesnaskeagh, while a chapel site and graveyard is met with in just one instance in the townland of Foulksrath.

1.11 Some 17.5% of the wells in County Kilkenny do not appear to have any ecclesiastical accompaniment, the relevant 32 townland names being as follows: Afaddy or Silverspring (St. Patrick's Well), Ballinvarry, Ballyrafton, Baunballinlough, Boggan (x3), Brandondale, Cappagh (x2), Cashel or Tobernafauna, Castle Eve, Castlegarden, Cottrellsbooly,

Croghtenclogh, Donaguile, Earlsbog Commons, Firoda Upper, Glencommaun (x2), Grangehill, Grange Lower, Kilkieran (x2), Knockroe, Maudlin, Mountnugent Lower, Pollagh, Riesk, Rossdama, Toberbreedia and Tobernabrone.

Churches and wells

Regarding the people of early Ireland, Dr. Edel Bhreathnach remarks that ‘theirs was not a one-dimensional landscape; they viewed their environment through many lenses. For them, there existed a natural environment that had to be worked to survive, that had to be encountered when travelling or migrating; a real landscape that they themselves had created and that was dotted with boundaries, settlements, roads and field systems; a sacred landscape that contained the monuments of their ancestors, graves and cemeteries, sacred springs and holy wells, churches and crosses; a ceremonial landscape in which their kings were inaugurated...’ (Bhreathnach 2014, 10).

Elsewhere in the same work on mentioning Cúaca of Kilcock (Co. Kildare), Scíre of Kilskeer (Co. Meath), Sineach of Kilshine (Co. Meath), Ciar of Kilkeary (Co. Tipperary), Lúathrenn of Killoran (Co. Sligo) and Rígnach of Kilrainey (Co. Kildare) and Templerainy (Co. Wicklow), she remarks that ‘in most of these cases there is a remarkably common settlement pattern: a late medieval church with a graveyard that functioned until relatively recently is surrounded by an earthen enclosure — with a holy well dedicated to the local saint. In many cases, ringforts are located close by and a medieval cross survives in the graveyard’ (Bhreathnach 228, 229). She further adds that ‘this topographical model is so standard that it implies that these churches were founded from within a local kindred during the conversion period and were the resting-place of the *érlam*, the patron whose name was associated with that church’ (*ibid.*). Hardly surprisingly, a similar topographico-ecclesiastical milieu is evidenced in the case of County Kilkenny churches + graveyards + holy wells (dedicated mainly to the patron saint of the local church).

In her joint publication with Kathleen Hughes entitled *The Modern Traveller to the Early Irish Church*, Ann Hamlin comments that ‘there must be several thousand holy wells in Ireland, many of them at early church sites’ and that ‘there were pressing practical reasons for building a church close to a good water supply, and it is surely this source which has sometimes come to be regarded as a holy well’ (Hughes & Hamlin 1977, 108, 109), an opinion with which Dr. Niamh Whitfield concurs (Whitfield 2007, 497).

In her 2005 study of Fingallian wells (County Dublin), Petra Skyvova observes that ‘by venerating the [pagan] wells and incorporating them into Christian rituals they made the leap of faith required for conversion less daunting’ (*Fingallian Wells* 16) in the early Christian period. She adds that ‘thus early Christian churches were often constructed near pagan sacred wells and the Celtic Christian Church used them for baptism until the Roman Church replaced them with the baptismal font inside the church building’ (*ibid.*).

Professor Peter Harbison has suggested that one of the reasons early churches and monasteries might be located near already venerated wells was ‘to achieve a felicitous and frictionless continuity from pagan to Christian cult’ (*Nat. Mon. Harb.* 229; Ray 2014, 83, 84). In line with ideas expressed by Ann Hamlin and Petra Skyvova above, Professor Celeste Ray argues that ‘certainly water sources were needed both for subsistence at monastic settlements and for baptizing new converts’ and that ‘the reuse of pagan sacred sites also eased the transition to Christianity’ (Ray 2014, 84). It is hardly surprising then that ‘the construction of churches next to sacred springs means that today many holy wells are now in the middle of church graveyards (for example, wells of some of Ireland’s early indigenous saints: St. Íte/Íde’s well at her foundation in Killeedy or St. Ailbhe’s at his in Emly (both in Co. Limerick), St. Brigid’s well in Ballintubbert, Co. Laois or St. Lassair’s in Keadue, Co. Sligo, St. Séadna’s in Clonbeg, Co. Tipperary’ (*ibid.*).

It may be said that the three authors above (Skyvova, Harbison and Ray) refer to certain pagan elements but they do not appear to specify what is the nature of this pagan evidence.

2. Holy wells are sometimes located within well-houses, coverings or ‘domes’

Five such structures are evidenced in the case of County Kilkenny holy wells (spanning 19 references hereafter, $5/183 = 2.7\%$, of all the wells in the county)

1. St. Michael’s Well, *tld*: Bayswell, ‘the arch that covers the well’ (Moore, 1874–9, 38); ‘it is a fine well with a big shelter built over it’ (*ITAS (KK)*, Johnstown, Form A, page 4 (1944));
2. Toberadrugh, *tld*: Clontubbrid, ‘the door-case, with a sharp arch, four feet six inches high’ (*Stat. Sur. (KK)* 635); ‘the point of the arch of the chamber is three feet over the door arch’ (*OSL (KK)* I 90, 91 (1839)); ‘it was covered by a small stone-roofed building’ (Petrie 1845, 453); ‘the stone-covered holy well’ (Du Noyer 1867, 430); ‘ancient stone-roofed house’ (Hogan 1876, 111); ‘a holy well over which is built a

very ancient structure' (*Loc. Pat.* (1882) 313); 'The Well House, Thubberadthroo' (*Carrigan III* (1905) 328); 'a little house over the well' (*NFCS* 866.470); 'the ruined well-house' (Waldron 1959, 50); 'the well-house (defaced) of Toberadrugh' (*Shell Guide Killanin* 283); 'the well house' (*Freshford Sketches* 2003, 50, 51); 'Clontubbrid well house' (Moss 2014, 180);

3. St. Canice's Well, *tld*: Gardens, 'inter alia fontem S. Canici ... cuius marmoreum antrum superne concameratum, interne vero saxeis sedilibus constratum est' (*de Praesul. Hib.* I c.1670, 368); 'St. Kenny's Well. Over it is an arched building, furnished on the inside with stone benches' (*Carrigan III* 190); 'it is clear that the stone-roofed structure over the well dates as far back, at least, as the 17th century. It is probable that it dates from even a very much more remote period' (*Carrigan III* 191), 'a small stone well house is built over the well' (2015);
4. St. John's Well, *tld*: Johnswell, 'the well is protected and covered over by stone and mortar' (*NFC* 468.103);
5. St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Sheastown, 'this is covered in by a stone built dome which appears to be modern' (Cotter & Lehane 1987, 153).

Commenting on such well-houses in England, folklorist Jeremy Harte, in his publication entitled *English Holy Wells: A sourcebook* (2008), affirms that 'these conduit heads needed to be protected from mud, falling leaves and cattle' and that 'from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it became usual to cover them with small well-houses, usually square stone buildings with a high-pitched roof and a little door at the front' (*op. cit.* 76). The term 'usual', however, could hardly be applied to the holy wells of County Kilkenny, given the fewness of such structures outlined above.

Janet Bord, in her multi-thematic publication entitled *Cures and Curses: Ritual and Cult at Holy Wells* (2006) comments, under the heading *Well buildings*, on the variety of well-appearances, ranging 'from a small and apparently insignificant hole in the ground, to a large and impressive stone building covering the actual well' (*op. cit.* 141). Commenting on the latter she continues, 'the nature and design of buildings that have been erected over some wells depend very much on the use to which the well has been put, and who has been involved in its development. The simplest buildings are small stone structures that were built to protect and cover the venerated water source; sometimes niches were provided into which statuettes of saints, and offerings, would have been placed' (*ibid.*).

3. Sacred trees relative to the position of the well

(58/183 = 31.7%, of all the Kilkenny wells)

In an article entitled 'The Sacred Trees of Ireland', Dr. A.T. Lucas, commenting in broad terms, states that 'the typical holy well has a bush or tree growing alongside it which partakes of the sanctity of the well' (Lucas 1963, 40).

Dr. Patrick Logan is somewhat more specific in his statement that 'praying at special trees and walking around them is part of the pilgrimage ritual at many Irish holy wells' (Logan 1980, 89). He also refers to the possibility that 'tree worship takes us back to the beginning of the Irish as a people and to a religion that is much older than Christianity' (*ibid.*).

Ruth and Frank Morris argue that 'the function of the trees which stood beside some healing wells was apparently not solely as guardians', but, in addition, 'they could be used as recipients of the patients' offerings, not only of coins but of pins, another favourite gift, or the cloth which had bound a wound or sore and, by extension, any clothing which had been in contact with the patient' (Morris & Morris 1981, 6).

Janet and Colin Bord refer to the frequency of trees vis à vis holy well siting and to the long-standing ritual of rags being hung thereon, which, they argue, may only be a secondary function, their principal function or importance being, perhaps, as a relic of ancient tree worship:

One important aspect of holy well siting, which anyone visiting a number of wells will almost certainly notice, is the frequency with which they are located near trees. Many wells appear to have an especially important tree or bush growing beside them, these often being used for hanging rags on, though this may be a secondary function. Their principle significance seems to be as a relic of ancient tree worship, which once may have been as important as water worship.

(Bord & Bord 1985, 98)

In her multi-thematic publication entitled *Cures and Curses: Ritual and Cult at Holy Wells* (2006), Janet Bord again argues that 'Holy wells and trees are closely associated, in that numerous holy wells have notable trees growing beside them' (*op. cit.* 129). She mentions the word *bile* as being an important tree at a holy well site, citing by way of illustration a toponymical example, Toberavilla, 'the well of the ancient tree' and she quotes Petra Skyvova in her 2005 study of Fingallian wells when she states that 'such trees often marked

tribal centres, inauguration sites or locations of sacred springs' (*loc. cit.*; Skyvova, *Fingallian Wells* 25).

In his introductory comments to his *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (1910), Charles Plummer draws our attention to the fact that 'the cult of sacred trees is of course a widely extended form of nature-worship' (*VSHP* I clii). He mentions 'sacred tribal trees at which Irish chieftains were inaugurated' (*loc. cit.*). Numerous supernatural arborial qualities are cited: 'Trees furnish auguries to saints, a hazel heals all diseases, a plane tree tests perjury, trees do homage to the saints [in that] their leaves make melody for Coemgen, they lie down to give him passage, and lift themselves again when he passed. Fallen trees are raised at the bidding of the saints, fruitless trees bear fruit, sour fruits are made sweet' (*ibid.* cliii, cliv).

Separated from Ireland in both time and space, Professor W.R. Smith attests to the commonness of tree-worship as a potent religious symbol in Semitic places of worship, stating that 'the symbol or permanent visible object, at and through which the worshipper came into direct contact with the god, was not lacking in any Semitic form, and was sometimes a natural object, sometimes an artificial erection. The usual natural symbols are a fountain or a tree, while the ordinary artificial symbol is a pillar or pile of stones; but very often all three are found together' (Smith 1894, 166). He argues logically thereafter that 'the choice of the natural symbols, the fountain and the tree, is no doubt due in part to the fact that the favourite haunts of animate life, to which a superstitious reverence was attached, are mainly found beside wood and running water' (*ibid.*). As to how the Semites worshipped such ancient trees which were deemed to possess a 'sacred energy' and 'divine life', Professor Smith reveals that 'prayers were addressed to them, particularly for help in sickness, but doubtless also for fertile seasons and the like, and they were hung with votive gifts, especially garments and ornaments, perhaps also anointed with unguents as if they had been real persons' (*ibid.* 195). It is possible this model may also be relevant to the Irish material

Many instances of votive offerings (especially rags) being left at trees beside holy wells in County Kilkenny, either as a propitiary gift or as a riddance/scapegoat or transfer of a disease, are evidenced under *Rituals* 18.1–15).

Just as pagan pools may have been transformed into holy wells for baptismal purposes in the early Christian period (Whitfield 2007, 496), so too many ancient trees, beloved of and worshipped by the druids (Horgan 1886, 240; Ross 1967, 59–65) may have been Christianised (as were holy stones) in the Christianisation of the landscape. Dr. Edel Bhreathnach states that 'churches, crosses and holy wells were but a part of the public

manifestation of Christianity visible to all throughout the landscape’ and that ‘natural features such as rocks and trees could [also] retain the memory of a saint’s passing through a place, as in the case of Domnach Sratha (in the Sligo region near Drumcliff) where, according to the Tripartite Life of Patrick, Patrick had a nosebleed on the road and two drops of blood fell and were marked by a stone (*lecc Pátraic*) and a hazelbush (*coll Pátraic*) near the church’, ‘*éd mbecc ón chill siar*’, in the north of the county, OS 8, in the civil and Catholic parish of Drumcliff and barony of Carbury (Bhreathnach 2014, 229, 230; *Bethu Phát.* 89.1684, 1685).

In an article entitled ‘Kingship in Early Ireland’ Professor Charles Doherty in a somewhat similar vein mentions Tíreachán’s account of St. Patrick’s journeys and how, *inter alia*, Patrick visited a number of wells, the well of Mucno/Tobar Makee, Drumtemple, County Roscommon, being a pertinent example, ‘where he founded a cell and there was a cross there marking the spot where Secundinus sat under an elm tree’ (Doherty 2005, 7; *Pat. Texts* 150, 151).

In an aforementioned article entitled ‘The Sacred Trees of Ireland’ (Lucas 1963, 16–54), Dr. A.T. Lucas discusses different types of sites where such trees are located and he classifies them as unassociated sacred trees (p.17–24), trees at inauguration sites (25, 26), trees associated with ecclesiastical sites (27–34), trees associated with saints (35–39), trees associated with holy wells (40–42) and trees associated with funerals (42–44).

Concerning the first category of unassociated trees, he mentions ‘the oldest and most conspicuous members of which are the five great legendary trees of ancient Ireland: Bile Tortan, Eó Mugna, Eó Rossa, Craeb Daithi and Bile Uisnig’ (*ibid.* 17).

The first of these trees is mentioned in the Book of Armagh (eighth century) and in the Tripartite Life of Patrick (ninth century) and was located near Ardbraccan, County Meath. Eó Mugna was associated with Ballaghmoon, County Kildare, Eó Rossa is supposed to have stood at Old Leighlin, County Carlow, Craeb Daithi supposedly stood in Farbill, County Westmeath and Craeb Uisnig grew at Ushnagh in the same county. It is noteworthy here that this quintet of ancient trees had Leinster associations. They are all mentioned as above in a Middle Irish tract entitled *Suidigid Tellaig Temra / Settling of the Manor of Tara*. The nobles of Ireland in the reign of Díarmait, son of Cerball (545–565) refused to attend the feast of Tara until some arrangement defining the limitations of the royal domain of Tara be made, and Fintan, son of Bóchra, who was summoned to give judgement, was handed berries by Trefuilngid Tre-eochair, and planted the berries in different locations from which sprung most of the aforesaid trees (Best 1910, 150.29, 151.29; Lucas, *op. cit.* 17). They are mentioned as follows in the Metrical Dindsheanchas (Edward Gwynn compiled and

translated dindsheanchas poems from the Book of the Dun Cow, the Book of Leinster, The Rennes Manuscript, the Book of Ballymote, the Great Book of Lecan and the Yellow Book of Lecan) in a somewhat different order, viz.: Cróeb Dathi ... unnius/ash tree, Unnius i Tortain, Dair Mugna/Oak of Mugna and Eó Rossa, ibur adlaic, ‘a comely yew’ (Gwynn, *MDind.* III 148, 149) and the order differs somewhat again in the Rennes Dindshenchas: Eó Rossa, a yew, Eó Mugna, an oak, Bili Dathi, an ash, Craeb Uisnig, an ash, and Bili Tortan, an ash (Stokes, *Rennes Dind.* V 160, p.277–279), all of which latter references (*Rennes Dind.*) appear in the Book of Leinster (c.1160) (Stokes 277).

In some instances, the tree itself can be the basis for the well. The holy well at Kilkeasy, County Kilkenny (No. 107), is located in the trunk or stump of a tree in the local graveyard of Kilkeasy. Dr. Patrick Logan states that a holy well ‘may be a deep pool in a stream, or a waterfall, or a collection of rain water in a holy stone ... or even a pool of water which is found in a hollow tree stump’ (Logan 1980, 57). By way of illustration he cites the Pin Well at Coney Island in County Armagh, Magherinagaw Well in County Antrim and a holy well near Ballybuigh Castle ruins in the parish of Ballydeloughry, County Cork (*ibid.* 68).

Janet Bord (probably citing Logan) also draws attention to this well in Ballydeloughry parish and cautions that such wells ‘are not holy wells in the conventional sense, of course, but hollow stumps where water has gathered, interpreted as holy wells for individual reasons’ (Bord 2006, 131).

Like Dr. Patrick Logan and Janet Bord above, Professor Celeste Ray draws attention to the fact that wells can derive from cavities on trees left by broken branches where dew and rain collect (Ray 2014, 2, 65). She states elsewhere that ‘venerable trees’ are often part of the stations visited by devotees and that over time they have ‘entered the cultural orbit of the holy well’ (*idem.* 2011, 273). Of course, in the nature of things, such wells could not have enjoyed a long life-span and thus must represent relatively recent phenomena.

In the case of the holy wells of County Kilkenny, the documented evidence informs us that trees are located or were formerly located at or near no fewer than 58 wells (31.7% of the total), the specific tree-type being mentioned in 41 instances while the remaining 16 cases mention a tree or trees or bush at the wells in question but do not specify the tree-type.

Of the specific tree-types mentioned, the hawthorn is the most common (13 instances), followed closely by the ash (11) and thereafter by the oak (4), blackthorn (3), elder (3), alder (3), mass bushes (2), hazel (1), yew (1), palm tree(s) (1).

In her examination of 195 sites associated with the Irish harvest festival of Lughnasa, Dr. Máire Mac Néill lists ash trees at certain wells (Castlekieran, County Meath; St. Mullin’s,

County Carlow; Kilnavert, County Cavan; Holy Well Lower, County Mayo (where, apparently, Secundinus ‘is said to have been alone under a lofty elm’); Tonlegee and Ballygaddy, County Galway (5 instances, *Fest-Lugh.* 260, 264, 604, 615 and 628 respectively)) while only three whitethorns are listed at wells (at Cullen, County Cork; Struell, County Down and Curragh West, County Galway) in the same work (269, 602, 629 respectively). It must be stated here, however, that a thorough perusal of National Folklore Collections (including the Schools’ Survey) in search of trees at holy wells, countrywide, may have yielded results somewhat different to those supplied by Dr. Mac Néill, whose focus was obviously different.

Janet Bord argues that ‘the trees most often found with wells are hawthorn, hazel, elder, rowan, holly, yew, ash and oak’ (Bord 2006, 129). According to Dr. Patrick Logan ‘the most usual trees [at wells] are whitethorn, hazel and ash, and formerly oak, but holly, rowan and yew are also found’ (Logan 1980, 17). Neither the holly nor the rowan feature in the County Kilkenny inventory outlined above.

The absence of the rowan here may not be surprising as it is found on the hill of mountain sides, not common in Kilkenny. The Kilkenny emphasis on hawthorn focuses on small trees used for hedging and not on long-lived oak or other large trees. There seems to be no obvious correlation, however, between the Kilkenny list and the noble trees of the Old Irish list.

A.T. Lucas’s survey of trees and bushes at a random sample of 210 holy wells scattered over the whole country led him to declare that ‘the whitethorn predominates as the companion of the holy well’: whitethorn (103), ash (75), oak (7), willow (6), elder (5), holly (4), rowan (3), alder (3), elm (2), yew (1), fir (1) (Lucas 1963, 42). Striking similarities are evidenced here between his list of frequency and the Kilkenny list outlined above, namely, the order of whitethorn and ash at the top of the list and the low instances of alder and yew.

There is no obvious overlap between the choice of such trees and the categorisation of trees found in the Old Irish legal tract, *Bretha Comaithchesa*, edited by Professor Fergus Kelly, which probably dates to the seventh century. Trees are therein classified as follows:

1. Airig fedo/nobles of the wood: Daur (oak) (Kelly 1976, 109), Coll (hazel) (*ibid.*), Cuilenn (holly) (*ibid.*), Ibar (yew) (*ibid.* 110), Uinnius (ash) (*ibid.* 110, 111), *inter alia*.
2. Aithig fedo/commoners of the wood: Fern (alder) (*ibid.* 114), Sail (willow) (*ibid.*), Scé (whitethorn) (*ibid.*), Cáerthann (rowan) (*ibid.* 115), Beithe (birch) (*ibid.*), Lem (elm) (*ibid.*).

Lower divisions of the wood/fodla fedo included (*inter alia*) Draigen (blackthorn) (*ibid.* 117) and Trom (elder) (*ibid.*).

Holy wells at, near or in holy trees in County Kilkenny

3.1 The Hawthorn (13, spanning 21 references)

1. Lady's Well, *tld*: Ballyda, 'the Rosary is said at five specified points around the well, each marked by skeaugh bushes' (Fitzgerald 2005, 391).
2. Tobernaskeagh, *tld*: Baunta Commons, 'well of the whitethorn tree' (*Carrigan NB* 33.41; *Carrigan III* 321; *NFCS* 854.10).
3. Lady's Well, *tld*: Castlemarket, 'the ancient hawthorn 'skeogh' or bush bedecked with scraps of cloth which bent over the well' (Dorgan 1996, 175); 'the pilgrim to Ladywell seventy years ago and before followed a grassy path to an open field site marked by an ancient hawthorn or skeagh bush which bent over a spring well' (Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 4).
4. Tobermurry, *tld*: Flemingstown, 'a large hawthorn in part overshadows it, adding much to its beauty' (Farrell 1874–9, 202); 'there is a large hawthorn bush near it' (*NFCS* 845.50).
5. Tubber a' teampaill, *tld*: Kilmanahin, 'there is a fine old hawthorn near the holy well' (Moore 1874–9, 33).
6. Kilmog Holy Well, *tld*: Kilmog, St. Patrick's hawthorn raggedy bush is a holy well rag tree still regularly covered in votive offerings (Butler, *Irish Examiner*, 18/3/2016, page 13).
7. TubbernaevMulleeng, *tld*: Listerlin, 'the well is overshadowed by a fine old spreading hawthorn tree' (*Par. Sur.* III 244; *OSL (KK)* II 166); 'a very old hawthorn which once grew beside it, was said to have been planted by the saint' (Moore 1874–9, 28); 'there is a sceach over the well' (*NFCS* 846.264); 'there are sceacs [*sic*] growing around St. Mullin's well in Listerlin' (*NFCS* 846.414); 'there was an old thorn tree over the well' (Logan 1980, 91); 'a thorn bush beside the well' (Mac Coitir 2003, 55).
8. Toberacluggeen, *tld*: Milltown, 'on a hawthorn are usually seen votive offerings of rags, &c., a thing usual in Ireland' (Moore 1874–9, 34).
9. Tubber Ullacawn, *tld*: Rathlogan, 'you may cure a sore eye if you visit the well. You may tie a piece of rag on the nearby sceach to complete the ritual' (Lyng 1959, 25).

10. St. Faghtna's Well, *tld*: Tibberaghny, 'the present well in a clump of trees of sceach' (*Carrigan NB* 6.80).
11. Toberelleen, *tld*: Tikerlevan, 'nettles, briars and skeough growing plentifully around it' (*NFCS* 857.56)
12. Lady's Well, *tld*: Tullaroan, 'there is a whitethorn bush a short distance from it' (*NFC* 468.121).
13. St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard, 'it sits between two whitethorn trees' (Meehan 2008, 348).

3.2 The Ash (11, spanning 23 references)

1. Toberbride, *tld*: Baunta Commons, 'a large ash tree remarkable for its size and antiquity, near the tree is a holy well' (*OSNB*(3:45): *Descr. Rem.*); 'there is an ash tree growing on the ditch' (*OSL (KK)* II 47).
2. St. Margaret's Well, *tld*: Brabstown, '“St. Margaret's Well” gushes from under an aged ash' (Hogan 1861, 358); 'St. Margaret's holy well flows out from under an aged ash tree' (*Carrigan NB* 96.116); 'St. Margaret's Well gushes from under an aged ash monument bush' (Healy 1951, 14); 'St. Margaret's holy well flows out from under an aged ash tree' (Larkin 2002, 98).
3. Cruckny Well, *tld*: Drumgoole, 'votive offerings of rags hang on a little ash sapling growing over it' (*Carrigan NB* 73.191).
4. Tubberachreene, *tld*: Kilmogue, 'Tobar a Chrainn, i.e. the well of the tree from a large ash tree that hangs over it' (*OSM (KK)* 67); 'from an old ash tree that grows over it' (*NFCS* 842.170).
5. Toberlaghteen, *tld*: Moat, 'a large spring bubbling from the earth with considerable strength and rendered remarkable by a large aged ash tree over it' (*OSL (KK)* I 188; *OSM (KK)* 4; *O'Hanlon Saints* III 847).
6. St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill, 'the holy well over which an ash tree is growing' (*NFCS* 846.252).
7. St. Faghtna's Well, *tld*: Tibberaghny, 'the present well in a clump of trees of ash' (*Carrigan NB* 6.80).
8. St. Finan's Well, *tld*: Tinnalintan, 'it is a fine spring gushing forth from under an aged ash' (*Carrigan* II 106).
9. Toberacrin, *tld*: Troyswood, 'Tobar a Chroinn, i.e. the well of the Tree from a large ash that grows over it' (*OSL (KK)* II 78; *OSM (KK)* 66).

10. Tubbrid Holy Well, *tld*: Tubbrid, ‘a fine spring having a large ash tree growing over it’ (*OSL (KK) II 228*; *OSM (KK) 78, 79*).
11. Thubberweenia, *tld*: Tullamaine (Ashbrook), ‘Tubber Maon or Maon’s well having a very large ash tree growing over it’ (*OSL (KK) II 55, 56*; *OSM (KK) 26*); ‘there is a holy well at the other side of the road in the hollow of an ash tree’ (*Carrigan NB 33.47*); ‘on the river bank and shaded by a venerable ash, is the holy well now called “Tullamaine Well” ’ (*Carrigan III 321*).

3.3 The Oak (3, spanning 8 references)

1. Thibberawling, *tld*: Graigavine, ‘There is an old oak tree overhanging the well’ (*Bowers Transcripts 7*); ‘there is an old tree: oak’ (*NFCS 840.173*); ‘an oak tree grows by its side’ (*NFCS 841.37*); ‘a giant ancient oak tree which overhung the well has now fallen into decay’ (Murphy & Fripps 2001, 13).
2. St. Mullin’s Well, *tld*: Mullennakill, ‘a venerable oak tree still stands on the site’ (Meehan 2008, 352).
3. St. Bridget’s Well, *tld*: Toberbreedia, ‘St. Bridget’s Well, over which grew an oak tree called “the Blessed Tree” (Holahan (1875), 7); ‘the well changed and sprung up in Mulrooney’s and an oak sprung up beside it’ (*NFCS 867.46*); ‘St. Bridget’s Well in Ballycallan has an oak tree called the Blessed Tree growing over it’ (Larkin 2002, 119).

3.4 The Blackthorn (3, spanning 4 references)

1. Lady’s Well, *tld*: Ballyda, ‘at the side of the well there is a blackthorn bush growing’ (*NFCS 854.193*).
2. St. Patrick’s Well, *tld*: Boggan, ‘Thubberadhrynee a well in Boggan — the well is here in a rock under a blackthorn tree’ (*Carrigan NB 54.16*); ‘well in a rock under a blackthorn tree’ (*Carrigan NB 149.151*).
3. Lady’s Well, *tld*: Castlemarket, ‘a very old blackthorn bush dressed with religious objects overhangs the well’ (*NFCS 865.105*).

3.5 (Hawthorn or Blackthorn)

St. Scoheen’s Well, *tld*: Freneystown, ‘long disused St. Scoheen’s Well under two thorns in the churchyard’ (*Graves Patrons 4*).

3.6 The Elder (3, spanning 4 references)

1. Tobernasool, *tld*: Gorteennamuck, ‘a large elder tree grows near the well’ (*NFC* 468.93); ‘on one side of the well grows a large elder tree’ (*NFCS* 868.141).
2. St. Luke’s Well, *tld*: Knockmoylan, ‘the well itself is situated in a hollow and is surrounded by three elder trees’ (*NFCS* 848.193).
3. Toberelleen, *tld*: Tikerlevan, ‘a tiny altar which is attached to an elder tree adjoining the well’ (*NFC* 468.108).

3.7 The Alder (3, spanning 11 references)

1. Tubberachreene, *tld*: Kilmogue, ‘near it is an alder tree of great age’ (*Carrigan NB* 6.139); ‘Tubberachryne, from an old crann, or alder tree that grows over it’ (*Carrigan IV* 233).
2. St. Mullin’s Well, *tld*: Mullennakill, ‘a huge alder tree overshadows the well’ (Moore 1874–9, 30); ‘the old alder tree which overshadows it’ (*Carrigan NB* 40.172); ‘the great ancient alder tree at St. Mullin’s well’ (*Carrigan NB* 61.39); ‘the famous holy well at base of alder tree’ (*Carrigan NB* 61.39); ‘beside the well is a very large and most ancient alder tree’ (*Carrigan IV* 192); ‘beside the well is an old alder tree’ (*ITAS (KK)* Rosbercon, Form A, page 3); ‘Crann Moling — an alder tree’ (Murphy 2000, 214); ‘overlooking the well is an alder tree’ (Fitzgerald 2005, 393).
3. Tubber Ullacawn, *tld*: Rathlogan, ‘rags used to be hung on an old alder tree over it’ (*Carrigan NB* 97.163).

3.8 Mass Bushes (2, 2 references)

1. Trinity Well, *tld*: Ballycannon, ‘there is a Mass bush beside the well’ (*O’Kelly* 4).
2. Lady’s Well, *tld*: Ballyda, ‘there is a Mass bush near the well’ (*NFCS* 849.80).

3.9 The Hazel (1, one reference)

1. Toberkyle, *tld*: Gorteen, ‘tobar coill, ‘well of the hazel’ ’ (*OSNB (37):OD*).

3.10 The Yew (1, 2 references)

1. St. Michael’s Well, *tld*: Bayswell, ‘at Bayswell is a fine well, surrounded with yew trees of great age and size’ (Moore 1874–9, 38); ‘there is a well at Bayswell, surrounded with yew trees’ (Healy 1893, 295).

3.11 Palm Tree (1, one reference)

1. St. Michael's Well, *tld*: Bayswell, 'there are four palm trees growing round it' (*NFCS* 869.145).

3.12 Unspecified tree-types at holy wells (16, 29 references)

1. Broochgarrig, *tld*: Aughatubbrid or Chatsworth, 'on a tree over it votive offerings of rags used to be hung' (*Carrigan NB* 73.165; *Carrigan NB* 84.85); 'a tree over it' (*NFCS* 864.168); 'it is a little well with a tree growing over it' (*NFCS* 864.173); 'there is a bush growing over the well' (*NFCS* 865.141).
2. The Church Well, *tld*: Aughatubbrid or Chatsworth, 'an old well and a big tree growing over it' (*NFCS* 864.167).
3. Trinity Well, *tld*: Ballyrafton, '[a friar] was bending down when a thorn stuck in his neck. Three drops of blood fell around the well. Three trees grew up where the blood fell' (*NFCS* 863.212); 'it is a small well with three trees growing around it' (*NFCS* 863.272).
4. Tobernagibboge, *tld*: Castle Eve, 'votive offerings, rags hung on the tree at the well' (*Carrigan NB* 33.50); 'the ex-votos of linen and cloth &c. which used formerly to be hung on a tree growing over it' (*Carrigan III* 330); 'ex voto's [*sic*] of linen and cloth etc. formerly hung on a tree growing over it' (Brennan 2006, 138).
5. St. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Columbkille, 'it is overshadowed by the branches of a tree' (*NFCS* 858.45).
6. St. Ronagh's Well, *tld*: Dunnamaggan East, 'trees are planted all around well' (*Carrigan NB* 6.40); 'a bush grows over it' (*NFCS* 852.293); 'there is a railing around the well with bushes growing inside the railing' (*NFCS* 852.294); 'the well itself is enclosed by a circular bank and trees' (Lahert 1956, 11).
7. Thibberawling, *tld*: Graigavine, 'something was attached to the tree by each pilgrim' (*NFCS* 840.173).
8. Toberaphuicin, *tld*: Grangefertagh, 'St. Kyran's Well in Fartagh is under a big and ancient tree' (*Carrigan NB* 43.161).
9. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Inistioge, 'there are two trees at the well' (*NFCS* 859.186).
10. Kilkeasy Holy Well, *tld*: Kilkeasy, 'in the graveyard there is a very large tree. In an opening in this tree, there is a holy well' (*NFCS* 848.63); 'a tall tree' (*ITAS (KK)* Aghaviller, Form A, page 4).
11. Tobersenan, *tld*: Kilmacow, 'there is a bush at the top of the well' (*NFCS* 843.229).

12. Toberachree, *tld*: Kilmacshane, ‘Tubberachreen, i.e. Tobar a’ chrainn, or the well of the old tree’ (*Carrigan* IV 114).
13. Toberuna, *tld*: Owing, ‘in latter times owing to its being surrounded by a cluster of trees, the well got the name of Tubber-na-graown (Tobar na gCrann), Well of the Trees’ (*Carrigan* IV 239); ‘Tobernagrown from trees growing around it’ (*Carrigan* NB 32.85); ‘it is known as Tobar-na-gCrann (Well of the Trees), as it is surrounded by a cluster of trees’ (*ITAS (KK) Piltown*, Form A, page 4).
14. Toberakin, *tld*: Ovenstown, ‘Toberacheen — an aged tree grows over it’ (*Carrigan* NB 6.185).
15. Toberaniddaun, *tld*: Pottlerath, ‘a bush growing over it with votive rags’ (*Graves Patrons* 2).
16. St. Fiachra’s Well, *tld*: Sheastown, ‘there are a number of trees and bushes a few yards from the well’ (*NFCS* 854.195).

Percentage of tree-types/bushes at or near holy wells in County Kilkenny may be viewed in Appendix XXXVIII.

4. Sacred stones relative to the position of the well

(17/183 = 9.3%, of wells in Kilkenny)

Some seventeen stones are evidenced as being or having been located at or near as many holy wells in County Kilkenny. They are generally commemorative stones in honour of a patron saint, bearing the marks of his knees or hands as he sat on a stone or knelt on a stone while praying and, in one instance, a saint’s footprint is apparently evidenced. A legendary sacred stone marks the starting point of the pilgrimage formerly undergone in the case of St. Fintan’s Well, Shanbogh Upper. Dr. Diarmuid Ó Giolláin describes such legends concerning the presence of the saint at a well, *in illo tempore*, as origin legends, stating they prove to be the ultimate authority on the sanctity of the sacred site (Ó Giolláin 1998, 206).

In his introductory remarks to the *Lives of the Irish Saints, Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Charles Plummer states, *inter alia*, that certain ‘fountains contain wonderful stones’ (*VSHP* I 1910, cli). He argues that ‘various stones are regarded as sacred because of their association with certain saints’ (*ibid.* clv). Other stones are held sacred because of their connection to a saint’s birth or baptism (*ibid.* clv). Holed stones, which occur so frequently in the *Lives of the Irish Saints*, are accounted for by legends that they were pierced by the saint’s finger (*ibid.*), not unlike the impressions of saints’ hands and knees being left on rocks or stones near holy

wells in County Kilkenny below (numbers 1–8, 13, 15, 16). He subsequently refers to the marvellous properties of sacred stones in that ‘they heal diseases, either directly, or by the water which collects in their hollows, or in which they have been washed. Stones set up by saints cannot be moved, and there are stones which if removed always return to their place’ (*ibid.* clvii).

In a somewhat similar fashion, Dr. William Frazer remarks that ‘holed stones and wells alike have obtained persistent credit for special efficacy in removing diseases affecting men and cattle, and for securing favourable results in critical periods of human existence and [that] their sanctity has rendered promises made before them binding in a peculiar manner upon all invoking their protection, and appealing to them as witnesses of their sincerity and good faith’ (Frazer 1896, 169).

Cures for the knees, head and back are evidenced in the case of TubbernaevMulleeng (No. 10, *infra*), St. Fiachra used to supposedly say Mass on a stone beside St. Fiachra’s Well (No.14, *infra*), a holy stone beside a holy well was visited as part of a pilgrimage at St. Fintan’s Well, Shanbogh Upper and at St. Fiachra’s Well, Ullard (cf. *Rituals* 24.1, 2), rubbing a stone for a cure at a well is seen at Thubber Murrha, Kilmacar (*Ritual* 24A) and the ritual of pilgrims adding a stone to a pile of stones at St. Mullin’s Well, Mullennakill, is encountered under *Ritual* 24B.

As many pagan pools or fountains may have been converted to holy wells for baptismal purposes in the early Christian period (Whitfield 2007, 496), so too many stones or rocks, previously worshipped by druids (Horgan 1886, 240; Bonwick 1894, 211–224) may have been Christianised, as were trees, in the Christianisation of the landscape.

Dr. Edel Bhreathnach cautions that ‘churches, crosses and holy wells were but a part of the public manifestation of Christianity visible to all throughout the landscape’ and that ‘natural features such as rocks and trees could [also] retain the memory of a saint’s passing through a place’ (Bhreathnach 2014, 229, 230). Such ‘origin legends’ (Ó Giolláin 1998, 206) bind or connect the saint to a place, beside which was often located a holy well.

Professor Charles Doherty mentions that ‘on going into Munster, Patrick baptised the sons of Nad Froich on Patrick’s Rock in Cashel’ (Doherty 2005, 10): ‘baptitzauit filios Nioth Fruich i tír Mumae super Petram Coithrigi hi Caissiul’ (*Pat. Texts* 162.51). Other sacred or Christianised rocks mentioned in the late seventh-century work of Tírechán include a rock at Uisnech, Co. Westmeath, ‘iuxta Petram Coithrigi’ (*Pat. Texts* 136, 137) where Patrick stayed (Doherty 2005, 9), a rock at Dunseverick, County Antrim, on which Patrick sat, ‘in Duin Sebuirgi sedit supra petram, quae petra Patricii usque nunc’ (*Pat. Texts* 160, 161) and there is

a Patrick's Rock/petra Patricii on the road near Druimm Hurchaille/Dunmurraghill near Donadea, County Kildare (*Pat. Texts* 162, 163). However, neither the rocks at Uisnech, Dunseverick or Dunmurraghill appear to be mentioned in a hydrolatrous context.

Doherty, indeed, reckons that 'it could be suggested that all flags or rocks named after Patrick are likely to have been inauguration sites' (*op. cit.* 11).

Dr. Patrick Logan states that a holy well 'may be a deep pool in a stream, or a waterfall, or a collection of rain water in a holy stone' (Logan 1980, 57). He subsequently mentions more particularly 'bullaun or basin stones and [that] in some cases they are even regarded as holy wells, and [that] people say that water is always found in them' (*ibid.* 107). Some twenty five years later Janet Bord states that 'stones called bullauns were sometimes regarded as holy wells, since they held water in the hollows in their surfaces' (Bord 2006, 126). One such example would appear to be Thubber Phaudhrig, *tld*: Davidstown, County Kilkenny.

Dr. Logan also considers that 'in many cases the water found in the bullaun is used to cure diseases, most usually warts' (Logan 1980, 108) but he reckons that 'it is unlikely that these stones were ever used as baptismal fonts' (*ibid.*).

Charles Plummer argues that 'the cult of stones is probably not to be regarded as part of Celtic nature-worship, but rather as due to that pre-Aryan population to whom we owe the megalithic monuments of the world' (*VSHP* I 1910, clv). In their 1985 publication entitled *Sacred Waters: Holy Wells and Water Lore in Britain and Ireland* and in particular in a section in which 'The Pre-Christian Evidence for Water Cults' is discussed, Janet and Colin Bord concede that 'the earliest evidence for water cults in Britain is suggestive rather than clear cut' (*op. cit.* 11). However, they quote Dr. Aubrey Burl's publication *The Stone Circles of the British Isles* in which Burl points out that 'Where an avenue of stones is associated with a stone circle it almost invariably leads from a source of water, indicating the importance of water in the ceremonies that took place in the rings' (*ibid.*; Burl 1976, 78).

Taking cognisance of Burl's observation, the Bords cite examples where stone circles and water are linked, as 'at Stanton Drew in Avon, [where] a stone avenue ran from one of the three stone circles towards the nearby River Chew', as 'in Wiltshire [where] a long avenue links Stonehenge to the River Avon and both avenues at Avebury are close to water, the Kennet Avenue leading towards the River Kennet, and the Beckhampton Avenue crossing a stream' (*ibid.*). The Bords add that 'Avebury dates from the middle of the third millennium B.C., the avenues being completed around 2300 B.C.' and that stone circles (of which there are over 900 known in the British Isles) 'generally were in use from around 2500 B.C. (mid-Neolithic) to 1000 B.C. (late Bronze Age)' (*ibid.* 12).

Professor Celeste Ray argues that ‘holy “wells” most commonly appear on their own and can include seepage pools, and even the hollows of rocks’ (Ray 2014, 2) and that ‘rock outcrops, boulders or portable stones with round human-made hollows are called bullauns (Irish *bullán*) and can be holy wells’ (*ibid.* 65). She also draws attention to the fact that ‘unusually shaped stones where the early Christian saints are said to have prayed or “Mass Rocks”’ often form part of the stations which have ‘entered the cultural orbit of the holy well’ (*idem.* 2011, 273).

Holy wells at, near or in holy stones (mainly legendary in origin)
in County Kilkenny (percentage stated above):

1. Tobernakill, *tld*: Ballygorey, beside which is a stone bearing the marks of St. Patrick’s knees (*Carrigan IV* 161; *NFC* 468.118; *NFCS* 840.176; *NFCS* 843.58).
2. St. Patrick’s Well, *tld*: Boggan, adjacent to the marks of the saint’s knee on a rock (*Carrigan NB* 54.16; *Carrigan NB* 149.151; *NFCS* 867.185).
3. St. James’s Well, *tld*: Carrickcloney, beside which a stone was located up to around 1870 bearing the marks of the palm and fingers of the saint (Farrell, 1874–9, 203).
4. Tubber-Kilkeerawn, *tld*: Castletown, near which is a stone bearing the imprint of St. Kieran’s knee (*NFCS* 844.119; O’Shea 1999, 19).
5. Thubber Phaudhrig, *tld*: Davidstown, near which is recorded a stone called the Glúin Phádraig bearing two remarkable hollows, supposedly the imprints of St. Patrick’s knees (*OSL (KK)* II 181; *OSM (KK)* 128; *Loc. Pat.* 283).
6. Columbkilles Well, *tld*: Inistioge, near which is recorded a blessed stone on which the saint’s head is carved (*NFCS* 859.187).
7. Toberbride, *tld*: Kells, near which, beside the well and the church, was a stone called the Glúin Bhrighde on which St. Bridget apparently left the impression of her two knees and hands while praying (*OSL (KK)* II 62; *OSM (KK)* 33; *Carrigan NB* 6.53; *OSFM (KK)* 9704; *Shell Guide Harb.* 209).
8. St. Nicholas Well, *tld*: Killamery, ‘just south of the cross, down some steps, is a holy well with a carved stone behind it’ (Meehan 2008, 357).
9. Friar’s Well, *tld*: Killonerry, beside which was a stone hollowed like a dish which hollow is popularly believed to be the print of St. Patrick’s knees and one of his hands (Moore 1874–9, 31); ‘bullaun stones, holy well and an underground chamber or souterrain ... red stones stained with the blood of murdered friars’ (O’Shea 2014, 58).

10. Tobermolua, *tld*: Kyleneaskeagh, near which is a large rough stone, St. Molua's Stone (Moore 1874–9, 31).
11. TubbernaevMulleeng, *tld*: Listerlin. Eddie Long of Listerlin, Tullogher, informs me that beside the well/spring are three stones, 'one stone for your [sore] knee, one for your head and another for your back.'
12. St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill, beside which is recorded a stone on which St. Mullins/Moling sat while washing his ulcerous feet (*NFCS* 851.47; *NFCS* 851.49).
13. Tobernagolumb, *tld*: Rathinure, 100 yards from which is recorded Cloch Choilm, St. Columbkille's stone (*O'Kelly* 110, 114).
14. St. Fintan's Well, *tld*: Shanbogh Upper, near which west of the church, is recorded a large rock containing a depression resembling a footprint, St. Fintan's footprint, Cluch Founthan, alias Kishkaem Fiunethan (*Carrigan* IV 194) at which the pilgrimage began before continuing to the church and ending at the holy well (Moore 1874–9, 28; Murphy 2000, 17).
15. St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Sheastown, beside which is reported a mass stone on which the saint, according to local tradition, used to say Mass (*NFCS* 854.229); 'indentations on a partly broken-up rock within Sheestown [*sic*] Demesne were believed to have been marks of St. Patrick's footsteps and the rock was consequently called 'Ciscaem Padruig' (FitzPatrick 2004, 237; per *Loc. Pat.* 199)
16. St. Faghtna's Well, *tld*: Tibberaghny, beside which is recorded a stone having what is popularly believed to be the imprints of the saint's knees on it (Moore 1874–9, 31).
17. St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard, some 200 yards from which is a large stone with two hollows in it at which prayers were recited during the pilgrimage, the hollows being the imprints of the saint's knees while in prayerful genuflective pose (*NFCS* 857.145; *NFCS* 857.424; Logan 1980, 87; Joyce 1993, 192).

5. Holy crosses relative to the position of the well

(17/183 = 9.3%, of Kilkenny wells)

Old crosses mainly made of stone are located at or near seventeen holy wells in the county (spanning 23 documented references in total):

1. Aughkiletaun Well, *tld*: Aughkiletaun, 'the ruins of a very ancient cross' (O'Leary 1924, 25).

2. Lady's Well, *tld*: Castlemarket, 'a big stone cross in it [the well]' (*NFCS* 831.43); 'sometime early in the 1900s Tom Delaney of Ballinakill made a cross and put it standing down in the well itself' (Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 6).
3. Tubber-Kilkeerawn, *tld*: Castletown, 'a holy well and three most beautiful Irish crosses' (Moore 1874–9, 32).
4. Toberadrugh, *tld*: Clontubbrid, 'ancient terminal cross resting against south wall of Thubberadhroo' (*Carrigan* II 329).
5. St. Ronagh's Well, *tld*: Dunnamaggan East, 'the High Cross and medieval parish Church dedicated to St. Leonard (O'Dwyer 2005, 8).
6. Tubbernacrusha, *tld*: Farrantemple, 'the holy well in Farrantemple bears the name of Tubbernacrusha, or Well of the Cross' (*Carrigan* IV 126).
7. Angel's Well/Blackabbey Well, *tld*: Gardens, Revd. Joseph Kavanagh of Blackabbey draws my attention to a little Celtic cross over Angel's Well in June 2016.
8. St. Canice's Well, *tld*: Gardens, 'over it is an arched building with a Cross on top and stone benches inside' (Sparks 1960, 34); 'the old stone Cross on the Well fell down over twenty years ago and was placed in a yard at the rere [*sic*] of a house opposite the well for safety (*ibid.*); 'it is thought at the time that some person who held the Well in veneration took away the Cross as a souvenir' (*ibid.* 35); 'an ancient cross and well' (Brennan 1995, 137).
9. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Inistioge, 'there is a stone cross over it' (*NFCS* 859.187); 'there is a cross over it' (*NFCS* 859.236).
10. Kilfane Holy Well, *tld*: (?) Kilfane Demesne, 'a well possessing an ancient cross lies to the south of Kilfane House' (Egan 1884, 301; Walsh 2012, 70).
11. St. Nicholas Well, *tld*: Killamery, 'it is partly covered over by an immense rock, which formerly served, or was intended to serve, as the pedestal of a cross' (*Carrigan* IV 315); 'just south of the cross, down some steps, is a holy well with a carved stone behind it' (Meehan 2008, 357).
12. Tobersenan, *tld*: Kilmacow, Mairéad Phelan, on whose land the well is situated, draws my attention to an iron cross over the well erected by a neighbour, Tom Ahern, some thirty years ago.
13. St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill, 'the well of St. Moling's Tree at Mullenakill [*sic*], Co. Kilkenny, combines a well, tree, cross slab, altar and a pile of stones' (*Harb. Pilgr.* 1991, 230).

14. Tobernavean, *tld*: Pollagh, John Foley of Pollagh, Skeaghavasteen, relates that ‘there is a cross carved in stone above the well’.
15. St. Fiachra’s Well, *tld*: Sheastown, ‘a few years ago a beautiful cross was erected and on St. Fiacre’s day and for nine days after, the Rosary is recited around this cross’ (*NFCS* 855.9).
16. St. Faghtna’s Well, *tld*: Tibberaghny, ‘cross with a stone having what is popularly believed to be the print of the saint’s knees impressed upon it’ (Moore 1874–9, 31).
17. St. Fiachra’s Well, *tld*: Ullard, ‘here are the Ruins of a Church with a graveyard and stone cross, also a well dedicated to St. Feragh’ (*OSNB* (20): *Descr. Rem.*); ‘there remains a beautiful Hiberno-Romanesque doorway, a very ancient stone cross, with carved figures, and a holy well’ (*anon.*, *JRSAI* 22 1892, 210); ‘St. Fiachra was the patron and his well, stone cross and quern are beside the church’ (*O’Kelly* 101; ‘the cross’ (Hughes 1970, 60).

6. Effigies and statues relative to the position of the well (9/183 = 4.9%)

Not surprisingly, nine such artefacts (either wooden or stone) are located or were formerly located at or near as many holy wells in the county (spanning 26 documented references):

1. St. Michael’s Well, *tld*: Bayswell, ‘in the west end of the arch that covers the well is inserted an image of the Crucifixion in stone’ (Moore 1874–9, 38); ‘there is a well in Bayswell, having a carving of the Crucifixion in the arch over it’ (Healy 1893, 295); ‘the pilgrims always wound up their devotions with prayers before an effigy of the Crucifixion carved in stone which had been fixed into the wall surrounding the well’ (*Carrigan* II 303); ‘there is a wall built around it and on the back there is an image of St. Michael. He holds a prayerbook in one hand, the figure has wings’ (*NFCS* 869.145).
2. Lady’s Well, *tld*: Castlemarket, ‘there is a statue of the Blessed Virgin in the well’ (*NFCS* 866.281).
3. St. Ronagh’s Well, *tld*: Dunnamaggan East, ‘statue of B.V.M. found in St. Leonard’s Well’ (*Carrigan* NB 137.114); ‘a statue of the saint was found long ago in St. Leonard’s well’ (*Carrigan* NB 33.53); ‘a statue was found in the well years ago and was transferred to St. Kieran’s College, Kilkenny, where it now is’ (*NFC* 468.101); ‘when this well was being cleared around 1850 by the Brennan family, an alabaster statue was found, presumably of St. Leonard’ (Phelan 1952, 46); ‘St. Leonard’s statue must have been erected as an object of veneration above the well’ (Lahert 1956, 11);

‘an alabaster statue of the saint was discovered in this well in 1800 and is now preserved in St. Kieran’s College Museum’ (*O’Kelly* 146); ‘medieval wooden statues of St. Molua and St. Natalis at wells dedicated to them’ (Moss 2014, 181).

4. Lady Well, *tld*: Grange Lower, ‘for centuries people here reported cures there, and its miraculous image inspired locals to construct a nice grotto beside it. And then in 1985 a statue in the grotto started moving as about the same time as the renowned one at Ballinspittle’ (Fitzgerald 2005, 387); ‘the statue of the Blessed Virgin was placed in the little grotto facing the well in 1954’ (Fitzgerald 2005, 388).
5. Columbkille’s Well, *tld*: Inistioge, ‘tradition states that there was a wooden image of great age enshrined beside it, but during 1798 it was broken and thrown into the Nore’ (Birthistle 1969, 42).
6. St. Molua’s Well, *tld*: Kyleskeagh, ‘there is a wooden image of St. Molua preserved by a farmer named Michael Butler in the immediate vicinity of Killaloe’ (*OSL (KK)* II 53); ‘St. Molua’s Statue. The statue, which is evidently of great antiquity, may be seen at the farm house of Mr. John Butler, J.P., in Killaloe’ (*Carrigan* III 440); ‘the statue was found in Thubbermolooa well or pool before the pool was destroyed at the making of the road from Killaloe to Kilmanagh’ (*Carrigan* III 441); ‘an oak statue of the saint was preserved in the home of John Butler, J.P., over a long period, afterwards in Killaloe chapel, and now in St. Kieran’s College museum’ (*O’Kelly* 185); ‘St. Molua’s Statue’ (Larkin 2002, 118); ‘the presence of Molua’s cult at the Kilkenny church of Killaloe, where a wooden image of the saint was preserved’ (*Ó Riain Saints* 492); ‘medieval wooden statues of St. Molua and St. Natalis at wells dedicated to them’ (Moss 2014, 181).
7. St. Mullin’s Well, *tld*: Mullennakill, ‘In 1959 they [local people] erected a statue of him [St. Moling] at the top of the hill overlooking the well and the Alder-tree’ (Fitzgerald 2005, 393).
8. Toberaniddaun, *tld*: Pottlerath, ‘an ancient wooden statue, said to be that of St. Naal, had been preserved in Kilmanagh from time immemorial. It is about four feet six inches in height, is very much disfigured, and is now a mere skeleton. In former times it was frequently brought to Tobernadun by those who went there to pray’ (Holahan 1875, 33).
9. St. Fiachra’s Well, *tld*: Sheastown, ‘the Holy Well and Statue of Saint Fiachra’ (*OSNB* (9): *Descr. Rem.*); ‘St. Fiacre lived here as a hermit for many years. When he died a sculptor made a statue of him and placed it to the entrance of the well’ (*NFCS*

855.213); ‘the effigy is very badly weathered and is broken in three places. St. Fiachra’s Well is further down the slope’ (Cotter & Lehane, 1987, 153); ‘St. Fiachra’s Churchyard with ‘St. Fiachra’s Statue’. To the South is St. Fiachra’s Well’ (*Shell Guide Harb.* 1989, 219); ‘Kilferagh — it has St. Fiacre’s churchyard, where an old effigy known as Saint Fiachra’s Statue stood’ (O’Farrell 2002, 67); ‘St. Fiachra’s Effigy’ (Manning 2012, 151).

In a pre-fieldwork communication with Colm Walsh of Graiguenamanagh in October 2015 concerning Lady’s Well, he recounts that ‘the well is in a field across a path from a grotto’, while Mary Brophy (aged 85–90) of Johnswell, refers to ‘a white statue inside St. John’s Well’ which was formerly stored in the nearby church.

7. Rathes and moats relative to the position of the well (24/183 = 13.1%)

Such structures (24 in number) are located or were formerly located at or near as many holy wells in the county (the documented evidence concerning which spans no fewer than 54 references). Some of the structures in question were designed for religious ceremonies and patterns were held there. Others would appear to have been the former residence or cell of a saint or hermit in former times.

Janet and Colin Bord offer a plausible explanation as to why such structures are located near holy wells, stating that ‘wells inside forts or close to earthworks may have served initially as a water supply for the people occupying the site, later being taken over and venerated by the local people’ (Bord & Bord 1985, 28).

Dr. Edel Bhreathnach draws attention to the fact that very often ‘a late medieval church with a graveyard that functioned until relatively recently is surrounded by an earthen enclosure — possibly of earlier date — with a holy well dedicated to the local saint’ and that ‘in many cases, ringforts are located close by and a medieval cross survives in the graveyard’ (Bhreathnach 2014, 228, 229).

Concerning ringforts, Gerry O’Keeffe, in his discussion on Tullaroan enclosures, states that ‘circular embankments allowed a maximum area to be enclosed utilising a minimum length of bank and perhaps also had some spiritual significance for the builders linked, perhaps, to the burial mounds of their ancestors’ (O’Keeffe 2014, 18).

In a late Middle Irish text (c. 1200) describing the early era of Christianity in Ireland, St. Patrick is said to have ‘chanted the Lord’s order of the canon [i.e. Mass], and lauded the Creator, and pronounced benediction on the rath in which Finn mac Cumall had been: the rath of Drumderg’ (O’Grady, *Agall. Sen., Sil. Gad.* II 103) near the Old Plain of Bregia. He

took his aspergillum to sprinkle holy water on Caeilte and his company of huge men, thereby banishing ‘a thousand legions of demons’ (*ibid.*) and thereafter asked of compliant Caeilte ‘to have in our vicinity here a well of pure water from which we might baptise the *tuatha* of Bregia, of Meath, and of Usnach’ (*ibid.*). Caeilte immediately facilitates Patrick, ‘and they crossing the rath’s circumvallation came out; in his hand he took Patrick’s and right in front of them they saw a loch-well, sparkling and translucent’ (*ibid.*), Tobar trága dhá bhan of the beautiful cresses and luxurious branches.

Instances of raths and moats near holy wells in County Kilkenny

1. Lady’s Well, *tld*: Ballyda, ‘Our Lady’s Well, still frequented on the 15th of August for devotional purposes is west of a large rath’ (*O’Kelly* 180).
2. St. Michael’s Well, *tld*: Bayswell, ‘there was a Patron held here at an old moat near the church on the 29th of September until about ten years ago, on which occasion those who attended performed devotions at a holy well called Bayswell’ (*OSL (KK)* I 115).
3. St. Dallan’s Well, *tld*: Burnchurch, ‘many years ago the well was removed to its present position by the Flood family. The old basin, however, remains uninjured, about 40 y[ar]ds to the north, beside the fosse of a small square rath’ (*Carrigan* III 376).
4. St. Ronagh’s Well, *tld*: Dunnamaggan East, ‘St. Leonard’s Well. It is within a circular enclosure the rampart of which is almost levelled. The pilgrimage used to begin within the enclosure, at the well, was continued thence to the road, and then along the road, to the present chapel, where it ended’ (*Carrigan* IV 38); ‘The Rath. At the south end of the graveyard there is a circular enclosure, called by the inhabitants, “a rath”. If this is one, it is certainly the smallest in Ireland. It measures 8 feet in diameter and there is a narrow doorway on the south side. It is much more likely to be the site of a hermit’s cell. It has been suggested that this rath might have been the base of a round tower’ (Phelan 1952, 45).
5. St. Mark’s Well, *tld*: Garryduff, ‘in the sub-division of the townland of Garryduff called Knock, on Michael Nolan’s land, is a rath like mound, beside which is said to be a holy well’ (O’Shea 2014, 44).
6. Tobermamonine, *tld*: Glencommaun, ‘a fine rath 3 fields due north of Tobermamonine’ (*Carrigan NB* 6.152); ‘on the breast of the hill over the holy wells

- [Tobermamonine, Tobermathulla], there is a round rath. It bears in Irish the singular name of Rawawling-Glowncommawn, Glencomman's handsome rath' (*Carrigan IV* 328).
7. Tobernasool, *tld*: Gorteennamuck, 'Tobar na Súil [*sic*]. Near it is a rath' (*NFCS* 868.141).
 8. Tobernanaspog, *tld*: Grangehill, 'Tiscoffin Mur or Rath, where the Seven Bishops [sons of Scoithín] are said to have been buried' (*O'Hanlon Saints I* 35); 'according to an ancient tradition seven bishops are said to have been buried within Tiscoffin mur or rath, a large circular enclosure near the present Protestant church' (*O'Hanlon Churches I* 209); 'a rath or raths at Tobernanaspog' (*Carrigan NB* 70.201); 'almost immediately adjoining this churchyard, is a large circular enclosure surrounded by a rampart of earth and resembling a rath. This, it is said, is the exact site of St. Scuthin's cell; and there can be no doubt it was also the site of the original church of Tiscoffin' (*Carrigan III* 361 — also cited in *Clara Hist.* 17).
 9. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Inistioge, 'opposite the Moat the track of a tiny streamlet leads up the hill-side to the Holy Well of St. Columb' (*Prim-Anders. Nooks* (1850c.–1914) 134); 'opposite the Moat the track of a tiny streamlet leads up the hill-side to the Holy Well of St. Colmcille' (*NFCS* 859.247); 'St. Columbkille's Well and Moat' (*O'Kelly* 80); 'a glen called "The Combe" divides the Moate from the Holy Well of St. Columb' (*Birhistle* 1969, 41, 42).
 10. St. John's Well, *tld*: Johnswell, 'the Moat of Johnswell, Moath-Augha and St. John's holy well, Thubber-Oan-Boshdha, or the Well of John the Baptist' (*Carrigan III* 278); 'the moat of Achadh is situated about 80 yards from the well' (*NFC* 468.103).
 11. St. Broghan's Well, *tld*: Kilbraghan, 'the well, Tibbervrachawing als St. Brochan's well, is at north side of churchyard, at a distance of 30 perches, in the bog, a ring like a rath formerly around it, but it is now levelled, well stopped up' (*Carrigan NB* 149.4).
 12. Tubberachreene, *tld*: Kilmogue, 'a little circular rath is immediately beside it — they call it a "moat" ' (*Carrigan NB* 6.139); 'beside it is a very small circular rath, which, in early times, may have enclosed the cell of some pious anchorite, perhaps of the saint, now forgotten, who left his blessing on the waters of the spring. Similar enclosures, of very small dimensions, are to be found immediately beside other holy wells in our Diocese' (*Carrigan IV* 233); 'Toberachreen als Toberachryne — a "moat" at well' (*Carrigan NB* 97.343); 'in the subdivision of Therthawn there is a

- holy well with a very small circular enclosure beside it, which tradition says, might have been the cell of a hermit monk' (O'Shea 1997, 33; O'Shea 2014, 43).
13. Tobernaglohin, *tld*: Kiltrassy, 'near this is a high, conical sepulchral mound or tumulus, called "Kiltrassy Moat" ' (*OSNB* (43)).
 14. Tobernaraha, *tld*: Knockroe, 'this townland contains a well, Tubbernaratha' (*OSNB* (73): *Descr. Rem.*); 'the coshel and its immediate surroundings evidently served as a Pagan cemetery in far distant ages. A little to the north, in a field called "the Raheen", there is a well called *Thubbernarawha* or the Rath-well' (*Carrigan IV* 325).
 15. TubbernaevMulleeng, *tld*: Listerlin, 'there is a tradition that St. Mullen formerly resided in or near the Moat of Listerling, and consecrated a well in its vicinity' (*Par. Sur.* III 244; *OSL (KK)* II 166; *OSM (KK)* 173); 'the saint came to Mullinakil from Listerling, two miles away, where there is an old moat and well named after him' (*Fest. Lugh.* 233).
 16. Toberacluggeen, *tld*: Milltown, 'the "Moat of Milltown" [*sic*] is a small earthen mound. Near it is a holy well formerly much resorted to by persons suffering from sore eyes. Its name is Tubber-a-chligeen' (*Carrigan IV* 234); 'the name of the field in which this well is in, is the Rath Field' (*NFCS* 842.122); 'the Moat of Milltown. Near it is a holy well called Tobar a' Chluigin' (*NFCS* 842.171); 'at Milltown, about half way from Muckalee, is a well known as "the well of the little bell." There is a mound beside it' (O'Shea 1999, 39; O'Shea 2014, 77).
 17. St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Newtown (O'Shea), 'Newtown Moat, a gravel pit — St. Bridget's holy well is near it in same townland near Killinny' (*Carrigan NB* 6.185).
 18. St. Catherine's Well, *tld*: Rathbeagh, 'the remains of this rath are still remarkable within one field of the ruined church of Rathbeath [*sic*], on the west bank of the Nore' (Hogan 1876, 46); 'St. Catherine's Well and the rath are on the west bank of the Nore' (*O'Kelly* 62).
 19. Tobernagolumb, *tld*: Rathinure, 'Kilcolumb Church in ruins; Tobernagolumb between said church and a great rath adjoining' (*Carrigan NB* 6.143).
 20. Tubber Ullacawn, *tld*: Rathlogan, 'there is a very handsome moat, a little to the north of the well, called by the inhabitants Rathlogan Moat' (*OSL (KK)* I 156); 'Rath Lochan Fort' (*OSFP*); 'the remains of an old church stand quite close to the Rath. There is a holy well about ¼ mile east of the old church' (Dowling 1978, 9).
 21. St. Finan's Well, *tld*: Tinnalintan, 'directly beside the well there is a circular enclosure, resembling a rath, 20 yards in diameter. It is surrounded by a fosse. Here,

on the brink of the holy fount, an oratory or recluse's cell, may have stood in ancient times' (*Carrigan II* 106); 'the ruins of Kilminan church; 200 yards S[outh] E[ast] are Tubber Finawn holy well and a small fossed enclosure' (*Shell Guide Killanin* 104).

22. Thibberacholikeen, *tld*: Tobernabrone, 'there is a very good well, with a great flow of water from it. Near too, there was a moat' (Moore 1874–9, 33).
23. St. David's Well, *tld*: Tullaherin, 'there is a small rath east of St. David's Well near Dungarvan [Co. Kilkenny] village' (*O'Kelly* 100).
24. Lady's Well, *tld*: Tullaroan, 'the patrons are usually held in the Moat Field near the church' (*OSM (KK)* 20); 'the old inhabitants recollect a hundred tents to have been erected for the patron week in the "Moat field". The "Moat" itself is situated within 150 yards of the old church' (Hogan 1858–9, 478); 'this rath or mound presents every appearance of having been originally designed for religious or civil assemblies, as the ground has the form of benches along the sides and edges, and the platform is too small for the accommodation of either cattle or men in any great numbers' (*ibid.* 479); 'according to tradition this is not the original well connected with the church. The original well is supposed to be in the field at the other side of the road in which there is a "Moat". In olden days (more than 200 years ago) the pattern was held in the "moat" and lasted for 8 days. It died out' (*NFC* 468.121); 'the annual pátrún at neaby Tobar Mhuire alias Lady Well. 150 yards W[est] of the churchyard is the Moat, 20 f[ee]t high' (*Shell Guide Killanin* 28).

A tabular summary of percentages of holy well locational characteristics may be viewed in Appendix XXXIX.

Chapter 5: The hagiographical evidence associated with Kilkenny wells

Well-names in which a saint's name is a constituent part of the name feature in no fewer than 61.7% of all the holy wells in County Kilkenny (113/183), be they national patrons (Patrick) one of the twelve Irish apostles (*Ó Riain Saints* 636); Brigid, Irish apostle (*ibid.* 636) or Colmcille, Irish apostle (*ibid.* 636)), diocesan patrons (Cainneach of Aghaboe/Kilkenny), Irish apostle (*ibid.* 636) or Ciarán of Saighir, Our Lady and her mother St. Anne, the widely-known apostles (Andrew), James, the Evangelists Luke and Mark, John the Baptist, Michael the Archangel.

Added to these are many other widely-known 'foreign' saints, who like the Apostles, Mary, John the Baptist and Michael the Archangel were widely revered by Anglo-Norman settlers in Ireland, e.g. Martin of Tours, Nicholas of Myra or Catherine of Alexandria.

Examples of Irish saints who had a more local cult include Bearchán of Drumlohan, Brendan of Birr, Colman of Holdenstown or Cuán of Kilcoan and Weatherstown (Cuán i nUaib Berrchon, *CGSH* 57.377, c. 940 (*Ó Riain Saints* xvii)).

Dr. Edel Bhreathnach refers to the fact that 'the very existence of early Irish litanies and martyrologies, saints' Lives and pedigrees, which mention so many minor saints, attests to the vibrancy of the cult of local holy men and women throughout Ireland' (Breathnach 2014, 229), there being around 2,230 saints mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal (Carroll 1999, 28), including at least 73 different Colmans, most of whom would have had a little-known local cult.

Source material

Apart from the martyrologies of Oengus (*FOeng.*, c.830), Tallaght (*MTall*, c.830) and Gorman (*FGorm*, c.1170) which connect a saint with a place, the next earliest references are generally found in *The Calendar of Papal Registers/Letters for Great Britain and Ireland* (*CPL* IV (1396) – *CPL* XX (1521)) and in the *Obligaciones pro Annatis Diocesis Ossoriensis 1413 – 1531* (*Ann.Oss.*, ed. T.J. Clohessy), where payment is given from the recipient of an ecclesiastical benefice to the ordaining authorities which were to be paid to the papal treasury (First Fruits). Sources generally next in order of time include *The Martyrology of Donegal* (*FNE*, 1630) and John Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* (*ASH*, 1645).

However, the most commonly-attested early sources which postdate all of the above are as follows:

- (i) ‘Nomina Patronorum Ecclesiarum in Dioecesi Ossoriensi eorumque Dies Festivi’, by James Phelan, Bishop of Ossory (1669-95) contained in P.F. Moran’s *Spicilegium Ossoriense* (PP [Phelan Patrons]: *Spic.Oss.* I 6-10), a valuable source seeing as the original seventeenth-century manuscript from which Moran appears to have transcribed the patron saints and feastdays appears to be no longer in existence.

While Revd. William Carrigan in most cases supplies the name of a patron saint and feastday/pattern day of parish churches and of often nearby holy wells (*Carrigan I – IV* (1905)), the following entries from a long-lost manuscript in the hand of Bishop James Phelan (subsequently copied by his successor, Dr. Thomas de Burgo) dates to the year 1669 and pre-dates Carrigan’s printed works by some 240 years. It offers an insight into the patron saints of churches/holy wells in County Kilkenny from a time which post-dates the Cromwellian invasion by only a decade, and, in nearly all instances, the patrons remained the same in the works of William Carrigan.

The Blessed Virgin, quite literally, tops the role of honour in terms of frequency (20), followed by Brigid (5), David (5), Kiranus (Ciarán of Saighir) (5), Nicholas of Myra (5), Patrick (4), All Saints (4) and Brendan of Clonfert (3). Not all the patron saints listed in Phelan’s work (or, indeed, in Carrigan’s later works) have holy wells attaching to them.

This information is of vital importance to the work in hand seeing as 113 of the 183 wells in the county have a hagiographical association (61.7%).

- (ii) *Registrum Dioecesarum / Diocesan Register*, Vol. 1, available at the Ossory Diocesan Archives, Kilkenny, which, *inter alia*, detail priests who served in the diocese during the episcopacy of Thomas de Burgo (Bishop of Ossory, 1759-76) – patron saints and feast days also loom large in this important source (*de Burgo Reg.*), and
- (iii) in the same de Burgo Register, similar details are provided for the subsequent period of Bishop Thomas Troy (1777 – 1786), *Troy Reg.: de Burgo*.

Usage is also made of Revd. John Lanigan’s *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, I – IV (1822) of Revd. Alban Butler’s *History of Ireland*, I – IV (1822) of Revd. Alban Butler’s *The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other Principal Saints*, I – XII (1866) (written from a distinctly eighteenth century Catholic perspective) and of Revd. John Canon O’Hanlon’s *Lives of the Saints*, I – IV, compiled from calendars, martyrologies and various other sources.

The vast majority of all of the foregoing sources (apart from O’Hanlon’s *Saints*) do not contain any references to the holy wells in question but they supply, rather, ample documented evidence of the patron saint being linked to the area of a well.

Comprehensive hagiographical evidence

Comprehensive hagiographical evidence, most commonly beginning with Bishop Phelan’s list of patrons and feast days (*PP: Spic.Oss.* I 6-10) which links a saint to the locality of the well is presented in each case in Appendix XL.

Examples of associated hagiographical evidence only may also be viewed in the same Appendix.

Scant hagiographical evidence (2 or 3 references only) is witnessed in the case of 25. Toberpatrick, 70. Thubberchooann, 103. St. John’s Well and 108. St. Kieran’s Well (4/113 = 3.5%).

Faring hagiographically worse are names for which only very scant hagiographical evidence (one reference only) is available. These include 26. St. Margaret’s Well, 33. St. Michael’s Well, 41. Tubber Kilkeerawn, 71. Tobermurry, 82. Tobermathulla, 97. St. Broghan’s Well and 132. St. Bridget’s Well. The references available in this present category are generally not best known for their antiquity (7/113 = 6.2%).

A considerable 31 names have no documented corroborative hagiographical evidence whatsoever attaching to them (apart from the documented evidence of the wells themselves). These may also be viewed in Appendix XL.

Apart from the evidence of the wells themselves, the hagiographical evidence linking the patron saint to the locality of the well is found not in the case of the townland in question as witnessed above, but, rather, in the case of the adjoining townland for no fewer than 21 wells (21/113 = 18.6% (Total) or 25% of wells with documented hagiographical evidence (21/83)). These may also be viewed in Appendix XL.

The documented hagiographical evidence is traced to a neighbouring although not adjoining townland in the case of the following:

21. St. Michael’s Well, *tld*: Bayswell, ERKE (neighbouring townland)
38. Tobar Chiaráin, *tld*: Castlegarden, TULLAHERIN
65. St. Patrick’s Well, *tld*: Earlsbog (Commons), GOWRAN (we must caution here that Bealach Ghabhráin was a more extensive area than the immediate environs of Gowran townland) (3/113 = 2.65%)

In the case of St. Brigid's Well (No. 9), *tld*: Ballyconra, *p*: Aharney (civil parish), the hagiographical evidence is found under the civil parish name.

Seeing as a considerable number of the hagiographically-based well-names have no documented hagiographical evidence of the patron saint in the locality apart from the names of the wells themselves and the evidence directly concerning the wells (31/113 = 27.4%), this leaves a total of 83 wells for which documented evidence of the patron saint is available (be it comprehensive evidence, scant evidence, very scant evidence or even associated evidence only). The documented hagiographical evidence predates the first documented entry for the well-names in most but *not all* (*) instances. This may be viewed in Appendix XLI.

Both hagiographical evidence and toponymical evidence bearing the saint's name may be viewed in Appendix XLII.

Frequency of saints' names pertaining to the holy wells of County Kilkenny (50 different saints are represented in total) may be viewed in Appendix XLIII.

Categories of saints

1. Biblical persons/rough contemporaries of Christ who appear to have been commonly revered among the Anglo-Normans in Ireland:

Blessed Virgin Mary (19), Anne (1), James, Apostle (2), Andrew, Apostle (1), Luke, Evangelist (1), Mark, Evangelist (1), John the Baptist (3), Michael, Archangel (3), Holy Trinity (3): number of saints (10), spanning 35 instances (35/113 = 31%)

2. National patrons:

Patrick (8), Brigid (12), Colm Cille (2): number of instances 22 (22/113 = 19.5%)

3. Diocesan patrons:

Brendan of Clonfert (1), Cainneach of Aghaboe and Kilkenny (3), Ciarán of Saighir (9): number of instances 13 (13/113 = 11.5%)

It could be argued, given the relative fewness of references to saints in this category, that they were less important than one might have thought. The reason for this is not very clear – perhaps attendance at holy wells was not specifically related to official church activity (even though the official patron saints of parish churches often feature at the wells themselves).

4. Irish saints additional to those under (2) and (3) who, in the main, appear to have had a local cult:

Bearchán of Drumlohan (2), Brendan of Birr (1), Colman of Holdenstown (1), (?) Cranat (1), Cuán of Kilcoan and Flemingstown/Weatherstown (1), Dallán Forghaill (1), Fachtna of Tibberaghny (1), Féichín of Fore (1), Fiachra of County Kilkenny (mainly in the south east of the county) (5), Finnian of Clonard (2), Laichtín of Freshford/Achadh Úr (1), Laurence O'Toole of Christ Church and Glendalough (1), Lóchán of Rathloghan/Ráth Lócháin (1), Mainchín of Coolcashin (1), Mochuille of Dreasnaidh (1), Modhomhnóg Oilithir (1), Moling Luachra (2), Molua of Kyle (1), Moninne of Killeavy (1), Moríóg of Inchbofin (1), Munna of Taghmon (1), Nadál of Kilmanagh (1), Scoithín of Tiscoffin (1), Seanán of Laraghbryan (1) number of saints (24), spanning 31 instances ($31/113 = 27.4\%$).

5. Non Irish ('imported'/'foreign') saints additional to those mentioned under (1) above who were not rough contemporaries of Christ and who were commonly revered by the Anglo-Normans and later English settlers in medieval Gaelic Ireland:

Martin of Tours (1), Nicholas of Myra (2), Catherine of Alexandria (2), Margaret of Antioch (1), David of Wales (2), Leonard of Noblac (1), Augustine of Hippo (1), Dominic of Caleruega (1), Francis of Assisi (1), Philomena of (?) Corfu: number of saints (10), spanning 13 references ($10/113 = 8.8\%$).

The total number of individual saints is 50 while the proportion of female to male: 15.6 (Female), 84.3% (Male):

Blessed Virgin Mary (19), Brighid of Kildare (12), Catherine of Alexandria (2), Anne (1), Cranat (1), Margaret of Antioch (1), Moninne of Killeavy (1), Philomena of (? Corfu) (1): number of saints (8), spanning 38 instances ($38/113 = 33.6\%$), the remainder being male saints (43 saints, spanning 75 instances, 65.7%).

The Blessed Virgin outnumbers Brighid by almost 5:3 and between them they comprise (31/38) occurrences of all female saints (82%), the percentage of non-Irish female saints (: Blessed Virgin (19) + Catherine (2) + Anne (1) + Margaret (1) + Philomena (1) – comprising a total of 24 instances of saints) outnumbering the Irish female saints (: Brighid (12), Cranat (1), Moninne (1) – comprising a total of 14 instances of saints) by 62.5% : 37.5%.

Not alone does the Blessed Virgin top the list of holy well dedication in County Kilkenny, but she equals all of the other female dedications combined: Mary (19): Brighid (12), Catherine (2), Anne (1), Cranat (1), Margaret (1), Moninne (1) and Philomena (1).

Dr. Edel Bhreathnach mentions a number of places (as it happens, outside of County Kilkenny) where the memory of certain female saints persists to this day, namely: Cúaca of Kilcock (Co. Kildare), Scíre of Kilskeery (Co. Meath), Ciar of Kilkeary (Co. Tipperary), Lúathrenn of Killoran (Co. Sligo) and Rígnach of Kilrainy (Co. Kildare) and Templerainy (Co. Wicklow) after which she adds ‘And in most of these cases there is a remarkably common settlement pattern. A late medieval church with a graveyard that functioned until relatively recently is surrounded by an earthen enclosure – possibly of earlier date – with a holy well dedicated to the local saint’ (Bhreathnach 2014, 228), a general pattern which is clearly no different from that of their more numerous male counterparts.

Professor Celeste Ray does refer, however, to ‘a geographic patterning’ with ‘male saints having predominantly local or national dedications and female saints, excepting St. Brigid (one of Ireland’s triad of heroic saints), having more regional distributions’ (Ray 2014, 3, 4).

Professor Michael Carroll states that the vast majority of holy wells were associated with a ‘patron’ saint and that most of these patron saints were male (Carroll 1995, 356). He develops his argument by stating that ‘this emphasis on male saints is worth noting because it contrasts sharply with the pattern found in Catholic societies like Italy’ (*ibid.*). By way of illustration he continues: ‘presumably the Italian analogue to holy wells would be sanctuaries, which are churches that were the object of pilgrimage. Fully 87% of all Italian sanctuaries are dedicated to a madonna rather than to a saint or to anyone else. Thus, in Italy, the supernatural beings whose cults were tied to specific spots on the landscape were usually *female*; in Ireland they were usually *male*’ (*ibid.*; Carroll 1999, 25).

Professor Celeste Ray highlights the importance of Ireland’s comparatively few female saints when she states that ‘they founded an abbey or church, missionised, performed miracles, converted tribal chiefs and educated future male saints’ (Ray 2011, 279; Ray 2012, 147, 148). Notwithstanding this comparative lack of female saints, she argues that ‘because Irish male saints exponentially outnumber female saints, female saints are overrepresented in surviving well traditions’ (Ray 2011, 279; Ray 2012, 148), that springs were commonly connected to female deities from an early period and that (since wells are associated with fertility generally), the wells linked to saints Brigid and Gobnait are, not surprisingly, especially linked to conception (*Ibid.* 279; *Ibid.* 148).

On referring to Brigid who has wells dedicated to her countrywide (her main shrines being in Leinster), to Gobnait and Íte in Munster, to Monenna in Ulster and to Attracta in Connaught, Ray draws attention to the long-lasting local cults of such women who ‘survived the Anglo-Norman invasion and Roman Catholicisation of Ireland, the Protestant

Reformation, the Tridentine Reforms of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the late seventeenth and eighteenth-century Penal Codes, the famine, nineteenth-century clerical attempts to stifle folk liturgies and Pope Paul VI's suppression of unapproved saints following Vatican II' (*ibid.* 279; *ibid.* 148).

It may be that women attended holy wells dedicated to female saints in higher numbers or perhaps cures associated with these wells were deemed to be related to a form of female medicine.

Before proceeding to examine the succeeding categories of saints in detail, it may be pertinent to state here that it is not always possible to say or to ascertain at what stage the cult of a saint becomes associated with a well.

1. Biblical persons/rough contemporaries of Christ

Category 1.1 The Blessed Virgin

Wells: 11, 28, 30, 40, 45, 50, 53, 71, 78, 86, 90, 105, 113, 124, 141, 147, 180 182, 183

All of the documented hagiographical evidence across the categories 1.1–5.10 (local hagiographical evidence, associated hagiographical evidence, corroborative toponymical evidence, material on feastdays (lengthy lists) and instances of saints featuring elsewhere in the county apart from the wells) may be viewed in Appendix XL.

In his publication entitled *The Holy Wells of Wales* (1954), Francis Jones comments on 'Wells dedicated to non-Celtic saints' and states that 'by far the most popular of these saints was Our Lady whose wells are found in all parts of Europe' and that in relation to the holy wells of Wales, 'she was a favourite saint of the Normans' and that a map which he supplies 'shows that the majority of her wells are in districts where the Anglo-Norman influence was strongest' (Jones 1954, 45).

It would appear that Mary is the most commonly appearing saint of the international saints and figures from the universal church in the holy wells of County Kilkenny (19 instances) as a result of the fact that the county was so heavily Anglo-Normanised/Anglicised. An attempt will be made in the following pages to link Anglo-Norman surnames to places in County

Kilkenny where wells are dedicated to Mary and, indeed, in many instances, later English surnames imported before and during the Cromwellian period.

Mary: Mediatrix and Kinswoman

In his doctoral thesis entitled *Popular Religion in Gaelic Ireland 1445-1645* (2002), Salvador Ryan devotes an almost 100 page chapter (Vol. 1, p.116-210) discussing the influence of Mary in Gaelic Ireland during the aforementioned period. He states that ‘apart from Christ, the greatest and most prolific devotion of the late middle ages and early modern era was dedicated to the Virgin Mother’ (*op.cit.*116). He adds that ‘the woman whose role in the gospels is a largely silent one had, by the end of the period examined here, assumed the roles of Mediatrix, Advocate and Co-Redemptrix in the minds of many European Catholics, lay and clergy alike, who expressed heart-felt devotion to her’ (*Ibid.*).

Ryan concentrates on particular themes that frequently arise in bardic poetry and ‘explores each of them with a view to obtaining a window on Gaelic Marian devotion as a whole’ (*Ibid.* 117), namely, The Annunciation and Incarnation (*op.cit.* 118-128), Mary’s Virginité (*op.cit.* 128-136), Mary as Spouse (*op.cit.* 136-141), Her Royal Genealogy and Kin-group (*op.cit.* 141-146), Mary as the New Eve (*op.cit.* 146-149), Mary and the Passion of Christ (*op.cit.* 150-179), Mary as Mediatrix (*op.cit.* 180-186) and Mary as Advocate (*op.cit.* 186-208). He concludes his lengthy discussion on Mary by stating that ‘for the Gaelic Irish in the late middle ages, the role of Mary was of huge importance’, that ‘being considered part of their stock, she reflected the humanity of the divine’, that ‘after all, Christ had taken his biological humanity from her’, that ‘it was customary to approach the Virgin before Christ in seeking favours’, that ‘as intercessor she was without par’ and that ‘the increase in the importance extended to the Virgin, particularly after the twelfth century strongly influenced the spirituality of Gaelic Ireland as it did the whole of Europe’ (*op.cit.* 210).

She appears prominently in no less than six bardic poems of Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn (d. 1487) (*Philip Bocht* 2 (39 verses), 4 (42 verses), 9 (44 verses), 11A (33 verses), 13 (50 verses) and 21 (36 verses), ed. L. McKenna (1931)) and in the late 16th century poetry of Aonghus Ó Dálaigh (*Aongh. Ó Dál.*, Poems 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 22, 25, 26, ed. L. McKenna (1919)), to mention but a couple of notable bardic poets of the era under discussion in Ryan’s thesis.

Some fourteen years prior to the completion of Ryan’s work, Peter O’Dwyer, S.J., published his work *Mary: A History of Devotion in Ireland* (1988), from the earliest appearances to the twentieth century. Ryan was of the opinion that it would have been a

fruitless exercise to reiterate much of the material presented by O'Dwyer, and it was for that reason that he chose to concentrate on particular Marian themes that frequently arise in bardic poetry.

In addition, no fewer than sixteen Irish Lives of Mary are detailed in Diarmuid Ó Laoghaire's doctoral thesis entitled *Beathaí Naomh Iasachta sa Ghaeilge* (1967), the earliest dating from the 15th century. See also in this respect Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 265-267 (Nos. 337-346).

A few further points concerning Marian devotion at holy wells and/or her cult in Ireland in general, are articulated by Professors Peter Harbison, Raymund Gillespie and Celeste Ray and also by Mary O'Reilly, may be of interest here. Firstly, Harbison argues that 'the first holy wells associated with Mary were perhaps those of Irish female saints that were reallocated following the Anglo-Norman invasion' and that 'well dedications to the Virgin may not be much earlier than about the twelfth century' (*Harb.Pilgr.*233). Mary was, however, clearly worshipped by the Irish also. Gillespie suggests that 'though Mary's cult was well established in Ireland in the sixteenth century, it grew most dramatically in the seventeenth-century Counter-reformation efforts' (Gillespie 1997, 70, 71). Ray, who cites the works of Harbison and Gillespie, adds that 'many wells dedicated to other female saints were rededicated to Mary in Tridentine reforms and also through subsequent centuries (Ray 2012, 147).

Mary O'Reilly argues that the cult of Mary 'had developed in the twelfth century with Mary emerging as mediator between man and God' (*Archiv.Hib.* 50 1996. 106), while 'the sixteenth century was one which preserved and defended devotion to her while the seventeenth century was concerned with promoting the new glories of Mary' (*Ibid.*). She also cites an early organised example of Marian devotion in the form of the celebration of the feast of the Immaculate Conception 'which became a feast for the universal church in 1708 though it had been celebrated in Ireland before that, as early as 1614' (*Ibid.*), following on from which she states that 'from 1560-1600 there had been growing popularity in the devotion of the Rosary in Ireland' (*Ibid.*).

Mary Louise Nolan estimates that in contrast with other European pilgrimage and shrine traditions, only about 10 per cent of all Irish shrines are dedicated to her (Nolan 1983, 422; Ray 2011, 276; Ray 2012, 147). This would be somewhat at variance with the fact that Mary, in terms of the holy wells of county Kilkenny at least, features most prominently of all the saints, either male or female, associated with the wells of the said county. On the other

hand, it may be that the large Anglo-Norman population of Kilkenny explains the extent to which the county appears to be closer to the European norm.

In relation to Professor Harbison's contention above that 'the first holy wells associated with Mary were perhaps those of Irish female saints that were re-allocated following the Anglo-Norman invasion' (*Harb.Pilgr.* 233), Professor Ray would appear to provide a pertinent example in the form of Our Lady's Well at Mountbolus, County Offaly, 'reputed to have belonged to St. Brigid before Anglo-Norman rededication' (Ray 2011, 276) (although it is not stated by whom it was reputed).

The officially-engraved Lady's Well (*E1(6)*) is a mistaken engraving for Michael's Well (No. 21), *tld*: Bayswell.

In terms of holy well appellations in general, the term Lady's Well (*tld*: Ballyda, *tld*: Burnchurch, *tld*: Castlemarket, *tld*: Graiguenamanagh, *tld*: Kilmacoliver, *tld*: Newtown, *tld*: Owing, *tld*: Tullaroan, *tld*: Urlingford) is of far more common occurrence than the term Lady Well in the case of the name under scrutiny here and Lady Well (*tld*: Kildrinagh).

Jeremy Harte in his *English Holy Wells: a sourcebook* presents, *inter alia*, a detailed and considered discussion on 'wells of the Virgin Mary' and of particular relevance here, on 'sites called Ladywell'. His observations on Ladywell/Ladyswell, and in particular the relative age of such names in English, are worthy of quotation here:

The wells of the Virgin appear here in double character, for which there is no parallel in any other cult. Some sites are called St. Mary's Well in the usual way – *Sancte Marie fons* in Latin as at Waverley and *Saintemariwelle* in English, as at Southampton. But there are many others called Lady Well, or a variation on this name. From the contemporary evidence, limited as it is, it seems clear that the name Lady Well grew in popularity as the Middle Ages progressed.

The earliest Ladywell is recorded at Sacombe as *Lavediwelle* (1294) and another at Kniveton as *Ladiwalle* (1290s). After that there is a gap of over a century before we meet with *Ladewell* (1418) at Austhorpe and *Ladywell* at Hungarton (1470s). In the sixteenth century the new form takes over with *Ladyswell* (1528) at Sockbridge *Our Lady's well* (1550s) at Barton near Grantchester and *Lady Well* (?) (1592) at Lewisham.

Given all the examples which portray Our Lady's popularity at holy wells and elsewhere in the county, it may be that women in childbirth were swayed by the virgin birth of Christ, thus assisting them in their own child labour. It may be worthy of note to relate here that women used to pray at a stone on Inishmurray Island, County Sligo, on nearing their 'confinement', in the hope of securing a favourable result. They used also kneel and insert their thumbs into the smaller apertures firmly grasping the stone with the rest of the fingers placed in the corresponding side openings. The natives used to assert as a proof of its efficacy that death resulting from childbirth was unknown amongst them (Frazer 1896, 167).

- 1.2 St. Anne, mother of Mary, 'seanmháthair Dé' (*Irish Bardic Poetry* stanza 3, p.94, ed. D. Greene, F. Kelly (1970)), feastday: 26 July (Farmer 22)

Well: 69

Evidence of St. Anne as a devotee or patron at holy wells in County Kilkenny is almost negligible when compared to the widely-revered Mary in that she appears only twice, once in the case of the very sparsely-attested Nanny's Well or St. Anne's, *tld*: Firoda Lower, *p*: Castlecomer, (the other instance being Thibberawling/Tobar Álainn (No. 85), *tld*: Graigavine, *p*: Clonmore, where the saint's name is not actually included in the name of the well. In this latter instance, however, it is stated once in the National Folklore Collection and twice in the Schools' Collection that 'the patron Saint is uncertain but believed to be St. Anne' (*NFC* 468.115; *NFCS* 840.173; *NFCS* 841.37). Apart from these folklore references which stretch back to the 1930s, there is no local hagiographical evidence to hand to link the saint to the locality of the well).

Salvador Ryan argues that 'the figure of St. Anne, mother of Mary, although not appearing in the canon of Scripture, achieved prominence through the endurance of tradition' (Ryan I 2002, 220). Her daughter, Mary, on the other hand, was according to a sermon by Ambrose Autpert (d.784), made 'the door of heaven, the exaltation of the Apostles, the praise of the Martyrs, the jubilation of Confessors, the continence of Virgins [and] the Rule of Monks' (O'Dwyer 1988, 45).

Not alone was Anne the mother of Mary and the grandmother of Christ but she may have also been the grandmother, according to tradition, of other biblical persons: ‘there was a tradition that Anne married three husbands successively, Joachim, Cleophus and Salome. From Joachim she had Mary, the mother of Christ, from Cleophus she had Mary, the mother of James and John and from Salome she had Mary the mother of James the Great and Maitheus (probably Thaddeus or Jude) hence the three Marys’ (O’Dwyer 79, 90).

Anne’s feastday of 26 July is not recorded in the case of either of the aforementioned wells in County Kilkenny.

Her apparent one-time barrenness is referred to in Warner 1976, 244.

1.3 The Apostles: James and Andrew, feastday 25 July (Farmer 252)

James

Wells: 34, 136

‘The apostles’, according to Salvador Ryan, ‘represented the whole heavenly hierarchy and the foundation of the Church, as well as being the primary witnesses to the cross and resurrection of Christ’ (Ryan, *op.cit.* 222). ‘They had’, he continues, ‘a very special function to fulfil, especially at the hour of death’ (*Ibid.* 223), when ‘they were understood to undertake the defence of the soul, which many lurking demons wished to snatch away to Hell’ (*Ibid.*).

James Major was traditionally held to be a son of Mary Salome who was herself, apparently, one of the three daughters of St. Anne – he was therefore held to be one of the extended family of Jesus (*Ibid.* 235).

He appears to have been a favourite of the Anglo-Normans and of their descendants, being honoured at two holy wells in County Kilkenny.

There are no fewer than nineteen iconographical representations of St. James Major identified by John Hunt in his publication entitled *Irish medieval figure sculpture* (*op.cit.* II 1974 250), including one at Gowran, Jerpoint, St. Canice’s, Kilkenny and St. John’s, Kilkenny.

In his doctoral dissertation entitled *Beathaí Naomh Iasachta sa Ghaeilge* (1967), Diarmuid Ó Laoghaire, S.J., traces four Irish Lives of the saint, the earliest dating from the 15th century.

The Passion of St. James is mentioned in the early 15th century Leabhar Breac (c.1410 – Ryan, *op.cit.* I 238. See also *Philip Bocht* 111.17, 193: ‘His body’s weight pained not James’s knees – strange story! his knees’ pain shows he had crushed all feeling’).

1.4 St. Andrew, feastday 30 November (Farmer 21)

Well: 118

He also features in the name Killandrew, *tld*: Ballynakill, *p*: Rossinan, *OS* 40:

1905 Killandrew. In Irish it is called Killanndhroo or Killonndhroo, which seems to signify St. Andrew’s Church. As in many other instances, the old townland of Killandrew was split up, centuries ago; with the result that the church site is not situated in the part of it now called Killandrew, but in the part of it now known as Ballynakill [Town of the Church]

Carrigan IV 177

There are now fewer than seventeen iconographical depictions of St. Andrew identified by John Hunt during the period 1200 – 1600, including one at Gowran, one at Jerpoint, one at St. Canice’s, Kilkenny and one at St. John’s, Kilkenny (Hunt, *op.cit.* II 1974, 249).

There are five Irish Lives of the saint detailed in Diarmuid Ó Laoghaire’s doctoral thesis mentioned above, the earliest dating from the 15th century. See also Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 256 (No. 308).

Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn (d.1487) refers to his support for Christ during his crucifixion thus: ‘Andrew at his crucifixion welcomed his cross: he complained not of its pain, hot love overcoming it’ (*Philip Bocht* 193.13).

The Evangelists: Luke and Mark

1.5 Luke, feastday 18 October (Farmer 305)

Well: 127

He was venerated here on July 25th, the feast of St. James and not on his own feastday mentioned above.

There is no local hagiographical evidence in documented sources (e.g. *PP: Spic.Oss.* I 1-10 or *de Burgo Reg.*) linking the saint to this locality apart from the name of the well and the name of the village. The earliest reference to the well dates from 1786 (*Vallencey*) while the earliest reference to the village dates from 1802 (*Stat.Sur.(KK)* 613).

1.6 Mark, feastday 25 April (Farmer 323)

The saint (d.c. 74 AD) (Farmer 322)) would appear to have been commemorated at St. Mark's Well, an apparently recent (*O'Shea* 2014, 92, 101) alias of Garryduff Holy Well (No. 79), *tld*: Garryduff, *p*: Owing, [*OS* 35]. There is no local hagiographical evidence in commonly-documented sources (e.g. *PP: Spic.Oss.* I 1-10; *de Burgo Reg.*; *Carrigan* (1905)) which link the evangelist saint to the locality (in the form of legendary lore or in the form of his having been a patron saint of a local church) apart from the very sparsely-attested well-name (in the form of a very recent alias name!).

Other biblical figures of the same era: John the Baptist and Michael the Archangel

1.7 John the Baptist, feastday 24 June (Farmer 259), 'a sort of proto-apostle' (Ryan, *op.cit.* 220)

Wells: 56, 94, 103

Wells of St. John the Baptist

Janet and Colin Bord remark of such wells in Ireland that 'it was believed that the water in the wells dedicated to St. John the Baptist boiled up at midnight on 23 June and that for the

first hour on the 24th (the saint's day) any illness could be cured by it. Sunrise and sunset are times frequently mentioned' (Bord & Bord 1985, 57).

It is John the Evangelist and not John the Baptist who is venerated in the case of St. John's Priory, St. John's Gate, St. John's Bridge, St. John's Street, St. John's Green, St. John's Hospital and St. John's churchyard, Kilkenny City (q.v. *Lib.Prim.Kilk.* 63 (1282); *Lib.Prim.Kilk.* 28 (1351); *Lib.Prim.Kilk.* 100 (1473); *CPL XIII* 40 (1475); *Ann.Oss.* 14.45 (1479); *Ann.Oss.* 29.95 (1498); *Lib.Prim.Kilk.* 110 (1499-1500); *Ann.Oss.* 35.115 (1510); *Grose I* 31 (1791); *OSNB* (53, 54) (1838); Hogan 1884, 189, 209, 210, 212, 213, 407; *Carrigan III* (1905), 244, 248; *NFCS* 855.79 (1938); *NFCS* 856.249, 250 (1938); Bradley 2000, 124; Tynan 2006, 94; Meehan 2008, 343; Salter 2009, 99).

There are five Irish Lives of John the Baptist detailed in Ó Laoghaire (1967), 33-47 (*Beathaí Naomh Iasachta sa Ghaeilge*), the earliest dating to the 15th century and details of his passion are found in the *Leabhar Breac* 187b – 9a (c.1410).

He also features in temporal contexts in the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds* in or around the same period:

1351 Thomas son of Thomas Bate..., William son of Richard Coterel, Kells [County Kilkenny], Kells on Monday next after the feast of St. John the Baptist.

COD II 4

1452 Given at Kilkenny on Monday before the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist in the 30th year of Henry VI.

COD III 170

He is chosen as a fit intercessor owing to his kinship with Christ in the poetry of Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh (*obit* 1244):

Eoin Bruinne is im Eoin Baisde dom dheaghailt re díochaisge (*DD* 51.74) / May John of the Bosom and John the Baptist save me from all perversity (*DD* 116.74).

His intercessory powers are also invoked by Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn (*obit* 1448):

Gabh m'éagnach a Eoin Baisde, baoghal dúinn ar ndíochaisge

féagh orainn a chnú craidhe, tú thoghaim mar theachtair (DD 21.1)/

Hear my complaint, O John Baptist, my unruliness is my danger; look on me, O friend, I choose thee as intercessor (DD 88.1).

He also features in the poetry of Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn (*obit* 1487 – *Philip Bocht* 27 (43 verses) and in the late sixteenth-century poetry of Aonghus Ó Dálaigh (*Aongh. Ó Dál.* xxxv, 15 verses).

1.8 Michael the Archangel, feastday 29 September (Farmer 339)

Wells: 12, 21, 33

Michael is also honoured at St. Michael's Church (E2 (6)), Rathpoleen, OS 8, at Templevyhill / Michael's Church, Ballycallan (COD V 88 (1555); OSL(KK) I 235 (1839); EI (6) (1842) and at the following places in Kilkenny City:

St. Michael's Gate which 'was an approach into St. John's Abbey, from it comes the name *Michael's Lane*' (Hogan 1861, 355; Hogan 1884, 211, 409; O'Kelly 1969, 90) and Michael Street (the modern day version of Michael's Lane) (O'Kelly 90).

There are fourteen Irish Lives of St. Michael identified by Diarmuid Ó Laoghaire, S.J., in his thesis (*Beathaí Naomh Iasachta sa Ghaeilge*), the earliest dating from the fourteenth century (Ó Laoghaire 1967, xxiv).

A Fulco de Fraxineto, Kilkenny, who was found guilty of trespass, appeared before John Wogan, Justiciar, in the quinzaine of S. Michael on 8/7/1305 (CJR II 89).

John Hunt lists only five iconographical depictions of St. Patrick in his publication *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture* compared to ten representations of St. Michael (Ryan I 2002, 213).

Some of Michael's figure sculptures feature in County Kilkenny, viz: at Inistioge (Hunt I (page) 172), at Jerpointabbey (*Ibid.* 176, 177), at St. Canice's Cathedral (*Ibid.* 183) while other representations are located at Castlemartin, County Kildare (*Ibid.* 106, 155), at Grey

Abbey, Kildare (*Ibid.* 160), at St. Mary's Abbey, Howth (*Ibid.* 145), at Athboy, County Meath (*Ibid.* 203), at Duleek, County Meath (*Ibid.* 198), at the Rock of Cashel, Tipperary (*Ibid.* 221) and at Mothell, County Waterford (*Ibid.* 233).

In her discussion on 'The cult of St. Michael in Ireland' (*Folk & Farm*, ed. C. Ó Danachair (1976)), Helen Roe refers to the fact that 'ample evidence is forthcoming for the early growth of veneration for St. Michael' in the form of calendars, homilies, prayers, hymns and anecdotes of the saints (Roe 1976, 251). He is the conqueror of Satan, Lord of Souls, their guardian in life and protector after death and it is he who on the Day of Judgment shall hold the scales in which a man's sins shall be weighed (*Ibid.*). She mentions 'the gradual replacement of the monastic by the diocesan system in the 11th century' and 'the ensuing centuries with extensive colonisation of the county by the Anglo-Norman lords' and the fact that 'from these times churches begin to be placed under the invocation of the Archangel, both Irish foundations as well as many of the churches, 'hospitals', mortuary chapels and cemeteries established by the new foreign aristocracy' (*Ibid.* 254). She also refers to numerous representations of the saint in the form of metal work, wall paintings and stone carvings from the thirteenth to sixteenth century (*Ibid.* 255) and to the fact that 'from about the middle of the 16th century all this lively devotion to St. Michael ceases to be expressed either in words or pictures' (*Ibid.* 257).

He is mentioned in the poetry of Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh (*DD* 49.54; *DD* 115.514; *DD* 55.56; *DD* 120.56), in the poetry of Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn (*obit* 1448 – *DD* 256; *DD* 25.13; *DD* 92.6; *DD* 93.13) and features very strongly in the poetry of Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn (*obit* 1487), given that of the sixteen poems in question, 'all but four – possibly all but three, end with dedicatory verses to both St. Michael and St. Francis' (*Philip Bocht* ix, ed. L. McKenna (1931)).

McKenna remarked some years earlier (1919) that 'a characteristic of the [late sixteenth century] poems of Aonghus [Ó Dálaigh] is the frequency with which the Archangel Michael is prayed to' (*Aongh. Ó Dál.* xiii) and that most of Aonghus' poems conclude with an invocation to him (*Ibid.* vi). This appears to be true of the concluding verse of 33 out of 55 of his poems, *viz.*: I 12; II 8; V 15; VIII 12; IX 11; XI 13; XII 11; XIII 6; XIV 12; XVI 6; XVII 6; XVIII 11; XX 15; XXI 11; XXII 11; XXIV 15; XXV 15; XXVIII 13; XXIX 13; XXXIII 8; XXXIV 12; XXXV 15; XXXVI 11; XXXVII 10; XXXVIII 11; XXXIX 22; XL 13; XLI 12; XLII 13; XLIV 12; XLVII 4; XLIX 23; LII 52.

1.9 Figures of the Holy Trinity – God (Father), Jesus (Son) and the Holy Spirit
(Ghost)

Wells: 8, 16, 130

The Trinity is honoured elsewhere in the county in the following non-hydralalous contexts:

- (i) The Blackabbey, Kilkenny (Irishtown) founded in the year 1225 ‘to honour the Holy Trinity’ (*Mon.Hib.* 371 (1786); Grose I 35 (1791)) hence the former Trinity Lane, now Abbey Street (Hogan 1884, 400). (See also *Carrigan* III 177; *Shell Guide Harb.* 215; Salter 2009, 99), and
- (ii) The Parish Church of Callan contained a chantry altar dedicated to The Holy Trinity and St. Catherine (*OSL(KK)* II 39; Spears 2006, 103).

Neither Ballinamara (Trinity Well) nor Ballyraffton (Trinity Well) nor Knocktopherabbey (Trinity Well) are listed as being lands belonging to the Blackabbey in a grant ‘to Walter Archer the sovereign and to the burgesses’, dated 25/8/1543. The Blackabbey lands at this time included ‘lands of Kilkenny, Irishtown, Aldrenwood near Keppaghe, Glassanaghe, Ketingeston, Ballynolan, Ferynbroke’ and listed separately, ‘Drumdelig, or Thornback’ (*Mon.Hib.* 373), Cappagh (< Keppaghe), Keatingstown (< Ketingeston) and Troyswood / Thornback all being situated in the city environs of the civil parish of St. Canice. However, both Ballynolan (1543) and Ballinamara (Trinity Well, no. 8) are situated in the civil parish of Ballinamara, although they are not adjoining townlands.

The Trinity appears in the poetry of Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh where the poet beseeches the Trinity to regard his prayer (*DD* 65.16; *DD* 129.16) and in the late sixteenth century poetry of Aonghus Ó Dálaigh where the poet implores the Trinity to stand by him (*Aongh. Ó Dal.* 4.7) and to come into his heart (*Ibid.* 43.5).

2. National Saints (Ó Riain 2014, 65)

2.1 Patrick, feastday 17 March, one of the twelve apostles of Ireland (*Ó Riain Saints* 636)

Wells: 2, 23, 25, 58, 61, 65, 139, 177

Dr. Salvador Ryan argues that ‘Patrick, in some sense, transcended the local saint in that he was considered protector of the whole land as opposed to a specific locality’ (Ryan I 2002, 219), an opinion which is also held by Drs. Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie in their article entitled ‘The most adaptable of saints’: the cult of St. Patrick in the seventeenth century’:

‘What is important about Patrick is that he transcended this process of localisation. While there were local connections with particular wells and rocks, Patrick was seen as protector of the country as a whole, and in particular, the patron saint was seen as the one who would judge the Irish on the last day, and had the privilege of taking souls direct to heaven’ (Cunningham & Gillespie 1995, 86).

In addition, the national patrons, Patrick, Brigid and Colmcille were raised to the rank of the ‘three patrons of Ireland’ during the Anglo-Norman period (Hennig 1989, 417, 418 (in M. Richter (ed.), *Medieval Ireland: saints and martyrologies*); Ryan I 2002, 212, 217), yet one would also expect instances of these saints to be higher in counties where Anglo-Norman occupation was not so strong or was less prevalent.

Patrician Lives

In the period 650-700, four Lives had been compiled, two of Patrick and one each of Brigid and Colum Cille (*Ó Riain Saints* 39), the Lives of Patrick being Muirchú’s *Vita Patricii* and Tíreachán’s *Collectanea* (Connolly 1987, 5). The somewhat later Life of Patrick, the *Tripartite Life*, dating from the end of the ninth century, is told in a sermon in Irish and was to form the basis for many medieval homilies (Cunningham & Gillespie 1995, 82). Drs. Cunningham and Gillespie also refer to the Life of Patrick written by the Cistercian Jocelin of Furness in the twelfth century, ‘as part of the Anglo-Norman attempt to appropriate the cult of Patrick’ (*Ibid.* 83).

Other details concerning Irish Lives of the saint are referenced in Plummer’s *Miscellanea Hagiographica Hibernica*, including the first, second and third Lives (*Misc.Hag.Hib.* 195, 196; 196; 196, 197 respectively). See also Plummer, *op.cit.* 252, 253 (Nos. 291, 292) for other details of Latin Lives and Sharpe 1991, 397.

Dr. Salvador Ryan points out that ‘it is a curious anomaly that the bardic order, bastion of Gaelic heritage and tradition, does not give much attention to native Irish saints in its religious poetry’ and that ‘in fact, references to the likes of Patrick, Brigid and Colmcille are few and far between’ (Ryan I 2002, 268) and are ‘largely ignored’ (*Ibid.* 282).

The saint is mentioned in the poetry of Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh where the poet prays to him (*DD* 50.67; *DD* 116.67) but he (Patrick) features near the end of his lengthy list of saintly intercessors, coming after the Apostles, the Evangelists, saints Catherine, Gregory, Lawrence, Clement, Benedict, Augustine, Martin, and many more besides.

He is also mentioned in the penultimate quatrain (no. 26) of a poem written by Tadhg Óg hUiginn (*DD* 24.26; *DD* 91.26) and in the late sixteenth century poetry of Aonghus Ó Dálaigh where he states that his trust is firmest in Our Lady and St. Michael, after whom he mentions John the Baptist, Francis, followed by Patrick, Colm Cille, Catherine and finally, Brigid (*Aongh. Ó Dál.* 34.9).

In John Hunt’s publication, *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200 – 1600*, Andrew appears seventeen times (Hunt II 1974, 249), James Major nineteen times (*Ibid.* 250), Catherine seventeen times (*op.cit.* 254, 255) while Patrick is listed only five times (*Ibid.* 257) as is Margaret (*Ibid.* 256).

Bearing in mind the reference to Patrick’s ‘local connections with particular wells and rocks’ mentioned above, we may turn our attention to the holy wells in County Kilkenny at which he is/was venerated.

The Patrician influence appears, according to the evidence, to be strongest in the catholic parish of Mooncoin (4 instances: 2, ii, ix, xiv above), followed by 3 instances in the catholic parish of Urlingford (23, 25, 179), 3 instances in the catholic parish of Castlecomer (i, iv, viii), 3 instances in the catholic parish of St. Patrick’s (v, xiii, xvi), two instances in Gowran (65, iii) and in the catholic parish of Slieverue (vii, xv) and one instance in Ballyragget (61), Danesfort (xi), Glenmore (58), Johnstown (vi), Muckalee (xii), St. John’s (139) and Templeorum (x) each.

2.2 Brigid, feastday 1 February (*Ó Riain Saints* 125)

Wells: 1, 9, 19, 27, 87, 95, 99, 114, 132, 142, 172, 176

Although churches throughout the country dedicated to Patrick and Bridget were tied by legal agreement with greater churches such as Armagh, Clonmacnoise and Kildare (Bhreathnach 2014, 229), yet Bridget, like Patrick above, had numerous local associations, as argued by Drs. Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie, ‘even internationally-known saints such as St. Brigid had a variety of local associations, attributed birthplaces and fabricated genealogies’ (Cunningham & Gillespie 1995, 86). Saints such as these were localised and provided with genealogies in order ‘to make them more receptive to the appeals of one social or geographical region’ (*Ibid.*).

Commenting on the pagan festivals of old, including *Beltaine* (1 May), *Lughnasadh* (1 August) and *Samhain* (1 November), Petra Skyvova explains that ‘after the establishment of Christianity, a Christian patron saint was attached to these special days’ and that ‘thus, 1 February was dedicated to St. Bridget and the first pilgrimages of the year would have been undertaken then’ (Skyvova, *Fingallian Wells* 25). She continues, ‘the day was not only the feast day of the national female patron saint but also the beginning of the new agricultural year, marking the end of the privations of winter and the beginning of growth and renewal. And so a former pagan festival was transformed into a Christian feast day’ (*Ibid.*).

Somewhat similarly, Professor Margaret McCurtain remarks that ‘St. Brigid of Kildare is honoured at the doorway of spring, recognizing pagan and christian’ (McCurtain 2008, 212, 213).

Brigid’s Kildare was founded towards the close of the fifth century and ‘its rise coincided with a period of transition in the Irish Church in which a number of female saints came to be important Christian leaders in their communities’ (McCurtain 2008, 120) – in this respect McCurtain singles out Saint Íde of Killeedy, County Limerick and Saint Moninne of Sliab Cailinn, Killeevy, County Armagh, for especial mention (*Ibid.*), Moninne having been a leader of her community on the borders of Louth-Armagh and a collaborator of Brigid’s (*Ibid.*).

‘Brigid appears in numerous placenames of the early ‘Cell Brigitte’ and ‘Topar Brigitte’ type all over Ireland’, argues Professor Kim McKone (*Peritia* I 1982, 110), there being ‘a considerable concentration in Leinster and the midlands’ (*Ibid.*). Professor McCone argues that ‘the otherwise remarkable spread of her cult at so early a date is probably due to its roots in that of an identically-named pagan goddess who was undoubtedly once widely worshipped in Ireland and among the Celts on the continent’ (*Ibid.*). It appears to be unclear as to ‘whether the Christian Brigit was merely a euhemerised pagan goddess or the product of syncretism between such a goddess and a historical figure’ (*Ibid.* 110, 111).

‘Mary of the Gael’ (Hughes 1954-5, 20)

It is not clear if some early dedications to Brigid are actually reflecting Our Lady dedications or whether they actually reflect a very early St. Brigid.

Peter O’Dwyer (O.Carm.) refers to a certain Broccán (? ninth century) ‘who says of St. Brigid that he had not found anyone like her except Mary’ (O’Dwyer 1988, 62). Brigid is called ‘the mother of Jesus’ (*Ibid.*; *Lib.Hymn.* 1, 14 stanza 2 and 110 1.12 (1000c.) and ‘mother of my king’ (O’Dwyer, *Ibid.*; *Lib.Hymn.* 112 1.6).

O’Dwyer also mentions that ‘the earliest reference to Our Lady in Irish writing (Latin or Gaelic) seems to occur in a prophecy in old Irish which has been dated on linguistic grounds as c.600’ (*Ibid.* 32).

He continues, ‘It runs:

Cain gein cain orrdan iartain dodoticfa dit genelgib clan. Condingertar dia mor-buadaib Brig-eoit fhir-diada. Bid ala-maire-Choimded mathair ‘A fair birth, fair dignity will come to thee thereafter from thy children’s descendants, who shall be called from her great virtues, truly pious Brigeoit, she will be another Mary, mother of the great Lord’ (*Ibid.*; O’Brien 1938-9, 348).

O’Dwyer also mentions that ‘Professor Carney has discussed the general idea of Brigid and other Irish saints, notably Ita, sharing in Mary’s motherhood of Christ’ (*Ibid.*). O’Dwyer’s words ‘Brigid being another Mary’ (*Ibid.* 45) are also pertinent here.

The Brigidine influence appears, on the evidence, to be strongest in the catholic parish of Callan (4 instances: 9, 142, v, vi) followed by Mooncoin catholic parish (3 instances: 1, 87, 176), Windgap (2 instances: 114, 132) and by the following catholic parishes with one instance only: Ballycallan (172), Ballyhale (vii), Ballyragget (i), Castlecomer (iii), Dunnamaggan (95), Galmoy (ii), Glenmore (99), Gowran (ix), Graiguenamanagh (27), Lisdowney (9), (?) St. Mary’s, Kilkenny (iv), Urlingford (viii).

The earliest hagiographical work in question on St Brigid is Cogitosus’s *Vita Brigitae* written in Hiberno-Latin, probably in the period 650-700 (Connolly 1987, 5) while *Bethu Brigitte* was written ‘probably in the early ninth century’ (Sharpe 1991, 20).

Later Irish Lives of the saint are detailed in Plummer’s *Miscellanea Hagiographica Hibernica*, namely, manuscripts which detail the First Irish Life (*Misc.Hag.Hib.* 181, 182), the Second Irish Life (*op.cit.* 182) and the Third Irish Life (*Ibid.*). See also Plummer, *op.cit.* 237.8 for details of a Latin Life and Sharpe 1991, 391.

References to the national saints (including Brighid) are ‘few and far between’ in Bardic religious poetry (Ryan I 2002, 268), even though all three such patrons were proclaimed as patrons of Ireland under Anglo-Norman influence (*Ibid.* 217).

She is invoked by the poet Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh (*DD* 50.59; *DD* 116.59) but is notably down the list of intercessors, being mentioned after numerous ‘foreign’ saints including the little-known Sairiel, Raphael, High Archangel, the four Evangelists (better known), Martha, Mary (Blessed Virgin), Catherine and Deirbhile.

She also features in the late sixteenth century poetry of Aonghus Ó Dálaigh where he states that his trust is firmest in Our Lady and St. Michael, after whom he mentions John the Baptist, Francis, Patrick, Colm Cille, Catherine and finally, Brighid (*Aongh. Ó Dál.* 34.9).

John Hunt’s publication entitled *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200 – 1600* would suggest ‘that it was mainly an international body of saints that captured Irish attention at this time’ and that ‘in relative terms, Patrick, Brighid and Colmcille are largely ignored’ in such sources (Ryan I 2002, 282). Brighid’s depictions in Hunt’s work total only five, while St. Catherine of Alexandria appears seventeen times in pre-1560 depictions (Ryan I 2002, 213), as does Andrew (Hunt II (1974), 249) with James Major featuring nineteen times! (Hunt II (1974) 250).

Brighid may indeed to have been largely ignored by sculptors but certainly not by the populace in general.

2.3 Colm Cille, feastday 9 June (*Ó Riain Saints* 214)

Wells: 51, 91

Considering that Patrick was a Briton by birth and that Brighid probably originated as a pagan divinity, Professor Pádraig Ó Riain argues that ‘Colum Cille, son of Feidhlimidh may justly be regarded as the single most important native Irish saint’ (*Ó Riain Saints* 211).

Even though he is one of the trio of national patrons (who were all proclaimed as patrons of Ireland under Anglo-Norman influence (Ryan I 2002, 217)), yet the Columban influence in terms of holy well dedications in County Kilkenny is very sparse indeed compared to either Patrick or Brighid.

Professor Ó Riain refers to an early Life, *Vita Columbae*, written by Adomnán, Colum’s eighth successor as abbot on Iona, composed shortly before 700 (*Ó Riain Saints* 211). Later

in the late twelfth century, when Derry had become the most important Columban church, its community arranged to have a vernacular Life written for the saint (*Ibid.* 213) and ‘in the early sixteenth century, in the county of Colum’s birth, Donegal, where devotion to the saint retained more vigour than anywhere else, a local chieftain, Maghnas Ó Domhnaill, commissioned a new vernacular Life which brought together all that could then be found of Colum’s hagiography’ (*Ibid.*), namely, *Betha Colaim Chille*, 1532.

Manuscript details of the saint’s First Irish Life, Second Irish Life and Third Life are found in Plummer’s *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 186. See also Sharpe 1991, 392.

As already indicated above, Patrick, Brigid and Colmcille are ‘largely ignored’ in bardic and sculptural sources (Ryan I 2002, 282).

Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh (*obit* 1244) prays to a host of saints seeking their saintly assistance and protection (*DD* 49.45 – 51.74; *DD* 115.45 – 116.74), namely, Mary, the Twelve Prophets, Andrew, John, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, James the Elder, Simon, Michael, Phanathiel, Ruimiel, Uiriell, Gabriel, Sairiel, Raphael, the four Evangelists, Martha, Mary Magdalen, Catherine, Deirbhile, Brigid, Samtha, Caoluinn, Amos, Isaias, Gregory, Germanus, Daniel, Stephen, Lawrence, Clement, Benedict, Augustine, Martin, Patrick and Grinne. It is only after this lengthy list of mainly non Irish saints that he implores Colum Cille and Ciarán (*DD* 50.67; *DD* 116.67).

Somewhat similarly, Colmcille does not receive primacy of place in the late sixteenth-century poetry of Aonghus Ó Dálaigh where the poet choses eighth saintly companions on nearing death, namely, Mary, Michael, John the Baptist, Francis, Patrick, Colm Cille, with Catherine and Brigid bringing up the rear (*Aongh. Ó Dál.* 34.8-11).

However, like his fellow national saints, Patrick and Brigid, Colmcille transcends local boundaries (Ryan I 2002, 283) and has a widespread distribution countrywide (*O’Hanlon Saints VI* (1875-1903)), so much so, that Salvador Ryan concludes in relation to the roughly 3,000 holy wells in Ireland that ‘the majority of these are dedicated to one of the three patrons – Patrick, Brigid and Colmcille’ (Ryan I 2002, 283), a fact which he appears to base on the index to Dr. Patrick Logan’s work, *The Holy Wells of Ireland* 163-170 (index).

Ryan, however, goes on to argue that ‘unfortunately, no comprehensive list of holy well dedications exists (*Ibid.* 283), a fact which is true. However, the word ‘majority’ cannot apply to the holy wells of County Kilkenny here where the Blessed Virgin (19 instances) greatly outnumbers Patrick (8 instances), Brigid (12 instances) and Colmcille (2 instances) and almost equals their combined total of 22 instances, probably owing to strong Anglo-

Norman influence. It may be that the relative lack of native saints at the holy wells of the county reveals something about the age in which the well dedications were first made.

‘Aodh Mac Aingil’, according to Salvador Ryan, ‘in his *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe* (1618) argued that the lives of the saints of Italy, Spain, France and Germany, which he claimed to have read, illustrated that they fell far short of the severity of penance endured by the Irish [mainly National] saints’ (Ryan I 2002, 182) while some thirty years later (1647), John Colgan in the preface to his *Triadis Thaumaturgae* ‘boasted that Saints Patrick, Brigid and Columcille were Europe’s outstanding saints in terms of virtues and miracles, and that if greater existed, he did not know of them’ (*Ibid.* 181, 182). Colgan explained in the preface of the abovementioned work that the virtues of these wonderful Irish saints, often ridiculed by heretics, required a proper presentation of their relevant documentation and sources (Ryan 193, 194).

Some authors exhibit a decided preference for particular saints. Dr. Salvador Ryan informs us that ‘the example of St. Patrick was highlighted by Aodh Mac Aingil in *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe* (1618) far more than that of Brigid and Columcille, yet in Mícheál Ó Cléirigh’s *Martyrology of Donegal*, compiled in 1630, seven pages are allotted to the account of Columcille’s life as opposed to one page each for the lives of Brigid and Patrick’ (Ryan 196). He elaborates on this point by stating that Ó Cléirigh, a native of Donegal, extols the virtues of Columcille in his *Martyrology*, leaving Patrick underrated, ‘while Aodh Mac Aingil, hailing from Down, eulogises Patrick at every opportunity, expressing great familiarity with the localities associated with his penances’ (*Ibid.*), each work being published with ‘a specific audience in mind and a particular purpose to achieve’ (*Ibid.*).

3. Diocesan Patrons

Dr. Salvador Ryan refers to ‘the diocesan saint after whom most cathedrals were named’ and he states that ‘figures such as Colman of Cloyne, Brendan of Clonfert, Canice, and later Ciarán of Kilkenny (from the twelfth century onwards known commonly as Ossory diocese) eked out a prominent position as diocesan patrons, even though Brendan’s reputation certainly superseded that office’ (Ryan I 2002, 217). He adds to this the important observation that ‘not only cathedrals, but also many parish churches within diocesan jurisdiction bore the name of the patron, thus making him a familiar figure to which the faithful of that diocese could have recourse’ (*Ibid.*).

3.1 Brendan of Clonfert, feastday 16 May (*Ó Riain Saints* 117)

Wells: 46, 175

A Latin Life of the saint is detailed in Plummer, *VSH* I, 98-151 (15th century) while an Irish Life is found in Plummer, *BNÉ* I, 44-95 (c.1629). See also Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 181 for manuscript details pertaining to his First and Second Irish Lives. See also Sharpe 1991, 390, 391.

Professor Ó Riain argues that ‘the saint’s fame rests mainly on the *Navigatio Brendani*, ‘the Brendan voyage’, arguably the most influential of all medieval Irish texts, which appears to have been written by an Irish peregrinus, perhaps as early as the ninth century, possibly even earlier’ (*Ó Riain Saints* 115). He mentions that ‘the Life composed for the saint, which is preserved in five Latin and two vernacular versions (all of them contained in late manuscript collections), preceded and influenced the *Navigatio*’ (*Ibid.*).

3.2 Cainneach of Achadh Bhó / Cill Chainnigh, feastday 11 October (*Ó Riain Saints* 139), one of the twelve apostles of Ireland (*Ibid.* 636)

Wells: 48, 75, 80

In the case of St. Canice's Well, Kilkenny City, the saint's tradition here is also preserved in the case of St. Canice's Cathedral, St. Canice's Steps, St. Canice's graveyard Kennyswell Road, the name of a civil parish, the name of a catholic parish, the name of a barony and the name of the county.

Details of the saint's Life are found in Plummer, *VSH* I, 152-169 (15th century) and in Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 205 where Early Modern Irish works such as the *Book of Fermoy* (14th – 16th century) and the *Book of Lismore* (1408-11) are mentioned. See also Sharpe 1991, 391.

Canice appears to be less important locally than as a diocesan figure (3 instances). Given the relative fewness of three wells dedicated to him in the county (compared to 9 instances in the case of the diocesan figure Ciarán of Saighir) one may wonder if priests were present at his well patterns of yesteryear because if they were, they would surely have been encouraging or promoting devotion to him on a grander scale, in other words, devotion to him may have been the result of a personal or private spirituality rather than an official, church-lead one.

However, given his status as a diocesan saint, he does feature prominently in the Lives of other saints, including the vernacular Life of Fionnbharr and he is often associated with Colum Cille, Comhghall of Bangor, Fiontan of Clonenagh, Fiontan of Taghmon, Aodh of Rahugh, Colmán of Lynally, Caoimhghin of Glendalough, Mochaomhóg of Leigh and Seanán of Scattery Island (*Ó Riain Saints* 139).

3.3 Ciarán of Saighir, feastday 5 March (*Ó Riain Saints* 173)

Wells: 32, 41, 77, 88, 108, 109, 157, 168

1905 St. Kieran, the founder and first Bishop of Ossory Diocese.

Carrigan I 5

1905 In Ireland, in early centuries, St. Kieran's Episcopal jurisdiction over his "parish [i.e. Diocese [*sic*]], to which every Plain in Ossory belonged", descended to his Comharbas, or successors, in the Abbey of Saighir. Through them the Episcopal succession was kept up, till about the yer 1118, when the Synod of Rathbreasail definitely fixed the number of Irish Sees, and

established the present system of Episcopal government in each.

Carrigan I 15, 16

Ciarán accounts for 69.2% of the references to diocesan saints at holy wells in the county (9/13), being three times more common than Cainneach and nine times more common than Breandán of Clonfert. He appears to have been very important given the fact that he was the first bishop of Ossory diocese (*Carrigan I 5*) and the founder of the diocese.

Other Lagenian associations of his include Errill, County Laois (*p*: Rathdowney), Coolishall, County Offaly (on the western slopes of the Slieve Bloom mountains) and Seirkieran, County Offaly (*Carrigan I 8, 9*).

Lives of the saint

His biographers provided him with seven Latin and Irish versions of his Life, the latest of which is a vernacular version probably compiled in the seventeenth century (*Ó Riain Saints 172*). For sources relating to the First Irish Life, the Second Irish Life and the Third Irish Life, see Plummer, *VSH* 184, 184 and 184, 185 respectively. See also Plummer, *VSH I* 217-233 (15th century) and Plummer, *BNÉ I* 113-124 (c.1629). See also Sharpe 1991, 391, 392.

Neither Brendan nor Cainneach nor Ciarán figure prominently in Bardic religious poetry, a phenomenon which was also evidenced in the case of the national patrons outlined in the preceding pages.

Instances of the diocesan saints at holy wells in the county (13/113, 11.5%) match the number of instances of non-Irish saints who were not rough contemporaries of Christ (13/113 – Category 5). However, they trail behind the number of references to national patrons (22/113, 19.5%) and fall considerably behind Irish saints who had a local cult (31/113, 27.4%) and even further behind the non-Irish saints who were rough contemporaries of Christ (35/113, 31%), instances in this latter category being the most numerous of all.

4. Irish saints in County Kilkenny who appear to have had a local cult

Drs. Bernadette Cunningham and Raymund Gillespie argue that ‘many and varied saints’ cults were usually determined more by regional, social and cultural factors than by the influence of any centralised ecclesiastical administration’ (Cunningham & Gillespie 1995, 82). As friends of God, the saints (including ‘local’ saints) were to act as patrons and intercessors for ordinary people (*Ibid.*). Many saints who were localised were provided with genealogies ‘to make them more receptive to the appeals of one social or geographical region’ (*Ibid.* 86).

Salvador Ryan argues in his doctoral dissertation that the local saint, ‘the figure attached to a particular area or locality’ may, perhaps, have been ever more important than the diocesan patron (Ryan I 2002, 217) and that he may, perhaps, have been ‘the most influential of all in the lives of people in any given locality’ (*Ibid.* 269), given that such saints would traditionally have had some association with the area (*Ibid.*). The local saint could not be ignored, ‘for to ignore him would involve ignoring the landscape and environment, and effectively the wealth of *dindsenchas* (place-lore) on the lips of one’s family and friends’ (*Ibid.*). To this we may, indeed, add the wealth of local *naomhsheanchas* and legendary lore. Stories concerning such saints ‘were undoubtedly more often learnt from one’s environment than from one’s attendance at the Church’s liturgy’ (*Ibid.* 269, 270). The sense of association with the local saint would have been made all the stronger and more personal and relevant ‘if an individual could establish that his clan had sprung from the same stock as that of the saint’, so much so, that ‘then he could, in a very real way, claim that saint’s protection and favour’ (*Ibid.* 270).

However, the same author cautions that ‘the cult of the local saint was not always universally promoted’ (*Ibid.* 277) given that with the arrival of religious orders such as the Augustinians, Franciscans and Dominicans, ‘new dedications were frequently made’ (*Ibid.*). He provides a number of illustrative examples of this phenomenon, one being the sixth-century monastery of St. Tiernan, at Aghmacart (in adjoining County Laois and diocese of Ossory) (there is a St. Tierna’s Holy Well at the site) which ‘was taken over by the Augustinians canons in the twelfth century and rededicated to St. Mary’ (*Ibid.* 278), a point which is elucidated by the following (independently-researched) references: ‘the prior of St. Mary’s Hachnkyrt (*CPL* X 403 (1448)); the Augustinian canon of St. Mary’s Achamicayrt

(*CPL* X 674 (1454)); St. Mary's alias St. Tiernan's (Sancti Tirnani), Achmadheurit (*CPL* XII 414, 418 (1465)); St. Tierney's (Tyernasii) alias St. Mary's, Achmacart (*CPL* XII 634 (1468)); the monastery of St. Mary alias St. Mary alias St. Tierney (sancti Tigearnach), Athami[c]airt (*CPL* XIV 117 (1485-6)); pro annata prioratus monasterii Sancti Tigernacii alias Beate marie de Achamicayrt (*Ann.Oss.* 16.51 (1481)), and similar later references (*CPL* XIV 121 (1486); *CPL* XIV 313 (1488-9); *IMP* 322 (1541), the relevant saint here being Tighearnach of Clones (*Ó Riain Saints* 573).

4.1 Bearchán of Drumlohan, feastday unknown

Wells: 97, 98

4.2 Brendan of Birr, feastday 29 November (*Ó Riain Saints* 114)

Well: 3

For details of a Latin Life, see Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 237

The saint also features in a temporal context in the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*:

1419 Inquisiton taken at Corbaliesford, Kilkenny, on Tuesday in the feast of St. Brendan Abbot

COD III 23

He is mentioned in relation to an assembly at Teltown, County Meath (a Lagenian association), two other possible connections being that he features in the Life of Aodh of Rahugh, County Westmeath and in the Life of Ciarán of Seirkieran, County Offaly (*Ó Riain Saints* 114).

4.3 Colmán of Holdenstown, feastday 16 October (*Ó Riain Saints* 189)

Well: 42

He is to be distinguished from Colmán of Dysart (Gleann Dealhmaic), parish of Pleberstown. He features elsewhere in the county in the name Kilcolman:

(i) *tld*: Connahy, *ps*: Grangemaccomb, *cp*: Connahy

Connahy and Clara are neighbouring although not adjoining catholic parishes, Connahy being to the north-west of Kilkenny City while Clara is to the east of the city.

4.4 Cranat, feastday 9 March (*Ó Riain Saints* 229)

Well: 22

She does not appear to feature elsewhere in the county

4.5 Cuán of Flemingstown, Kilcoan, Weatherstown, no local record of feastday

Well: 70

He does not appear to feature elsewhere in the county.

4.6 Dallán Forghaill, feastday 31 July (*Ó Riain Saints* 255)

Well: 29

He does not appear elsewhere in the county apart from Killamery below.

Stories, tracts, poems and hymns concerning him are found in Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 210, 212, 213, 233 (where his feastday is given as 29 January).

He also features in a temporal context in the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds* (which is quite unusual for a lesser-known Irish saint):

1429 Kylamery. Given on the feast of St. Dallan in the 7th year of Henry VI,
January 29

COD III 65

He may also have been associated with Maighean, perhaps Tullamaine in the same county near Burnchurch above (*Ó Riain Saints* 255).

4.7 Fachtna of Tibberaghny, feastday 14 August (*Misc.Hag.Hib.* 243) (Ros
Ailithir)

Well: 169

Pupil of Fionnbharr of Cork (*Ó Riain Saints* 333), brother of other saints with local cults in County Kilkenny, namely, Caisín of Coolcashin, Mainchín of Coolcashin and Lóchán of Rathlogan, and, patron of the diocese of Ross (*Ó Riain Saints* 300).

Details of a Latin Life appear in Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 243.

4.8 Féichín of Fore, feastday 20 January (*Ó Riain Saints* 310)

Well: 60

He does not appear to feature elsewhere in the county.

Details of an Irish Life appear in Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 188. See also Sharpe 1991, 393.

His main association was with Fore, parish of St. Feighin's, barony of Fore, County Westmeath (Leinster) and the peripatetic saint is also brought into many other Lagenian (and other) districts, especially in the vernacular Lives, namely, Teathba (Longford/Westmeath), Cairbre Gabhra (Longford), Fir Bhile (Farbill in Westmeath), Críoch na gCéadach (barony of Warrenstown in north Offaly) and Naas in north Kildare (*Ó Riain Saints* 310).

4.9 Fiachra of south-east Kilkenny, feastday 8 February (*FOeng.* 70) (alias Fiachna (*Ó Riain Saints* 316))

Wells: 6, 49, 166, 170, 181

Some of Professor Ó Riain's observations on the saint are worthy of quotation here:

2011 A saint variously named Fiachra or Fiachna was well known in the Carlow/Kilkenny area; the Uí Bhairrche also laid claim to Fiachra son of Fiac of Sleaty, and an abbot of the name was associated with the church of Ullard in the Carlow barony of St. Mullin's Lower.

Ó Riain Saints 316

While many historians (diocesan historians included) believe that the Fiachra of south-east County Kilkenny (Kilferagh, Clontubrid and Ullard) is the hermit of Meaux, Fiacre (*viz.* 1876, 1893, 1905, 1969, 1970, 1981, 1982), a point which is not lost on Professor Pádraig Ó Riain, yet he is of the opinion that both are etymologically unrelated (*Ó Riain Saints* 316).

Other authors who would disagree with the aforementioned perceived correlation include Cotter & Lehane 1987, 154 and Picard 2012, 419.

Dónall Mac Giolla Easpaig is of the opinion that some of the early transliterated name-forms are consistent with a possible 'fidrad, trees, a wood' derivation (Manning 2012, 140).

4.10 Finnian of Clonard, feastday 12 December (*Ó Riain Saints* 321), 'one of the twelve apostles of Ireland' (*Ibid.* 636)

Wells: 68, 171

He does not appear to feature elsewhere in the county. Details of Irish and Latin Lives are referenced in Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 190, 235, 244. See also Sharpe 1991, 393, 394.

It is possible to trace the development of his cult from the late eighth century onwards and many of his settlements were in Leinster, his first one being at Aghowle, County Wicklow (Hughes, *IHS* 9 (1954-5), 15). He also spent time in Moone (*Ibid.* 16), in Kildare (*Ibid.*), in Ard Reileag (townland of Hardwood, parish of Clonard, County Meath (*Ibid.*; *FSÁG* 1.99))

and in Clonard, County Meath (*Ibid.*). Among his pupils were Ciarán of Clonmacnoise and Columcille (*Ibid.* 27). Finnian was more than able to hold his own with Féchine of Fore, Cianan of Duleek or Buite of Monasterboice (*Ibid.* 20) but given that his Leinster foundations were not far from Kildare and were within the orbit of St. Brigit, he was unable to compete in popularity with the ‘Mary of the Gael’ (*Ibid.*). His southern foundations are connected with kings of Lagenian septs (*Ibid.* 16).

4.11 Laichtín of Freshford, feastday 19 March (*Ó Riain Saints* 388)

Well: 137

He does not appear to feature elsewhere in the county. The only other Lagenian connection with the saint is in the Life of Molua of Kyle, County Laois, where Laichtín was prophesied to succeed Molua (*Ó Riain Saints* 387). His Munster connections (Cork, Limerick, Kerry and Clare) are much stronger.

Details concerning a Latin Life appear in Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 247 and in *ASH* 655.

4.12 Laurence/Lorcán of Glendalough and Dublin (?), feastday 14 November (Farmer 292)

Wells: 7, 15

This may be the saint who features in the holy well of County Kilkenny (see below), and not the international Lawrence, given his other Lagenian connections. Professor Ó Riain informs us that ‘The Book of Glendalough gave due prominence to the Uí Mhuireadhaigh (later Uí Thuathail), historically one of north Leinster’s chief families which by the 1120s, when the book was compiled, held the lordship of a large part of the present county of Kildare and parts of Wicklow, including the powerful church of Glendalough’ (*Ó Riain Saints* 403, 404). He continues, ‘at this time also, the family controlled the kingship of Uí Mhuireadhaigh and the headship of Glendalough’ (*Ibid.* 404). He held the abbacy of Glendalough until 1162 and was subsequently head of the community in Christ Church and archbishop of Dublin. He is

apparently described as *ardeasbog Laighean* in the roughly-contemporaneous *Book of Leinster*, c.1160 (*Ibid.*).

Sabine Baring-Gould informs us that in 1179 St. Laurence O'Toole and five other bishops were at the third Lateran Council at Rome and that 'the Pope treated St. Laurence with great kindness, and gave him a bull, in which he confirmed the rights of the sea of Dublin and its jurisdiction over the suffragan seas of Glendalough, Ferns, Leighlin, and [pertinently here] Ossory' (Baring-Gould XIII 332, 333).

He does not feature elsewhere in the county. For bibliographical details see Sharpe 1991, 395.

Professor Marie Therese Flanagan states that 'Lorcán Ua Tuathail styled himself Laurentius in the Latin charters that he issued, the early St. Laurence being particularly associated with the church of Rome' (Flanagan 2010, 111).

4.13 Lóchán of Rathlogan, feastday unknown

Well: 158

He does not appear to be venerated elsewhere in the county. Brother of Fachtna of Tibberaghny, of Caissin and of Mainchín of Coolcashin (*Ó Riain Saints* 426).

4.14 Mainchín of Coolcashin, feastday unknown (cf. 4.13)

Well: 55

He was a brother of Fachtna of Tibberaghny, of Caisín of Coolcashin and of Lóchán of Rathlogan (*Ó Riain Saints* 426).

It is probable that the saint in question here is also honoured in the case of (i) Kilmanahan (*tld*), p: Dungarvan (*Inq.Lag.(KK)* 30 J1 (1621), *DS, Cen.* 415, *BSD(KK)* 233, *ASE* 218a, *Leet* II 44, *Gowran Clara Bap.* (s.n. Bridget McGrath) (14/7/1816), *OSNB(8): BS, Carrigan* III 421, *O'Kelly* 71 and *Liostaí Log.CC* 78 (*Cill Mainichín*) and (ii) Kilmanaheen (*tld*), p: Fiddown, Tubber a'teampaill (q.v.).

Of the four brothers, Fachtna of Ross Carbery, Lóchán of Rathlogán, Mainchín of Coolcashin and Caisín of Coolcashin, Fachtna, Lóchán and Mainchín are venerated at holy wells in County Kilkenny, viz. Tibberaghny, Rathlogán and the present name under discussion respectively.

The connection of St. Fionnbharr of Cork with Coolcashin is mentioned in Ó Riain 2014, 42, 43.

4.15 Mochuille of Dreasnaidh, feastday 12 June (*Ó Riain Saints* 474; Sharpe 1991, 396).

Well: 82

He may also have been venerated at Kildalton, *p*: Fiddown, *cp*: Templeorum, in the form of Modalla, a precursor of St. John(’s Well), Windgap and Templeorum being adjoining catholic parishes.

Regarding the supposed ecclesiastical precursor of Kildalton Church, namely, Kilmodalla (*Carrigan* IV 220) which Owen O’Kelly interprets as Cill Modalla, ‘St. Modailbh’s church’ (*O’Kelly* 128), as indeed does Mary O’Shea (*O’Shea* 2014, 113), one could at first glance interpret this to be a hypocoristic name. However, earlier documented forms of the placename are irregularly spelt and may cast doubt on such an assumption, viz.: Kilmedall (*COD* II 358 (1400c.)), Kylmedally (*COD* III (1452-3)), Kylmegally (*COD* V 162 (1584-7)), Kilmodally (*Inq.Lag.(CC)* 67C1 (1635)); Kilmodally (*Inq.Lag.(CC)* 69C 1 (1635)), so much so that a derivation such as C(o)ill Méadla, ‘church or wood of the paunch’, like *Áth na Méadal/Aghnameadle* in County Tipperary, cannot be ruled out.

On bringing the aforementioned argument to the attention of Professor Pádraig Ó Riain (*pers. comm.*, 21/7/2015) he regards it as being a reasonably plausible one but he cautions that a corrupted form of the hypocoristic Mochuille (cf. Tobermathulla, *tld*: Glencommaun, *p*: Tullahought, *cp*: Windgap) cannot be ruled out either seeing as Kildalton is situated in the civil parish of Fiddown which is a neighbouring (although not an adjoining) parish of Tullahought and the catholic parish of Templeorum actually adjoins the catholic parish of Windgap (: ? *Cill Mochuille*).

He was assigned a church located in Fothairt Fea in the barony of Forth in the adjoining county of Carlow (*Ibid.*), perhaps near Áth Slabach, ‘in south Leinster’ (*FSÁG* I 154). See also *Ó Riain Saints* 474.

4.16 Modhomhnóg Oilithir, feastday 13 February (*Ó Riain Saints* 478)

Well: 66

A story of his bringing bees to Ireland is referenced in Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 217 and in *Ó Riain Saints* 478).

4.17 Moling Luachra, feastday 17 June (*Ó Riain Saints* 489)

Wells: 133, 140

Lives of the saint are referenced in Plummer, *VSHP* II 190-205 (15th century) and in Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 194, 195. See also Sharpe 1991, 396.

4.18 Molua of Kyle (Cluain Fearta Molua/Clonfertmulloe) feastday 4 August (*Ó Riain Saints* 492)

Well: 131

He does not appear to be venerated elsewhere in the county.

Details of an Irish Life are referenced in Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 195. Details of a Latin Life are found in the same source (*Ibid.* 248).

See also Sharpe 1991, 395.

While he was associated with Killaloe in County Clare and with Drumsnat in County Monaghan, the saint’s chief church was at Kyle (Cluain Fearta Molua) in County Laois, another Lagenian association being that his mother, Sochla, ‘sometimes also called Coic or Cochmhas, is said to have belonged to the Dál mBirn, another name for Osraighe (people of Ossory)’ (*Ó Riain Saints* 490).

4.19 Moninne of Killeavy, feastday 6 July (*Ó Riain Saints* 496)

Well: 81

For details of a Latin Life, see Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 251. Further details concerning the saint are referenced under ‘Shorter Tracts and Anecdotes’ (*Ibid.* 219). See also Sharpe 1991, 396, 397.

Professor Marie Therese Flanagan refers to ‘an early twelfth-century elaboration by the otherwise unknown hagiographer Conchubranus, of an older Life of the female saint [older than a vernacular Life, *Betha Coluim Cille*, composed at Derry 1150-70] Moenna of Killeavy, that may date back to the seventh or eighth century, [which] offers some insight into the milieu and aspirations of a female religious community around the beginning of the twelfth century’ (Flanagan 2010, 15, 16).

She is not commemorated elsewhere in the county, although other Lagenian associations include Faughart in north Louth and Rúscach in the Cooley area, Begerin near Wexford town and perhaps Kilmannan (Ceall Moninne) in the same county (*Ó Riain Saints* 496). She was also associated with Swords, Dublin (*Ibid.*) and may have had a connection with the church of Donore, County Meath (*Ibid.*). She is supposed to have met Brighid who was also patron of Faughart (*Ibid.*) and her mother is said to have been Cuman, daughter of Dallbhrónach – an aunt of Brighid of Kildare (*Ibid.* 495).

Professor Margaret McCurtain affirms that ‘Saint Moninne of Sliab Cuilinn (Killeavy) was the leader of her community on the borders of Louth-Armagh and was a friend and collaborator of Brighid’s (McCurtain 2008, 120).

4.20 Moríóg of Inchbofin, feastday – first Sunday of August (*Carrigan* III 193)

Well: 92

Apart from St. Rock’s Church, St. Rock’s graveyard and the ancient parish of St. Rioch (Hogan 1873, 264), he does not appear to feature elsewhere in the county.

However, a number Lagenian associations with the saint may be of relevance here:

- (i) He is mentioned mainly in connection with the County Westmeath parish of Noughaval (*Ó Riain Saints* 497);
- (ii) His best-known alleged siblings included Seachnall of Dunshaughlin, County Meath, and Usaille of Killashee, Naas, County Kildare (*Ibid.*);
- (iii) He is mentioned with another brother, Meal of Ardagh, County Longford, in a passage of the Tripartite Life (*Ibid.*), and
- (iv) his church may have had an affiliation to Glendalough because he is included, with many others, in a list of saints invoked under the aegis of Caoimhghin (*Ibid.*).

4.21 Munna of Taghmon, feastday – second Sunday of October (*Ó Riain Saints* 507)

Well: 165

Details of a Latin Life are referenced in Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 252.

See also Clogh Fintan (*Carrigan NB* 40.172 (1887-92); *Carrigan NB* 61.55 (1900); *Carrigan IV* (1905), 194; *Carrigan NB* 67.12 (1920); *Carrigan NB* 67.46 (1920)) in the same vicinity.

Other Lagenian connections (apart from Taghmon, County Wexford) include Taghmon, County Westmeath, Tihelly, County Offaly and Kilbixy in County Westmeath (*Ó Riain Saints* 505, 506).

4.22 Nadál/Natalis of Kilmanagh/Pottlerath, feastday 31 July (*Ó Riain Saints* 510)

Well: 151

He is not commemorated elsewhere in the county.

4.23 Scoithín of Tiscoffin/Frenewstown, feastday 7 January (*Carrigan NB* 67.34)

Well: 73

Tiscoffin Church/Tigh Scoithín (*Liostaí Log.CC 51*) ('ecclesiastical house of Scoithín') was situated in the townland of Freneystown. He is not venerated elsewhere in the county.

4.24 Seanán of Laraghbryan, feastday 22 August (*Ó Riain Saints 557*)

Well: 116

He is commemorated elsewhere in the county at nearby Rossinan/Ros Seanáin (*Liostaí Log.CC 51*) ('Senan's woodland'), *p*: Rossinan, *cp*: Mullinavat.

He may have been a disciple of Maodhóg of Ferns (*Ó Riain Saints 551*).

He is mainly associated with Laraghbryan, County Kildare. While he is attached by the genealogists to the Ulaidh in north-east Ulster, he is also attached to a church in north Leinster and 'both versions of his maternal descent similarly relate to Leinster'. His church was among the possessions of Glendalough and he may have also been associated with a church in Saggart, Dublin (*Ó Riain Saints 557*).

As we return briefly to St. Tighearnach of Clones, who was venerated from an early period at Aghmacart, County Laois, only to be replaced by the Blessed Virgin after the arrival of the Augustinian canons (Ryan I 2002, 277), similarly, local Irish saints, Doranus of Kildrinagh (no. 105) and Pán of Kilfane/Cill Pháin (no. 106) were both rededicated to the Blessed Virgin, q.v. Lady's Well, Kildrinagh and the following reference respectively:

1669-93 Ecclesia de Kilfane, Conceptio B[eatae] V[irginis], 8 Dec[embris]

PP: Spic.Oss. I 8

However, although the Cistercian saint, Bernard was mentioned formerly in connection with Mullennakill (St. Mullin's Well (no. 140)), q.v. *de Burgo Reg. 5, 21* (1759); *Carrigan IV 191*, yet the well-known local tradition of St. Moling held fast in this instance (q.v. 4.17 (133, 140, (i), (ii), (iii) above).

5. 'Foreign' or 'imported' saints who were not roughly-contemporaneous with Christ (Anne, Mary, the Apostles, the Evangelists, ... cf. 1. above) and who were commonly revered by the Anglo-Normans and by later English settlers.

5.1 Martin of Tours, feastday 11 November (Farmer 325)

Well: 168

In an article entitled 'The Cult of St. Martin in Ireland' Revd. Aubrey Gwynn refers to 'a valuable text of the *Vita Martini* which Sulpicius Severus wrote in the fifth century' (Gwynn 1966, 355). The *Vita Tripartita* of St. Patrick, which was compiled in the early tenth century, makes Patrick a close kinsman of Martin (*Ibid.* 357). Indeed, considerably earlier evidence of a strong Irish devotion to St. Martin appears to be borne out by the fact that Colmcille, on leaving Ireland in the year 590 or thereabouts (travelling from Bangor to Loire) appears to have been familiar with the Martinian cult so much so that Jonas, a monk of Babbio, on composing the *Vita Columbani* in the seventh century, tells the story of Columban's pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Martin at Tours (*Ibid.*).

In a publication entitled *Ireland and Her Neighbours in the Seventh Century*, Professor Michael Richter cites early references to the saint in both the *Book of Armagh*, which is dated to the year 807, and in the contemporaneous *Martyrology of Tallaght* (Richter 1999, 226). He states that 'when taking all the fragments of information from Ireland together, textual, liturgical and hagiographical, it may be said that St. Martin was a familiar and revered figure in Ireland in the mid-seventh century at the latest' (*Ibid.* 230).

In the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* (early eleventh century) there is a Latin hymn in honour of the saint which is traditionally ascribed to Oengus mac Tipraite who apparently died in 746 (Gwynn 359) and there is an Old Irish homily of uncertain date preserved in the *Lebor Breac* which dates from around 1410 (*Ibid.*; Stokes 1875, 381-402).

Revd. Gwynn also refers to the fact that 'an exceptional position of honour seems to have been given to St. Martin in the schools of ancient Irish law' (*Ibid.* 360), citing that 'the men of Heaven' are invoked as sureties: 'Who are the men of Heaven and the Gospel?', the Irish

commentator asks; and in answer to this question he cites the legal formula ‘by Martin and by Michael’ (dar Martain ⁊ dar Michel) (Binchy, *Corp.Iuris Hib.* II 681.27), where Martin is ranked with Michael the Archangel.

In an article entitled ‘The Life of Martin of Tours: a view from twelfth-century Ireland’ Professor Máire Herbert reveals that ‘the writings of Sulpicius Severus about Martin of Tours, compiled in the final decade of the fourth century, were known in Irish monastic circles at least by the close of the seventh century, when they served as an important model for Adomnán’s *Vita Columbae* (Herbert 2002, 76). ‘Liturgical commemoration of Martin’, she continues, ‘attested in the *Vita Columbae*, reinforces the sense that the Columban monastic community particularly venerated Martin as an exemplar of asceticism who had privileged access to the supernatural world’ (*Ibid.*). She strikes a cautionary note in saying, ‘yet Martin’s veneration in early Christian Ireland was not solely a Columban prerogative, as the evidence of surviving hymns, Mass invocations, and calendar commemorations reveals’ (*Ibid.*). Indeed, ‘Martin was appropriated in his monastic rather than in his episcopal persona’ in early Christian Ireland (*Ibid.*) – both he and Anthony ‘are linked together in the epilogue to *Féilire Oengusso*, composed around the beginning of the ninth century’ (*Ibid.*).

She concludes by stating that ‘in the era of Irish ecclesiastical reform, as the transition to a diocesan structure of ecclesiastical government was in train, Martin came to be perceived as a mediator *par excellence*, an embodiment of synthesis between monastic and episcopal roles (*Ibid.* 84).

Professor Marie Therese Flanagan also refers to ‘Sulpicius Severus’s Life of Martin, a copy of which was contained in the early ninth-century Book of Armagh and [which] had already influenced seventh-century hagiographical writing on Patrick, [and] was a particularly opposite model for the twelfth-century clergy of Armagh to re-invoke (Flanagan 2010, 103).

She also states that ‘Máire Herbert has highlighted the way in which the monk-bishop St. Martin of Tours, whose cult is attested in the Irish church no later than the seventh century reflected a devotion derived from his early monastic formation in Ireland – had been appropriated more in his monastic than his episcopal persona by the Irish church (*Ibid.* 101).

In an article entitled ‘Sacrificial Magic and the Twofold Division of the Irish Ritual Year’ (2015), Dr. Billy Mag Fhloinn traces the historical development of St. Martin’s Day in Ireland and he examines its relationship with the more ancient festival of Samhain, revealing circumstances that saw much of the ritual nature of Samhain being adopted within a Christian

context in the medieval period. His doctoral dissertation entitled *The Feast of St. Martin in Ireland* (UCD, 2013) discusses this and many other issues of Martinian interest.

Details of Irish Lives of the saint are referenced in Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 265, while Diarmuid Ó Laoghaire lists five Irish Lives in his doctoral dissertation, the earliest dating from the 15th century. Details of a Latin Life are contained in Grosjean, *Analecta Bollandiana* 55 (1937), 300-348: ‘Gloria postuma S. Martini Turonensis’.

5.2 Nicholas of Myra, feastday 6 December (Farmer 355)

Wells: 96, 110

St. Nicholas of Tolentine and not St. Nicholas of Myra is commemorated at Mothell church (*Carrigan I* 1905, 162; *Ibid.* 173; *Carrigan IV* 1905, 458, 459).

St. Nicholas appears as a parish-name in Counties Cork, Galway, Limerick and Wexford. He features as a patron saint of lepers along with St. Mary Magdalene and St. Stephen in Lee 1996, 19.

5.3 Catherine of Alexandria, feastday 25 November (*Farmer Saints* 89)

Wells: 153, 179

She died around 310 (Warner 1976, 74) and was martyred, according to tradition, in 307 (*Ibid.* 129).

Dr. Diarmuid Ó Laoghaire, S.J., traces four Irish Lives of the saint, the earliest dating from the 15th century (Ó Laoghaire 1967, xvii, xviii), details concerning which are also referenced in Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 257 (No. 313).

In pre-1560 iconographical depictions, St. Catherine appears seventeen times, compared to Brigid who appears only five times (Hunt II 1974, 254-7), relevant illustrations in County Kilkenny being evidenced at Callan, at Jerpoint and at St. Canice’s (*Ibid.* 254, 255).

Arthur Spears relates in his publication entitled *The Cult of Saint Catherine of Alexandria* (2006) that ‘the Anglo-Normans in their early areas of settlement were at least among the earliest to introduce Saint Catherine to Ireland’ (*op.cit.* 16). Although from the Mid-East, she

was, on being introduced to Ireland, rather surprisingly, quickly adopted by the native Irish from the thirteenth century onwards (*Ibid.* 20). Her cult seems to have petered out in the modern period after 1600 (*Ibid.* 18).

One of the seven penitential beds of the shrine of St. Patrick's Purgatory, Lough Derg, is dedicated to her, the other six being dedicated to early Irish saints, *viz.*: Patrick, Brigid, Colmcille, Molaise, Brendan and Dagheoc (Ryan I 2002, 216, 248, 252). In the case of this seventh bed Catherine ousted the patron Adamnán, so much so that 'by the thirteenth century Catherine of Alexandria had been adapted by the Gaelic Irish as one of their own' (*Ibid.* 252). Ryan argues that 'the fact that St. Catherine was given pride of place in one of the most famous medieval pilgrimage sites in Ireland if not Europe coupled with the fact that she ousted as gargantuan figure as Adomnán is testimony to her importance and to the esteem in which she was held, not only by the Augustinians but, eventually by the devoted pilgrims who apparently accepted the change of dedication without undue fuss' (*Ibid.* 216).

St Catherine appears in the thirteenth century poetry of Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh as the poet calls on the whole company of Heaven to have mercy on him, calling first on Christ, then on Mary, the apostles, the archangels, the evangelists, Catherine being listed with four early Irish virgin saints – Deirbhile, Brighid, Samtha and Caoluinn (*DD* 50.59; *DD* 116.59).

Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn (d.1487) treats of her life story in a poem dedicated to her honour (*Philip Bocht* 14, 40 verses). He refers to her humility (*op.cit.* 14, 1-5), to her martyrdom, to her virginity, to her purity and he seeks her grace to renounce the world as she did (*Ibid.* 14.30).

Saints Catherine and Michael are entreated and honoured in poem 18 (43 verses). Philip is confident that Catherine will support him and will help the Archangel by acting as advocate on his behalf on Judgement Day. She will cleanse him of all sin.

Writing around a century after Philip's death, Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh highlights Catherine's security and efficacy at the hour of death in a poem dedicated to Mary:

'The Virgin will not let us be cast off. Our safety is become more secure. The fullness of the tribute is remitted to her, gifts from the Virgin Catherine' (*Aongh. Ó Dál.* 7.8), so much so that 'he believes that she will foot the bill for his sinfulness' (Ryan I 2002, 256).

As death approaches, saintly companions in whom the poet places his trust include Mary, Michael, John the Baptist, Francis, Patrick, Colmcille, Catherine and Brigid (*Aongh. Ó Dál.* 34. 8-11).

5.4 Margaret of Antioch, feastday 20 July (Farmer 319)

Well: 26

She does not feature elsewhere in the county.

Diarmuid Ó Laoghaire, S.J., details no fewer than ninety (!) Irish Lives of the saint, the earliest pertaining to the period 1450-4 (Ó Laoghaire (1967), xxx, 73-138; Ó Cuív, *Bod.Cat.* I 62; II 139 (No. 22), *Laud Misc[ellaneous]* 610, 7 ra-8 vb) (perhaps related to her reputation as patron of women in labour) and the second earliest appears in *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* (16 va – 18 rb) and is dated to 1513-4. The *Laud Misc.* Life of the saint and other Lives are referenced in Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 264.

She appears in pre-1560 iconographical tomb depictions only five times, a figure which is relatively low compared to James Major (nineteen instances, Hunt II (1974) 250), Andrew (seventeen instances, Hunt II 1974, 249) and Catherine (seventeen instances, Hunt II 1974, 254, 255), two of these five instances pertaining to Jerpoint and to Inistioge (possibly) in County Kilkenny (Hunt II 1974, 256).

Salvador Ryan points out that both Margaret and Catherine have their feast days recorded in the twelfth century *Martyrology of Gorman* [1170c], a fact which may be ‘suggestive of the influence of the Augustinian canons in the propagation of their respective cults’ (Ryan I 2002, 248). He continues, ‘however, if this is the case, it is nevertheless evident that Catherine was much more enthusiastically promoted than her counterpart by the order’ (*Ibid.*). It was Catherine and not Margaret who was selected to replace St. Adomnán as patron of the seventh penitential bed in Lough Derg (*Ibid.*).

Be this as it may, Margaret gained the reputation of patron of women in labour and ‘devotion to the saint by expectant mothers was undoubtedly strong, aided by the promise of an easy birth’ (Ryan I 257).

Lambert McKenna points to the fact that ‘the saints who receive the most attention in the Bardic poems are the Scripture ones, Peter, Paul, the two Johns, Mary Magdalen and St. Michael. Besides these, there are several poems to Saints Margaret and Catherine’ (McKenna, *Philip Bocht* xxiii).

5.5 David of Wales, feastday 1 March (Farmer 128)

Wells: 39, 180

In an article called ‘The cult of St. David in Ireland before 1700’, Drs Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie draw attention to the fact that ‘St. David is not, of course, an Irish saint nor in Ireland was he held to be of the first rank so he never achieved a life in Ireland as some other foreign saints did’ (*op.cit.* 28 – consequently, he does not feature in Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* nor in Diarmuid Ó Laoghaire’s 1967 doctoral dissertation, *Beathaí Naomh Iasachta sa Ghaeilge*), even though ‘the Anglo-Norman settlement of Ireland from the twelfth century had a significant impact on the shaping of the cult of David in Ireland’ (Cunningham & Gillespie 32). Although not having an Irish Life of his own, the same authors highlight the saint’s link with other saints from an early period, beginning with an entry for St. Molua in the *Martyrology of Oengus*: ‘Molua was soul friend to David over the slow sea and to Coemoc and to Maedoc and to Comgall’ (*op.cit.* 29; *M Oeng.* 54, 182). Later instances include Senan who visits Martin of Tours and David and Declan who visits David for forty days (*Ibid.* 30). In addition, ‘the medieval lives of St. Ailbe of Emly, St. Declan of Ardmore and St. Ciaran of Saighir all link their central figure with David’ (*Ibid.*).

As the patron saint of Wales it is hardly surprising that he features in so many holy wells throughout Wales, these being documented as follows by Francis Jones:

Brecknockshire (2) (*Ffynnon Dewi*) (Jones 1854, 144);

Cardiganshire (6) (*Ibid.* 157);

Carmarthenshire (2) (*Ibid.* 164);

Glamorgan (3) (*Ibid.* 181);

Pembrokeshire (18) (*Ibid.* 205, 206);

Radnorshire (1) (*Ibid.* 216),

Dewy being the Cornish version of David (Padel 1988, 77).

For a Latin Life see Wade-Evans, *VSBG* 150-170.

5.6 Leonard of Noblac, feastday 6 November (Farmer 297)

Well: 64

The cult of the saint in County Kilkenny appears to have been a local one as he is not commemorated elsewhere in the county apart from here, the Dunnamaggan area, where apart from the well, sources point to St. Leonard's statue (*Carrigan NB* 33.53 (1889-90); *NFC* 468.101 (1934); Phelan 1952, 46; Lahert 1956, 11; *O'Kelly* 1969, 146; Moss 2014, 181), now preserved in St. Kieran's College, to St. Leonard's Bush (*Carrigan NB* 137.115 (1888); *Carrigan NB* 6.41 (1893-4); *Carrigan IV* 1905, 83; *NFCS* 852.321 (1934); *NFCS* 855.370 (1934); *ITAS(KK)*, Dunamaggin [*sic*], Form A, page 8 (1944); Lahert 1956, 11; Lucas 1963, 36; *O'Kelly* 1969, 146; Mac Coitir 2003, 55; O'Dwyer 2005, 8) and to St. Leonard's Church (Lahert 1956, 1; Pike 1989, 577).

The story of a Dunnamaggan man who was imprisoned and bound in irons on St. Leonard's eve far away in Clovis before being supernaturally assisted by the saint and freed in time to celebrate the feast day in his home place the following day (*Carrigan NB* 137.116, 117 (1888)) may be better understood by the fact that St. Leonard was the reputed patron of prisoners (Healy 1907, 113; Baring-Gould XII 161). This story of St. Leonard assisting prisoners in Clovis is also related in Farmer 304, while his kindness towards prisoners is described in Phelan 1952, 46.

Local folklore also reveals that Leonard protected animals against lightning by way of an angel's intercession (*NFCS* 852.293, 294), which protective saintly boon is also referred to in Lahert 1956, 1 and in O'Dwyer 2005, 8, 9.

Although St. Leonard of Noblac and St. Leonard of Fife share the same feastday, November 6, the words 'Abbot', 'Frenchman' mentioned in *Carrigan IV* 38 and the Clovis connection (Healy 1907, 113; Farmer 1978 304) would appear to point us in the direction of Noblac.

5.7 Augustine of Hippo, feastday 28 August (Farmer 34)

Well: 31

The foundation of the Augustinian Friary at Callan dates to 1461 (*Med.Rel.Ho.* 295).

Other Augustinian priories in the county include Kells (founded 1183), St. John's, Kilkenny (c.1202), Inistioge (c.1206) and Fertagh (1251) (*Med.Rel.Ho.* 154).

Gwynn and Hadcock assert that 'the Augustinian Friars in England, known as Austin Friars, and officially as the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine, received a definitive constitution in 1256, but friars following the rule of St. Augustine were in existence long before then' (*Med.Rel.Ho.* 293), that is, some two centuries before the establishment of the priory in Callan in 1462, and by 1479, 'Callan became the centre of the Observant Congregation, independent of the English province' (*Ibid.* 294).

Francis J. Cotter, O.S.M., puts the date of the Augustinian friars' arrival in Ireland (Dublin) at around 1280 (Cotter 1994, 16).

He is not without mention in the Bardic religious poetry of Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh (obit 1244) where the poet prays to a whole host of saints seeking their intercession, verse 65 being dedicated to the Augustinian saint and his blessed followers: 'I pray to Augustine with his virgins and his hosts of Canons; my gift to them shall repay those noblest heroes for their intercession' (*DD* 50.65; *DD* 116.65).

While the monastery is Augustinian, it should be noted that a seventeenth-century reference indicates that the church of Callan was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin on the feast of her Assumption:

1669-93 Ecclesia de Callan, Assumptio B[eatae] M[ariae], 15 Augusti

PP: Spic.Oss. I 9

Salvador Ryan states that 'new orders such as the Augustinians, having supplanted the older Irish monks in many areas, brought with them devotions to new saints' (Ryan I 2002, 214), or 'continental saints' (*Ibid.*), a fact which was linked with 'the abiding influence of the Anglo-Norman world and its hagiographic imports from Britain and the continent' (*Ibid.*).

He cites an example of St. Tighearnach [of Clones] who had an early dedication at Aghmacart, Co. Laois, which foundation was taken over by the Augustinian canons in the twelfth century and rededicated to St. Mary (*Ibid.* 278). Similarly, the Augustinians took

over one of the islands in the lake of Lough Derg around 1140 and rededicated the seventh penitential bed to St. Catherine, the long-established gargantuan figure of Adomnán being ousted (*Ibid.* 216, 248, 252).

Colmán Ó Clabaigh, OSB, states that ‘in terms of the number of friaries, both the Dominicans and Franciscans had peaked by c.1270, with each order making relatively few foundations after that date’ (Ó Clabaigh 2012, 7). ‘In contrast’, he continues, ‘the recently arrived Carmelite and Augustinian friars experienced rapid growth from the 1270s onwards, with both groups securing patronage and establishing houses until well into the 1320s’ (*Ibid.*).

He provides a map of Augustinian foundations in Ireland to 1341 which include the following:

Cork, Dungarvan, Clonmines, New Ross, Fethard, Tipperary, Adare, Tullow, Dublin, Skreen, Drogheda, Ballinrobe (*Ibid.* 15).

5.8 Dominic of Caleruega, feastday 8 August (Farmer 134)

Well: 74

The saint is venerated at this holy well only in County Kilkenny, this being by way of a spoken form only.

Colmán Ó Clabaigh states that St. Dominic Guzman (d.1221) began his religious life as an Augustinian canon regular and the rule of St. Augustine was therefore a natural choice for the nascent Order of Preachers or Dominicans’ (Ó Clabaigh 2012, xiv).

He provides a map of Dominican foundations in Ireland to 1291 which include the following sites:

Coleraine, Derry, Newtownards, Rathfrán, Sligo, Strade, Roscommon, Athenry, Mullingar, Trim, Drogheda, Dublin, Athy, Lorrha, Limerick, Kilmallock, Tralee, Cashel, *Kilkenny*, Arklow, Cork, Youghal, Waterford and *Rosbercon* (*Ibid.* 8).

‘The arrival and spread of the Dominicans and Franciscans in Ireland in the 1220s and 1230s’, he argues, ‘coincided with a period of economic prosperity and territorial expansion for the Anglo-Norman colony and the friars quickly secured the support of patrons keen to erect religious houses in their newly established boroughs’ (*Ibid.* 2).

The saint is not an unfamiliar figure in Bardic religious poetry given that the poetry of Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn (*obit* 1448) and Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn (*obit* 1487) contain references to him. Tadhg Óg prays St. Dominic will guard him and be a constant in saving him from sin (*DD* 7.7; *DD* 74.7), he being a true servant of God who is capable of touching or reaching God's heart on his behalf (*DD* 7.18; *DD* 75.18).

Philip Bocht chooses St. Dominic, 'bright moon of the Order', as his spiritual teacher as he refers to his poverty, his humility, his martyrdom and his miraculous powers. He was a 'defender of justice', a 'foe of misery', 'raiser of the dead', 'healer of the sick' and being a 'poor Friar', Philip regards him as an ideal patron (*Philip Bocht* 91.1 – 95.45; 183.1 – 185.45).

Salvador Ryan argues that the popularity of St. Dominic in late medieval Ireland was hardly surprising 'when one takes into account that the Dominican order (Conventual and Observant) was to be found at forty one different locations throughout the country until the middle of the sixteenth century' (Ryan I 2002, 258).

He refers to 'the hugely influential role played by the mendicant orders in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries' which was to ensure 'that founders such as Francis and Dominic, in addition to other universal saints such as Michael the Archangel were actively promoted as intercessors over and above native candidates' (*Ibid.* 282).

He also cautions that devotion to the saint was not confined to areas where his religious order had influence given that of four tomb depictions of him listed by John Hunt, two occur where the order was located (Sligo and Athenry) but two other depictions are to be found at Thurles and Mothel, 'neither of which has a Dominican friary' (*Ibid.* 258).

We may also note here St. Dominick's Well, *tld*: Clonlee, *p*: Kinnitty, County Offaly, *OS* 36 (*FSCUF* 720 (Archaeological Inventory); Scully 2002, 107) near which no Dominican Friary is located.

5.9 Francis of Assisi, feastday 4 October (Farmer 188)

Well: 76

The Franciscan Friary (the former site of the well) was founded, according to Luke Wadding, in 1232-3 (*Med.Rel.Ho.* 252). It is stated elsewhere that 'the earliest verifiable date for the presence of the Franciscans in Kilkenny is 1245' (O'Keefe 2016, 10).

St. Francis does not appear to have been venerated elsewhere in the county. Although the observant friars came to Kilkenny in 1612 (Conlon 1978, 93) (which year predates the first documented reference to the well by some five years), yet it is probable that the well pertained to the earlier Conventual community, 'which remained Conventual right up to the Reformation, followed by suppression in 1540' (*Ibid.*), given the 1617 reference 'quae *olim* circumdata est vallo a fratribus ... fons Sancti Francisci' (*Anal.Hib.*6.83), 'the well of St. Francis was *formerly* surrounded by a wall erected by the friars' (The Franciscan Tertiary Vol. 6, No. 7 1895, 194).

Dr. Colmán Ó Clabaigh draws attention to the early Franciscan movement in Ireland (thirteenth century) and to the later expansion of the movement in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries stating that 'the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries witnessed a remarkable expansion of the Franciscan movement in Ireland. In terms of the speed with which it spread and the number of foundations established it was very similar to the Order's first wave of expansion in the thirteenth century, though in other respects, it was radically different. While the thirteenth-century had drawn support primarily from the Anglo-Irish colony, the second wave was largely a Gaelic phenomenon' (Ó Clabaigh 2002, 15).

Within some four years after the death of St. Francis of Assisi in October 1226 (Ó Clabaigh 2002, 20), 'the Friars Minors established a province in Ireland in 1230' (Cotter 1994, 1), establishing centres in Dublin and Cork (Youghal) initially and settling in Kilkenny around 1232, Kilkenny after Dublin being 'the most important city in Leinster, and the principal seat in Ireland of the Marshal family, lords of Leinster' (Cotter 1994, 18) while other centres were to follow in the same decade, namely, Drogheda (1230s), Downpatrick (c.1235) and Carrickfergus (c.1238) (Cotter 1994, Appendix II).

The Friars Preachers had come to Ireland by 1226 (Cotter 1994, 11), the year of the saint's death.

On referring to the Kilkenny foundation Gerry O'Keefe states that 'sources suggest that this abbey was likely founded by earl Richard Marshal between 1231 and 1234' (O'Keefe 2015, 11).

The Kilkenny friar minor, John Clyn, resided at this friary a little over a century after its foundation (c.1336-49) during which time he penned his Annals. He refers, *inter alia*, therein to the Black Death and to its effects on the local population in Kilkenny, a contagion to which he apparently (somewhat ironically) succumbed soon after his last documented entry in June 1349 (O'Keefe 12, 13).

There are six Irish Lives of the saint, the earliest dating to as late a period as the eighteenth century (Ó Laoghaire 1967, xxvii; Plummer, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 259).

His feastday is acknowledged in the *Liber Primus Kilkenniensis* as follows:

1372 in festo Sancti Francisci

Lib.Prim.Kilk. 24

Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn, ‘an Observantine Franciscan, who is described under the year 1487 as ‘best and most prolific devotional poet in these latter times’ (Taylor 1995, 47) predictably calls upon Francis (and St. Michael) in many of the last verses of his poems. He refers to the saint’s obedience, humility, poverty and stigmata and to the fact that Francis, poor friar and founder of the Third Order, will act as steward when the poet’s sins are being weighed (*Philip Bocht* 1.1 – 5.41; 129.1 – 131.41; 9.39, 134.39). The prayer or plea to the saint normally ‘focuses on a request for aid at the hour of his death or else on Judgement Day’ (Ryan I 234). Salvador Ryan refers to Philip’s emphasis on the chastity, obedience, poverty and humility of Francis and tellingly claims that these supposedly characteristic Franciscan traits are mentioned with ‘barbed intent’ given that ‘it is clear from much of his poetry that he is making a serious statement about the lack of evidence of such virtues in many of the Franciscan communities of the time’ (Ryan I 264).

The Franciscan Order (Conventual and Observant) was to be found in no fewer than sixty two locations throughout the country in late medieval Ireland compared to forty one locations of the Dominican Order (Ryan I 258).

Colmán Ó Clabaigh states that ‘St. Francis of Assisi (d.1226) [some five years after St. Dominic] conceived the life of the Friars Minor (*OFM*) or Franciscans as a perfect imitation of the example of Christ requiring no more than the gospel for guidance’ (Ó Clabaigh 2012, xiv).

He provides a map of Franciscan foundations in Ireland to 1336 which include the following sites:

Carrickfergus, Armagh, Downpatrick, Cavan, Dundalk, Drogheda, Trim, Multyharnham, Athlone, Claregalway, Galway, Killeigh, Kildare, Monasteroris, Dublin, Wicklow, Castledermot, *Kilkenny*, Cashel, Nenagh, Ennis, Limerick, Clonmel, Ardfert, Buttevant, Cork, Timoleague, Youghal, Waterford, Wexford, New Ross (*Ibid.* 8).

As indicated above, Ó Clabaigh further states that ‘in terms of the number of friaries, both the Dominicans and Franciscans had peaked by c.1270, with each order making relatively few foundations after that date’ (*Ibid.* 7).

- 5.10 Philomena of (? Corfu), feastday (formerly 10 August, ‘virgin and martyr of early Rome’ (Farmer 398)

Well: 154

She is not venerated elsewhere in the county.

Given that she is described as a ‘virgin and martyr of early Rome, she may have been closer to the era of Christ than any of the saints in this category outlined above (5.1 – 5.9). The name in question here may be a late dedication.

Philomena (a Greek name meaning ‘beloved’) was a ‘supposed virgin and martyr of early Rome’ (Farmer 408) whose feast was formerly on 10 August (*Ibid.* 409). Although she was mentioned in relation to certain miraculous cures (Baring-Gould IX 111) and even though ‘her cult was authorised by Pope Gregory XVI in 1837, with a feast day of August 11 [*sic*]’, yet ‘her name was removed from the calendar of the saints in 1961’ (Delaney 1982, 468). Baring-Gould also lists her feastday under August 10.

It would appear that in temporal terms the case or cause of Philomena would not have been advanced or helped by Pope Paul VI’s suppression of unapproved saints following Vatican II, 1962-5 (Ray 2011, 279).

- 5.11 A possible pseudo-hagiographical name

162. St. Rosentha’s Well, *tld*: Rossaneany (Reade), *p*: Killamery, *cp*: Windgap

1938 In the same enclosure as the [church] ruin is a holy well (now closed in) called St. Rosentha’s Well. The townland of Rossenena is probably named after this saint.

NFCS 852.5

Such a derivation, however, is a fabricated one which appears to have been rooted in the local folklore of the area during the 1930s, the result being the provision or ascription of a pseudo-hagiographical origin, whereas Rossaneany is actually derived from Ros Ó nÉanna (*Liostaí Log.CC* 88), ‘woodland of the Uí Éanna’, a tribal name. Rosentha and Rossaneany, however, are not even close approximations.

A tabular summary of categories 1–5 outlined above, saints and holy wells, may be viewed in Appendix XLIV.

A tabular summary of named saints listed in categories 1–5 may be viewed in Appendix XLV.

For a brief study of saints associated with the localities of certain wells but who do not feature in the actual names of the wells, see Appendix XLVI.

Conclusions

Saints feature in the case of 113 well-names in County Kilkenny (61.7%), be they biblical persons or rough contemporaries of Christ (35/183, 31%) who were revered by the Anglo-Normans and Irish alike, the three national patrons (22/113, 19.5%), diocesan patrons (13/113, 11.5%), numerous Irish saints who appear to have had a local cult (31/113, 27.4%) or non-Irish or foreign saints who were imported and were mainly well known international saints (10/113, 8.0%).

The dedicatee of the holy well was mainly the patron saint of the local parish church and was seen as the well’s spirit or guardian through whose intercession a cure could be sought.

The popularity of Mary may be due to Continental Anglo-Norman influence or to the fact that women may have attended wells in greater numbers offering prayers concerning labour. That said, the proportion of male/female saints in the thesis stands at 84.3% : 15.6%.

The diocesan saints are not strongly represented perhaps because wells represented popular religion rather than official institutionally sponsored religion.

The relative paucity of Irish national saints is noteworthy but at least all such saints do have particular geographical foci in their favour.

A few noticeable observations concerning the distribution of saints in the county include the comparatively low figure of eight dedications to the National Apostle, the fact that the diocesan patron Cainneach, who gave his name to the city, barony and county of Kilkenny, only draws level (3) with Michael the Archangel (3) and with the Blessed Trinity (3), the very low representation of Colm Cille (two dedications only) and of Saint Anne (one

dedication), whose daughter, Mary, tops the entire list by a considerable amount. The very low representation of St. Margaret (one dedication), who had ninety Irish Lives dedicated to her (Ryan I 2002, xxx) and who was regarded as the patron of women in labour (*ibid.* 257), is also worthy of note. No fewer than twenty seven saints associated with the localities of certain wells have been ousted or substituted altogether and do not feature in the main body of the work (cf. Appendix XLVI).

Fifty saints of various kinds are represented in eighty two different civil parishes, be they purely hagiographical names (Lady's Well, St. Michael's Well) or wells which have more than one name, one of which is of hagiographical origin (Aughkiletaun Well/St. Fiachra's Well or Toberacrin/St. Brendan's Well).

61.7% of all the wells (113/183) in County Kilkenny have a saint (of one form or another: 1.1 – 5.10) dedicated to them, a percentage which is almost exactly in keeping with the 62% of the 238 wells studied by Michael Houlihan in County Clare (*Clare Wells* 17), which percentage is just slightly higher than the 303/516 (59%) such wells in Ireland mentioned by M.P. Carroll (Carroll 1999, 26).

Seeing as both historical civil parish and Catholic parish details are given in the introductory material for each name in the database for the sake of completeness, and given that all of the first Ordnance Survey documents refer to the smaller and more numerous civil parishes only, including first-edition Ordnance Survey maps and subsequent map editions, as do other important works such as *Census of Ireland. General alphabetical index to the townlands and towns, parishes and baronies of Ireland* (1861) and O'Kelly's work (Carrigan refers to civil parishes within Catholic parishes), I have supplied a frequency of distribution of hagiographically-based names according to civil parish in Appendix XLVII.

A parallel list of the frequency of distribution of such names according to the currently better-known, more widely-used and much larger Catholic parishes may be viewed in Appendix XLVIII.

A high statistic of 33.6% of all the wells of hagiographical origin (38/113) fall into the category of de-onomisation or of replacement names, the findings concerning which may be viewed in Appendix XLIX.

Chapter 6: Rituals pertaining to the holy wells of County Kilkenny

The devotional and penitential nature of many of the precise and ordered ritual acts carried out by pilgrims while visiting holy wells are evidenced below.

It will be observed that the rituals vis à vis Irish popular Catholicism were and are currently, to a lesser extent, a syncretic combination of truly Catholic elements (the Mass, recital of prayers, conducting stations of the Cross, singing hymns) and a variety of beliefs and practices inherited from an earlier past ('processing around wells, making offerings' (Varner 2009, 125), tree-worship and stone-worship).

Professor S.J. Connolly examines both popular and official Catholicism in Ireland in the two generations before the famine in *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland 1780 – 1845*. In a manner particularly relevant to this area of study, he refers to 'the interaction between the beliefs and observances of the Christian and non-Christian supernatural' (*op.cit.* 110) and in a similar vein 'to popular magic on the one hand and the orthodox doctrines and rituals of the Catholic Church on the other' (*op.cit.* 108). By way of illustration, he states that Catholic pilgrims visiting a holy well during this period 'combined the sympathetic magic of a piece of cloth to a nearby bush or tree with prayers learned from the Catholic Church' (*op.cit.* 110) and elsewhere he states somewhat less specifically that pilgrims combined prayers to a Christian saint 'with a variety of protective or propitiatory rituals' (Connolly 1995, 155).

Professor Raymond Gillespie refers to the long-established spiritual importance pertaining to rituals in a particular place or during a special or specific time, be they broad, very popular festivals of the Church or more locally-conducted rituals:

The sense of holiness at a particular place or during a special time was identified and perpetuated by rituals. In some cases these were festivals of the universal church, as at Christmas or Easter. In other, more local, cases tradition was the main validator of rituals even where the original significance of the rituals might have been long forgotten.

(Gillespie 1997, 84)

Janet Bord stresses that adhering to the required procedure was central in cultivating due reverence which was essential if the pilgrim's request was to be granted the precision with which the ritual was performed being all-important:

The importance of ritual at holy wells was because carefully following the required procedure would help to put the pilgrim into the correct frame of mind and promote due reverence, which was necessary if the pilgrim was to obtain whatever end was desired. The performance of a ritual is akin to a yoga technique, stilling body and mind and creating a receptive or passive state which enables the pilgrim to approach whatever it is (god/saint/spiritual being/one's own innermost self) that one expects to receive assistance from. It is not the ritual itself, but the precision with which one performs it, which is important.

(Bord 2006, 111)

Writing some twenty years earlier, the same author, with her husband Colin as co-author, drew attention to a multiplicity of rituals practised at holy wells, many of which are discussed hereafter (numbered rituals below have been devised by me and not by the Bords):

Visits to holy wells were often accompanied by the performance of rituals, sometimes simple, sometimes very complex. The most complex are recorded from those areas where the well cult has survived the longest – Scotland and, especially, Ireland – and it is possible that similar complex rituals were once performed at English and Welsh holy wells, but were eventually forgotten before being recorded. The rituals were composed of all or several of the following elements: praying at the well [Ritual 2, 2A], walking sunwise around the well [Ritual 1], drinking the water [Ritual 12], bathing parts of the body with the water [Ritual 13], using any special healing stones at the well [Ritual 24A] hanging a rag on a tree or bush by the well [Rituals 18, 19], dropping a pin or other small object into the water, and perhaps walking round adjacent trees, stones, and buildings.

(Bord & Bord 1985, 79)

Petra Skyvova is equally informative in her portrayal of such rituals in the case of the holy wells in Fingal, County Dublin. Once again the precise order of rituals is noted:

A typical pattern began with religious devotions at the holy well or shrine of the saint. The participants performed 'rounds' (turaís) [Ritual 1] which

consisted of circling the well a number of times and reciting prayers [Ritual 2, 2A]. Most often those prayers were the Our Father and three Hail Marys followed by five decades of the Rosary. The more pious pilgrims often circled the well on their knees [Ritual 9] or even barefooted [Ritual 10]. Later they drank some water [Ritual 12] from the well or bathed in it [Rituals 13, 15], depending on the cure the particular holy well was said to impart. Water was also taken away in bottles [Ritual 17] for future use or for the benefit of people who were unable to attend the pattern in person. Pilgrims left tokens of their visit [Ritual 18] at the well in the form of personal objects or pieces of cloth which were hung on a tree branch.

(Fingallian Wells 2005, 32)

The intricate and elaborate order in which rituals were followed is illustrated by Janet Bord as she cites the example of Chibbyr Undin on the Isle of Man:

Pilgrims seeking a cure had to take a mouthful of water from the well and hold it in their mouths until they had walked round the well ‘sunways’ twice. They then tore some cloth from a garment they were wearing, wetted it with well water (in one version, this should be the water held in the mouth) and hung it on the hawthorn that grew by the well. When the cloth had rotted, the cure was complete.

(Bord 2006, 110)

Penitential rituals

It would appear that certain rituals performed by pilgrims visiting holy wells were rigorously penitential (some testing the physical and mental endurance of the pilgrims more so than others), be they in the form of prayers recited and repeated (Ritual 2), in the number of circumambulations or encircling exercises around holy wells (or nearby church ruins, trees or stones) (Ritual 1), in keeping vigils (Ritual 7), in performing Stations of the Cross (Ritual 8), in crawling on one’s knees (Ritual 9), in walking barefoot around the well (Ritual 10), sometimes on broken glass (Ritual 11), in walking into cold water (Ritual 14), in being immersed in water (Ritual 15) or in walking long distances to a well (as did the sightless girl from County Wexford who made the long trek with her mother in the mid-summer sun to St. John’s Well, Johnswell village, in search of a cure, only to die the following day).

Some early monastic examples of penitential exercises

An insight into the early monastic life of St. Maedhóg of Ferns (who is thought to have died around 620-625 *Ó Riain Saints* 435) and in particular to his ascetic practices during the Lenten period may be gleaned from the *Life of Maedóg* where we hear of ‘many hours going around crosses’, of ‘little sleep’, of (repeated chanting of) ‘psalms’ and of ‘genuflexions’ (Plummer, *BNÉ* II 274.268).

Professor Celeste Ray draws our attention to the fact that in addition to the usual community prayer of early monasteries, there was an added burden in the shape of private prayer to be undertaken by an individual monk. The Psalter, for example, ‘was central to these exercises and was divided into three fifties. Each of these fifties was subdivided into four sections and after recitation of each, monks genuflected and offered a *Deus in adiutorium* (to my aid, O God). On the conclusion of the series of fifties, three *Cantica* were added’ (Ray 2014, 102).

Monks were to forsake all worldly possessions for the love of God and were intent on purging themselves of all evil through an ascetic lifestyle of prayer, fasting, work and study, a lifestyle where penitential discipline and ascetical activity loomed large.

Professor Hugh Connolly summarises some of the penitential exercises which are contained in the early penitential *manuals* thus: ‘Fasting was a regular feature in all the penitential manuals. Work too was usually very demanding and the amount of time allowed for sleep meagre. Conversation was severely restricted and some penances even made provision for corporal punishment using the rod or strap. Among other typically Celtic forms of penitential activity we find immersions in cold water, repeated genuflections and the distinctively Irish *crosfígell* (*cruces vigilia*)’ (Connolly 1995, 12).

Such penitentials included the canons of a synod of Patrick, Auxilius and Isernius (Mc Neill 1923, 25-6; Mc Neill & Gamer 1938, 76-80; Bieler 1963, 54-59)), canons of the alleged second synod of St. Patrick (Mc Neill & Gamer 80-86; Bieler 184-197); the Penitential of Finnian (Mc Neill 1923, 32-40; Mc Neill & Gamer 86-97; Bieler 74-95; Connolly 1995, 32, 33, 160) which date from around 525-50 and discuss matters such as absolution, community solidarity, contrition, and sins of anger, avarice, dejection, languor, lust and pride); the Penitential of Cummean (Mc Neill & Gamer 98-117; Bieler 108-135; Connolly 1995, 29, 33-35) which date from around 650 A.D. and discuss many issues dealt with in Finnian’s earlier work: community solidarity, confession, contrition, as well as sins of anger, avarice, dejection, gluttony, languor, lust, pride and vainglory; The Irish

Canons/*Canones Hibernenses* (Mc Neill 26-30; Mc Neill & Gamer 117-130; Bieler 1963, 160-175, Connolly 34) which date from around 675; selections from an Irish Collection of Canons/*Collectio canorum Hibernensis* (Mc Neill 56-59; Mc Neill & Gamer 139-142), which date from around 700-725; the Old Irish Table of Commutations (Mc Neill, Gamer 142-147; Binchy, in Bieler 1963, 277-283; Connolly 36), which dates from the eighth century, and selections from an Old Irish Penitential of the late eighth century (Mc Neill & Gamer 155-168; Binchy in Bieler 1963, 258-277; Connolly 1995, 35, 36).

It must be added, however, that such works do not refer either to holy wells or to rounding rituals (Carroll 1999, 75, 76).

Late twelfth-century penitential exercises are known from St. Patrick's Purgatory, Lough Derg. The island was, supposedly, divided into two parts, one with a church of especial sanctity, visited by angels and saints, while the other part, the physical landscape of which is somewhat ominously and forebodingly described as being 'covered with rugged crags', was frequented by diabolical characters who endured torment in each and every one of the nine purgatorial pits. An indication of the penance endured therein may be gleaned from the following:

Should any one perchance venture to spend the night in one of them (which has been done, we know, at times, by some rash men), he is immediately seized by the malignant spirits, who so severely torture him during the whole night, inflicting on him such unutterable sufferings by fire and water, and other torments of various kinds, that when morning comes scarcely any spark of life is found left in his wretched body. It is said that anyone who has submitted to these torments as a penance imposed upon him, will not afterwards undergo the pains of hell, unless he commit some sin of a deeper dye.

(Wright 1881, 63)

(*Topog.Hib.* 19ra 9-19ra 35)

An examination of the relative age ascribed to some of the rituals

Ritual 1 Rounding/circumambulation of wells in a clockwise direction

It may be possible to argue that such a ritual may have been practised by the Celts in times of early Christian worship (Wood Martin II 1902, 51;

Stewart 2005, 41; Brenneman & Brenneman 1995, 19; Varner 2009, 125).

Ritual 2 Recital of prayers at wells

It would appear that the Hail Mary ‘was officially encouraged in 1210 (Ray 2014, 102) but the ritual of the Rosary was only introduced to Ireland toward the end of the sixteenth century as an aid to prayer – it was largely promoted by the Dominican confraternities (Donnelly & Miller 1999, 41).

The Book of Lismore, compiled in the early fifteenth century, contains a considerably earlier Life of St. Finnian which describes activities at the saint’s well and flagstone at Achonry, County Sligo. As well as pilgrims seeking a cure at the well, we read the following: ‘Whatever troublesome party shall come to the ernenagh, his honour will not be taken away provided he repeat his *pater* [Our Father] at that flagstone’ (Hughes 1954, 355; Ray 2011, 275).

Concerning pilgrims visiting Struell Well on Midsummer’s Eve in 1515, they enter the Women’s Bathhouse, ‘say a *Pater noster* and an *Ave Maria* as well as prayer to St. Patrick’ (McCormick 2009, 54). A similar scenario obtained at the same venue in the 1640s when ‘there are seldom to this day, less than three or four hundred persons here yearly to wash and drink and say their *Pater Nosters* (*Ibid.*).

See also St. Monenna, Ritual 7, below.

Ritual 3 Processions at holy wells

In his publication entitled *Pilgrim Paths in Ireland*, John G. O’Dwyer treats of many early processional pilgrim paths throughout Ireland and abroad (Rome, Palestine, Canterbury, Compostela) at which sites holy wells were often visited (Dwyer 2013, 1).

Simone Deyts paints a vivid picture of long processions at the Fontes Sequanae near Dijon (offerings bearing Latin inscriptions which possibly date from the first century A.D. near the healing sanctuary), ‘perhaps

following a sacred way leading up to the entrance, and winding upward through the precinct, along a processional path to the *fanum* or inner sanctum, the focus of the divine presence at the holy spring’ (Green 1999, 90, 91; Deyts 1994, 5-16).

Ritual 4 Pre-ordained and mainly outdoor penitential Stations (other than Stations of the Cross, Ritual 8) are performed.

Regarding the early Life of St. Finnian in the much later early fifteenth-century *Book of Lismore*, we may note a reference therein to a pilgrim repeating ‘his *pater* at that flagstone’ (cf. Ritual 2) concerning which Professor Celeste Ray says ‘this is a clear indication at a station at a well before the Reformation’ (Ray 2011, 275). She also cites Professor Michael Herity who ‘has suggested that cross-inscribed stones at many of the stations of the *Turas Cholmcille* in County Donegal date to 500-700 AD’ (*Ibid.*), which pattern may date to the eighth century (*Harb. Pilgr.* 106). She also mentions that ‘as early as 1186, Giraldus Cambrensis mentioned stations (‘penitential beds’) as the focus of pilgrimage at Lough Derg, County Donegal’ (*Ibid.*).

Ritual 6 Singing of hymns was sometimes practised at wells

An early reference [c.800] to St. Patrick’s presence at the well of Slán/Struell, north of the Mourne mountains, is contained in the eleventh or twelfth century *Liber Hymnorum*, which contains an earlier hymn to St. Patrick, attributed to St. Fiacc. It reveals that ‘In Slane [Slán] north of the Benna Bairche – neither drought nor flood used to seize it, he [Patrick] sang a hundred psalms every night’ (McCormick 2009, 57).

Ritual 7 All-night vigils were not unknown

Dr. Colin Ireland affirms that ‘praying and keeping vigils while immersed in water is a devotional act attributed to many early Irish saints’ (Ireland 1997, 51).

Regarding the early [c.800] reference to St. Patrick at Slán/Struell well above (Ritual 6), we read that ‘the cold weather used not to keep him from spending the night in pools’ (McCormick 2009, 56, 57).

In a not-too-dissimilar fashion, St. Monenna of Killeevy, County Armagh (whose mother may have been Cuman, daughter of Dallbhrónach – an aunt of Brigid of Kildare (*Ó Riain Saints* 495) is described in her twelfth century hagiography as follows: ‘St. Monenna went to her cold fountain in which she used to recite the whole Psalter on accustomed nights, sitting up to her breasts in water’ (Mc Cormick 2009, 57).

Ritual 9 Bowing one’s knee/crawling on one’s knees

In 1515 pilgrims at Struell Wells, Downpatrick, County Down, entered the Women’s Bathhouse, recited prayers and remained ‘there on their knees with the water falling all the time on top of them’ (Mc Cormick 2009, 54), while in the 1640s, pilgrims at the same venue visited the rock called St. Patrick’s Chair, and ‘to this chair I [Mr. Dobbs] have seen people creep up on their bare knees from the well (the way worn bare, and slaty, sharp, stony ground] that they have been Bloody’ (*Ibid.*).

An anonymous Protestant visitor to Station Island, Lough Derg, witnessed the penitential exercises of rounding, of walking barefoot and of crawling on one’s knees in 1764 (Carroll 1999, 91).

Ritual 10 Walking barefoot as a penitential exercise – see Ritual 9

Ritual 12 Pilgrims drink the water

Concerning those on pilgrimage to Struell Well, Downpatrick, (possibly) in the 1640s, we learn that ‘The Irish use meny [many] ceremonies here, and there are seldom to this day, less than three or four hundred persons here upon Midsummer’s Eve, yearly to wash and drink, and say their Pater Nosters’ (Mc Cormick 2009, 54).

Professor Miranda Green informs us that ‘as well as bathing, the pilgrims also drank the spring-water at curative sanctuaries’ and by way of illustration she cites ‘the large numbers of pewter vessels found deposited in the reservoir fed by the Sulis shrine at Bath were in all likelihood used for imbibing water and/or for pouring it over an afflicted limb or organ’ (Green 1999, 79). The formal temple complex at Aquae Sulis probably dates to a time shortly after the Roman’s arrival in Britain in 43 AD.

Ritual 13 Water-application as a cure

We may note here Professor Miranda Green’s reference above (Ritual 12) to possible pouring of water over an afflicted limb or organ at the Aquae Sulis, Bath, probably in the second part of the first century AD.

Professor Patrick Galliou relates that ‘the association of water with healing, a process inextricably bound with believing, goes back to the second millennium BC’ and that ‘if the Romans were largely responsible for the spreading of a spa culture, they were not the discoverers of the medicinal properties of thermal water, whose earliest use dates back to the Middle Bronze Age (1400-1250 BC)’ (Galliou 2006, xiii).

He adds that while ‘elemental sacred springs, involving no major architecture were probably thick on the ground in the whole of Western Europe in the last millennium BC and early first millennium AD, the great ‘curative’ sanctuaries well attested in the Roman period did not develop until the very end of the Iron Age (1st century BC)’ (Galliou 2006, 7) and he goes on to mention sites of architectural complexity such as the *Fontes Sequanae* near Dijon, the Sanxay sanctuary, Vienne, the Altbachal near Trier, Germany, the Aquae Sulis complex, Bath, and to a lesser extent, St. Coventina’s Well, near Carrawburgh, Northumberland, where pilgrims came from far and near ‘to find temporary relief or a final cure to their ailments’ (*Ibid.* 7, 8)

The site at the Fontes Sequanae healing sanctuary (where offerings bearing Latin inscriptions dating to the first century A.D. were uncovered) (Green

1999, 4) contains images of wood and stone as well as a specific assemblage of small bronze ex-votos: 391 stone offerings, 300 in metal and 278 wooden sculptures in all (*Ibid.* 1). Professor Green draws our attention to the fact that ‘the bronzes consist mainly of two-dimensional anatomical votive offerings, the majority of which take the form of eye-plaques and of torsos displaying male and female genitalia’ (*Ibid.*) and that ‘the wooded carved material comprises complete figures and anatomical sculptures, including heads, limbs, torsos, genitalia and schematic renderings of internal organs’ (*Ibid.*). Water-application was employed in the hope of a cure for a multitude of ailments ranging from trachoma to thyroid deficiency and from arthritis to asthma (Green 2004, 46).

The point of pilgrims offering models of themselves or of the afflicted part of their bodies was to propitiate the local deity hoping that the deity would reciprocate with a healthy liver, arm or leg (Galliou 2006, 8).

A high medieval Irish reference to a similar practice occurs in An eleventh or twelfth century gloss in the *Liber Hymnorum* identifies *Slán* well as being near Saul north of the Mourne Mountains, which well is to be equated with Struell Well, Downpatrick (Mc Cormick (2009), 57). Here ‘every person over whom the water passed used to become whole (*slán*)’ (*Ibid.*; Stokes, Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* II 315).

The *Book of Lismore*, which was compiled in the early fifteenth century, contains a considerably earlier Life of St. Finnian and describes activities at his well and flagstone at Achonry, County Sligo: ‘Whatsoever sick man shall go into the well, he will come from it whole’ (Hughes 1954, 355, 357, 362; Ray 2011, 275).

Ritual 14 Pilgrims bathe or wash in the water

Pilgrims at Struell Wells, Downpatrick, entered the Women’s Bathhouse in 1515 and had ‘water falling all the time on top of them’ (Mc Cormick 2009, 54), while in the 1640s at the same venue in the then roofless bathhouse, pilgrims ‘hold their heads and naked bodies under it, when they wash’ (*Ibid.*).

Ritual 15 Immersion of the head in water

Professor Celeste Ray states that ‘The Stowe Missal (perhaps eighth century and originating at the monastery of Tallaght) provides the *Ordo baptismi* and indicates immersion was a general practice’ (Ray 2014, 90).

Ritual 16 Baptising at wells

Patrick baptises Erc, ‘a worshipper of idols’ (possibly near Carraig Dhraighre near Tara, *FSÁG* 3.90) at the well of Loígles (to the amusement of many non-believers) and many thousands were also baptised there on the same day:

700c. Uenierunt A.D. fontem Loigles in Scotica, nobiscum ‘Vitulus Ciuitatum’. Cumque aperuisset libram atque baptizasset uirum Hercum, audiuit uiros post tergum suum se inridentes A.D. inuicem de rei illius consideratione, quia nescierunt quid fecerat; et babtizauit tot milia hominum in die illa.

Pat. Texts 134.13

Patrick is reputed to have baptised two daughters of King Loíguire, fair-haired Ethne and red-haired Fedelm, at Clébach well near Rathcroghan (Whitfield 2007, 499, 500):

700c. Et babtizatae sunt et candida uesta in capitibus earum/And they were baptized with a white garment over their heads.

Pat. Texts 144.26, 145.26

It is also recorded that he came to the territory of Corcu Temne/Corca Theimhne and baptised many thousands of men at the well of Sine in the barony of Carra, County Mayo:

700c. Et uenit in regions Corcu Temne A.D. fontem Sini, in quo babtizauit milia hominum multa.

Pat. Texts 152.39

He also came to the well of Findmag/Slán well not far from here where he

found that the natives worshipped the well as a god and after lifting a large stone from the mouth of the well a man named Caeta or Cata was blessed and baptised by Patrick:

700c. Et sedit iuxta lapidem procul quem infixit uir quidam, cui benedixit Patricius, Caeta siue Cata nomine, et baptizauit illum.

Pat. Texts 154.39; Doherty 2005, 7

(Many other Patrician baptisms are recorded where (holy) wells are not specifically mentioned, *viz.*: ‘he came to the estuary of Ailbine to a certain (naturally) good man and baptized him’ (*Pat. Texts* 127.5); Conall son of Níall is baptised (*Ibid.* 133.10); a holy man named Maneus of the Uí Aillelo by the Shannon is baptised (*Ibid.* 139.19, 141.19); the books of baptism are given to the Uí Maini and they are baptised (*Ibid.* 147.28); he ‘baptized many’ near Mag Caeri/Cúl Core (*Ibid.* 151.35); the son of Cass, son of Glas is baptised in the territory of Macc Erce (*Ibid.* 155.40); a large crowd is baptised near the river Moy (*Ibid.* 157.42); he ‘baptized many’ at Druim Léas in the territory of Callrige (*Ibid.* 159.46); a good man of the race of Lathru is baptised near Assaroe (*Ibid.* 161.47) while the Uí Tuirtri near Slíab Scirte and the sons of Dúnlang in Leinster and the sons of Nie Froích in Munster also receive baptism (*Ibid.* 163.50, 51)).

Ritual 17 Pilgrims bring water home (in bottles)

W.R. Smith refers to such a practice and, in particular, to the well of ‘Orwa’ in his publication entitled *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (1894), 168- ‘probably a relic of ancient sanctity’ (*Ibid.*).

Ritual 18 Pilgrims leave behind a token

Professor Patrick Galliou casts some specific light on this difficult question of tracing votive offerings when he states that ‘the earliest unequivocal evidence of the development of water cults in western Europe may be ascribed to the Middle Bronze Age, i.e. to the second millennium BC, a time when various votive offerings, ranging from metal weapons and pieces of personal ornament to the remains of animal and human sacrifices began

being deposited in watery places, bogs, lakes, rivers and springs' (Galliou 2006, 5). He draws attention to a 30-metre deep put at Wilsford (Wiltshire) with a radiocarbon date of 1390 BC where an ox-skull, a Bronze Age pottery vessel and a variety of amber and jet artefacts were found in the water (*Ibid.*) and to the numerous finds of massive bronze trumpets and of bronze chariots made in the bogs of southern Scandinavia, thought to placate or propitiate the deities who were believed to have resided in these wet environments (*Ibid.*).

We may note here the 391 stone offerings, 300 in metal and 278 wooden sculptures (often anatomical votive offerings of afflicted body parts) discovered at the *Fontes Sequanae*, Dijon (discussed in more detail under Ritual 13 above) which may date to the first century A.D. and the deposits at St. Coventina's Well, Carrawburgh, (near Hadrian's Wall – the site was uncovered in 1876) included a mass of coins and other objects of bronze, bone, pottery, glass, lead, leather, jet and shale (Allason-Jones & McKay 1985, 6). A large quantity of the coins entered the well sometime at the end of the second century A.D. (*Ibid.*), which gives us an indication of the antiquity of the site, while the two distinct groups of altars here belong to either the second or third century A.D. (*Ibid.* 8).

In her publication entitled *Cures and Curses: Ritual and Cult at Holy Well* (2006), Janet Bord quotes Dr. Francis Pryor (an English archaeologist specialising in the study of the Bronze and Iron Ages in Britain) who suspects that the practice of making offerings to the waters has origins that probably extend back to Mesolithic times, being able to cite examples from Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages (Bord, *op.cit.* 32-4).

As early as 1618, Christ's Well, Mentieth, Scotland, was described as 'all tapestried about with old rags', this being the earliest British example (of rags) known to Francis Jones (Jones 1954, 94, 95).

Some further observations of Professor Miranda Green concerning votive offerings Professor Green cautions that 'like the rituals associated with healing sanctuaries in Classical antiquity, this practice of offering anatomical images has to be contextualized within the broader framework of curative ritual occurring at these shrines in the Graeco-Roman world'

(Green 1999, 81) and she adds that ‘the striking feature of ‘anatomical’ votive offering – ritual is its longevity in use, particularly in the Mediterranean world: from the fifth century BC to the present day, spanning paganism and Christianity alike’ (*Ibid.*).

Ritual 19 Pilgrims were wont to rub or wash the affected body-part with a wet rag and then to hang the rag on a nearby tree.

Francis Jones cites such an example at Ffynnon Cae Moch, Glamorgan, Wales, which predates the year 1893 (Jones 1954, 95).

Ritual 20 Rituals involving the number ‘3’ or multiples thereof

Gary A. Varner discusses the number ‘3’ in many religious traditions, stating that ‘it represents the triad of body, mind and spirit’ (Varner 2009, 126). He cites the triune Mother Goddess whose figurines are common in ancient Europe, the Holy Trinity of Christianity as well as examples from ancient Greece and Rome (*Ibid.*).

Ritual 21 Flower-dressing at wells

An early pertinent example here is the Roman festival of Fontinalia (May 1st) where the Romans decorated their wells with wreaths of flowers and evergreens (Whelan 2001, 73). In his address to the fountain of Blandusia, Horace proclaims that the bright well is ‘worthy of offerings of sweet wine and flowers’ (Burne & Hope 1893, 8).

Ritual 23 Pilgrims occasionally bring home sacred clay from the grave of a holy person near a well

Prof S.J. Connolly cites an example of the grave of one Co. Tyrone priest in the second half of the nineteenth century which ‘had to be cemented over to prevent the coffin being exposed by pilgrims taking away soil’ for the purpose of curing (Connolly 1982, 117)

Ritual 24 The ritual of visiting a holy stone at or near a well was not uncommon

We may recall here the supposed blessing and lifting of a large stone at the well of Slán, County Mayo, by St. Patrick (Doherty 2005, 7), where pagans were apparently baptised by the saint (*Ibid.* 5).

Devotional Revolutions and their impact on rituals

Professor Michael Carroll argues that the first of these occurred sometime around the beginning of the seventeenth century ‘when the laity and local clergy merged a number of general Tridentine emphases imported from Continental Europe with local communitarian traditions’ with the result that ‘this merger was a variant of popular Catholicism in which holy wells, rounding rituals, and patterns became central to the experience of ‘being Catholic’ (Carroll 1999, 135).

In a similar fashion, he refers to ‘that great surge in supposedly ‘traditional’ activities (involving holy well cults, pattern, rounding rituals, etc.) that has been documented for the early 1600s’ (*Ibid.* 148).

It can be stated with certainty that there is ample documented evidence in the corpus of evidence on the holy wells of County Kilkenny to suggest that popular devotions centering around holy wells were important in pre-Famine Ireland and that holy wells were visited during this period ‘as much for penitential purposes as for curing’ (Carroll 1995, 357).

Carroll, however, draws attention to the sharp decline which occurred in well-visitation and in patterns for quite a long period before the Famine, ‘some time during the period 1760-1830’ (Carroll 1999, 151) (the pivotal event of the Famine must have added to the decline), a fact with which one could not disagree on perusing, in this instance, the Ordnance Survey Letters for County Kilkenny:

1839 There is a holy well on the south side called St. Finan’s Well and at which a Patron was held some day in August till about thirty years ago.

OSL(KK) I 76 (EC)

1839 There is a large burial ground near it [Aharney] and a furlong south of it a well called after St. Bridget, at which a Patron was held till the year [17]98 on the first day of February.

OSL(KK) I 96 (EC)

1839 This well [Tobernasool], as may be inferred from the name, was in great repute formerly for the cure of sore eyes, but now it is little frequented.

OSL(KK) I 156 (EC)

The second devotional revolution occurred around the middle of the nineteenth century and is the one described by Professor Emmet Larkin in his essay entitled ‘The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75’ (1972), whereby the Catholic laity were mobilised by a reformed and energetic Church, spearheaded by Paul Cardinal Cullen. From around 1850 there was a shift to a ‘Romanised’ form of devotion as manifested in jubilees, triduum, pilgrimages, shrines, processions and retreats. These devotions were reinforced by beads, scapulars, medals, missals, prayer books, catechisms, holy pictures and Agnus Dei (Larkin 1972, 645; Connolly 1982, 98, 99; Godson 2003, 38). The local parish church ‘was the [new] focal point of Catholic religiosity’ (Carroll 1999, 135), where confession and the Mass were the most important ritual activities, so much so, that ‘this new variant of popular Catholicism held that ‘true’ Catholic rituals like the Mass and confession should now be disassociated from those very things – notably, holy well cults, rounding rituals, patterns – that had been central to the Catholic experience since the first devotional revolution’ (Carroll 135).

It would appear, therefore, that the decline in well-visitation and in patterns in the decades leading up to the Famine and the post-Famine emphasis on a more church-based, ‘Romanised’ model, helped to bring about the eventual decline of many of the actual rituals which had long been practised at holy wells.

Some difficulties in the dating of rituals

It is not always possible to establish if the rituals are pre-Christian or hail from early Christian times or from the Anglo-Norman period or from the Counter-Reformation era (1545-1648) or the Penal Laws’ period or, indeed, from the later epoch of the Devotional Revolution.

Rituals practised at Kilkenny wells (1–27)

Rounding exercises

Professor S.J. Connolly stresses that ‘the most important part of the procedure was normally for the visitor to make a prescribed number of circuits round the well or some other landmark’ (Connolly 1982, 136).

Professor Michael P. Carroll also elaborates on the central importance of rounds as a penitential ritual:

Surprisingly, the water found at holy wells, as important as it was to the cure of physical ailments, played little or no role in the penitential rituals at these sites. What *was* central to these rituals was the practice of “making rounds”. In its simplest form, making rounds meant walking around a well in a clockwise direction for a specified number of times (usually three, seven, nine or fifteen) while saying certain prayers.

(Carroll 1999, 30)

He subsequently develops this argument further and concludes that the practice of encircling wells was far more common in Ireland than it was in England, Scotland and Wales:

In all cases, however, the wells in England, Scotland and Wales were sought out primarily for the curative nature of their water, and the most common ritual performed at these wells, if it can be called a ritual, was simply drinking the water or immersing one’s self in it. What is missing in these other areas, in other words, is that strong emphasis on rounding, and in particular the view that rounding rituals earned the remission of punishment for sin, which was so central to the experience at holy wells in Ireland.

(*Ibid.* 32)

Dr. Kevin Danaher also stresses that pilgrims always walked to the right or in a clockwise direction when circling the holy well and he adds the cautionary remark that ‘there is a tradition that a round made tuathal (anti-clockwise) will bring evil results, and that, in the past, rounds were made in this way to call down a curse on an enemy’ (*Limerick Wells* 194; Wood-Martin II 1902, 49).

Professor Celeste Ray comments that ‘the medieval Irish scribes indicate that travelling counterclockwise was tabooed’ (Ray 2014, 96). She quotes Professor T.F. O’Rahilly (*Ibid.*)

who states that ‘imitating the course of the sun, was not only the right way to make a journey, but likewise beneficial in other affairs of life, and was likely to lead to a prosperous result’ (O’Rahilly, *EIHM* 296). To bolster her argument further, she quotes W.G. Wood-Martin who ‘commented that not only did nineteenth-century well visitors approach these sacred places moving from east to west in imitation of the diurnal motion of the sun, but that the sunwise direction is that in which an infant is carried to the baptismal font, a bride should approach her husband [and] a corpse should be carried to its last resting-place’ (*Ibid.*, Wood-Martin II 52).

Speaking specifically in relation to holy wells she argues that ‘Paying the Rounds’ at holy wells, particularly when a well site can be fully circumambulated, involves moving sunwise or clockwise. This favoured direction, the *deiseal*, is turning to the right and is the fortunate direction to travel. To go the other direction, *tuathal*, is unlucky and could invoke a curse or misfortune. To contradict this directional taboo was/is to invite danger, as did Bóand in visiting Neachtan’s Well’ (*Ibid.* 94): Neachtan, a water divinity with healing powers is the guardian of the Well of Segais. Only he and his three cup bearers, *Flesc*, *Lam* and *Luam* are allowed to visit the well and look on it without endangering their eyes and limbs. Neachtan’s consort, Bóand, is curious about the well, circumambulates it ‘three times *tuathal* or counterclockwise and the well bursts forth at the offense [*sic*], ‘breaks one of her eyes and as she flees, the waters dismember the goddess and create the sacred river eponymous for her’ (*Ibid.* 75) (See also Ray 2011, 293).

In the case of Loch Siant Well on the Inner Hebrides Isle of Skye, Dr. Martin Martin, writing around 1695, observed that ‘several of the common people oblige themselves by a vow to come to this well and make the ordinary tour about it, called deissil, which is performed thus: They move thrice round the well, proceeding sunways from east to west’ (Martin 1695c., 197).

Kilkenny examples of rounding

An instance of rounding is provided in the following reference (for a full list of rounding practices, see Appendix L):

1.1 Lady’s Well, *tld*: Ballyda

1938 People visit it on the fifteenth of August every year. They go around it three times and bow their knees each time.

NFCS 849.80

1938 Anybody with an ailment goes around it three times.

NFCS 849.81

2. Recital of prayers

Very often wells were visited and prayers recited by pilgrims in search of a cure or in search of some solution to a personal request or problem. T.P. Lyng's request and that of his wife, Mary, may serve as illustrative examples:

1967 I [T.P. Lyng] visited the church well in Chatsworth [County Kilkenny]. I had a special reason for going there because my own poor Mary, who is gone, prayed there for a good husband and I was the answer to her prayer. I had only one petition to make that God would reward her for her goodness to me during our lifetime together.

(Lyng, *Deenside* (Aibreán), page 5)

W.G. Wood-Martin refers to the 'scenes of faith, of love, and piety among devotees at holy wells which are 'happily more frequent ... than are the mutterings of malediction' (Wood-Martin II 1902, 81). A multifaceted, and interpersonal scenario of prayerful devotion at holy wells is envisaged by him when he remarks that 'at these sacred places may be seen the mother praying for her child, the girl for her lover, the wife for her husband, going the rounds on their bare knees, with the crucifix in their clasped hands, their eyes raised to heaven in silent prayer, with a divine faith that their prayer will be answered; and who can say but that the fervour of the supplication has often brought down the blessing of healing for the sick, or comfort for the sorrowing (*Ibid.*).

In relation to Dr. Wood-Martin's reference to possible 'mutterings of malediction' at holy wells, a brief discussion on 'Cursing Wells' and on 'Curse Tablets' related to water may be of relevance here.

Janet and Colin Bord relate that not all wishes made at wishing wells were kind or benevolent ones and they cite that 'curses could be whispered at the Devil's Wishing Well near Bishop Lydeard church, Somerset, while at Ffynnon Gybi near Holyhead, Anglesey, the names of victims of the curses were written on paper and hidden under the bank of the well' (Bord & Bord 1985, 84). St. George's Well, Denbighshire 'had a dual personality, for, apart from healing man and beast, it possessed power for evil, and was used as a cursing well. The

same was true of Ffynnon Eilian, Anglesey, a holy and healing well to which people also resorted to lay curses on enemies' (Jones 1954, 118). Such wells were 'scattered through Europe, particularly in Celtic countries' (Masani 1918, 73). Concerning one such well, Rustom Masani elaborates that 'the belief was, and perhaps still [1918] is, that if certain evil rites are performed, and a stone inscribed with the enemy's name is thrown into such a well, the victim will pine away and die' (*Ibid.*).

The Bords trace cursing wells 'back nearly two thousand years to Roman Bath, where around forty curses (see further) have been inscribed on lead sheets' (*op.cit.* 86) at the spring of Sulis and also at the temple of Uley (Bord 2006, 27). In 1979/1980 many such tablets, which invoke the intercession of the goddess Sulis Minerva in the return of stolen goods and to curse the perpetrators of the thefts, were discovered in an excavation of the Sacred Spring under the King's Bath. They are mostly inscribed in British Latin and date from the second to the fourth centuries A.D. Colleen M. Bradley relates that the spring at Bath alone contained around 130 curse tablets (Bradley 2011, 5) (which number differs considerably from the Bords' number of forty). The theft of personal possessions from the baths were mainly of jewellery, gemstones, money, household goods and especially clothing. One such theft at Bath, which probably dates to the second century, reads as follows:

'The person who lifted my bronze vessel is utterly accursed. I give (him) to the temple of Sulis, whether woman or man, whether slave or free, whether boy or girl, and let him who has done this spill his own blood into the vessel itself' (Tomlin 1988, 164-5 (no. 44); Gager 1992, 194). See also Galliou 2006, 8, 9.

The term 'commination' is applied by Francis Jones to such practices (Jones 1954, 117) anciently carried out by the Romano-Britons.

In a county Kilkenny context, St. Patrick is supposed to have cursed a countrywoman from Ballinorea who intended to poison him with 'a filthy' hound near his holy well in adjoining Davidstown (*OSL(KK)* II 183, 184 (1839)). He is also thought to have cursed the stones of the river Dinan in the same county (Graves 1850, 231), while instances of cruel prayers and curses of Féichín of Fore are referenced in Plummer, *VSHP* I lxvii.3.

Instances of specific prayers being recited at holy wells, the ritual of the Rosary (which was introduced to Ireland toward the end of the sixteenth century as an aid to prayer and which was promoted by the Dominican confraternities (Donnelly & Miller 1999, 41)) being the most common in the case of Kilkenny wells:

2.1 St. Brandon's Well, *tlid*: Aghaviller

1938 On that occasion [1918] the rosary was recited and hymns were sung.

NFCS 849.149

For a full list see Appendix LI.

The repetition of certain prayers above, 2.1–2.13 (almost in a post-confessional indulgence scenario), is instanced in the case of Tobernakill (2.3: Nine Our Fathers and Hail Marys/Aves) and Tobernasool (2.7: Five Our Fathers, Hail Marys and Glorias). There was also a strong emphasis on the repetition of key prayers in an early penitential setting, *viz.*: The Penitential of Cummean reveals that ‘he who is willingly polluted during sleep, shall arise and sing nine psalms in order kneeling’ and that ‘on the following day he shall live on bread and water; or he shall sing thirty psalms, kneeling at the end of each’ (Mc Neill & Gamer 1938, 104.15), while the *Canones Hibernenses* / Irish Canons specify, *inter alia*, ‘a special fast, one hundred psalms and one hundred genuflexions, or the three fifties [150 psalms in the Psalter] and seven canticles’ [spiritual songs] (*Ibid.* 122.1).

Unspecific prayers / prayers referred to in a general sense are commonplace:

2A.1 Lady's Well, *tlid*: Ballyda

1938 They [the pilgrims] knelt down. They said there [*sic*] prayers.

NFCS 854.175

For a full list, see Appendix LII.

In relation to ‘crucifixes’ above, Dr. A.T. Lucas reveals in his publication *Penal Crucifixes* (1954) that the crucifix was habitually used in the devotional ritual at Lough Derg in the eighteenth century, that crucifixes of the ‘penal’ type were made at Lough Derg and sold to pilgrims in the mid-nineteenth century and that all the stylistic and symbolic elements of crucifixes ‘are part and parcel of the general body of post-medieval Irish religious art’ (Lucas, *op.cit.* 37).

3. The pilgrimage is often opened by a procession

In his publication entitled *Pilgrim Paths in Ireland*, John G. O'Dwyer treats of processional pilgrim paths at Slieve Mish, County Antrim, Lough Derg, County Donegal, Slieve League, County Donegal, Turas Colmcille, County Donegal, Tóchar Phádraig, County Mayo, Croagh Patrick, County Mayo, Maumeen, County Galway, Clonmacnoise, County Offaly, St. Kevin's Way, County Wicklow, Mount Brandon, County Kerry, Cosán na Naomh, County Kerry, St. Finbarr's Pilgrim Paths, County Cork, and Skellig Michael, County Kerry, which paths he describes as 'penitential paths' or 'redemptive trails' (O'Dwyer 2013, 1). Medieval pilgrims also travelled in procession to Rome, to Palestine, to Canterbury, to the shrine of St. James at Compostela, Spain, and to a host of other lesser-known sites (*Ibid.*), some of the possible reasons for such processional journeys being penance, the fulfilment of vows, the curing of sickness, and the saving of one's soul (Harbison 2004, 375). However, Dr. Harbison reveals that 'patterns to holy wells would have been the small-scale manifestation' and that 'more important were opportunities to venerate saints at the larger monasteries they had founded' (*Ibid.*).

County Kilkenny examples:

3.1 Lady's Well, *tld*: Castlemarket

1938 On the opening day a Procession of people go to the well and recite the Rosary.

NFCS 865.105

1938 The Pilgrimage commences on the 15th of August and continues until 8th September. It is opened by a procession.

NFCS 866.183

3.2 St. Ronagh's Well, *tld*: Dunnamaggan East

1956 On this day the faithful of Dunnamaggan and neighbouring parishes flocked into the village to do honour to the patron saint. Led by their pastor the people proceeded from the well to the old church where devotions were concluded.

Lahert 11

3.3 St. John's Well, tld: Johnswell

2005 Masses and processions became all the rage as pious Catholics prayed at the well.

Fitzgerald 386

4. Somewhat allied to the ritual of the procession is the ritual of pilgrims often adhering to a direct, ordered and prescribed route to or near the holy well

4.1 St. Michael's Well, tld: Bayswell

1874-9 The pilgrimage began at two miles south of the church of Rath. The next station was at Bayswell, about midway between Erke and Rath.

Moore 38

For a full list, see Appendix LIII.

5. The ritual of attending Mass was often an integral part of the celebrations

5.1 Trinity Well, tld: Ballycannon

2015 Peter Maher (aged 75-80) of Ballycannon recalls that Mass used to be celebrated at Ballycannon old church near the well many years ago.

For a full list, see Appendix LIV.

6. Singing of hymns was, not unsurprisingly, also practised

Psalm-singing appears to have been very prevalent in the penitentials, often in the context of a night-vigil (McNeill 1923, 137; McNeill & Gamer 1938, 30f., 36, 102, 104, 110f., 122f., 142f., 158, 173, 175f., 230f., 236f., 259f., 264f., 268f., 273, 287, 290, 299f., 319, 335, 342, 344f., 357f., 394).

For the commonness of psalms in the Lives of Irish Saints, see Plummer, *VSHP* cxv; cxvi note 1; cxxvii; clxxiv, note 2 and clxxix.

An indication of the life-style of Maodhóg of Ferns (*Ó Riain Saints* 432-6) during Lent may be gleaned from the following account of his Irish Life:

Moran trath re timceall cros,
Beccan suain, druim re díomus,
Seal amhlaidh agan ulaidh
Ar shalmaibh, ar slechtanaibh

BNÉ I 282

Many hours going around crosses,
Little sleep, back turned on pride,
A while thus at the monument,
(engaged) in psalms and genuflexions

BNÉ II 274

In relation to St. John's Well, Carrigaline, County Cork, a processional walk takes place, followed by a group recitation of the rosary, an enactment of the traditional rounds on behalf of all present, Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, after which hymns are sung by the choir (Nugent & Scriven 2015, 27).

County Kilkenny instances:

6.1 St. Brandon's Well, *tld*: Aghaviller

1938 On that occasion [1918] the rosary was recited and hymns were sung.

NFCS 849.149

6.2 St. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Columbkille

1938 People take home with them bottles of Holy water from the Holy Well. The local band attends and play hymns [sic] on their pipes.

NFCS 858.40

1938 Columbkille's Well. In the afternoon the Parish Priest recites the Rosary and

the band marches round playing hymns [sic]

NFCS 858.43

6.3 St. Fiachra's Well, tld: Sheastown

2008 Every year, during the month of August, the rosary is said and men dress themselves up and sing hymns and glorify God.

Cooke 145

7. All-night vigils are sometimes held as part of the overall penitential exercise

A notable feature of the medieval Celtic penitentials was the nocturnal vigil to which ritual references are numerous (McNeill 1923, 137; McNeill & Gamer 1938, 32f., 83, 108, 144, 146, 155, 160, 163, 177, 232, 270, 320, 347, 355).

7.1 Lady's Well, tld: Castlemarket

1965 Several people from the Swan visited Ladywell on August 15th. In fact some went on vigil the night before.

(*Deenside* (Meán Fómhair), page 6)

7.2 St. Martin's Well, tld: Templemartin

1938 A pattern was held there annually and on the eve of the Feast of St. Martin people kept vigil there.

NFCS 859.403

8. The penitential ritual of the Stations of the Cross at holy wells was not uncommon

8.1 Toberaghcanice, tld: Clonmore

1839 There is a well near the Church at which Stations and a Patron were formerly held, both now disused, it is called Tobarach Chainneach.

8.2 Toberlaghteen, tld: Moat

1938 People were in the habit of performing the stations of the Cross at it on a Saturday morning.

NFCS 855.341

9. A respectful bowing of the knee or a penitential, devotional genuflection was observed in the case of the following:

John Dunphy of Ballygorey relates that pilgrims used to formerly kneel on a sandstone flag beside Tobernakill, Ballygorey.

S.J. Connolly reports that ‘pilgrims performed a circuit barefoot or on bare knees round a holy well, a stone or some other landmark’ (Connolly 1982, 186). Pilgrims returning from the annual pilgrimage to Croagh Patrick in 1843 were ‘wounded and bleeding in the knees and feet, and some of the women [were] shrieking with the pain of their wounds’ (*Ibid.*) while the French traveller Latocnaye recorded having seen ‘many a scarred and bloody knee’ at a holy well in Munster in 1796 or 1797 (*Ibid.*).

In 1808 the Bishop of Ferns ordered that persons involved in a brawl do penance by going round the parish chapel twice on bare knees (Connolly 1982, 122) while a man was seen a few years later walking on his bare knees across the rough floor of the Catholic chapel at Athy, Co. Kildare, ‘drawing blood in the process’ (*Ibid.*).

It is recorded in the case of a midsummer pattern at Struell, Co. Down, that pilgrims arrived at Downpatrick, visited St. Patrick’s grave, went to Mass and thereafter, ‘climbed a 150 foot high hill on their knees’ (Ó Giolláin 1999, 205).

9.1 Lady’s Well, tld: Ballyda

1938 People visit it on the fifteenth of August every year. They go around it three times and bow their knees each time.

NFCS 849.80

9.2 Lady's Well, tld: Castlemarket

1938 People visit the well on the fifteenth of August and say the Rosary going around it on their knees.

NFCS 831.43

1938 Those who go recite the full Rosary on their knees while doing a journey around the Well.

NFCS 866.183

9.3 Columbkille's Well, tld: Inistioge

1850c.- Part of the pilgrimage involved 'crawling on their knees up the course of the
1914 stream [Mill Stream] through the sharp and shingly stones which form its bed ... when they reached the blessed well itself their self-imposed pilgrimage had ended.

Hughes 1949, 46; Birthistle 1969, 41, 42

9.4 Toberelleen, tld: Tikerlevin

1934 People merely kneel and pray.

NFC 468.10

10. The penitential ritual of walking barefoot at or near a well (alluded to above) is also witnessed hereafter

An anonymous Protestant visitor to Station Island, Lough Derg, writing in 1764, refers, *inter alia*, to the penitential exercises of being barefoot and of crawling on one's knees:

There are seven heaps of rude stone with each of them a cross at top, about five or six yards from one another. [Around each] is a circular row of the like

stones not about a yard in height ... The pilgrim is obliged to foot it without shoes or stocking, nine times round the outside of each [circle] on a path consisting of very rough and hard stones, and besides divide his attention from the Ave maries and Pater-nosters, whereof he is to mumble a certain number. When this is over, he is sent to traverse on his bare knees the shorter paths within each [stone circle] and round the little heap nine times. After this he is admitted into purgatory.

Carroll 1999, 91

1982 The most important part of the [penitential] procedure was normally for the visitor to make a prescribed number of circuits round the well, in some cases barefoot, or on his bare knees.

Connolly 136

County Kilkenny instances

10.1 St. James's Well, tld: Carrickeloney

1938 They walk barefoot around it, and say certain prayers and drink of the water.

NFCS 845.63

1938 They erect temporary stations, walk barefoot around it, say prayers and drink of the water.

NFCS 845.63, 64

10.2 St. John's Well, tld: Johnswell

1770- Old Mary Neal fancied herself obligated to go on a pilgrimage for the good of
1806 her soul to Saint John's Well, then she went walking barefoot to Kilkenny over a sharp pavement.

Herbert Retrospect. 17

11. Perhaps more punitive still was the penitential ritual of walking on broken glass at St. John's Well, *tld*: Johnswell

2005 The devout Christians who visited the well said rosaries, did "rounds" or sought miraculous cures from the waters believed to be truly blessed.

Another belief was that cutting your feet on stones or broken glass near the well could save you from Hell, or reduce your sentence in Purgatory.

Fitzgerald 383

12. It is hardly surprising that rituals involving many applications of the water of the holy well were of common occurrence among pilgrims. This probably stemmed from the pilgrims' belief in the sanctity or sacredness of the water, from their devotion to the patron saint who was often deemed to have blessed the well and/or from their belief that the blessed water contained curative or balsamic minerals. The first of the seven water-related rituals met with hereafter (12: 12 – 17, 19) was simply to drink the water.

We learn that at Farr, Sutherlandshire, Scotland, the patient, after a plunge in the water drinking thereof and making his offering, 'had to be away from the banks, so as to be out of sight of the water before the sun rose, otherwise the cure was ineffective' and that at Muthill, Perthshire, 'the time for drinking the water was before the sun rose, or immediately after it set' (Martin 1934, 28).

Such a temporal stipulation involving the absence of the sun, is not, however, evidenced in the case of any of the holy wells in County Kilkenny.

12.1 Lady's Well, *tld*: Ballyda

1938 Hundreds come there to drink the water of the well *NFCS 855.372*

For a full list, see Appendix LV.

13. Pilgrims bathe, wash and rub the affected body-part in the water of the holy well (sore eyes being by far the most common body-part)

1982 Sick persons sometimes bathed the part of their body affected by the illness.

Connolly 136

13.1 Broochgarrig, tld: Aughatubbrid or Chatsworth

1938 There is a bush growing over the well and after drinking the water and rubbing it to the affected part people used to tie strings or pieces of coloured material to the bush over the well.

NFCS 865.141

For a full list, see Appendix LVI.

14. Pilgrims walk into the water or stream of the well or wash their feet therein

Noting the content of St. John's Well (14.3) and Toberkieran (14.4) below, we may recall some parallel instances of the combined penitential rituals of praying and entering water among early Irish saints (and other holy persons) as follows:

1. In Muirchú's Life of St. Patrick which dates from c.680, Patrick tests a certain 'Benignus by asking him if he knew what he (Patrick) was experiencing. Benignus answered that he saw heaven open and beheld the Son of God and His angels. From this experience Patrick recognized Benignus as his successor' (Ireland 1997, 53). Subsequently they both 'went immediately to Patrick's usual place of prayer which was in the middle of a river-bed. When Benignus complained that he could no longer stand the cold, Patrick told him to move from the upper river to the lower river' (*Ibid.*, Bieler, *Pat.Texts* 102, 103).
2. In St. Fiacc's Hymn, written c.800, we learn in relation to St. Patrick that 'he preached, he baptized, he prayed; he ceased not from praising God' and that 'the cold of the weather used not to keep him from spending the night in pools' (Stokes, Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* II 315; Gougaud 1927, 160; Ireland 1997, 54; McCormick 2009, 57).
3. In the ninth-century Vita Prima of St. Bridget (Exposito 1935, 124), we encounter the saint praying in a pool with a companion on a cold winter's night, 'in gelido stagno nocte orat ... cum quadam puella' (*AS Boll.* Vol.1, page 132, caput 15, paragraph 93). Both were 'praying in the water and shedding devout tears' (Gougaud 1927, 160). (This

incident is not recorded in the ninth-century Irish life of Bridget edited by Donncha Ó hAodha 1978) or in Connolly 1987, 5-27.

4. In the ninth-century text, 'The Monastery of Tallaght' (Gwynn & Purton, *PRIA* 29 (1911-12), we encounter a certain Colccu whose opinion it was 'that those who used to stand in water did so for the purpose of crushing and subduing their desires and longings: or else simply as an additional labour of piety' (*Ibid.* 161). Regarding Colccu's opinion, Colin Ireland states that no reference is made to prayer, although it is not excluded' (Ireland 1997, 54).
5. In an eleventh-to twelfth-century poem written by a certain Cuimmíne which details a list of early Irish saints and their ascetic practices, we are informed that 'Fursa [seventh century] loved true devotion, nothing more wondrous is related – a well with coldness of snow, so that (therein) he would recite his psalms accurately' (Stokes 1897, 64.97, 65.97; Gougaud 1927, 162; Ireland 1997, 57).
6. In the eleventh-century saga *Fled Dúin na nGéd*, bishop Erc Sláine [not an Irish saint although clearly a devout prelate] is described as having been wont 'to be immersed in the Boyne, up to his two armpits from morning to evening, with his psalter before him on the strand, and praying constantly' (Lehmann 1964, 5, 6; Ireland 1997, 59).
7. In the Life of St. Monenna written around the 1140s (*Ó Riain Saints* 495), we encounter the saint who 'went to her own cold fountain in which she used to chant the whole psalter on accustomed nights' (*Monenna Life* 268, 269; *Seanchas Ard Mhacha* Vol. 9, No. 2 1979, 268, 269; McCormick 2009, 57).
8. In the early fifteenth-century *Leabhar Breac* (c.1410), we discover that Colum Cille 'would chant the three fifties until morning on the sand of the sea-shore' (*BethaCC: Herbert* 241, 264; Ireland 1997, 56) while Manus O'Donnell in his Life of the saint (1532) describes how the saint used to be consoled by angels 'when he was worn out with pious exercise in places chill and comfortless, or with standing in water to his chin, saying very long prayers in wintry weather' (*BethaCC* 230.18 – 23; *Ibid.* 231; Gougaud 1927, 161; Ireland 1997, 56).

Dr. Ireland relates that 'the practice of ascetic immersion is also recorded by Northumbrian hagiographers in the first half of the eighth century' (Ireland 1997, 61) and he states that 'probably the most widely known example is the case of St. Cuthbert, which is recorded in three versions of his *Life*' (*Ibid.*). Having been called away from Melrose to Coldingham by the nun Aebbe, sister of King Oswiu, the Life of this Anglo-Saxon saint states that the saint

remained in Coldingham for several days but ‘did not relax his habitual way of life’ and spent his nights at the seashore singing as he kept vigils, so much so that ‘once he arrived at the seashore, with resolute mind, he entered the water up to his loin-cloth, the waves wetting him as far as the armpits’ (*Ibid.*), after which he prayed on the sand.

County Kilkenny instances

14.1 St. James’s Well, *tld*: Carrickcloney

1874-9 A great many people go there on that day [July 25] to perform pilgrimages. They erect temporary stations; they strip off shoes and stockings and walk through the stream that flows from it for about fifty yards.

Farrell 203

14.2 St. Ronagh’s Well, *tld*: Dunnamaggan East

1934 People visited it during the month of July and took a drink of the water and washed their feet in the stream which flows from the well.

NFCS 852.294

14.3 St. John’s Well, *tld*: Johnswell

1848-51 At St. John’s well [pilgrimage] four miles from Kilkenny, praying in the cold water is considered as part of the austerity of the penance.

Cambr.Evers. 133

14.4 Toberkieran, *tld*: Stonecarthy West

1848-51 St. Kieran’s well near Kells, praying in the cold water is considered as part of the austerity of the penance.

Cambr.Evers. 133

14.5 Thubberweenia, *tld*: Tullamaine (Ashbrook)

2010 At a certain time of the year a pattern was held here and the usual stations and

washing of feet observed.

Lynch 17

15. Pilgrims in search of a cure were dipped or immersed in the water

15.1 Thibberawling, tld: Graigavine

1850c. Children with ague were known to be cured by being dipped in it.

Bowers Transcripts 8

1837 A well at Greagavine was formerly much resorted to by pilgrims on Ascension day, the water was said to cure ague by immersion.

Lewis I 373

15.2 St. James's Well, tld: Mill Island

1969 The local name for this well is Tobar Rí and formerly young children were dipped in the well at the pattern.

O'Kelly 155

15.3 Toberaniddaun, tld: Pottlerath

1875 Mrs [sic] states that a daughter of hers was very delicate and sickly when about a year old. She brought her to the holy well, prayed there for some time, and immersed the child in the water. The child was cured.

Holahan 33

16. Holy well-water is used for baptismal purposes

In an article entitled ‘A Suggested Function for the Holy Well’, Dr. Niamh Whitfield suggests that ‘some holy wells, particularly those in the vicinity of churches, may also have played an important role in the sacrament of baptism’ (Whitfield 2007, 497). She states that in Ireland holy wells are said to have been used for baptismal purposes in relatively recent times and cites an example at St. Mullin’s, County Carlow, ‘where baptism by immersion is said to have been carried out until about 1800’ (*op.cit.* 498, 499; de Waal, *Peritia* 13 1999, 258). Both de Waal’s and Whitfield’s view is ‘that the use of water from holy wells for baptism probably goes back to the beginnings of Christianity itself in Ireland’ (Whitfield 499; de Waal 258). Whitfield stresses that ‘in considering whether Irish holy wells were used for baptism in early medieval Ireland, it is important to bear in mind that there were four possible variants in the rite: submersion, immersion, affusion, and aspersion’ (*op.cit.* 508).

These she explains, one by one, as follows: ‘in submersion, or total immersion, the candidate goes briefly, but entirely, under the water. In immersion, the head alone was dipped in water, with or without the candidate having to stand in it. In affusion water was poured over the head of the neophyte from a vessel, so that it streamed down the body. In aspersion water was sprinkled on the head, as in the modern ceremony’ (*Ibid.*).

Professor Celeste Ray states that ‘The Stowe Missal (perhaps eighth century and originating at the monastery of Tallaght) provides the *Ordo baptismi* and indicates immersion was a general practice’ (Ray 2014, 90). Similarly, she too remarks that ‘in immersion, only the head of the believer is immersed as opposed to the entire body (submersion) and this is distinct from other rites such as aspersion when the head is sprinkled with holy water or affusion when a variable quantity of water is poured over the standing believer’s head and allowed to flow down and around the body’ (*Ibid.*). Dr. Whitfield’s aforementioned article (2007) is mentioned in Professor Ray’s bibliography of her 2014 publication entitled *The Origin of Ireland’s Holy Wells*.

None of the water-applications at the holy wells in County Kilkenny would appear to involve pilgrims using water to wash away their sins, although such a case was instanced at Malin Well, County Donegal, over two centuries ago:

Observing the pilgrimage at Malin Well in 1801, James Parlan described the participants as ‘male and female, all frisking and playing in the water, stark naked and washing off each other’s sins.

Ray 2011, 278

County Kilkenny examples

- 16.1 Bostionfort Well [Tobar Baiste an Phoill, ‘well of the baptising of the hollow/font’], *tld*: Castle Ellis
- 1938 St. Patrick baptised there and people say there is a stream beside it.
NFCS 860.115
- 1938 There is a well called Boston near the village. St. Patrick baptised there.
NFCS 860.169
- 16.2 Toberatoo/Tobar Chiaráin, *tld*: Castlegarden Maeve Galway of Castlegarden (child of Breda, and Thomas (now deceased)) was baptised here on 2/6/1982, the christening having been incorporated into a once-off centenary-gap (1882-1982) Mass celebration) (cf. Rituals 5.2)
- 16.3 Toberacrin, *tld*: Troyswood
- 1977 Tobar Brennain, or St. Brendan’s well, the holy well was for baptismal purposes.
- 16.4 St. Fiachra’s Well, *tld*: Ullard
- 1938 It is said that when people came to St. Fiacre to be baptized [*sic*] he had no water. He prayed for water and the well now called St. Fiacre’s Well sprung up.
NFCS 857.145
17. Pilgrims bring the water of the holy well home in bottles either for themselves in readiness for some sickness or ailment in the future or on behalf of some infirm relative or friend who was too ill-disposed to attend the pilgrimage

On visiting St. John's Well, Carrigaline, County Cork each year on St. John's Eve, pilgrims engage in a processional walk to the site, recite the rosary perform rounds, attend Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, listen to hymns being sung by the choir and, finally, 'people collect water to take home' (Nugent & Scriven 2015, 27).

Seemingly parallel examples gleaned from far-distant and ancient Semitic religious practices

As healing springs and sacred springs are everywhere identified, it is noteworthy that the south Arabs regard medicinal waters as inhabited by *jinn*, usually of serpent form, and that the water of the sanctuary at the Palmetum was thought to be health-giving, and was carried home by pilgrims as Zamzam water now is. In like manner the custom of pilgrims carrying away water from the well of 'Orwa' is probably a relic of ancient sanctity.

(Smith 1894, 168)

County Kilkenny examples

17.1 Lady's Well, *tld*: Ballyda

1938 There is a well in Lady's Well and the people go there to the pattern on the 15th of August. They bring home a bottle of that water.

NFCS 849.36

1938 The people bring home bottles of the water and drink it when they are sick.

NFCS 849.80

1938 When people are leaving they carry away some of the water with them.

NFCS 854.193

For a full list, see Appendix LVII.

In the week before Easter each year Tom Mullally (aged 80-85) visits the holy wells of the parish of Glenmore, namely, Thubber Phaudhrig, *tld*: Davidstown, Tobermurry, *tld*: Flemingstown, Thubberchoann, *tld*: Flemingstown, Tobernanaspog, *tld*: Grangehill and Thubbervzheedha, and on taking a portion of water with him in a bottle from each well, he brings them to Glenmore Church where the water in each bottle is blessed on the Easter Saturday night church ceremonies.

Margaret Wade of Tikerlevin recalls that during her youth the water of Toberelleen/St. Fiachra's Well on their farm was often conveyed by her parents in bottles to their farmhouse where the water was subsequently used for blessing themselves, for blessing sick or pregnant cows, for blessing crops and for warding off headaches.

Two employees of Knocktopher Abbey (named Derek and Elizabeth who were somewhat reluctant to provide their surnames) inform me that American visitors to the Abbey frequently take a portion of water from Trinity Well home with them each summer with a view to using it as christening-water on their return home.

18. 'It was normally the custom for visitors to leave behind them a token of their visit, in some cases a coin, a pin or some other small object, but most frequently a piece of cloth tied to a nearby bush or tree.'

(Connolly 1982, 136)

An indication of the multifarious nature of the offerings left by pilgrims on a tree or bush at or beside the holy well is given by A.T. Lucas in his article 'The Sacred Trees of Ireland':

There are hundreds of accounts from all parts of the country of the practice of attaching *ex voto* offerings to the tree. These may consist of such religious objects as medals, rosary beads, crucifixes and scapulars but pins, nails, coins, buttons, combs and similar oddments which the visitor may happen on his person are even commoner. In former times, however, the typical offering was a rag or shred of clothing which was tied to the branches of the tree or bush, which, in time became festooned with them and was sometimes called, in consequence, the "rag tree" or the "rag bush".

(Lucas 1963, 40)

Professor Celeste Ray who has been engaged in ethnographic and ethnohistorical research across the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland since 2000, taking her to over 700 (holy) wells, is experientially qualified to supply a very comprehensive list of votive offerings witnessed at or near wells. She mentions that 'as may be found around the globe from Ireland to Turkey to Tibet, rags or strips of cloth are tied to nearby trees or bushes (sometimes as a votive, sometimes as the receptacle for one's ailment or anxiety which is left behind' (Ray 2011, 273). To this she adds rosary beads, pins (formerly), a hair band, a

shoelace, a lighter to stop smoking, a pencil for success in exams, a teether to cope with a fussy infant' (*Ibid.*). In her more recent publication entitled *The Origins of Ireland's Holy Wells*, her list is even more comprehensive still: 'contemporary votives left beside a well, on a retaining wall or an altar or affixed to a wellside tree may include prescription bottles, inhalers, cloth bandages, teethers, teddy bears and children's toys, hair ornaments, pins, lighters, packets of cigarettes, pieces of clothing or bits of cloth and ribbons, socks and the occasional shoe, crucifixes and saints' statues, rosaries and scapulars ultrasound images taken during pregnancy, photos of the deceased, candles, flowers (fresh and silk), shells, stones, coins and tokens or bottles of water from other pilgrimage sites in Ireland and abroad' (Ray 2014, 53).

Eugene Broderick discusses the idea or notion of the rag (issuing from the garment of a sick person) acting as a scapegoat in the transfer of the disease to another object:

The custom of leaving rags as offerings originated in the notion of the scapegoat, that is, the transfer of disease or misfortune to another object. By rubbing the diseased body with a rag, the ailment was transferred to it and gradually left the body as the piece of cloth rotted away.

(Broderick 1998, 57)

Francis Jones discusses the common and widespread ritual of rags being left at or near holy wells as votive offerings and gives various possibilities as to why such a ritual took place. The reasons, however, appear to be inconclusive:

Rags are found at wells in all parts of the British Isles, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America.

The significance of the disposal of rags at wells has given rise to considerable discussion, the results of which are inconclusive and indeterminate. The following suggestions have been put forward:

1. That rags represent the survival of the custom of leaving the whole of the garment of a diseased person, whereby the disease will be carried away in the discarded clothes i.e. the rags represent riddances.
2. That rags are the survival of the custom of leaving the whole of the garment as an offering, and so represent offerings.
3. That rags were a preservative against 'the sorceries of the druids'.

4. That rags are the signs of expiation and an expression of penance.

(Jones 1954, 94)

Janet and Colin Bord proffer the following possible reasons behind such a ritual:

No one is quite sure why objects were left at holy wells, why bent pins were so favoured, and why rags were tied to bushes. There are several possibilities: that all are gifts or offerings to the god or saint connected with the well, left in order that he will look favourably on their request, that a rag was used to rub the diseased part and then hung on a bush, with the idea that the disease would be transferred to the rag, and would gradually leave the patient as the rag rotted.

(Bord & Bord 1985, 92)

The Bords had drawn attention to this latter possibility of the transference of the disease from the person to the rag earlier in the same work, stating that ‘the patients probably expected that as the cloth rotted, so the illness would fade’ (*Ibid.* 59).

By the way of illustration elsewhere of the cure being effected as the rag rotted or disintegrated, it is reported that sick pilgrims who used to visit Chibber Undin holy well in the parish of Malew in the south of the Isle of Man used to furnish a rag by cutting it from a garment of the person afflicted by illness and that it was then their wont to dip it in the water of the well and to hang the wet cloth or rag on a nearby hawthorn on the local understanding that the aforementioned result would ensue:

The patients who came to it, took a mouthful of water, retaining it in their mouths till they had twice walked round the well. They then took a piece of cloth from a garment which they had worn, wetted it from the water from the well, and hung it on the hawthorn tree which grew there. When the cloth had rotted away the cure was supposed to be effected.

(Moore 1890, 152)

(also cited in MacKinlay 1893, 192, 193, minus
page number references from Moore’s work)

W.G. Wood-Martin draws attention to the probable dual purpose of leaving rags on bushes over or beside holy wells, ‘rags tied around holy wells are not merely offerings, or votive; they are riddances. If you have a headache, you take a shred from your clothing, and place it on the tree, and with you place, or hope to place, the headache there, the putting up of these rags is a putting away of the evils impending, or incurred by sin, the anger of the gods, of the saints’ (Wood-Martin II 1902, 84, 85), adding that ‘a similar custom prevailed in Scotland’ (cf. Cloutie Wells, Bord 2006, 21).

Earlier in the same work (*Traces of the Elder Faiths*) Wood-Martin elaborates on the point of rags (*et cetera*) being used as a propitiary gift to humour or gain favour with the spirit or patron saint of the well, ‘to the Irish peasant wells were the haunts of spirits that proved propitious if remembered, but vindictive if neglected; hence no devotee approached the sacred precincts empty-handed, the principle being “no gift no cure”; therefore the modern devotee when tying up a fragment torn from the clothing, or dropping a cake or small coin into the well, is unconsciously worshipping the old presiding pagan genii of the place’ (*op.cit.* 49). The notion of a *quid pro quo* mentality or of a contractual arrangement scenario comes to mind here.

Gary Varner also mentions the commonness of votive offerings at holy wells and in other aquatic contexts across a broad spectrum of cultures. He goes on to discuss reasons for such a phenomenon and lists many such offerings mentioned above, rags or pieces of cloth included:

Throughout the history of humankind, the people of every continent and isle have left offerings to the many spirits, ancestors and gods that inhabited places of power and mystery. These offerings were made in thanks, as wishes, as an insurance policy against disaster and even bribes. Rivers, lakes and springs are universally recognised by all cultures as places of sanctity.

Offerings take many different forms from strips of cloth, to bent pins, to coins and food to rock cairns. Many of the sacred wells I visited in England had strips of cloth hanging from nearby trees. This form of votive offering has been common for hundreds, if not thousands of years.

(Varner 2009, 67)

Ruth and Frank Morris in their study of Scottish healing wells state that ‘these gifts become sacred to the well, or the tree, and no matter how insignificant they may appear anyone

removing them does so at his peril and that ‘probably the least that can happen to the thief is that he takes with the article the disease or trouble which was left in the care of the well’ (Morris & Morris 1981, 7).

In her multi-thematic publication entitled *Cures and Curses: Ritual and Cult at Holy Well*, Janet Bord includes a valuable section on *Deposition* (*op.cit.* 32-4) ‘the deliberate placing of objects in a permanent location, usually hidden, in this instance in water-springs, wells, pools, bogs, streams, rivers’ (Bord 2006, 32). She quotes Francis Pryor, an archaeologist, who ‘suggests that ‘the practice of making offerings to the waters has origins that probably extend back to Mesolithic times’ (*Ibid.*), being able to cite examples from the Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages. She mentions that the earliest in Pryor’s experience was an unused jadeite axe ‘clearly intentionally and carefully deposited in the water beside the Neolithic trackway in Somerset known as the Sweet Track’ (*Ibid.*). Pryor also found offerings of valuable metalwork at Flag Fen, ‘a watery Bronze Age landscape near Peterborough’ (*Ibid.*). Beautiful artefacts/offerings from the Iron Age (2 – 3,000 years ago) such as shields and lunulae of Celtic craftsmanship have been uncovered in lakes and rivers such as the Thames, Witham, Trent, and others (*Ibid.*).

Miranda Aldhouse Green, Professor of Archaeology at Cardiff University, has interpreted deposition as a sacrificial act, ‘with the sacrificial gift being transferred from the human world to the supernatural world by first damaging it to render it useless in the human world and then making it inaccessible by either burying or immersing it’ (Bord 2006, 32).

Coventina’s Well, which is situated at Carrawburgh beside a Roman fort on Hadrian’s Wall, was excavated by lead prospectors in 1876 and the seven-feet deep, roofless well, which is now no more than a reedy swamp, was found to contain a variety of items, including, supposedly, many votive offerings: ‘twenty four altars, some dedicated to St. Coventina; inscribed slabs, one carrying a design with three nymphs and another the goddess herself; a stone head, bronze heads, and a human skull; bells, ring, brooches, pottery, glass, pins and many odds and ends; and around 14,000 coins’ (Bord & Bord 1985, 20, 24; Bord 2006, 23-25).

Turning somewhat closer to County Kilkenny, a Romano-British or Romano-Gaulish bow-brooch of first century A.D. date has been found near St. Anne’s holy well at Randalstown, County Meath, in the same province of Leinster (Warner 1976, 282; Rafferty 1994, 182, 183, 213; Aitchison 1996, 71; Ray 2011, 271; Ray 2012, 139; Ray 2014, 22), while four bronze trumpets (believed to date to around 100 B.C.) were located in the former lake of Loughnashade near Navan Fort in County Armagh (Raftery 1987, 21–24).

Offerings at County Kilkenny wells

18.1 St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Afaddy or Silverspring

1893-4 The holy well, Toberavreedha or St. Bridget's well – votive offerings, rags, hair etc hung up at Thobaravreedha.

Carrigan NB 6.7

For a full list, see Appendix LVIII.

It is clear from this list that the vast majority of the offerings are rags or pieces of cloth (21 instances), followed by rosary beads (3), crosses (2), crutches (2), small statues (2), money (1), a medal, a holy picture, a piece of stick, a ribbon and a prayer book.

19. Pilgrims were wont to rub or to wash the affected body-part with a wet rag and to subsequently hang the rag on a neighbouring bush or tree

19.1 Lady's Well, *tld*: Castlemarket

1938 A person that would have a disease would wipe it with a cloth and hang the cloth on the tree, when the rag would rot the person would be cured.

NFCS 866.280

19.2 Tobernasool, *tld*: Gorteennamuck

1938 The cloth with which the eyes were washed was hung on a bush nearby.

NFCS 830.159

1938 The water is drunk in three sips, and when the eyes have been washed, the cloth with which they have been washed is hung on the elder tree nearby.

NFCS 868.141

19.3 Toberacluggeen, *tld*: Milltown

1938 This well cures sore eyes and pains. When going to the well take with you a piece of cloth. Make three visits to the well, before sunrise and after sunset. There is a little bush over the well, and on making the third visit to the well tie

the little cloth on to the bush. Then when the cloth is decayed your eyes will be cured or the pain will be gone.

NFCS 842.121

Professor Celeste Ray provides a parallel example in the form of St. Sorcha's Well, Doochary, County Donegal, famed for healing skin conditions:

After a set sequence of prayers, one dips a cloth in well water, rubs the affected area, and leaves the rag behind to decay as the ailment itself fades away. The recently erected stone surround is the regular recipient of rags, rosaries, gloves and skin ointment canisters.

(Ray 2011, 273)

A somewhat similar scenario is encountered at Ffynnon y Fflamwyddan, Llancarfan, Wales, where a pilgrim in pain drank a bowlful of the water, gathered mud to make a plaster, only to have his pain subside on hanging a piece of rag on the bushes nearby (Jones 1954, 87). Francis Jones (former Governor of the National Library of Wales, former President of the Cambrian Archaeological Society and, *inter alia*, former Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries) also mentions that a visitor stood in the water of Ffynnon Cae Moch, 'bathed the wound with the rag that formerly bound it, then applied a fresh bandage and hung the discarded rag on a nearby thorn tree' (*Ibid.* 95) and that at Ffynnon Cefn Lleithfan 'a person wishing to be rid of warts had to approach the well without speaking to anyone and without looking backwards' and that 'he was then to wash the warts with a rag and grease, hide the rag under a stone near the well, and return home without uttering a word' (*Ibid.*).

It was noted that Scottish wells after the Reformation 'were all tapestried with old rags' – for example, at St. Malruba's well, Ross-shire, in the Scottish highlands, 'rags were left on bushes', at Montblairie, Banffshire, 'the offerings of those who came to the fountain adorned the impending boughs with rags of linen and woollen garments', at St. Fillan's Well, Comrie, Perthshire, 'the worshippers left rags of linen or woollen cloth', at Fodderty and Kiltearn 'shreds of clothing were hung on the surrounding trees' and at Houston, in the west central lowlands of Renfrewshire, 'pieces of cloth were left as a present or offering to the saint' (Martin 1695, 26, 27).

20. The ritual in which the magico-mythical number 3 (or multiples thereof),

features, is of common occurrence

Professor Celeste Ray mentions ‘the station on the Inishmurray turas called Ulaí Mhuire or Ollamurray is Mary’s monument where the Crede and five Aves was recited in triplicate, kneeling for the first set, circumambulating the monument for the second and kneeling again for the third’ (Ray 2014, 102).

The legendary goddess, Bóand, circumambulated the ‘Well of Segais’ or ‘Neachtan’s Well’ three times in an anti-clockwise direction and as a result of the offence, the water bursts forth, breaks one of her eyes and dismembers her (Ray 2011, 293; Ray 2014, 75).

Dr. Martin Martin observed around 1695 in the case of Loch Siant Well on the Inner Hebrides Isle of Skye that ‘several of the common people ... move thrice around the well’ (Martin 1695*c.*, 197).

20.1 Lady’s Well, tld: Ballyda

1938 People visit it on the fifteenth of August every year. They go around it three times and bow their knees each time.

NFCS 849.80

1938 Anybody with an ailment goes around it three times.

NFCS 849.81

1938 On the fifteenth of August the pattern is held there yet. It continued for nine days.

NFCS 854.176

2005 The pilgrimage begins on August 15th and runs to nine days.

Fitzgerald 391

For a full list, see Appendix LIX.

21. The ritual of dressing a well with flowers

Stretching back into time, the Roman festival of Fontinalia (May 1st) whereby water-nymphs and well-nymphs were honoured, is recalled by Edna Whelan when she states that ‘they [the Romans] decorated their wells with wreaths of flowers and evergreens and more flowers were thrown onto the water. This rite was once more performed to give thanks for the gift of the water’ (Whelan 2001, 73). The Ode of Horace to the fountain of Blandusia (*Horace Odes*

13, Book 3) may also be recalled in this respect where he addresses the fountain as brighter than glass (*splendidior vitro*) and worthy of offerings of sweet wine and flowers (*Dulci digno mero, non sine floribus*) (Burne & Hope 2005, 8).

In Augheris Head, County Sligo, is a holy well and a small cairn of stones at which well rounds were made on Garland /Garlic Sunday ‘and flowers were sometimes placed on the stones beside it’ (Mac Neill, *Fest.Lugh.* 112). On the shores of Lough Gill at the Well of Tubbernautt in the same county, pilgrims used to encircle the well, again on Garland Sunday, and the nearby altar ‘is gaily decorated with flowers’ (Wood-Martin II 1902, 101.)

Devotees also respectfully adorned holy wells and waters with floral tributes in (*inter alios locos*) Britain (Bord 2006, 88), Wales (Jones 1954, 92) and India (Masani 1918, 12, 91, 109).
County Kilkenny instance

21.1 Columbkille’s Well, tld: Inistioge

1938 Saint Colmcille’s well is situated in the Hatchery. On Saint Colmcille’s day all the people visit the well and dress it with flowers.

NFCS 859.187

22. The rituals of pilgrims lighting candles at a holy well is met with in just one instance

22.1 Lady’s Well, tld: Ballyda

1938 A woman was going very early on her pilgrim accompanied by other women to the well. She saw a lot of candles lighting.

NFCS 854.174

22A. It would appear that a bell used to be rung at Toberacluggeen

Bell ceremonies

Janet Bord refers to the ancient tradition of the bell in religious ceremonies worldwide commenting that:

Bells have been used around the world in religious ceremonies for thousands of years, and so have developed a rich folklore. There are numerous links with water, and in some cultures bells would be rung to call for rain. Within

the Catholic Church, going back to the eleventh century, bells could be baptised or washed with holy water by a bishop in a ceremony designed, among other things, to give the bell the power to drive away storms and terrify evil spirits and the Devil.

(Bord 2006, 12)

Folklore records that the bell was often associated with ponds, rivers and with holy wells:

The European folklore of bells often includes stories of bells being stolen from churches and sent to a watery grave in a pond or river. Sometimes the lore also mentions holy wells, and this is probably a distorted memory of the concealment of church bells during the Reformation and never recovered.

Ibid.

The same author mentions in particular a holy bell occurring in the aquatic context of a holy well (Ffynnon y Gloch Felen, Well of the Yellow Bell) in the parish of Corwen in the south-western part of Denbighshire, Wales and refers 'to the discovery there, according to Edward Lhuyd's late seventeenth-century *Parochialia* of an old brazen yellow bell – probably a Celtic hand-bell from the church at Corwen' (*Ibid.* 13).

Of relevance to the study of holy wells here she also mentions that 'bells were sometimes used in healing rituals, with the holy water being poured into the bell before being drunk from it' (*Ibid.*).

Charles Plummer states that while 'the bachall seems to be regarded as the most characteristic mark of the Christian missionary' (*VSHP* I (1910), clxxvi), yet like bachalls, 'bells are used for cursing, and for the administration of solemn oaths' (*Ibid.*) and are 'scarcely less potent than the bachall in working miracles' (*Ibid.*). Plummer's in-depth study of the *Lives of the Saints* reveals that 'it raises the dead, it keeps away or cures diseases, and plagues of men and cattle; disease is transferred to it; and it restores sense and speech to a dying man. It checks murderers, repels enemies, or causes them to be swallowed up. It destroys monsters, and disperses demons. It keeps cattle from straying, and suckles a child. It speaks with a human voice, or remains miraculously dumb. It flies through the air by itself, and when stolen is miraculously restored' (*op.cit.* clxxvi, clxxvii).

Only Kilkenny instance:

22A.1 Toberacluggeen, tld: Milltown
1839 A holy well in the townland of Milltown called Tobar a Chluigin, i.e. Well of the Little Bell

OSL(KK) II 201; OSM(KK) 119, 401

1905 Tubbera-chligeen, which is said to mean the Well of the little Bell

Carrigan IV 234

23. Pilgrims were occasionally accustomed to bringing home sacred clay which was obtained near the holy well

S.J. Connolly mentions two such examples from County Tyrone and from County Waterford:

There were well-documented instances, for example, of healing powers being attributed to the clay taken from the graves of certain priests; the grave of one Co. Tyrone curate in the second half of the nineteenth century had to be cemented over to prevent the coffin being exposed by pilgrims taking away soil for this purpose.

(Connolly 1982, 117)

And the following example which is linked to a holy well:

At St. Declan's well in Ardmore, Co. Waterford, pilgrims paid their respects not only to a well and ruined chapel but also to a large stone on which the saint's bell was believed to have been miraculously borne across the seas from Rome, and earth from the saint's grave was carried away as a protection against sickness and misfortune.

(Ibid. 136)

In a somewhat similar vein, Dr. Patrick Logan remarks that 'some pilgrimages begun during the nineteenth century, and the ritual at these modern pilgrimages is similar to that of the older ones. The pilgrims walk around the well, drink the water, go barefoot and collect the

saint's clay' (Logan 1980, 17). He cites the case of broken cups being left at the grave of Fr. John O'Callaghan in the parish of Aghinagh, County Cork (and although there is no evidence in this instance to suggest that the clay was brought home), yet 'part of the ritual here was to take water from the holy well in a cup and then a little earth from Fr. O'Callaghan's grave is added to the water. If the complaint from which the pilgrim suffers is external the mixture is applied to it, and if it is internal the mixture is drunk' (Logan 1980, 119, 120).

Professor Celeste Ray relates that 'when dentists' offices are closed in St. Mullin's, County Carlow, relief from toothache can be obtained by packing one's mouth with a bit of earth from Father Daniel Kavanagh's grave and walking in silent prayer to wash it out at St. Moling's nearby well' (Ray 2011, 278). She states elsewhere that 'soil from saints' graves was often considered curative and blessed (and is still packed in the mouths of those suffering toothaches in the twenty-first century)' (Ray 2014, 103, 104).

Professor Diarmuid Ó Giolláin reports that pilgrims attending the midsummer pattern at Struell, Co. Down, were wont to arrive at Downpatrick, take 'holy soil from St. Patrick's grave there', go to mass and thereafter climb a 150 foot high hill on their knees (Ó Giolláin 1999, 205).

Professor Michael Carroll states that 'in most Catholic societies, popular Catholicism revolved around cults associated with saintly relics and miraculous images' (Carroll 1999, 6). 'But cults of this sort', he cautions, 'have always been less important in Ireland'. He continues: 'For Irish Catholics, both the laity and the local clergy alike, the cults most central to the experience of 'being Catholic' were far more likely to be organized around springs or shapeless piles of stone than around images or relics' (*Ibid.*).

In an article entitled 'The Social Role of Relics and Reliquaries in Ancient Ireland', Dr. A.T. Lucas states that 'the Christian cult of relics appears to have stemmed from the veneration of the tombs and bodily remains of the martyrs in the centuries of Late Antiquity in the Mediterranean world' (*op.cit.* 5). He mentions two types of relics in particular, namely, corporal relics/exhumed body-parts of a saint (*Ibid.* 6-8) and associative relics of saints-bells, books and bachalls (*Ibid.* 9) as well as saints' belts used for curative purposes (Lucas 1986, 29).

The supposed healing power of clay taken from priests' graves mentioned above springs to mind here.

County Kilkenny instances

23.1 Lady's Well, *tld*: Ballyda

1938 When the people go there on the fifteenth of August they take home clay from the place where Our Lady appeared.

NFCS 849.81

23.2 St. James's Holy Well, *tld*: Carrickcloney

1945 People go to Very Rev. Dr. Lower's grave in Killivorry [Kilmakevoge] old church to obtain clay for bodily ailments. They also take away water from St. Jame's [*sic*] Well.

ITAS(KK) Glenmore, Form A

23.3 St. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Columbkille

1938 People take home with them bottles of Holy water from the Holy Well, and some blessed clay from a niche in the wall.

NFCS 858.39

1938 It is the custom to drink the water in the well and to bring home some blessed clay from a hole some distance away.

NFCS 858.43

23.4 Lady's Well, *tld*: Newtown (near Thomastown)

1938 It is the custom to drink the water in the well, and to bring home some blessed clay from a hole some distance away.

NFCS 858.43

24. The ritual of visiting a holy stone during the course of the pilgrimage was not uncommon

Parallel examples are cited by Colonel W.G. Wood-Martin, *viz.*: (i) 'a healing, medicinal, or magical stone of St. Conall' at a site called "The Relig", near Bruckless, 'close to St. Conall's Well, on the northern side of Donegal Bay'. The dumb-bell shaped stone with three small

hollows is thought to owe ‘its peculiar form to the action of the water’. It is used by devotees at the well and ‘the sick person has the stone conveyed to his house, where it is retained until a cure is effected’ (Wood-Martin II 1902, 69), in much the same way as holy water is ferried home in bottles to infirm relatives or friends; and (ii) ‘the well of Toberaraght – reputed to cure many forms of disease in the half barony of Coolavin, county Sligo, is surrounded by a low wall, on the top of which are placed thirteen round water-worn pebbles employed in the usual manner by those seeking restoration of their health’ (*ibid.* 70).

In his article on ‘holed’ and perforated stones in Ireland, Dr. William Frazer refers to the following stones at which cures were sought:

1. At Cloc-na-peacaib, The Sinners’ Stone, Kilquhane, Co. Cork, ‘women used to draw clothes when approaching their confinement ... to secure a favourable result’ (Frazer 1896, 163).
2. On Inismurray Island, we are informed that ‘[in] praying at the stone, which is practised by women approaching their confinement, in the hope of securing a favourable result, they kneel, and, inserting their thumbs into the smaller apertures, firmly grasp the stone with the rest of the fingers placed in the corresponding side openings’ (*ibid.*, 167).
3. At Clogh-a-Phoill, near Tullow, County Carlow, ‘it was a practice with the peasantry to pass ill-thriven children through the aperture to cure them’ (*ibid.*, 159).
4. At Manister Kieran (Island of Aran) in 1878, ‘a fisherman said he knew of clothes being drawn through the aperture for curing sore limbs’ (*ibid.*, 162).

Frazer also refers to cures concerning cattle and to stones having an influence over men ‘in securing progeny’ (*ibid.*, 158).

County Kilkenny instances

24.1 St. Fintan’s Well, *tld*: Shanbogh Upper

1874-9 The legend has it that St. Fintan leading a child across the river [Barrow] stepped on this stone, hence its name “Clogh Fintan”. The pilgrimage began at “Clogh Fintan”, continued on to the church, and ended at the holy well.

Moore 27, 28

2000 The route of the Pilgrimage was from Clogh Fintan to the church.

Murphy 17

24.2 St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard

1970 He [the pilgrim] next drinks from the well and blesses with the water and then goes to the big stone in which are two hollows and where a further decade is recited.

Hughes 60

24A Rubbing a stone near a holy well was also used for a cure

24A1 Thubber Murrha, *tld*: Kilmacar

1938 There was a stone in this well and any person who was affected by any disease or was blind or lame would be cured by rubbing the stone to the affected part.

NFCS 868.14

24B Pilgrims add a stone to a pile of stones during their visit to holy well

24B1 St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill

1991 The Well of St. Moling's Tree at Mullenakill [*sic*], County Kilkenny, combines a well, tree, cross slab, altar and a pile of stones which each pilgrim adds to.

Harb. Pilgr. 230

1999 Traditionally, prayers included some set of Our Fathers, Hail Marys, Creeds, and Glorias. It was also common to gather up some pebbles and to 'count off' rounds by depositing a pebble somewhere on or near the well as each round (and the associated set of prayers) was completed.

Carroll 30

2014 Well Customs. Sometimes a cairn is found and a stone added to the heap by pilgrims.

25. A St. Philomena's cord worn by an invalid woman at St. Philomena's Well, Rathcash, is removed by her and thrown into the well thereby reviving a woman who had fallen into the well as well as curing herself of her infirmity

25.1 St. Philomena's Well, *tld*: Rathcash West

- 1938 There is a Holy Well near Rathcash and its name is St. Philomena's Well. It is so called because a woman fell into the well and there was another invalid woman coming to the well. She wore a St. Philomena's cord and she took it off and threw it into the well and the other woman revived and both were cured afterwards.

NFCS 860.128

26. An otherwise unencountered ritual in the county, perhaps related to ring-worm, was practised by pilgrims at a well in the vicinity of Freshford whereby the pilgrims used to wash their hands to cure a worm.

26.1 Tobernapeastia, *tld*: Tobernapeastia

- 1839 The Townland of Tobar na Peisté [*sic*] to which it gave its name signifying the Well of the Worm in which it is said people were accustomed to wash their hands to cure the [name-giving] worm. Chum siúbhal Péiste do Leigheis.

OSL(KK) I 188

27. The ritual of the pilgrim making a cross of two twigs tied together before the pilgrimage and carrying it thereafter throughout the pilgrimage is witnessed in the case of St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard

Before commencing the pilgrimage the pilgrim makes a cross of two twigs tied together [*sic*] and this is carried around whilst reciting the prayers.

When leaving, the pilgrim takes with him a bottle filled with water from the well and then returns to the main door of the church from where he commenced his pilgrimage. From a kneeling position he makes the difficult way to the altar on his knees. There the cross which he carried with him is fervently laid with those already in position.

(Hughes 1970, 60)

Conclusions

Twenty nine separate rituals apply to 62 wells ($62/183 = 33.9\%$) covering 281 documented references (the documented references which apply to parallel examples outside County Kilkenny are not included here), two rituals being subdivided. The frequency and distribution of rituals may be viewed in Appendix LX.

By far the greatest number of these entail the recital of prayers (36 wells), followed by the drinking of well water (22), bringing water home in bottles (18), leaving a votive offering at the well (15) and pilgrims bathing, washing or rubbing an affected body part (15). The number '3' is of common occurrence (13) and mainly concerns reciting prayers three times and circumambulating the well. The ritual of attending Mass before or after well-visitation is also common (11), while rounding exercises and pilgrims adhering to a direct, prescribed route at or near the well both feature commonly as well (9).

Rituals which feature less frequently entail genuflection (4), walking into the water to wash one's feet (4), well water being used for baptismal purposes (4), bringing home sacred clay (4), processions (3), the singing of hymns (3), pilgrims being dipped in the water in search of a cure (3), pilgrims rubbing an affected body-part with a wet rag and then placing the rag on a tree to dry, thereby effecting a riddance (3), pilgrims visiting a holy stone (3), all-night vigils (2), Stations of the Cross (2) and walking barefoot around the well (2).

Rituals featuring only once include walking on broken glass, dressing the well with flowers, lighting candles, bell-ringing, adding a stone to a pile of stones, making a cross of two twigs and carrying it throughout the pilgrimage (at St. Fiachra's Well, Ullard) and two further rituals, currently unknown, which concern the wearing of a St. Philomena's cord by

an invalid woman before it was discarded into the holy well of Rathcash and pilgrims washing their hands to cure a worm near Freshford, the significance of which is now obscure.

No rituals at all feature in the case of 121 wells (66.1%).

The practising of a single ritual occurs at 26 wells (41.9%), two rituals pertain to 12 wells (22.6%), three to 4 wells (6.4%), four rituals and five rituals to 3 wells (4.8%), six to 4 wells (6.4%), seven to 3 wells (4.8%), eight to one well (1.6%), eleven to 3 wells (4.8%) while no fewer than thirteen rituals being practised at Lady's Well, Castlemarket (1.6%), a well which is still commonly visited on August 15th.

An interesting statistic above is that bringing water home in bottles (18) outnumbers the occurrence of votive offerings and pilgrims bathing an affected body-part (both instanced 15 times). In addition, the number '3' (13) which mainly entails the repetition of prayers and circumambulating, outnumbers the attendance at Mass (9) during well visitation.

The five most common rituals above comprise almost half of all the rituals practised at wells in the county (47.1%).

Rituals which have a somewhat penitential nature attaching to them include oft-repeated prayers, circumambulating the well, adhering at times to a prescribed and somewhat arduous route, genuflecting, walking into the water, pilgrims being dipped in the water in search of a cure, pilgrims rubbing an affected body-part with a wet rag, all-night vigils, processions, Stations of the Cross, walking barefoot around a well and walking on broken glass.

The majority of the rituals are derived from Christian practice but making offerings would appear to date to an earlier period. Professor Patrick Galliou argues that the earliest evidence of the development of water cults in western Europe may be traced to the second millennium BC, a time when various votive offerings ranging from metal weapons and pieces of personal ornament to the remains of animal and human sacrifices were being deposited in watery places, rivers and springs (Galliou 2006, 5). The earliest example of a rag being left on a tree at Christ's Well, Mentieth, Scotland, however, dates to 1618 (Jones 1954, 94, 95). The notion of water application as a cure (Ritual 13) is traced back by Professor Galliou to around the period 1400–1250 BC (Galliou xiii), the Fontes Sequanae, the Sanxay sanctuary, Vienne, the Altbachal near Trier in Germany and the Aquae Sulis complex in Bath being early examples (Galliou 7, 8).

The rounding ritual may have been practised by Celts in times of early Christian worship (Wood-Martin II 1902, 51), as was baptism, but it would appear that votive offerings and water application as a cure were older still.

It remains unclear whether the rituals which may be traced to pre-Christian times owe their inheritance to early practice or to modern superstition.

Chapter 7: Folk-beliefs and legends

While referring to the legendary misfortune which befell a man who formerly desecrated a holy well in County Dublin by filling it in, to how a man's house was burned as a result of his having cut down a sacred tree beside St. Fintan's Well, Sutton, and to how a holy well supposedly moves location after being desecrated or treated disrespectfully, Petra Skyvova, in her succinct yet very substantial study of Fingallian Wells (2005), remarks:

Quite clearly these legends and stories are fables but folktales have been employed for hundreds of years as moral lessons or allegorical stories to explain certain phenomena and to instruct common people in the reverence appropriate to sacred places.

(*Fingallian Wells* 30)

Professor Diarmuid Ó Giolláin states that legends are a recognised genre of oral narrative and that legends pertaining to holy wells may be divided into origin legends and belief legends, both of which are referred to hereafter:

Legends are a recognised genre of oral narrative. Here they are primarily concerned with the holy well itself and with the saint, and they help to legitimate the devotion.

Origin legends [Legends 1 – 15.3] are set *in illo tempore*, that mythical time which is relived in the festival, and are the ultimate authority on the sanctity of the sacred site.

(Ó Giolláin 1998, 206)

Examples of origin legends which he subsequently cites are as follows:

Origins legends tell how the saint caused the well to spring up [Legend 3]: he was thirsty and touched the ground with his staff, or his or her tears fell on the spot.

Hollows or other marks near the well were the prints of the saint's hands, knees or feet [Legend 12], or the paws or hooves of a favourite animal.

(*Ibid.* 206, 207)

A summary of such origin legends occurring in the holy wells of County Kilkenny is presented here in the section on hagiographical origin legends (1 – 15.3).

Dr. Ó Giolláin classifies legends other than origin legends as belief legends:

The other legends may be called belief legends following the usage of scholars in oral narrative. They provide the proof of supernatural power in the form of concrete empirical accounts and at the same time tacitly counsel people on how to deal appropriately with that power.

(Ibid. 206)

The notion of people being tacitly counselled on how to appropriately deal with the holy well is also independently referred to by Petra Skyvova above where she states that legends instruct people in the reverence appropriate to sacred places.

The most commonly held belief by far is that a cure could be sought at a holy well although the exact nature of the ailment could vary [Legend 16 – 16.37.2; Legend 16A1 – 16A25]. Other legends pertaining to the water of the holy well were to the effect that the water of the well would become dry having been profaned [Legend 17 – 17.8] or the well moves or changes location following desecration [Legend 18.1] or both dryness and locational change occur [Legend 19 – 19.2] or ill-luck befalls those who profane the holy well [Legend 20 – 20.8] or the well-water could not be boiled following profanation [Legend 21 – 21.6]. Other wells gained a local legendary standing in that they were supposed to be never without water [Legend 22 – 22.5] while the water of certain wells always remained ice-cold [Legend 23 – 23.4]. A legendary fish which acts as spirit or guardian of a well and is supposed to indicate a cure once spotted, is instanced in the case of certain wells [Legend 24 – 24.5].

Other legends which could be classified as being of a ‘belief’ variety are to the effect that blood-stains of mainly clerical personages supposedly murdered at or near holy wells may be seen in the form of red stones nearby [Legend 25 – 25.4] or that legendary candles were occasionally seen at holy wells [Legend 26] or that a white dove which descended from the sky at midnight and flew over St. John’s Well on the eve of the saint’s feastday was to indicate a miraculous cure [Legend 27] or that misfortune would almost certainly befall those who disrespected holy trees near holy wells [Legend 28 – 28.8] or a belief legend concerning the supposed immortality of some of these sacred trees [Legend 29 – 29.3].

Hagiographical origin legends (1 – 15)

The details of such legends, sourced mainly from the Schools' Folklore Collection, indicate that a saint lived in the vicinity of a holy well *in illo tempore*. Not surprisingly, he drinks of the well-water, he prays while thirsty so that a well springs forth immediately, he blesses the well, he plants a holy tree beside the blessed well and, in one instance, he uses the well to water or replenish the water for his cow. In addition, he attends to his sacred Christian duties at or near the well while baptising, celebrating Mass, preaching or building a church. Other legends involve the presence of devotional saintly commemorative stones near the well, while certain stones bear the imprints of the saint's knees after kneeling thereon to pray.

A legendary saintly curse is issued in one instance, while another legend reveals that an unnamed saint fights a serpent, the implications of which onomastical tale will be discussed below. Finally, apparition-legends at holy well sites are not uncommon.

1. The saint lives in the vicinity of the well

Specific Kilkenny examples

1.1 Tubber naev Mulleeng, tld: Listerlin

- 1839 There is a tradition that St. Mullen [Moling Luachra] formerly resided in or near the Moat of Listerling.

OSL(KK) II 166;

OSM(KK) 173

1.2 St. Mullin's Well, tld: Mullenakill

- 1819 Here, the legend says, he resided or a short time. *Par.Sur.* III 245;

(*OSL(KK)* II 167, 168)

- 1887-92 Mullinakill, the residence of St. Moling after leaving Listerling.

Carrigan NB 40.172

- 2008 When he lived as a hermit in Mullenakill, Kilkenny, he was badly afflicted with sores on his legs.

Meehan 374

1.3 St. Fiachra's Well, tld: Sheastown

1938 An old tradition says that the well was used by St. Fiacra while he lived as a hermit in the vicinity.

NFCS 854.195

1.4 Toberelleen, tld: Tikerlevan

1934 St. Fiachra lived in the vicinity of the well and it is said he was constantly annoyed by the people of the district stealing all he had.

NFCS 468.108

1.5 St. Fiachra's Well, tld: Ullard

1938 St. Fiachra's Well, Tickerlivan. This saint lived there before he removed to Ullard.

NFCS 857.54

2. The saint drinks of the well-water

The motif of a saint using the well to quench his thirst is known from elsewhere as in Patrick's Well, Garrison, County Limerick (*Limerick Wells* 206) and St. Patrick's Well, Tinahely, County Wicklow (*Wicklow Wells* 639).

County Kilkenny examples

2.1 Tobernakill, tld: Ballygorey

1934 It is said that St. Patrick crossed the Suir and drank at this well.

NFC 468.118

(also cited in *NFCS 840.176*)

2.2 St. Patrick's Well, tld: Boggan

1938 Patrick was passing, he knelt down on the flag to get a drink.

NFCS 867.185

2.3 St. Finan's Well, tld: Tinnalintan

1937 No one knows where the Saint lived, but it is said that he got water out of this well.

NFCS 868.4a

2.4 Lady's Well, tld: Tullaroan

1991 There is a reputed Holy Well situated beside the cemetery where St. Kieran, on his itinerary, was reputed to have quenched his thirst.

Walsh 17

3. The saint prays and a well springs forth

The simplest explanation for the appearance of a holy well was that the saint prayed for water and a spring miraculously appeared.

(Bord & Bord 1985, 119)

Parallel examples are witnessed at St. Michael's Well, Kinnard, County Kerry (*Fest. Lugh.* 207) and at St. Patrick's Well, Tullaghan, County Sligo (*Fest. Lugh.* 114).

County Kilkenny instances

3.1 St. Lawrence's Well, tld: Ballyogan

1938 He prayed for water and while looking around a well sprung up.

NFCS 857.47

3.2 St. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Columbkille

1938 Once the saint was in need of water, so he prayed. Instantly the well sprang up.

NFCS 858.45

3.3 Tobernapeastia, *tld*: Tobernapeastia

1938 The saint who was very thirsty was not gaining on the serpent so he prayed and a well sprang up.

NFCS 866.351

3.4 Toberpatrick, *tld*: Tubbrid Upper

1938 He [St. Patrick] had no water so he knelt down and a well sprang up.

NFCS 867.361

3.5 St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard

1938 He [St. Fiacre] prayed for water and the well now called St. Fiacre's Well sprang up.

NFCS 857.145

4. A saint blesses or consecrates a well

4.1 Ballinvarry Holy Well, *tld*: Ballinvarry English

1938 There is a holy well which was blessed by St. Laurence

NFCS 847.128

- 4.2 St. Laurence's Well, *tld*: Ballyogan
 1938 He [St. Laurence] blessed it. *NFCS* 857.471
- 4.3 Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Inistioge
 1938 It is supposed that St. Colm Cille once visited it and blessed it.
NFCS 859.236
- 4.4 St. Kieran's Well, *tld*: Kilkieran
 1938 When St. Kieran blessed the well he said that no one should try to drain or pollute it.
NFCS 859.204
- 4.5 Tubbernaev Mulleeng, *tld*: Listerlin
 1839 There is a tradition that St. Mullen formerly resided in or near the Moat of Listerling and consecrated a well in its vicinity.
OSL(KK) II 166; *OSM(KK)* 173
5. The saint plants a holy tree at or near the holy well
- 5.1 Tubbernaev Mulleeng, *tld*: Listerlin
 1819 The well is overshadowed by a fine old spreading hawthorn tree, which the tradition says sprung from St. Mullen's walking staff that he stuck down in that spot.
Par.Sur. III 244
 (cf. also *OSL(KK)* II 166 (*EC*), but not mentioned in *OSM(KK)* 173)
- 1893 A fine hawthorn, overshadowing it ['holy well dedicated to St. Mullen'], grew – if we can believe a local legend – from the staff of the saint, which he there

stuck into the ground.

MacKinlay 235

1963 A legend told of some wells relates that the tree sprang from the staff or baculus of the patron saint which he left stuck in the ground beside the well. This story is told, for example, about St. Mullen's Well, Listerlin, Co. Kilkenny.

Lucas 40

1980 In Liserling parish in Co. Kilkenny there was an old thorn tree over the holy well which was said to have grown from St. Moling's walking-stick.

Logan 91

1985 According to legend, the thorn which overshadowed St. Mullen's Well at Lisertling (Kilkenny), grew from the saint's staff which he stuck into the ground.

Bord & Bord 99

2003 In Listerling parish in County Kilkenny a thorn bush beside a holy well is believed to have grown from St. Moling's walking stick.

Mac Coitir 55

5.2 St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill

1944 Beside the well is an old alder tree, said to have been planted by the saint.

ITAS(KK) Rosbercon, Form A, page 3

1970 The Saint's holy well over Crann Molaing – reputed to have been planted by the Saint.

Murphy 43

1980 The tree at St. Moling's Well at Mullinakill – this is believed to have been planted by the saint.

Logan 93

2001 The tree at St. Moling's Well at Mullenakill, Co. Kilkenny is believed to have been planted by the saint.

Smith 148

2005 Overlooking the well is an alder tree that the saint himself is supposed to have planted.

Fitzgerald 392

2008 A venerable oak [sic] still stands on the site, said to have been planted by St. Moling himself.

Meehan 352

6. St. Kieran waters his cow at his holy well, Grangefertagh

1959 Tobar A'Phuicin – The Fairy Well, where St. Kieran watered his cow.

Lyng 25

(*OSL(KK)* I 135; *OSM(KK)* 1)

7. Legendary saintly baptisms at holy wells

7.1 Bostionfort Well, *tld*: Castle Ellis

(< Tobar Baiste an Phoill)

1938 There is a well called Boston near the village [of Gowran]. St. Patrick baptised there.

NFCS 860.169

7.2 St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard

1938 It is said when people came to St. Fiacre to be baptized he had no water. He

prayed for water and the well now called St. Fiacre's Well sprung up.

NFCS 857.145

8. Local legendary lore claims that St. Fiachra celebrated Mass near his holy well in Sheastown

8.1 St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Sheastown

- 1938 There is a mass stone in Fiacre [*sic*] near Sheastown on which St. Fiacre used to say mass in early Christian days.

NFCS 854.229

9. Local legend has it that St. Patrick taught or preached near Tobernasool

9.1 Tobernasool, *tld*: Gorteennamuck

- 1938 It is said St. Patrick was teaching near the well. He met three poor men who were blind from birth. The saint took pity on them, they got back their sight.

NFCS 869.27

10. St. Patrick builds a church near St. Patrick's Well, Gowran

10.1 St. Patrick's Well, *tld*: Earlsbog Commons

- 1938 St. Patrick built a church in Gowran but it is now in ruins.

NFCS 860.170

(cf. 'Tunc venit Patricius per Bealach Gabhran', *TT* 26)

11. Hagiographical legend concerning commemorative saintly stones

11.1 Tobermolua, tld: Kylenaskeagh

1945 A very large rough stone near the graveyard is called “St. Molua’s Stone”.

ITAS(KK) Kilmanagh, Form A, page 3

11.2 Tobernagolomb, tld: Rathinure

1969 The well is 100 yards from the church site and a large rock called Cloch Choilm.

O’Kelly 110

1969 Kilcolumb church site, Tobar na gcolm and Cloch Choilm are in this townland.

O’Kelly 114

11.3 St. Fiachra’s Well, tld: Sheastown

1938 There is a mass stone near Sheastown on which St. Fiacre used to say mass.

NFCS 854.229

12. Hollows or other marks near the well were the prints of the saint’s hands, knees or feet

Instances of this phenomenon are found at St. Patrick’s Well, Patrickswell, County Carlow (*Carlow Wells* 4, 5), at St. Brigid’s Well, Ticknevin, County Kildare (*Kildare Wells* 147) and at St. Patrick’s Well, Stackallen, County Meath (*Meath Wells* 12).

An illustrative example is provided here (for a full list see Appendix LXI):

12.1 Tobernakill, tld: Ballygorey

1905 Some connect St. Patrick with this well and say that certain marks on a stone beside it are the imprint of his knees.

Carrigan IV 161

1939 It is said that St. Patrick crossed the Suir and drank at this well, the impression of his two knees were left on flag by the side of the well.

NFCS 840.176

(also cited in *NFC 468.118*)

1939 The marks or prints of the saint's knees and elbows can be seen in the ground near the well.

NFCS 843.58

13. A legendary saintly curse is issued at Thubber Phaudhrig, *tld: Davidstown*
The holy well is situated in a field called Conbhuí on Davidstown hill and this popular folk-etymological tale of the Yellow Hound is mentioned in the legendary Ballinrea curse (which townland adjoins Davidstown) attributed to St. Patrick on his dish of dog meat. The most succinct account of the legend is as follows:

1938 One day St. Patrick visited Ballinrea [*sic*] in the parish of Slieverue. While he was there he went into a house to get something to eat.

The woman of the house killed a greyhound and cooked it. She then laid it before St. Patrick. When he saw it he raised his hands and made the sign of the cross. Immediately the hound came alive and jumped from the plate. He ran out among the fields and struck off a rock. St. Patrick cursed the woman and he told her from that day forward an amadán or an óinseac [*sic*] would be found in Ballinarea.

NFCS 843.36

While St. Patrick was apparently in Davidstown, or more specifically in 'Connbhuidhe' (a subdivision of the same), a woman from the adjoining townland of Ballinrea approached

him as work on an ecclesiastical establishment was under way. She offered Patrick a dish of roasted meat but on opening the dish he, to his disgust, espied an animal's paw therein. On praying over the dish, the yellow hound sprang to life and was subsequently pursued and killed by Patrick's workmen. Patrick then 'erected a heap of stones as a memorial of his intentions, on the top of which he placed the stone on which he knelt while he prayed, which was stamped with the impressions of his two knees. He called the place Connawee in memorial of the resuscitation of the hound'. (*OSL(KK)* II 183) (The story is also recounted in O'Donovan 1851, 363; Hogan 1876, 195; *Carrigan NB* 67.49 (1920); *Carrigan NB* 149.27 (1920); *NFCS* 843.36 (1938); *NFCS* 845.95 (1938); *NFCS* 846.268 (1938); *NFCS* 850.100, 101 (1938), *ITAS(KK)* Glenmore, Form A, pages 3, 4 (1945), Ó Niatháin 1960, 67, Cooke 2008, 112 (*NFCS* 843.36, *supra*) and in Farrell 2014, 77-82).

14. An unnamed saint wrestles with a serpent and emerges victorious

It is probable that this and other such legends which often appear in the Irish Lives of the Saints bear an allegorical function, their main intention being to highlight the struggle faced by early Christian saints, who win out in the end when confronted with heathen challenges, the Christian, God-fearing saint often wrestling with the serpentine creature before eventually banishing it, curtailing it, disempowering it or killing the hideous, menacing, destructive force of evil. The instance of Tobar Bearaigh, Kilbarry, County Roscommon and other saintly struggles are provided here:

1837 There was a huge serpent, an ollphiast or a large worm used to infest Slieve Baan and Barry [Bearach, *Ó Riain Saints* 94-96] chased it from Kilbarry to the brink of Lough Lagan where it jumped into the water from him; but he made a thrust of the bachall at it and with the vehemence of the thrust he fell on one knee at the brink of the lough. He pierced the worm through, and the blood gushed from the hole made by the top of the bachall in such copious streams that the whole lake was coloured red, and from the spot touched (marked) by his left knee when he fell, a clear spring well issued which he (St. Barry) blessed.

The combative details of this legend are also discussed in Logan 1980, 51; Bord & Bord 126; Bord 2006, 38 and *Ó Riain Saints* 96. Janet and Colin Bord's preface to the tale, their description of the fight or struggle, their idea that the serpent and the saint may have a symbolic message and their final cautionary remark that the *piast* may have actually been a water-monster, is worth quoting in full:

Only hinted at in some of these tales, and clearly stated in others, it is apparent that there was a long and continuing conflict between paganism and Christianity in the early centuries A.D. This may also be the explanation behind other well creation tales, such as the slaying by St. Barry of a 'great serpent' in County Roscommon. The saint thrust his crozier at it before it disappeared into Lough Lagan, and where his knee touched the ground, a holy well, Tobar Barry, sprang up. Although the serpent may represent paganism, and the saint's victory is therefore the victory of Christianity over paganism, we cannot entirely ignore the possibility that some of the serpents in similar Irish tales may have been real water monsters, which are still to be seen from time to time in the lakes of Ireland and Scotland.

(Bord & Bord 1985, 126)

Most of such struggles occur in an aquatic or water-related context, as in: A fierce bull used to frequent the pass of Maumeen, County Galway, and killed all wayfarers: it attacked Saint Patrick, but, against all the odds, the saint, by his thaumaturgical powers, drove him into the lake (Loch Mhám Éan) in which it drowned (*Fest.Lugh.* 127).

God sent a terrible monster to St. Senan on Scatterry Island as a trial, which he was to banish. He quelled it by making the sign of the Cross and banished it to Dubhloch where it remains bound and unable to do harm (*Fest.Lugh.* 200).

St. Patrick with the aid of his bell drove demons into the north base of Croagh Patrick mountain, where he had to face the fiercest of all in a female fiend called the Caorthannach, before eventually killing her in a water-fight or confining her in a small lake (*Fest.Lugh.* 400; Butler, Irish Examiner, 18/3/2016, page 13).

St. Fursa reputedly drove a ferocious dragon into a lake in the Galtee mountains, which creature was prophesied to rise again at the end of the world and afflict the country in vengeance for John the Baptist (*Ó Riain Saints* 359).

The serpentine creature or monster is almost invariably described as being the bearer of a hideous countenance and of a destructive nature in the *Lives of Irish Saints*, yet the saint who quells and repels him emerges victorious, very often as a result of a prayerful plea to God, the following tale concerning the Life of Abban being a case in point:

1630c. Luidh Patrice ⁊ espoc Iubhair ⁊ Abán hi lluing for Loch Garman; co nfacatar an peist ndimóir fria ttáobh ⁊ cet cend fuirre, ⁊ dá cet súil ⁊ da cet clúas, go ro tochuir ainbhtine dermair forsan muir, go ro chuir an grían i nuachtar, go raibhe in long for comh badhadh.

BNÉ I 6.17

1922 Patrick and Bishop Iubar and Abban went in a ship on Loch Garman; and they saw a huge monster by their side with a hundred heads, two hundred eyes, and two hundred ears, and it stirred up a violent storm on the sea, bringing the ground to the surface, so that the ship was sinking.

BNÉ II 6.17

An angel intercedes stating that it is through Abban's prayerful intercession that the diabolical monster will be repelled:

1630c. 'Tuccaidh Aban chuccaibh, oír as día urnaighthe tuccadh díochur na péiste uccat'. Ocus tuccadh Aban chuca, ⁊ doní guidhe 'chum nDé, ⁊ rodíchuir in pheist; ⁊ ní fes cia conair i ndeachaid. Ocus isse an diabhal fodera an pheist do th[e]acht 'san cruth sin chuca do aidhmilledh forna naomhaibh.

BNÉ I 6.18

1922 ‘Take Abban to you, for it is to his prayer that has been granted the repelling of yon monster’. And Abban was brought to them, and he prayed to God, and repelled the monster, and it was not known whither it had gone. And it was the devil who had caused the monster to come to them in that form to destroy the saint.

BNÉ II 6.18

A similar tale is recounted in the Life of Coemgen (Kevin) of Glendalough:

1630c. Ro bóí péist uathmar iongantach isin loch, 7 ro chuir si ár con 7 dáoine for fhíanaibh Erenn go minic. roghabh Caoimhgin a psalma, 7 ro guidh an Coimdhe, 7 ro indarb uadha an péist isin dara loch, .i. Loch lagha, in loch ina raibhe in péist, is ann dogníther anosa fóirithin gach aingcisi etar dáoinibh 7 cethraibh; 7 fáccbaitt uile a ngallra ann, 7 tiaghait a ngallra 7 a neslainte isin loch ele do-chum na péiste; co nach déin urcóid do chách.

BNÉ I 126.13

1922 There was a horrible and strange monster in the lake; which wrought frequent destruction of dogs and men among the fiana of Erin. Coemgen recited his psalms, and entreated the Lord, and He drove the monster from him into the other lake. That is to say, the lesser lake, in which the monster (originally) was, is the place where now help of every trouble is wrought both for men and cattle; and they all leave their sicknesses there, and the sicknesses and diseases go into the other lake to the monster.

BNÉ II 122.13

(recounted also in Logan 1980, 51)

14.1 Tobernapeastia, tld: Tobernapeastia

1889-90 The saint overcame the “pesta” here and became thirsty after the encounter turned around and the well thereupon sprung up.

Carrigan NB 127.13

1905 When exhausted and parched with thirst after the encounter, the well miraculously burst forth to refresh him.

Carrigan II 256

1938 The saint killed the serpent but he was so thirsty after the fight that a well sprung up to quench his thirst.

NFCS 866.322

1938 The saint who was fighting was very thirsty was not gaining on the serpent so he prayed and a well sprang up. The saint drank some of it and eventually conquered the serpent.

NFCS 866.351

15. Legendary apparitions at holy wells are not uncommon

Apparitions, too, are a common theme of the saint to bless the pilgrims to the well or to warn those intending to profane it.

(Ó Giolláin 1998, 207)

Gary Varner comments at length on such divine apparitions:

Over several hundred years, mysterious ladies in white and the Virgin Mary have been reported at or near many holy wells. From the Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico to the Virgin Mary at Lourdes to the apparition of Fatima, Portugal, to the sighting of the Blessed Mary at the shrine of Inchigeela [5/8/1985 – 1987] in Ireland, these paranormal occurrences have become commonplace at sacred water sites. What is it that links the sacred feminine to wells and springs? There are also male gods and saints associated with sacred wells.

However, these powerful male figures do not appear as ghostly images, or as three dimensional figures seen at holy wells – only female images have appeared.

(Varner 2009, 145)

In keeping with this latterly-mentioned ‘only female images’, it is the Blessed Virgin alone who was reputedly seen at certain wells in County Kilkenny.

Apparitions of the Blessed Virgin are documented at Tobermurry, Duagh, County Kerry (*North Kerry Wells* 158), at Lady Well, Rathlihen, County Offaly (*NFCS* 809.36) and at Fraughan Well, Knockrath, County Wicklow (*Wicklow Wells* 639).

15.1 Lady’s Well, *tld*: Ballyda

1938 The Blessed Virgin is said to have appeared there and there is a cross in the ground where she was seen.

NFCS 849.80

1938 The Blessed Virgin appeared there long ago.

NFCS 849.81

1938 When the people go there on the fifteenth of August they take home clay from the place where Our Lady appeared.

NFCS 849.81

1938 Some time ago the Blessed Virgin is supposed to have been seen there and there is a cross where she is supposed to have stood.

NFCS 854.177

1938 Lady’s Well so called because Our Lady appeared there.

NFCS 854.230

1938 Lady’s Well. It is said that Our Lady appeared there.

NFCS 856.200

2005 The Blessed Virgin is said to have appeared at the well at various times in the 19th century.

Fitzgerald 391

15.2 Lady's Well, *tld*: Castlemarket

1938 It is said an apparition appeared at the holy well where it is now situated about the year 1895.

NFCS 831.129

15.3 Thubber Murrha, *tld*: Kilmacar

1938 A man saw the Blessed Virgin on the banks of the river so giving it the name.

NFCS 864.149

Belief Legends (16 – 29)

16. Supposed legendary cures sought at holy wells

Writing in the beginning of the nineteenth century (1802), William Tighe remarks in relation to holy wells in County Kilkenny that ‘some of these wells are considered as possessing medicinal virtues by the common people’ (*Stat.Sur.(KK)* 120).

Commenting a century and a half later on the survival of holy wells in general, Francis Jones believes that ‘there is no doubt that the survival of the respect for wells is largely due to their actual or supposed healing qualities’ and that ‘the wells were the doctors of the peasantry’ (Jones 1954, 29).

References to the supposed or actual curative powers of water are common in both the Old and New Testament, in the ancient civilisations of Greece and Rome, in the ancient druidical world of the Celts and in the Lives of the saints.

The ancient Greeks who suffered from disease or illness ‘would resort to a well sacred to Demeter to learn whether they would live or die’ (Whelan 2001, 77) while the illustrious Roman senator, Sextus Julius Frontinus (40 AD – 103 AD) and Water Commissioner of the

City of Rome, wrote some four years before his death that ‘springs have held, down to the present day, the name of holy things, and are objects of veneration, having the repute of healing the sick, as for example, the springs of Prophetic Nymphs (Camenae), of Apollo, and of Jaterna’ (Varner 2009, 38).

Given that the ancient Celts revered nature (the sun, trees, stones, water, fire), it is understandable that water would have held a prominent fascination for them. Miranda Green comments that the Celtic mindset would have appreciated the importance of water to life and fertility and that ‘the constant movement of rivers, springs and the sea which bubbled up from deep underground’ would often have been ‘hot and possessed of medicinal properties’ (Green 1997, 126).

We may also recall here the second battle of Mag Tuired, a contest between the gods of pagan Ireland and their enemies, where mortally-wounded warriors were revived following the incantatory intervention of Dían Cecht (physician) at the mythological Tobar Sláine (Gray 1982, 54.123, 55.123).

The Fontes Sequanae healing sanctuary uncovered offerings, many being of an anatomical nature and being made of wood (278 sculptures), stone (371) and bronze (300) (Green 1999, 1), which bore Latin inscriptions dating to the first century AD (*Ibid.* 4) while a large quantity of votive coins entered St. Coventina’s Well some time at the end of the second century AD (Allason-Jones & McKay 1985, 6), when pilgrims were hoping to find favour with the goddess and relief from illnesses (Bord 2006, 23). Both Lindsay Allason-Jones and Bruce McKay argue that ‘the strongest argument for regarding Coventina as a healing goddess is the spring itself’ (Allason-Jones & McKay 1985, 10).

Not dissimilar to Francis Jones’ comment above that ‘the wells were the doctors of the peasantry’ (Jones 1954, 29), Professor Miranda Green argues that ‘in general, populations of antiquity, particularly those belonging to the lower echelons of society, were subject to the whole range of disorders common to many present-day, non-industrialized communities, of which many are associated with poor hygiene, poverty, bad diet and hard physical labour, as well as ignorance of cause and effect’ (Green 1999, 35). She mentions (in the previous sentence) that ‘the range of anatomical votive offerings from Fontes Sequanae is indicative of the concerns and anxieties of the pilgrims who visited Sequana’s healing spring’ (*Ibid.*).

In the ninth-century *Bethu Brigte* (Ó hAodha 1978, xxvi), the saint performs a miracle at the ford of Firgoirt in Leinster where she uses the water of the ford to bestow the gift of speech on two girls who were dumb from birth (*op.cit.* 10.29; 27.29). She also washed the

feet of the nuns of Cúl Fobair, Tethbae, ‘and healed four of them while washing them, namely a paralytic one, a blind one, a leper and a possessed one’ (*op.cit.* 13.36; 30.36).

The fifteenth-century Life of Ruadhán reveals how the saint washed lepers in water and cured them (*VSHP* II 249), while Colmcille also used water to cure leprosy (*Betha CC* 204, 205) and failing eyesight (*Ibid.* 274, 275).

‘Alternative’ medicine and orthodox medicine

In his publication *Religion, Law and Power The Making of Protestant Ireland 1660 – 1760*, S.J. Connolly refers to the fact that ‘practices such as the hugely popular pilgrimages to Lough Derg, attracting an estimated 3,000 to 4,000 visitors a year, revealed a basically contractual approach to religious obligation, conceived of in terms of a more or less arbitrary set of rules, compliance with which would secure benefits and ward off evil consequences’ (Connolly 1982, 155, 156). Indeed, it could be argued that the same ‘contractual’ arrangement may be applied to one-time penitential pilgrims at or visitors to holy wells where a kind of *quid pro quo* mentality would appear to have been in evidence, physically-demanding rituals being followed and endured in the hope that a cure might ensue in such a hydrolatrous or hydrocentric setting.

In an essay entitled ‘The Medical Marketplace and Medical Tradition’, Catherine Cox supplies some interesting statistics concerning the ratio of medical practitioners to patients in the city and county of Kilkenny in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1861 Kilkenny city had one medical practitioner to 827 patients (Cox 2010, 75) while the ratio for the county in 1891 was 1:3,629 (*Ibid.*).

A perusal of George Bassett’s *Kilkenny City and County: Guide and Directory* around this time (1884) gives an indication of the number of medical personnel in the county, be they dispensary doctors, dispensary medical officers, medical officers, physicians or surgeons. A dispensary doctor operated at Callan (Bassett 1884, 170), Kilfane (*Ibid.* 259), Kilmacow (*Ibid.* 260), Kilmanagh (*Ibid.* 263), Mooncoin (*Ibid.* 272), Mullinavat (*Ibid.* 274), Piltown and Mullinavat (*Ibid.* 280), Stonyford (*Ibid.* 289), The Rower (*Ibid.* 291), Tullaroan (*Ibid.* 311) and Whitehall (*Ibid.* 318). Patients would also have had to pay, presumably, for the services of the dispensary medical officer at Ballyhale (*Ibid.* 155), at Freshford (*Ibid.* 199), at Glenmore (*Ibid.* 201) and at Urlingford (*Ibid.* 316) and for the assistance of the medical officer at Gowran (*Ibid.* 211), at Inistioge (*Ibid.* 245) and at Kells (*Ibid.* 246). A perusal of the same work also reveals just two physicians and surgeons at Callan (*Ibid.* 274) and only

two dentists practising in Kilkenny city, a Geo. Horneck of William Street and a Thomas Murphy of Patrick Street (*Ibid.* 128).

Dr. Cox concludes in her aforementioned essay that ‘the boundaries between orthodox and heterodox medical practices remained blurred in the nineteenth century’ and that ‘some practitioners, who self-consciously situated themselves within ‘the faculty’, displayed hostility towards the archetypal nostrum vendor and ‘charlatan’, and the advocates of the water cure, hypnotism and magnetism’ (Cox 2010, 73).

In his essay entitled ‘‘Drinking The Waters’: Balneotherapeutic Medicine in Ireland, 1660–1850’, James Kelly states that ‘holy wells are plentiful in Ireland where they were long resorted to by the Catholic population for religious as well as for medical reasons’ and that ‘it is not clear when belief in the healing properties of wells developed, or how some came to be identified with particular conditions’ (Kelly 2008, 99). He surmises that ‘the fact that the answers lie deep in history is consistent with the conclusion that popular belief in the merits of individual waters antedates the emergence in Ireland of the medical spa in the late seventeenth century’ (*Ibid.*).

Holy wells in Ireland, he continues, ‘remained a prominent element of popular medication into the nineteenth century’ (*Ibid.* 100) and ‘compared to the demanding regimens often imposed by physicians on patients who attended medical spas, the hazardous character of commercial medicine, and the high cost of accessing the humoral medicine proffered by trained medical practitioners, a visit to a holy well required little investment of time or money’ (*Ibid.*), apart from the fulfilment of certain prescribed rituals.

In addition, while people imbibed, bathed in and rubbed on medical spa waters on damaged and injured limbs, the waters often giving off a pungent odour and being distasteful to drink, yet ‘they were far removed from the ‘stinking’, ‘nauseating’ and ‘disgusting’ concoctions that were routinely concocted by apothecaries’ (*Ibid.* 145).

Describing Irish holy wells in general but in particular those of the city of Dublin in the year 1621, Barnaby Ryché comments ‘that if there were but one-half of the virtue in them, that the Irish do believe, and will confidently avow, we need no other physic nor surgery to heal all manner of diseases. The blind might be restored to sight, the halt and lame to their limbs; there is no infirmity but it might be cured at sundry sanctified and holy wells, whereof there are great plenty in Ireland’ (Wood-Martin II 1902, 90). Ryché’s commentary on the cure-seeking attendees at St. Patrick’s Well, east Dublin, on St. Patrick’s Day, could hardly be described as laudatory: ‘they have St. Patrick’s Well, the water whereof, although it is generally reputed to be very hot, yet the very prime of the perfection is upon the 17th of

March, which is St. Patrick's Day, and upon this day the water is more holy than it is all the year after, or else the inhabitants of Dublin are more foolish upon that day, than they be all the year after; for, upon that day, thither they will run, by heaps, men, women and children, and then, first performing certain superstitious ceremonies, they drink of the water; and, when they are returned to their own homes, for nine days after, they will sit and tell what wonderful things have been wrought by the operation of the water of St. Patrick's Well' (*Ibid.* 90, 91).

Perceived cures of various diseases at holy wells in County Kilkenny

16.1 Ague

16.1.1 Toberaniddaun, *tld*: Pottlerath

1875 About twenty years ago James Commerford of Kilmanagh, was cured of ague, contracted in America. He applied to medical doctors in that country, and expended much money endeavouring to get cured, but failed. Remembering Tobernadaun and all he had heard about it, he came home from America, in the hope of being cured. At the third visit his health was restored.

Holahan 32, 33

1875 Peter Daly of Pottlerath. They state he was cured of ague by praying at the well.

Holahan 33

16.1.2 Thibberawling, *tld*: Graigavine

1837 A well at Greagavine was formerly much resorted to by pilgrims on Ascension-day; the water was said to cure ague by immersion.

Lewis I 373

1850c. Children with ague were known to be cured by being dipped in it.

Bowers Transcripts 8

1938 Local people state the water has cured "Fever and Ague"

NFCS 840.173

16.2 Arthritis
16.2.1 St. Fiachra's Well, tld: Ullard
2009 Toothache well, St. Fiachra's Well at Ullard which is also known to cure arthritis.

Varner 113

(St. Manchan's Well, Leamanaghan, County Offaly is also reputed to cure arthritis)

16.3 Backache
16.3.1 St. Mullin's Well, tld: Mullennakill
2005 Pilgrims have reported other ailments being cured too, such as migraine, bunions, heartburn and backache.

Fitzgerald 393

16.4 Blindness (Total blindness, partial blindness, cataracts, glaucoma)

16.4.1 Lady's Well, tld: Castlemarket
1938 In years gone by two men were cured, one that was completely blind and another that was unable to walk from birth.

NFCS 831.126

16.4.2 St. Ronagh's Well, tld: Dunnamaggan East

1934 A woman from Dunnamaggan had bad sight but after she had washed in the holy well, her sight was restored.

NFCS 852.294

16.4.3 Tobernasool, tld: Gorteennamuck

1938 St. Patrick was teaching near the well. He met three poor men who were blind from birth. He brought to the well, blessed the water, washed the eyes of the blind men, immediately they got their sight and ever since it has been called Tobar na Sul.

NFCS 869.27

16.4.4 Lady Well, *tld*: Grange Lower

2005 Patrick [Holahan] informed me [John Fitzgerald] that a child was famously cured of blindness there at one stage after tasting its hallowed water.

Fitzgerald 388

16.4.5 St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Sheastown

1938 A poor man and woman near the place had an only son who was born blind. Immediately a well sprang up where he [St. Fiachra] was standing. He bathed the boy's eyes in it and immediately he got his sight.

NFCS 855.346, 347

16.5 Boils

16.5.1 Thubbervweenia, *tld*: Tullamaine (Ashbrook)

2003 The water is reputed to have healed skin ailments, cured headaches and stomach cramp, improved vision, removed ulcers, bunions and boils, and restored people's sanity.

Fitzgerald 103

16.6 Bunions

16.6.1 St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill

2005 Pilgrims have reported other ailments being cured too, such as migraine, bunions, heartburn and backaches.

Fitzgerald 393

16.6.2 Thubbervweenia, tld: Tullamaine (Ashbrook) See Boils above (2003).

16.7 Chest complaints

16.7.1 Tobera Choinee, tld: Garrygaug

1874-9 There is a holy well famous for curing chest complaints, coughs, consumption, & c.

Moore 34

16.8 Consumption (Tuberculosis)

16.8.1 Tober a Choinee, tld: Garrygaug

See Chest complaints

16.8.2 St. Bridget's Well, tld: Graigavine

1850c. Consumptive persons come to drink it with great benefit.

Bowers Transcripts 8

16.9 Coughs

16.9.1 Tobera Choinee, tld: Garrygaug

See Chest complaints

16.10 Cuts and sores

16.10.1 Tobernakill, tld: Ballygorey

1939 It is said that if anyone should drink the water in it they would be cured of any cuts or sores.

NFCS 843.58

16.10.2 St. Ronagh's Well, tld: Dunnamaggan East

1934 The water of this well was thought to be good for sores and cuts.

NFCS 853.68

16.11 Deafness

16.11.1 St. Michael's Well, tld: Bayswell

1938 Sore eyes and deafness [*sic*]

NFCS 869.145

16.12 Decay, decline and elderly people close to death

16.12.1 Tobernakill, tld: Ballygorey

1839 The water collected in these cavities is still resorted to as a cure for decay and decline.

OSL(KK) II 239

16.12.2 St. Bridget's Well, tld: Graigavine

1850c. Old persons when dying rave about it and ask for a drink of it.

Bowers Transcripts 8

16.13 Diabetes

16.13.1 St. Patrick's Well, tld: Boggan

1939 There was a woman named Mrs Gleeson who was sick for a long time with diabetes living near the well. The doctor said she would not live long. She went to the well and drank a little water and prayed. She paid two more visits and was cured. She lived for years after.

16.14 Fever

16.14.1 Tobar na Coille, tld: Kilconnelly

1938 At the time of the famine a lot of people from Kilconly [sic] who had
famine fever were cured by that well.

NFCS 847.127

16.14.2 Thubbervweenia, tld: Tullamaine (Ashbrook)

1904c. They used to dip fever people in said well for *Carrigan NB 71.185*
cure.

16.15 Headaches

16.15.1 Tubber-Kilkeerawn, tld: Castletown

1983 The water in the well is supposed to cure headaches and sores.

NFCS 844.119

1999 St. Kieran's well is said to have a cure for headaches.

O'Shea 19; Meehan 354

2014 St. Ciaran's Holy Well – it is said to cure headaches

O'Shea 52

For a full list, see Appendix LXII.

16.16 Heartburn

16.16.1 St. Mullin's Well, tld: Mullennakill

2005 Pilgrims have reported other ailments being cured too, such as migraine,
bunions, heartburn and backaches.

Fitzgerald 393

16.17 Lameness

16.17.1 St. Columbkille's Well, tld: Columbkille

1938 As they passed by the well a slightly lame man missed his footing and fell into the water. At once he was cured of his lameness. On seeing this the people repented and turned to Columbkille.

NFCS 858.45

16.17.2 St. John's Well, tld: Johnswell

1938 Once upon a time there lived a lady named Kitty Murphy and she had crutches. She came to the well St. John's day to get the use of her legs. Whenever anyone would be getting cured, a big white dove would be seen flying over the well. Two men linked the woman down to the pond of water and when she was coming back she was able to walk.

NFCS 863.52

16.17.3 Thubber Murrha, tld: Kilmacar

1938 There was a stone in this well and any person who was affected by any disease or was blind or lame would be cured by rubbing the stone to the affected part.

NFCS 868.14

16.18 Mental troubles

16.18.1 Thubbervweenia, tld: Tullamaine (Ashbrook)

2003 The water is reputed to have healed skin ailments, cured headaches and stomach cramp, improved vision, removed ulcers, bunions and boils, and restored people's sanity.

Fitzgerald 103

- 16.19 Paralysis
- 16.19.1 Lady's Well, tld: Castlemarket
- 1938 One girl very recently was cured from Nenagh suffering from paralysis.
NFCS 831.126
- 1938 In years gone by two men were cured, one that was completely blind and another that was unable to walk from birth.
NFCS 831.126
- 16.19.2 Lady's Well, tld: Kilmacoliver
- 1938 "Tobar Muire". It cured paralysis. *NFCS 852.214*
- 16.19.3 Toberlaghteen, tld: Moat
- 1893 It is perhaps worthy of remark that the efficacy of the wells dedicated to St. Lactan was chiefly acknowledged in the cases of paralytics, and persons possessed.
Healy 148
- 16.20 Rheumatism
- 16.20.1 Mickel's Well, tld: Ballyda
- 1938 There is supposed to be a cure for rhumatism [*sic*] in the water of the Well.
NFCS 854.177
- 16.20.2 Columbkille's Well, tld: Inistioge
- 1938 Mrs Bowels had a finger with rheumatism in it. She could not use it. She dipped it three times in the water and it was cured.
NFCS 859.186
- 16.20.3 Toberelleen, tld: Tikerlevan

1934 It is frequented by people for the cure of ailments such as headache and rheumatic pains. The water of this well is considered efficacious for the relief of teethaches [*sic*], headaches and rheumatic pains.

NFC 468.107

16.20.4 St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard

1980 The water used to treat rheumatic pains as well as other pains.

Logan 86

16.21 Ringworms

16.21.1 Tobernasool, *tld*: Gorteennamuck

1938 A great deal of old people went to this well and they said it was a great cure for ring-worms.

NFCS 869.23

16.21.2 The well-water of Tobernakill, *tld*: Ballygorey, is thought to be efficacious for the cure of ringworm according to John Dunphy (aged 75-80) in the autumn of 2016.

16.22 Scurvy

16.22.1 Tobar Brigid, *tld*: Kilmacoliver

1938 It cured sore eyes, scurvy.

NFCS 852.214

16.23 Skin ailments

In Evelyn Bolster's opinion, 'it would appear that the so-called leper hospitals of Cork city and county [and probably elsewhere] were founded for the treatment of certain grievous and virulent forms of dermatitis rather than for the care of lepers' (Bolster 1972, 302). She subsequently mentions Spittleland and Lepers' Well in the vicinity of Kinsale (*ibid.* 304).

Concerning probable skin ailments which feature in the Lives of the Irish Saints, Charles Plummer remarks that ‘of diseases the one most frequently mentioned is leprosy, which seems to have been terribly prevalent; and the cure of it is one of the most frequent miracles ascribed to the saints’ (*VSHP* I (1910), cx). A cure for a dermatological or cutaneous disorder almost invariably takes place in an aquatic setting:

- (a) leprosi fide probati, lauerunt se de aqua (*VSHP* II 23.vi, Vita Sancti Cronani);
- (b) Hunc uir Dei balneantem se in aqua cum uidisset ... et per orationem uiri Dei lepra percussus est (*VSHP* II 138.xxx, Vita Sancti Lasriani);
- (c) Braundubh ... occurrit ei ibi quidam leprosus ... iuxta flumen Slane ... ut ab ipso aqua benedicta feratur (*VSHP* II 150, xxvi, Vita Sancti Maedoc), and
- (d) Lauantesque se leprosi in illa, mundati a lepra omnes uenerunt de aqua (*VSHP* II 249.xxii, Vita Sancti Ruadani).

County Kilkenny example:

16.23.1 Thubbervweenia, tld: Tullamaine (Ashbrook)

2003 The water is reputed to have healed skin ailments.

Fitzgerald 103

16.24 Sore ears

16.24.1 Thubberna Mydan, tld: Caherlesk

1938 Supposed to be a cure in it for sore eyes, sprained ankles, sore rists [*sic*] and a pain in the ear.

NFCS 853.128

1938 When they used to have sore eyes or ears or a headache, they used to go to the blessed well in Kilcross to get cured.

NFCS 847.517

16.25 Sore eyes (eyelid styes, conjunctivitis, eyelid inflammation, eyelid infections)

The medical opinion of Dr. Patrick Logan concerning the commonness of eye wells and eye diseases befalling attendees at holy wells in by-gone times may be aptly quoted here:

If we are to judge by the number and popularity of the eye wells, chronic inflammation of the eyes and eyelids must have been common complaints in Ireland. One reason for this may have been that a great number of the people lived in smoked filled cabins. Other possible causes may have been motes in the eyes, and infections of the roots of the eyelashes. As few people wore spectacles at the time, myopia must have been a severe handicap to many people, and this might be another reason for visiting the holy well. It will also be remembered that some patients come to the doctor complaining of such things as ‘spots before the eyes’, and there is no doubt that many of these patients would benefit from a visit to a holy well.

(Logan 1980, 76)

A lack of a properly-functioning ventilation system in small smoky cottages appears to have been someway responsible for the frequency of sore eyes in days of yore. The Bords comment on this phenomenon is relevant to the Kilkenny evidence:

Our research has revealed at least seventy-five separate illnesses which specific holy wells were thought to relieve, eye problems being cured by the greatest number of wells. From this we might deduce that in earlier centuries eye troubles were more frequent than they are today. ‘Sore eyes’ (perhaps caused by smoky cottage interiors?) are often specifically mentioned, but never problems like short or long sight, which are more prevalent today.

(Bord & Bord 1985, 50)

and along the same lines we learn that:

One of the most common cures to be got at the wells seems to be that of sore eyes; maybe this was a very common problem for people due to the smoky conditions in the cottages in which they lived.

(Murphy & Whiteside 1991, 25)

Janet Bord subsequently refers to the healing powers of holy wells and to the seemingly most common ailment of all for which a cure was sought, sore eyes:

Many holy wells were believed to have *healing* powers, but not all wells could heal all illnesses, and very often a well would be visited in hopes of curing one specific ailment and no other. The complaint which crops up most often in the lore of wells is sore eyes, and this indicates that many people must have suffered eye problems of one kind or another.

(Bord 2006, 41)

She casts some doubt on the fact that the water of holy wells can truly or actually cure sore eyes but leaves the door somewhat ajar on the issue, stating that:

Without conducting proper scientific experiments it is impossible to know whether the water of eye wells really does benefit sore eyes, and if it does, whether the reason is (a) that cold water is itself soothing; (b) that the water contains certain minerals or other qualities that somehow influence the eye; (c) that the process is psychological, resulting from suggestion and/or faith in the saint to whom the well is dedicated.

(*Ibid.* 42)

The Bords had previously surmised:

‘was it simply that bathing the eyes in cold water effected a cure? Or could it be more complex, as suggested by Peter B.G. Binnall, who in an article on eye-wells observed that there are more eye-wells in western districts, in areas of Celtic influence, and he set out several theories involving Christian and mythological beliefs, some of them rather fanciful. The one which seems to us to have most relevance is that the source of a river or stream in Welsh is *Llygad*, or eye? Wells may have been seen as ‘the eye of the god’, and the link between this and the pilgrim’s own eye was easily made’ (Bord & Bord 1985, 50, 51).

Binnall’s article, ‘Collectanea: Some Theories Regarding Eye-Wells’, *Folklore* vol. 56 (1945), 361-364, would appear to me, and probably to the countryfolk of County Kilkenny seeking an eye cure at holy wells many decades ago (should the proposals of the article have been presented to them) to have been a little far-fetched and over-theoretical.

Janet Bord's contention above that 'the complaint which crops up most often in the lore of wells is sore eyes' is in line with findings of this thesis to the effect that sore eyes top the list of ailments for which cures were sought at holy wells in County Kilkenny with no fewer than seventeen such instances being recorded. It is also the only ailment to give its name to a well as in Thubberachollikeen/Tobar an Chailcín (*tld*: Tobernabrone), 'well of the eye-disorder'.

County Kilkenny example (for a full list, see Appendix LXIII):

16.25.1 Broochgarrig, *tld*: Aughtubbrid or Chatsworth

1938 The water which was supposed to be a cure for sore eyes and other diseases.

NFCS 865.141

16.26 Sore feet

16.26.1 Bostionfort Well, *tld*: Castle Ellis

1938 If you had sore hands or feet and you washed them in it, they would be cured.

NFCS 860.115

16.26.2 Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Inistioge

1969 The smaller basin built into the wall was for bathing the eyes and the larger one on the ground for the feet.

Birthistle 42

16.26.3 Tubber naev Mulleeng, *tld*: Listerlin

1938 If you had any sore in your leg you could dip it in it and it would be cured.

NFCS 846.1

16.26.4 St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill

2001 The stone bowl beside the well is used for washing feet to cure foot ailments.

Rackard & O'Callaghan 58

16.26.5 Toberaniddaun, tld: Pottlerath

1875 About four years ago the late John Pollard, of the Commons of Ballingarry, was cured of a large running sore on his leg. He prayed at Tobernadaun and his cure was considered to be miraculous.

Holahan 33

16.26.6 St. Finan's Well, tld: Tinnalintan

1938 Old people thought that the water of this well was a cure for sore feet.

NFCS 868.10a

16.27 Sore hands

16.27.1 Bostionfort Well, tld: Castle Ellis

1938 If you had sore hands or feet and you washed them in it, they would be cured.

NFCS 860.115

16.28 Sore knees

16.28.1 Tubber naev Mulleeng, tld: Listerlin

1938 Near it are three stones, one for your head and one for each knee.

NFCS 846.264

1938 Inhabitants of 60 years or so remember people suffering from headaches or pain in the knee going to St. Moling's well in Listerlin where three stones were fitted on affected part to be cured.

16.29 Sore limbs

16.29.1 St. Ronagh's Well, *tld*: Dunnamaggan East

1934 It was believed to cure pains in the limbs. *NFCS 852.294*

16.30 Sore throat

16.30.1 St. Canice's Well, *tld*: Garrygaug

2014 St. Canice's holy well is located a hundred yards from the church in Davis' field. It has a cure for throat ailments.

O'Shea 77

16.30.2 Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Inistioge

1938 A woman who had a sore throath [sic] rubbed the water on it and she was cured in two days.

NFCS 859.187

16.30.3 St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill

2001 Water from the well is said to cure warts, sore throats and eyes.

Rackard & O'Callaghan 58

16.31 Sore wrists

16.31.1 Thubberna Mydan, *tld*: Caherlesk

1938 Supposed to be a cure in it for sore eyes, sprained ankles, sore rists [sic] and a pain in the ear.

NFCS 853.128

16.32 Sprained ankles

16.32.1 See Thubberna Mydan, tld: Caherlesk

16.33 Stomach problems

16.33.1 Thubbervweenia, tld: Tullamaine (Ashbrook)

2003 The water is reputed to have healed skin ailments, cured headaches and stomach cramp.

Fitzgerald 103

16.34 Swellings and strains

16.34.1 St. Augustine's Well, tld: Callan North

1938 noted to cure swellings and strains *NFCS 853.152*

16.34.2 St. Columbkille's Well, tld: Columbkille

1945 St. Columbkille's Well – the water of which when applied to the affected parts, cures swellings, strains and sprains.

ITAS(KK) Thomastown Form A, page 4

16.35 Toothache

16.35.1 St. Patrick's Well, tld: Earlsbog Commons

1938 Long ago a woman lived in Gowran and she had a bad tooth and an aspse [sic] came on her face. She went to a holy well fasting and every morning she drank a drop of the water and at the third morning she was cured.

NFCS 860.72

16.35.2 St. John's Well, tld: Johnswell

1934 Some put their heads under spout as it is thought it will prevent headaches and toothaches for the following year.

NFCS 468.105

16.35.3 Kilkeasy Holy Well, *tld*: Kilkeasy

1944 At Kilkeasy old church yard is a tall tree in which a hole is situated in the trunk. This aperture always contains water which is taken away by people afflicted with eye troubles and is also used as a cure for toothache.

ITAS(KK) Aghaviller, Form A, page 4

16.35.4 Tobersenan, *tld*: Kilmacow

1938 Everyone present took a drink of water from the well and some took bottles of water away to use them as cures for pains such as headaches and toothaches.

NFCS 843.229

1938 A Miss Sullivan used to send the children a drink when they had a toothache.

NFCS 843.229

16.35.5 Toberelleen, *tld*: Tikerlevan

1934 The water of this well is considered efficacious for the relief of teethaches [*sic*], headaches and rheumatic pains.

NFC 468.107

1938 Its water was supposed to be a cure for violent headaches, teethaches, etc.

NFCS 857.54

- 16.35.6 St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard
- 1938 St. Fiachra's well was always considered a cure for violent headaches and
teethaches.
NFCS 857.31
- 1980 Toothache well, St. Fiachra's Well at Ullard.
Logan 85
- 2009 Toothache well, St. Fiachra's Well at Ullard.
Varner 113
-
- 16.36 Ulcers
- 16.36.1 St. Canice's Well, *tld*: Gardens
- 2014 The water from this well is said to be very good to take with you if you are
journeying by sea. It is also said to cure ulcers and other ailments.
Farrell 171
-
- 16.36.2 St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill
- 1887-92 He [Moling] is said is said to have had ulcers or sores on his feet which he
used daily to wash in a spring.
Carrigan NB 40.171
- 1970 The water of the well is reputed to contain a cure for ulcers.
Murphy 43
- 1980 Its waters are used to treat ulcers.
Logan 52
- 1980 Here the saint is said to have used the water to cure the ulcers from which
he suffered and it has been so used ever since.
Logan 87

- 2000 The water of the well is well known as a cure for ulcers.
Murphy 215
- 2005 The waters of St. Moling's Well are reputed to cure ulcers.
Fitzgerald 393
- 16.37 Warts
- 16.37.1 Thubber Phaudhrig, tld: Davidstown
- 1938 It is in the water of the well you must bathe the wart.
NFCS 845.96
- 16.37.2 St. Mullin's Well, tld: Mullennakill
- 2001 Water from the well is said to cure warts.
Rackard & O'Callaghan 58
- (St. Manchan's Well of Leamanaghan, County Offaly, is also reputed to cure warts)
- In a pre-fieldwork communication with John Dunphy (aged 75-80) in the early summer of 2016, he relates that the water of Tobernakill, *tld*: Ballygorey, was a cure for warts and May Maher (aged 75-80) imputes a similar boon to the well-water of Toberadrugh/St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Clontubbrid.
- 16A. Legendary lore concerning general or unspecific cures at holy wells
- 16A1 The Church Well, tld: Aughatubbrid or Chatsworth
- 1938 There is a cure in the water of this well. *NFCS* 864.167
- 1938 There is a well there and there is a cure in the water.
NFCS 864.183
- 1938 The well which is believed to cure diseases.

16A2 Lady's Well, tld: Ballyda

1938 Lady's Well in Danesforth [sic] to prevent any disease.

NFCS 853.152

16A3 Tobernakill, tld: Ballygorey

1839 A Turas here was deemed a certain specific against all diseases, love and jealousy excepted.

OSL(KK) II 80

1938 People come from all parts on the pattern day (June 24th) to be cured of divers diseases.

NFCS 856.195

16A4 St. Cranagh's Well, tld: Boggan

1937-81 Every Sunday during the Summer months, it was customary for the people for miles around to travel to this well for holy water, as they believed that there was a cure in it for several diseases.

NFCS 830.221

16A5 St. James's Well, tld: Carrickcloney

1945 St. Jame's [sic] Well reputed to have curative properties.

ITAS(KK) Glenmore, Form A, page 4

16A6 Lady's Well, tld: Castlemarket

1938 People drink its water and go there to pray when they require a cure.

NFCS 866.183

- 1942 Cures “everything”
ITAS(KK) Ballyragget, Form A, page 4
- 1953 Numerous cures are reported through using its water.
Abbeyleix Story 38
- 16A7 St. Colman’s Well, *tld*: Churchclara
- 1938 Over a century ago it was visited by people seeking cures.
NFCS 859.401
- 16A8 St. Ronagh’s Well, *tld*: Dunnamaggan East
- 1944 Local people still continue to obtain water from St. Leonard’s Well at Dunamaggin [sic] for curative purposes.
ITAS(KK) Dunamaggin, Form A, page 8
- 16A9 St. Patrick’s Well, *tld*: Earlsbog Commons
- 1938 It is supposed to cure any ailments.
NFCS 860.116
- 16A10 St. Canice’s Well, *tld*: Gardens
- 1883 Many miraculous cures were every day effected by using this water, and invoking St. Canice’s aid.
Hogan 10; Sparks & Bligh 44
- 1938 Those who are suffering from any infirmity come here to implore the intercession of St. Canice.
NFCS 855.156
- 1938 Many miraculous cures were effected by using the water and invoking St. Canice’s aid.
NFCS 856.79

- 2002 Its water is reputed to contain miraculous powers.
Fitzgerald 82
- 2005 Miraculous cures have for centuries been attributed to the well.
Fitzgerald 379
- 16A11 St. Francis Well, tld: Gardens
- 1781 Heretofore famous for miraculous cures.
Ledwich Ir. Kilk. 537; Carrigan III 111
- 1786 formerly celebrated for many miracles said to have been wrought there.
Mon.Hib. 375; Carlisle
- 2005 Its alleged miraculous cures.
Fitzgerald 380
- 16A12 St. Kieran's Well, tld: Gardens
- 1876 Its waters were efficacious for the cure of diseases.
Hogan 212, 213
- 16A13 St. Mary's Well, tld: Gardens
- 2005 Many alleged cures were attributed to its waters.
Fitzgerald 378
- 16A14 Thiberawling, tld: Graigavine
- 1938 Long ago this well was visited by pilgrims and cures were effected through
its efficacious waters.
NFCS 840.203

- 16A15 Lady Well, tld: Grange Lower
 2005 For centuries people had reported cures there.
Fitzgerald 387
- 16A16 St. John's Well, tld: Johnswell
 2005 It was famed both for its status as a place of sanctity and miraculous cures.
Fitzgerald 383
- 16A17 St. John's Well, tld: Kildalton
 1893-4 St. John's Well where people used to pilgrim around formerly and look for
 cures from various maladies.
Carrigan NB 6.70
- 16A18 Tobersenan, tld: Kilmacow
 1938 Some old people believe that the waters of the Holy Well possess cures for
 diseases and other ailments of the body.
NFCS 843.9
- 1944 St. Senan's Well – reputed to have traditional curative powers.
ITAS(KK) Kilmacow, Form A, page 4
- 16A19 Tobermurry, tld: Kilmurry
 1945 Although the water is good, it is very little used except by people for its
 curative properties.
ITAS(KK) Slieverue, Form A, page 4
- 16A20 Toberuna, tld: Owing

1938 In former days many people visited this well, whose water was used for ailments or diseases.

NFCS 844.8

16A21 St. Philomena's Well, tld: Rathcash West

1938 A woman fell into the well and there was another invalid woman coming to the well – both were cured afterwards.

NFCS 860.120

16A22 St. Rosentha's Well, tld: Rossaneany

1938 Local tradition says many people have been cured of various maladies by using the water from the well.

NFCS 852.5

16A23 St. Martin's Well, tld: Templemartin

1938 Famous for the many cures supposed to have been wrought there.

NFCS 859.403

16A24 Tubbrid Holy Well, tld: Tubbrid

1938-92 It is said that in olden times people went to this well to get cured of some disease or sickness, and that most of those people were cured.

NFCS 840.153

16A25 Lady's Well, tld: Tullaroan

1991 There is a reputed Holy Well beside the cemetery – said to have great healing qualities.

Walsh 17

To summarise the above, the ailments for which cures were sought in County Kilkenny in descending order of frequency are:

Sore eyes (17 instances), headaches (14), blindness (6), sore feet (6), toothache (6), rheumatism (4), cuts and sores (3), fever (3), lameness (3), paralysis (3), ague (2), sore throat (2), swellings, strains and sprains (2), ulcers (2), warts (2), arthritis (1), backache (1), boils (1), bunions (1), chest complaints (1), consumption (1), coughs (1), deafness (1), decay and decline (1), diabetes (1), heartburn (1), mental troubles (1), ringworms (1), scurvy (1), skin complaints (1), sore ears (1), sore hands (1), sore knees (1), sore limbs (1), sore wrists (1), sprained ankles (1) and stomach problems (1).

The vast majority of the Kilkenny list (36/37, 97.3%) are ailments of a physical nature, the possible ailment of insanity being the only one outside of that realm, which pertains to the Bords' list entitled Mental problems (psychological or psychiatric).

13 ailments which are all of a physical nature pertain to the Kilkenny list only (13/82, 15.9%), namely: arthritis, boils, bunions, chest complaints, diabetes, heartburn, ringworms, sore ears, sore feet, sore limbs, sore throats, sore wrists and sprained ankles.

This compares with the very comprehensive list of cures sought at wells in England (Bord & Bord 1985, 50–53) and Wales (Jones 1954, 223, 234), totally some seventy ailments as a whole.

The vast majority of the ailments supplied by the Bords and by Francis Jones which do not feature in the Kilkenny list at all are also of a physical nature: asthma, baldness, bladder stone, bowel complaints, broken bones, bruises, cancer, colic, diarrhoea, dropsy, dumbness, dysentery, dyspepsia, epilepsy, erysipelas, female complaints, fits, freckles, gangrene, glandular problems, gout, gravel, infertility, inflammation, itch, jaundice, leprosy, measles, nausea, numbness, piles, polypus, pox, rickets, raptures, scrofula, shortness of breath, sore knees, spasms, tumours, wens and wounds (42/70, 60%). Also included in their list only are ailments such as alcoholism (mental or physical), childhood illnesses (mental or physical), hydrophobia (psychological) and melancholia (mental/psychological).

23 ailments are common to the English/Welsh and Kilkenny lists and once again, the vast majority of these are of a physical nature (mental troubles being the only exception): ague, backache, blindness, consumption, coughs, deafness, debility, fever, headache, lameness, paralysis, rheumatism, scurvy, skin complaints, sores and abscesses, sore eyes, sore hands, sprains and swellings, stomach problems, toothache, ulcers and warts.

Noticeable absentees from the Kilkenny list are cancer/tumours (mentioned individually in the English list) and cardiovascular ailments (which do not feature in the English/Welsh lists either).

Comparison can also be drawn with the rather shorter list from the Hebrides provided by Martin Martin. A remarkable fountain near Marvag-houses on the Outer Hebridean Isle of Harris was found to be ‘very effectual for restoring lost appetite’ (Martin 1695c., 111), while Loch Siant Well in Skye was a specific for stitches, headaches, [gall]stone, consumptions and megrim (*Ibid.* 197). He also noted in the case of Toubir ni Lechkin, that is the well in a stony descent, in the southern Hebridean isle of Jura, that it guarded against ‘nauseousness of the stomach and [gall]stone’ (*Ibid.* 268).

Other wells appear to have been omni-curative and are described by him as ‘a catholicon for all diseases’ in the following instances:

1. A well near a chapel on Great Cumbrae in the lower Firth of Clyde (*Ibid.* 253)
2. Tobermore on the Isle of Gigh off the western coast of Kintyre (*Ibid.* 265), and
3. Toubir in Donich on the Isle of Tiree, the most westerly island of the Inner Hebrides (*Ibid.* 296) (‘Well of Sunday’).

17. There was a legendary belief among many pilgrims that the water of the well would become dry when profaned or disrespected

While cures are by far the most important of all folk-beliefs, other beliefs are often attested. Ó Giolláin has pointed out, for example, that legends which deal with the theme of respect are particularly common. Profaning a well by washing clothes in it or by watering horses in it lead to the well becoming dry or to the well losing its power to heal and protect (Ó Giolláin 1998, 207).

Such a phenomenon is documented in the case of St. Brendan’s Well, Ballinknockane, County Kerry (*Corkaguiney Wells* 75) and at Tobar Rí an Domhnaigh, Rickardstown Upper, County Kildare (*Kildare Wells* 158).

17.1 Lady’s Well, *tld*: Ballyda

- 1938 There is a story told about a woman who washed puddings in the well long ago and that it went dry and the priest had to come and say Mass in it, before he had finished he was up to the ankles in water.

2005 According to legend, the well dried up only once in its long history by washing pigs' entrails in it.

Fitzgerald 391

17.2 St. Michael's Well, tld: Bayswell

1935 One day a dog went in and washed himself in the well and it went dry. Shortly afterwards a priest came and sprinkled the well with water and prayed. Next morning the water was back again.

NFCS 869.146

17.3 Toberadrugh, tld: Clontubbrid

1905 Only its dry bed now remains, the sacred spring having been profaned before even the oldest now living can remember.

Carrigan II 328

1920 O'Blanchfield, born 1820 (died 1911) says he never saw spring water in the well, that it was profaned before his time, and has been dry ever since.

Carrigan NB 71.65

17.4 St. Kieran's Well, tld: Kilkieran

1876 The holy well here was desecrated by a person who had irreverently washed in it part of a pig which had died of a disease, upon which the well immediately ran dry.

Hogan 207

17.5 Thubber Murrha, tld: Kilmacar

1905 About 1800, or a little later, the well was profaned and ran dry, and became, soon after, obliterated altogether.

1938 About 1800 this well was profaned and went dry and sometime afterwards was entirely filled in.

NFCS 865.388

1938 Once when the people were visiting it a person spat in it. The priest stopped the pilgrimage and prayed that no water should ever enter it. This request was granted and since that day the well is dry.

NFCS 868.14

17.6 Tobernacask, *tld*: Redacres North

1893 No tradition of its being holy, was profaned and went dry till a priest blessed it and it flowed again all [*sic*] right.

Carrigan NB 6.171

17.7 St. Fintan's Well, *tld*: Shanbogh Upper

1938 On a particular occasion some trouble arose and blood was shed. The combatants with the blood on their hands betook themselves to the Holy Well and there washed their hands. The well immediately dried. This was a cause of great affliction to the people who besought the parish priest to do something about the matter. He came and prayed over the well, the water then returning.

NFCS 846.107

17.8 Thibberachollikeen, *tld*: Tobernabrone

1893 A woman washed clothes once, during Summer in Tobarachollickeen and it at once went dry and remained so for two or three days till someone poured holy water into it when it again immediately flowed as usual.

Carrigan NB 6.132, 133

18. The well moves or changes location when desecrated

The Bords caution that the well commonly moves location when profaned, whether the profanation is either real or imaginary (Bord & Bord 1985, 100).

Examples of this are documented in the case of St. Laghteen's Well, Knockyrourke, County Cork (*East Muskerry Wells* 110), Lady's Well, Newtown or Skirk, County Laois (*NFCS* 826.214), St. Creigharee's Well, Drumharkan Glebe, County Leitrim (*Fest. Lugh.* 606) and Toubir in Knahar in the Hebrides (Martin 1695c., 274).

In a somewhat similar vein, Dr. Clodagh Tait explains that 'one common reaction on the part of churches and graveyards and their inhabitants to disturbance or sacrilege was simply to move' and that 'the most usual reason for graveyards moving in the middle of the night was desecration by the burial of Protestants within them'. She cites examples of Castletown graveyard, Killeagh, County Cork and Kilsarcon graveyard, County Kerry (Tait 2013, 280).

County Kilkenny example:

18.1 St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Toberbride

1875 It is said the well was dishonoured in some manner, and changed its location in consequence.

Holohan 7

1938 At first the well was in Butler's Orchard until a woman came and washed clothes in it and dishonoured it. The well changed and sprung up in Mulrooney's field.

NFCS 867.46

2006 It is said that this well had, in the past, moved its location as its original site had been dishonoured.

Larkin 118

19. Desecrated wells became dry and also move location in certain cases

Both dryness and moving location follow profanation in the case of Holy Well, Balrothery, Dublin (*Dublin Wells:ÓD* 74, *Dublin Wells:Bran.* 17), St. Patrick's Well, Kildemock, County

Louth (Moroney, *Louth Wells* 58) and Tobar Padruig, Castletown, County Meath (*Meath Wells* 3).

19.1 Thubber Eheen, tld: Desart Demesne

1893 An old church. Close beside it was a holy well, having been profaned by a woman washing blankets in it one Sunday, went dry and the spring broke out again farther on where it still flows in a copious stream.

Carrigan NB 6.126

19.2 St. Faghtna's Well, tld: Tibberaghny

1893-4 The old holy well of Tybroughney was about 22 yards north west of the present well in a clump of trees of sceach and ash: it was profaned, immediately went dry and broke out in its present location.

Carrigan NB 6.80

20. Ill-luck or misfortune attends those who desecrate or disrespect the holy well

Examples of ill-luck attending profaners of wells include incidents at St. Catherine's Well, Straffordstown, County Dublin, where a farmer's cattle died (*Fingallian Wells* 30), at Tobernasool, Ballyheige, County Kerry, where a landlord's hand became withered (*North Kerry Wells* 157) and at Tobersaran, Moystown Demesne, County Offaly, where a Protestant's house became flooded (*NFSC* 816.211, 212).

An illustrative example is provided (for a full list, see Appendix LXIV):

20.1 St. Brandon's Well, tld: Aghaviller

1938 In the house now known as Castlemorris there lived a tyrannical and bigoted landlord name Pratt.

When Pratt heard about the well and that it was known as St. Brendan's Well he said he would fill it in and he had his workmen draw a large cartload of stones to the well and fill it up. Next morning when Pratt arose he found he could not leave the house. All the wells on the estate overflowed their banks

and formed an ocean around the house and flooded the lower rooms.

NFCS 849.137

21. The legendary notion that the water of the holy well could not be boiled was common among pilgrims formerly

Water could not be boiled following profanation at St. Patrick's Well, Kellistown East, County Carlow (*Carlow Wells* 6), at Sunday's Well, Walshestown, County Cork (*East Muskerry Wells* 109), at St. Finnian's Well, Cumber Upper, County Offaly (*NFCS 820.265*) or at the well of St. Cowsten's Church in the Hebrides (Martin 1695c., 90).

21.1 Tobernakill, tld: Ballygorey

- 1934 People state that the water taken directly from the well will not boil.

NFC 468.118

- 1939 People state that water taken directly from the well will not boil.

NFCS 840.176

21.2 Lady's Well, tld: Castlemarket

- 1938 In Ladywell a woman came for a bucket of water. When she brought it home and put it in the pot there was a fish swimming around in it and the water would not boil.

NFCS 864.39

21.3 St. Ronagh's Well, tld: Dunnamaggan East

- 1934 If people tried to boil this water it would fail them.

NFCS 852.293

- 1944 Many people in the locality say that the water from this well can never be boiled, a feature which has been proved they say on several occasions.

1952 The people of Dunamaggin [*sic*] say the water of the well cannot be boiled.

Phelan 46

21.4 Tobernasool, *tld*: Gorteennamuck

1934 Water from the well will not boil. *NFC* 468.93

1938 The water of the well will not boil if profaned. *NFCS* 868.141

1938 Many years ago a farmer living near the well would not believe it was blessed. He went one day for a bucket of water to boil turnips. He placed a great fire under it but he could not get the water to boil or if he had it down until now it would not boil. He believed in the holy well ever after when he saw this.

NFCS 869.228

21.5 St. Fintan's Well, *tld*: Shanbogh Upper

1874-9 All the furze in Shanboth could not warm the water.

Moore 27

21.6 Toberelleen, *tld*: Tikerlevan

1934 People say that the water of this holy well cannot be boiled.

NFC 468.108

22. Legendary lore sometimes suggests that holy wells were never without water

Wells which always contained water include Holy Well, Ballinrea, County Carlow (*Carlow Wells* 19), St. Patrick's Well, Moynalty, County Meath (*Meath Wells* 8) and St. Gabbin's Well, Ballygobban, County Wicklow (*Wicklow Wells* 639).

22.1 Tubber-Kilkeerawn, *tld*: Castletown

1938 The water is supposed never to get dried up. *NFCS 844.119*

22.2 Tubber Finnawn, tld: Finnan

1890-2 At a few perches from the site of the monastic buildings is a fine well which is called I think St. Finnan's well and is a remarkably good spring, never going dry.

Carrigan NB 74.20

22.3 Columbkille's Well, tld: Inistioge

1938 It never goes dry.

NFCS 859.187

1938 It was blessed twice by Father William Martin and it is said that it will never go dry.

NFCS 859.252

22.4 Kilkeasy Holy Well, tld: Kilkeasy

1938 In the graveyard there is a very large tree. In an opening in this tree there is a holy well – it never goes dry.

NFCS 848.63

22.5 St. Mullin's Well, tld: Mullennakill

1938 It is said that once a farmer named Casey came to the saint [Moling] and told him of the scarcity of water and he told him to dig a hole and fill it with water and it would never go dry.

NFCS 851.47

Pre-fieldwork communications with various informants in the early summer of 2016 point to a supposed similar phenomenon in relation to the following holy wells:

1. Trinity Well, *tld*: Ballycannon, *per* Peter Maher;
2. St. John's Well, *tld*: Cottrellsbooly, *per* Kathleen Fennelly;
3. Tobernasool, *tld*: Gorteennamuck, *per* Pat Loughlin;
4. Tobersenan, *tld*: Kilmacow, *per* Máiréad Phelan;
5. Toberachree, *tld*: Kilmacshane, *per* Éamonn Drea;
6. Kilmog Holy Well, *tld*: Kilmog or Racecourse, *per* Dermot Kearney;
7. St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Lamoge, *per* John Comerford;
8. Toberakin, *tld*: Ovenstown, *per* Stephen Hoyne;
9. Tubber Ullacawn, *tld*: Rathlogan, *per* Pat Loughlin, and
10. St. Fintan's Well, *tld*: Shanbogh Upper, *per* Thomas Green.

While the aforementioned wells were reported to have always contained water, other marvellous fountains are supposed to have undergone, contrary to expectation, a winter dryness and a summer wetness:

1881 There is a fountain in Poitou [south-west France], at St. Jean d'Angeli, where
(1200c.) the head of St. John the Baptist is preserved, from which no water issues in
 winter, while, contrary to the usual nature of springs, it pours forth copious
 streams during the summer.

Wright 67, 68 (*Topog.Hib.* 20rb36-20rb40)

1881 In some parts of Normandy, the springs are full in seasons of plenty, and fail
(1200c.) when the crops are deficient.

Wright 66 (*Topog.Hib.* 20vb14-20vb17)

23. Legendary lore conveys the idea that the water of certain holy wells remains
 ice-cold even in the warmest weather

A similar phenomenon is evidenced in the case of St. Fintan's Well, Cromoge, County Laois (*NFCS* 832.69), St. Patrick's Well, Walterstown, County Meath (*Meath Wells* 17) and St. Gobbin's Well, Ballygobbin, County Wicklow (*Wicklow Wells* 639).

23.1 St. Canice's Well, *tld*: Gardens

1842 Its water, on the hottest day of Summer, is said to possess an icy coldness.
Hall II 23

2002 It tastes better I [John Fitzgerald] discovered, than any commercial bottled water and is ice cold in even the hottest weather.
Fitzgerald 22

23.2 St. Kieran's Well, *tld*: Gardens

1876 It flows in copious and perpetual supply, and retains its refreshing coolness through the heat of the warmest summer.
Hogan 213

23.3 Garryduff Holy Well / St. Mark's Well, *tld*: Garryduff

1938 The warmest day in Summer the water in this well is cold as ice.
NFCS 844.9

23.4 Thibberawling, *tld*: Graigavine

1938 The waters are icy-cold even in mid-summer.
NFCS 840.203

John Dunphy of Ballygorey relates that the water of Tobernakill, *tld*: Ballygorey, remains 'ice-cold on the warmest summer's day while a similar phenomenon is reported by Martin Brennan concerning Trinity Well, *tld*: Ballyrafton, by Stephen Hoyne in relation to Tobermagibboge, *tld*: Castle Eve, and by Betty Hanrahan (aged 95-100) concerning Tobar Muire, *tld*: Whitechurch.

24. A legend common in the lore pertaining to holy wells is that a fish often resided in the well, sometimes acting as guardian or spirit of the well and on other occasions it was to signify an answer to the pilgrim's prayer.

W.G. Wood-Martin endeavours to trace this phenomenon as follows:

Fish veneration is of Eastern origin, for it is known that, in certain parts of China, India, Persia, and Africa, there are wells attached to temples in which sacred fish are fed by the priests.

(Wood-Martin II 1902, 111)

Francis Jones asserts that some sacred fish residing in wells were used for divination and that others were believed to be an omen of health, both of which notions he regards as being pagan in origin:

Fish and eels in wells were regarded with considerable awe and respect. Some were used for divination, others were regarded as health-giving. Such beliefs and customs are assuredly pagan.

Fish and eels in wells are found in all Celtic lands, and appear in the *Lives of the Saints*.

(Jones 1954, 108)

Janet and Colin Bord refer to the symbolic significance of fish in holy wells and to the esteem in which they held among the Celts:

Fishes can be seen as a phallic symbol, and they are also symbolic of fecundity, procreation, life renewed and sustained. Salmon and trout were sacred creatures to the Celts, and may have represented the gods of the underworld. Traces of these beliefs remain in the form of sacred fishes in holy wells, which in some instances were present until recent times.

(Bord & Bord 1985, 144)

Dr. Diarmuid Ó Giolláin also refers to the aforementioned trout and salmon and comments on their supposed symbolism and significance:

A common belief was that a fish lived in the holy well, most usually a trout or salmon. The fish symbolised the virtue of the well. To see one meant that the pilgrim's prayer would be answered.

(Ó Giolláin 1998, 207)

Gary Varner issues similar comments as follows:

Fish, especially trout and salmon, have a special association with holy wells. These fish living in holy wells were thought to possess both eternal life and wisdom; they were the holders of the knowledge of the gods and the Otherworld.

(Varner 2009, 102)

Once again the Celtic influence of both fish-types vis à vis holy wells is confirmed as he continues:

According to Celtic traditions, fish were thought to be the spirit of a transformed human being that had been trapped in a well and turned into magical salmon or trout – transformed to become the guardian spirit of that well throughout time.

(*Ibid.*)

Writing some twenty years after co-writing *Sacred Waters* with her husband Colin, Janet Bord argues that such a tradition probably dates back to prehistoric times. She provides a valuable illustrative example of Fionn Mac Cumhaill and the Salmon of Knowledge:

The significance of fishes in the folklore of holy wells shows that at least some of that lore goes back many centuries and probably to prehistoric times. The salmon symbolised wisdom and knowledge in the Irish and Welsh mythologies, as most famously demonstrated in the Irish tale of Finn the hero, who was given the Salmon of Knowledge to cook. He burned his thumb on the fish while it was on the grill and in this way gained knowledge, also gaining wisdom by eating the flesh of the fish. The salmon had itself gained knowledge by eating nuts from nine hazel trees growing by a well at the bottom of the sea.

(Bord & Bord 2006, 47, 48)

As Francis Jones commented above that legendary fish are not uncommon in the (Welsh) *Lives of the Saints*, Bord continues her commentary by referring to a similar phenomenon in the *Lives of the Irish Saints*:

Other legendary fishes can be found in the *Lives of the Irish Saints*, and a recurring tale describes how a sacred trout was taken from a well and put on a

gridiron to cook. On feeling the heat, it flew back into the well, but thereafter the marks of the gridiron could be seen on its side.

(*Ibid.*)

Stretching considerably further afield, Professor W.R. Smith informs us in his publication entitled *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* that ‘sacred fish were found in rivers or in pools at sanctuaries, all over Syria. This superstition has proved one of the most durable parts of ancient heathenism; sacred fish are kept in pools at the mosques of Tripolis and Edessa. At the latter place it is believed that death or other evil consequences would befall the man who dared to eat them’ (*op.cit.* 175, 176).

A trout is seen at the well of Tobersenan, Tarmon East, County Kerry (*North Kerry Wells* 161), at St. James’ Well, Ardgoul South, County Limerick (*Limerick Wells* 204), at Tullaghan Well, County Sligo (*Fest. Lugh.* 115), at St. John’s Well, Carrigaline, County Cork (Nugent & Scriven 2015, 25, 26) and at Kilbride Well in the Hebrides (Martin 1695*c.*, 29).

Specific Kilkenny examples:

24.1 Lady’s Well, *tld*: Castlemarket

1938 People say that a trout with one eye was seen it in. *NFCS* 831.43

1938 There was a fish swimming around in it. *NFCS* 864.398, 399

24.2 St. Ronagh’s Well, *tld*: Dunnamaggan East

1934 There is a fish in the well and to anybody who tried to catch it, something always happened.

NFCS 852.294

24.3 Columbkille’s Well, *tld*: Inistioge

1938 There is a fish in the well. *NFCS* 859.186

1938 There is a trout in the well. *NFCS* 859.187

soldiers rushed in and stabbed him. His blood dropped into the well and the stones in it are bloodstained to this day.

NFCS 849.80

1938 During the Penal Laws a priest came to say mass there for a congregation. Some of the congregation watched the enemy for the priest. The enemy came and killed the priest. When the enemy was gone the congregation went over to the priest but he was dead. They carried him over to the well and they washed him. The blood flowed into the well and remained on the stones from that day to this. There are blood stones found in the well.

NFCS 854.174

1938 It is said that while saying mass a priest was killed by Cromwell's soldiers. The blood of the priest is supposed to be on the stones in the bottom of the well. The people take them home with them.

NFCS 854.176

1938 A priest was murdered under a bush and a well sprung up on that spot. Stones are to be found there at the present day covered with the martyr's blood. The priest owned the church beside the well. It was ruined by Cromwell.

NFCS 855.214

25.2 Thibberawling, tld: Graigavine

1938 A most remarkable feature of this well is, the white limestone over which its waters flow, seems to be spattered with blood. During the penal times a Bishop was put to death on the spot where the well now is.

NFCS 840.203

2001 Local folklore states that the reddish colour on the stones is the blood of the saint after whom the well is called.

Murphy & Fripps 13

25.3 Friar's Well, tld: Killonerry

1938 The stones or gravel in this well are curiously marked with a red substance, which is supposed to be the blood of the Friars, when they were slaughtered for their faith here in the past.

NFCS 844.112

1938 There is a holy well in the monastery field and no matter how often the stones surrounding the well are removed or replaced the stain of blood is still to be seen on the new stones. Monks are believed to have been murdered there during one of the religious persecutions.

NFCS 852.215

2014 Within a few yards of the Linguan was the Friar's Well [in] which, according to legend are red stones stained with the blood of murdered friars.

O'Shea 58

25.4 Thubberweenia, tld: Tullamaine (Ashbrook)

1938 A legend was told about this well that there was a maiden beheaded there and to the present day the stones are spotted with red and it is said that it was the blood of the maiden that stained them.

NFCS 853.248, 249

(The origin of the townland name is Tulach Mhaighne, 'hillock of the steading' which may have been locally interpreted above as Tulach Mhaighdine, 'hillock of the maiden').

26. Legendary magical candles are occasionally seen at holy wells

An eighteenth century legend concerning Tobar an tSolais, Balgatheran, County Louth, tells of a local butcher, Paddy Sloan, who after repeated warnings, polluted the well by washing entrails in it only for him to see a huge ash tree full of lighted candles one night (Moroney, *Louth Wells* 33).

26.1 Lady's Well, tld: Ballyda

1938 A woman was going very early on her pilgrim accompanied by other women to the well. She saw a lot of candles lighting. They told the others and they said it was the other people had lighted [*sic*] them at the well. They knelt down when they saw it. They said their prayers and thanked God. They cut a sod where they saw the candles lighting in the shape of a cross and that cross is still to be seen.

NFCS 854.174, 175

27. A legendary white dove was traditionally seen flying over St. John's Well at midnight when a miraculous cure at the well was about to take place on St. John's eve

Supernatural celestial birds frequently feature in the Lives of the Irish Saints. Charles Plummer mentions that a 'little bird lamented Molua', that 'the swans on Killarney [lake] come at the call of Cainnech and those on Lough Foyle at the call of Comgall', that 'swans carry Columba of Terryglass from island to island, that [swans] sing to Colman Ela and his monks to console them at their work' and that 'sea birds wing their flight to save a drowning child' (*VSHP* I (1910), cxlvi). Plummer also remarks that 'an idea common both to the ecclesiastical and secular literature is that souls and other spiritual beings appear in the form of birds; angels and blessed souls as doves or swans, lost souls and demons as ravens and other birds of evil wing' (*op.cit.* cxlvii).

Similar instances of celestial bird-song and other avian feats are encountered in *Ó Riain Saints* 153, 437, 446 and 469.

Doves are seen as incarnations of the Holy Spirit in Christian writings and this phenomenon may simply reflect a knowledge of that reality.

27.1 St. John's Well, tld: Johnswell

1934 Tradition has it that a dove used to descend at midnight St. John's eve, and that those invalids who were to be cured heard the flapping of wings or saw it.

NFC 468.105

1938 Whenever anyone would be getting cured a big white dove would be seen flying over the well.

NFCS 863.52

1938 It [the patron] was held from the 23rd June to the 29th and there was feasting and dancing and watching for the dove to appear at midnight.

NFCS 863.158

In the case of Tobernagolomb, *tld*: Rathinure, the name Tobar na gColumb, the Well of the Doves, 'is accounted for by a tradition about three blessed doves, emblems of innocence and purity, which were observed of yore to frequent it' (*OSL(KK)* II 180 (*OD*), 1839).

28. Legendary lore often records that misfortune normally befalls people who dishonour or disrespect holy trees at or near holy wells

Dishonoured trees near wells outside Kilkenny are documented at St. Fintan's Well, Sutton, County Dublin (*Fingallian Wells* 30), at St. Kieran's Well, Derryvorrigan, County Laois (*NFCS* 829.184) and at St. Patrick's Well, Patrickswell, County Limerick (*Limerick Wells* 216).

The house of the profaner from Sutton caught fire, the person from Derryvorrigan who cut the tree developed blood poisoning from which he died and the man who interfered with the tree at Patrickswell lost his sight.

The most commonly-recorded offence and subsequent misfortune, the burning of the offender's house, is related as follows by Dr. A.T. Lucas:

Wilfully to damage the bush or tree was looked upon as an act of desecration. In some cases it was believed that the person who attempted to cut down the tree for fuel imagined he saw his house on fire and ran to extinguish it. Finding he was mistaken, he returned to resume the felling, only to experience a repetition of the illusion. A second time he hurried home in alarm and a second time found his house intact. For the third time he saw his house in flames but on this occasion he ignored the warning and finished felling the tree, to discover, when he returned home, that his house had been burned to the ground.

(Lucas 1963, 40)

A Kilkenny example is provided here (for a full list, see Appendix LXV):

28.1 Broochgarrig, tld: Aughatubbrid or Chatsworth

1887 On a tree over it votive offerings of rags used to be hung, a neighbour interfered with the tree at one time and he got reason to regret his interference.

Carrigan NB 73.165

29. The legendary immortality of many of the sacred trees at or beside holy wells is also commonly recorded

On visiting St. Kieran's Well, Cooleeshill, County Offaly in 1974, Patrick Logan noticed a nearby young whitethorn with an old stump beside it and an old man, Tom Mulrany, had witnessed this phenomenon many years before Logan's visit (Logan 1980, 93).

29.1 Tubberachreene, tld: Kilmog or Racecourse

1893 Near it is an alder tree of great age which is again after decaying with hoary antiquity, rejuvenating itself, rising as it were from its ashes like a phoenix.

Carrigan NB 6.139

29.2 St. Mullin's Well, tld: Mullennakill

1980 There are other trees which are said to have renewed themselves. These include the tree at St. Moling's Well at Mullinakill, Co. Kilkenny. This is believed to have been planted by the saint and the people say that it has renewed itself many times.

Logan 93

2000 Crann Moling – an alder tree reputed to have been planted by the saint himself. It has renewed itself over and over again as can be plainly seen by any pilgrim who visits the area.

Murphy 24

2001 There are many stories told to illustrate the ‘immortality’ of the sacred trees. The tree at St. Moling’s Well at Mullenakill, Co. Kilkenny is believed to have been planted by the saint and people say that it has renewed itself many times.

Smith 148

29.3 Rossdama Holy Well, *tld*: Rossdama

1875 The visitors to the well usually left on the tree pieces of cloth as votive offerings. The old people say that in their fathers’ time the tree fell down, and rose again after nine days.

Holahan 7

Conclusions

Sixty six separate legends apply to 81 wells ($81/183 = 44.3\%$) covering 380 documented references (the documented references which apply to other examples outside County Kilkenny are not included here).

One folk-belief only is evidenced in the case of 32 wells (39.5%), two beliefs are encountered in the case of 18 wells (22.2%), three beliefs are documented for 9 wells (11.1%), four for 8 wells (9.8%), five for 3 wells (3.7%), seven for 3 wells (3.7%), eight for 3 wells (3.7%), nine for one well (1.2%) and a very considerable sixteen for St. Mullin’s Well, Mullennakill. A full list of the distribution of these folk-beliefs may be viewed in Appendix LXVI. No folk-beliefs are documented in the case of 102 wells (55.7%).

Of the total amount of 380 documented references to folk-beliefs, only 47 references apply to origin legends (12.4%), while a considerable 333 references apply to belief legends.

Cures are by far the most common folk belief associated with wells, accounting for 195 references or well over half of all the references to belief legends (58.6%) and for even half of all the references to origin and belief legends combined (195/380, 51.3%).

Eye cures are the most commonly sought after of all cures, featuring in no fewer than 25 different wells spanning 43 references, while many of the other maladies in the Kilkenny list feature at one or two wells only, the vast majority of the illnesses being of a physical nature (sore eyes, headaches, toothaches), a noticeable absentee being cancer (which is found in the English and Scottish lists), while ‘mental troubles’ at Thubbervweenia (No. 179) (Legends

16.18) and perhaps Toberatoo (No. 38) < Tobar an Chumha ('well of the sorrow') appear to be the only possible indications of a psychological illness.

It is clear that the wells in Kilkenny functioned as a form of medical aid during the nineteenth century and would have been the doctors of the peasantry before medical science improved later in the century.

The origin legends are often first documented in the Ordnance Survey *Letters* while the belief legends are often first encountered in the folklore collections and in local journals.

Chapter 8: The fifth data-set — fieldwork in County Kilkenny, 2014–2017

Preparatory work

Back in 2013 I accessed the National Monuments website under County Kilkenny with reference to a ‘ritual site – holy well’ classification to discover that 161 holy wells were listed for the county. To these were added a further 22 wells which were mainly sourced from Carrigan’s printed works, from his manuscript notebooks and/or from the Schools’ Folklore Collection. Additional wells from Carrigan’s printed works include TubbernaCruchthanee (No. 24: *Carrigan* III 498), Sruthán na Ceárdcha (No. 72: *Carrigan* III 199), Lady Well (No. 105: *Carrigan* II 372), Tubber Murrha (No. 112: *Carrigan* II 201), Toberpatrick (No. 138: *Carrigan* III 273) and Tobaratiampuill (No. 143: *Carrigan* IV 323).

Carrigan’s manuscript notebooks yielded a further three wells worthy of inclusion in the database, namely: Broochgarrig (No. 4: *Carrigan NB* 73.165), Trinity Well (No. 16: *Carrigan NB* 109.42) and St. Patrick’s Well (No. 23: *Carrigan NB* 54.16), while the Folklore Collections were very fruitful adding a further ten wells, namely: St. Lawrence’s Well (No. 15: *NFCS* 857.471), St. Cranagh’s Well (No. 22: *NFCS* 830.221), Donaguile Well (No. 62: *NFCS* 865.51), St. Patrick’s Well (No. 65: *NFCS* 860.116), St. Mary’s Well (No. 78: *NFCS* 857.423), Tobar na Coille (No. 100: *NFCS* 847.91, 126, 127), Kilkeasy Holy Well (No. 107: *NFCS* 848.63), St. Mogarra’s Well (No. 119: *NFCS* 859.404), St. Philomena’s Well (No. 154: *NFCS* 860.128) and St. Rosentha’s Well (No. 162: *NFCS* 852.5).

Tobar Mhuire (No. 50) was sourced from O’Kelly’s work (*O’Kelly* 41), St. Mary’s Well from relatively-recent articles on the pattern of Coolagh (Brennan 1996, 137; Saunders 1996, 141), while the more recent article by the late Walter Walsh entitled ‘Lost and forgotten features of Kilfane Demesne’ yielded Kilfane Holy Well (Walsh 2012, 70).

Having attained these additional names I purchased an 05 Eircom Phonebook wherein, having committed the names of the 183 wells in total to memory, I searched for the relevant townland names, jotting down several hundred surnames, addresses and phone numbers as I proceeded. These details were subsequently written down in order of townland name at which stage work on the database of documented historical forms from a variety of sources (48% of the 3,504 documented references being from unpublished material) was at an advanced stage, almost nearing completion. The taking of around twenty afternoon half-days was to follow when over a period of four months, I began ringing informants in Kilkenny, jotting down as detailed notes as I could on physical well-descriptions, on nearby church ruins and graveyards, on chapels, on enclosures, on woods, on rituals and on legends, which I had

previously garnered. All of the surnames of landowners of wells mentioned in Carrigan's works and in the Schools' Survey were checked in the 05 phonebook and these were often to yield interesting results for the Schools' Collection, e.g. St. Lawrence's Well (No. 15: 'in Mr. Barron's field', *NFCS* 857.471; Willie Barron, 2016), St. Cranagh's Well (No. 22: 'in Mr. Stephen Breen's field', *NFCS* 830.221; Hugh Breen, 2016), St. Colman's Well (No. 42: 'on Mrs. O'Keeffe's Farm', *NFCS* 859.401; Philip and Margaret O'Keeffe, 2016), Thibberawling (No. 85: 'improved by the late Mr. Bowers', *NFCS* 840.173; Hugh Bowers, 2016) and Thubber Murrha (No. 112: 'in Mr. Healy's field', *NFCS* 865.371; Bríd Healy, 2016). Most of the surnames indicated in Carrigan's works, however, had undergone changes in landownership, surnameswise. Indeed, not all of the owners listed in the Schools' Survey accorded with present-day landowners either, e.g. Kilcross Well (No. 101: 'opposite the site of Mrs. Brown's forge', *NFCS* 859.184; John Knox, 2016), St. Finan's Well (No. 171: 'a well in a field that belongs to Mr. Keoghan', *NFCS* 868.4a; Michael Staunton, 2016), St. Bridget's Well (No. 172: 'in Butler's Orchard', *NFCS* 867.45, 46; Paul Harrison, 2016) and St. Fiachra's Well (No. 181: 'opposite Mrs. Baird's house', *NFCS* 857.145; Catherine Doyle, 2016).

It soon became clear that the best plan of action to follow was to ring informants in a particular townland informing them of the owner in Carrigan's time or in the later Folklore Survey and, indeed, people or inhabitants, mostly of farming stock, generally aged in their fifties or over, would be au fait with the well on their land or on the land of a neighbouring farmer. It was only after I had been approved by the Mary Immaculate Ethics Committee who had agreed on an appropriate procedure to follow while dealing with landowners, including a suitable questionnaire to follow, that I began ringing many informants.

It was around this time also that I was gifted with a spare soft-bound copy of all of the six-inch Ordnance Survey maps for County Kilkenny by the Archaeological Society of Ireland, Dublin, which gift greatly facilitated my subsequent copious note-taking at home while on annual leave or postofficially at night. Many phone calls were often required in order to communicate with the most appropriate person in any particular area and many follow-up phone calls were also required as the note-taking progressed. Having introduced myself to the informants and having explained the subject-matter and focus of the planned thesis, most informants were extremely helpful, generous with their time and very happy to impart their important knowledge. The note-taking generally took place while kneeling on the floor as I spoke on the phone with the Ordnance Survey maps usually sprawled in front of me, arming

me with numerous locational cues. One important contact in an area generally led me to another and some elderly informants knew of many wells in their locality.

Once speaking to an appropriate person, I gathered every iota of information available or known concerning the holy well. The fruits of my pre-fieldwork communications were to yield a priceless 75-page manuscript of notes which were incorporated into the well-descriptions of most of the wells in the database.

The importance of meeting an appropriate informant was hammered home to me quite early on in my investigations. Having rung St. Francis Abbey Brewery several times in an attempt to secure information on St. Francis Well (No. 76), no such information was either known or forthcoming. The brewery, which was closed for some time from December 2013 to prepare for Diageo's new Smithwick's Experience enterprise added somewhat to the confusion. On persisting with phone calls after the Brewery re-opened the following year, I was put in contact with a Pat Neary on Wolfe Tone Street who had been an employee at the brewery from 1958–1999 and it was he who unveiled evidence concerning this up-to-now obscure well. The well had been originally located in Stallard's Orchard near the Nore up to the 1970s and when the brewery acquired this site for expansion purposes, its location was subsequently 'in house'. The outdoor well had been circular and pond-like in appearance with a little stone wall around it, its diameter being about 15ft. A concrete floor was put in the new expanded area in 1977 where the preserved site of the well was used as a kegging area and coolant with a pumphouse nearby. The overflow of the well was still visible and was still used as a coolant until 2013.

Somewhat similarly, Bernie Martin (aged 85–90) informs me that there were two stones propped up against one another on the side of the road up to many years ago which served as the only remains of Holy Cross Well (No. 43), Church Hill. Even though the stones have long since been removed, she was able to inform me that during her youth there was still a local tradition of a pattern having been carried out here some time in May many years before she was born.

Mícheál Ó Diarmada of Lukeswell (No. 127) recalls that his father, William (1897–1968), used to speak of the tradition of a pattern here during his youth around a century ago, but the well has never been locally well known, not amind visited, during Mícheál's lifetime.

Wells which were marked on first- and second-edition Ordnance Survey maps on the scale of six inches to one mile were normally easier to discuss with informants as nearby rivers, streams, forts, castles, quarries, large houses, demesnes, church ruins, crossroads, laneways or boreens were often engraved in the vicinity of the well. The Ordnance Survey large-scale

25-inch maps were also scrutinised in order to acquire the acreage of the well-field and such details were communicated to informants.

However, in the case of the 22 wells outlined above which were not listed in the National Monuments Archaeological Survey, more detailed detective-work was required while dealing with informants. This generally entailed photocopying a relevant page or pages from the works of Carrigan and the Schools' Survey which very often contained important details concerning landownership and/or important locational cues. A photocopy of the well-less townland was then taken from a loose or unattached Ordnance Survey sheet and the above details were sent by post to landowners. In the explanatory letter or phone call beforehand, I asked the appropriate informant to mark the appropriate location of the well on the photocopied map and this was in turn posted back to me in a stamped addressed envelope. Informants in this latter category include Michael Condren who marked the former location of Broochgarrig Well (No. 4) before it fell victim to landscape-mining in the 1960s, Tom Fitzpatrick who pinpointed the now-disappeared Thubberniclaush (No. 95), Pat Galvin who outlined Tobar na Coille (No. 100) in Kilconnelly Wood, Ray Brophy who shaded in the Fishpond Field, the one-time location of St. Andrew's Well (No. 118), Michael Walsh who marked Kealy's Well (No. 125), Pádraig Hunt who shaded the Faugha Field of Muckalee Holy Well (No. 139), Tom Brennan who marked St. Philomena's Well (No. 154) and Tom Queally who outlined the one-time location of Lady's Well alias Connie's Well (No. 182), Urlingford.

Physical descriptions of these wells largely based on memory were supplied by these very valuable informants as well as any other relevant information.

Informants' physical descriptions of the wells

Nearly all of these detailed descriptions were secured over the phone, by letters posted to me or by e-mail, photographs of the wells being sometimes included in the post or sent to my work computer. Measurements are given in terms of yardage, feet and inches and are approximate but fairly accurate. Details concerning the well's shape are supplied, e.g. Trinity Well (No. 8) is '4ft wide and 4ft deep' (Pat Maher, aged 75–80), Ballinvarry Holy Well (No. 7) is 'half-mooned in shape' (John Mahon, aged 65–70), Lady's Well (No. 11) is '2ft at its narrowest and 20ft at its widest' (Tim Murphy, aged 60–65), Toberbride (No. 19) was

‘roundish in shape’ before it was piped around 1960 (Jimmy O’Brien, age unknown), Tobernaskeagh (No. 20) was ‘1½ft deep, 8–9ft wide, was circular and had blue stones around it’ (Joe Kennedy, aged 70–75), St. Michael’s Well (No. 21), according to Stephen Delaney, ‘is in the shape of a coffin, is 3–4ft deep, 10ft long, 4ft wide and is contained in a little house with a semi-circular roof’, St. Patrick’s Well (No. 22) ‘is in a rock on a stream and is no deeper than a two-pint glass’ (Hugh Breen, aged 50–55), Toberpatrick (No. 25) was ‘piped underground around forty years ago and lay under a pump on the roadside before the pump was removed’ (Margaret Tynan, aged 65–70), St. Dallan’s Well (No. 29) was ‘pumped to a nearby stream some forty years ago, was 2½–3½ft wide, had stones around it and steps leading to it’ (Con Barry, aged 50–55), St. Augustine’s Well (No. 31) in the Abbey Meadow ‘is rectangular in shape with a rectangular wall around it’ and is located around 100 yards from the Abbey ruins (Joe Kennedy, aged 70–75), St. Michael’s Well (No. 33) is ‘overgrown, was formerly round and had stones around it’ (Andrew Doyle, aged 70–75), St. James’s Well (No. 34) was ‘3ft square’, the Council erecting a pump over it some ten years ago (Tom Mullally, aged 80–85), Tubbernafauna (No. 35) has ‘steps down into it and is connected to a pump’ (Michael Long, age unknown), Bostionfort Well (No. 36) is within a ‘circular white-washed concrete structure’ (Mary Phelan, aged 60–65), St. David’s Well (No. 39) contains surface stones, a cement top, a pump, a hose but no water’ (Luke Roche, age unknown), Lady’s Well (No. 40) is ‘circular, has stones into it, it has a mesh for protection’ (Dermot Dorgan, aged 80–85), St. Colman’s Well (No. 42) was ‘a round surface well with a big flagstone beside it and with snowdrops growing around it’ (Margaret O’Keeffe, age unknown), ‘a hydraulic pump was in operation at St. John’s Well [No. 56] until around 1960’ (Jim O’Connell, aged 75–80), Kilkeasy Holy Well (No. 107) is ‘8 inches wide, 4ft from the ground and came into being when a bough in a tree in the graveyard broke off and water lodged in the hollow’ (Tom Holden, aged 80–85), Trinity Well (No. 130), situated in Knocktopherabbey, ‘is 4ft wide, is very deep during winter and has a light shining on it for protection’ (visited 11/7/2016), St. Mullin’s Well (No. 140) ‘is down in a hollow, beside a rough stone altar and a statue of St. Moling Luachra’ (John Kennedy, aged 80–85), Tubbrid Holy Well (No. 176) ‘was in a stone on the roadside’ (Leo Dunphy, aged 50–55), Lady’s Well (No. 182) was an ‘open spring well and was wide as a neighbour’s horse once fell into it’ (John Queally, age unknown) and Tobar Muire (No. 183) is ‘a circular, shallow, surface well around 4ft wide’ (Betty Hanrahan, aged 95–100).

Informants' descriptions of well-water quantity and quality

Christopher Spenser of Silverspring related that St. Patrick's Well (No. 2) is now merely a land drain which dries up in summer, Carmel Raggett describes St. Brendan's Well (No. 3) as being 27" deep, Aughkiletaun Well alias St. Fiachra's Well (No. 6) never goes dry (Patrick Ryan), Trinity Well (No. 8) is 4ft deep and never goes dry (Peter Maher), St. Lawrence's Well (No. 15) is no more than a trickle of water (Willie Barron), Trinity Well (No. 16) is ice-cold even in summer (Martin Brennan), Tobernaskeagh (No. 20) is 1½ft deep (Joe Kennedy), St. Michael's Well (No. 21) is 3–4ft deep (Stephen Delaney), St. Patrick's Well (No. 22) is no deeper than a two-pint glass (Hugh Breen), St. Dallan's Well (No. 29) is a deep recess in the ground (Con Barry), St. Augustine's Well (No. 31) bubbles up around the middle (Joe Kennedy), St. Michael's Well (No. 33) was shallow and dried up in the summer (Andrew Doyle), Tubbernafauna (No. 35) produces an overflow and never goes dry (Michael Long), Bostionfort Well (No. 36) produces an overflow into an underground conduit (Mary Phelan), Tobermagibboge (No. 37) has 20,000 gallons an hour issuing from it and is ice-cold even in summer (Gerard O'Brien), Tubber Broondhawin (No. 46) has a good flow of water and never goes dry (Brendan Cummins), Tobernasool (No. 84) never goes dry (Pat O'Loughlin), Thubbervzheedha (No. 99) contains very little water (Tom Mullally), St. Nicholas Well (No. 110) is never without water (Paul Ryan), Toberachree (No. 117) is no longer traceable, even by a water-diviner (Matt Drea), Tobernaraha (No. 129) never goes dry and is always ice-cold (Martin O'Shea), Trinity Well (No. 130) comes from an underground reservoir and is very deep during winter (Derek (surname unknown, Knocktopherabbey, Four Seasons)), St. Bridget's Well (No. 132) never goes dry (John Comerford), Toberakin (No. 145) never goes dry and is 2ft deep (Dick Walsh), Valentine Walsh, a water-diviner, failed to locate St. Catherine's Well (No. 153), Tobermagolumb (No. 155) has a constant supply of water (Tom Mullally), Tubber Ullacawn (No. 158) never goes dry (Pat Loughlin), St. Fintan's Well (No. 165) is never without water (Nellie Hennessy), St. Fiachra's Well (No. 181) is a shallow well which never goes dry (Myles Doyle) and Tober Muire (No. 183) is shallow, the water being very pure, clean and ice-cold even in summer (Betty Hanrahan).

Informants' descriptions of domestic, farming and other well-water types

St. Brendan's Well (No. 3) was used for domestic purposes until 1955–1960 (Carmel Raggett), Tim Murphy relates that a Mullins family drew water from Mickel's Well (No. 12) up to around 1970, Jimmy O'Brien informs me that Toberbride (No. 19) was used for similar

purposes until the 1960s, Joe Kennedy often drew water in his youth from the now-disappeared Tobernaskeagh (No. 20), Margaret Tynan drew water from Toberpatrick (No. 25) until the 1970s, Margaret Hennessy used to drink the water of St. Margaret's Well (No. 26) until around 1990, Tubbernafauna (No. 35) was a public well until a couple of decades ago (Michael Long), Mary Phelan drew water from Bostionfort Well (No. 36) until the mid-1950s, Gerard O'Brien often drank the water from Tobernagibboge (No. 37) while saving hay during his youth, St. David's Well (No. 39) was used for farming purposes until the 1970s (Luke Roche), Brendan Cummins used to drink from Tubber Broondhawin (No. 46) in his youth, Tobar Phóil (No. 52) was used for domestic purposes up to a few decades ago (Anne Downey), cattle drink from Thubberakilleen (No. 54, Dick Grace), locals drew water from Tobermogue (No. 66) until the 1970s (Donal Sheridan), neighbours living near St. Scoheen's Well (No. 73) used to come with their buckets until the 1970s, Richard Davis's deceased father used to drink from ToberaChoinee (No. 80) while haymaking in his youth, Toberkyle (No. 83) was used for household purposes until the 1960s (Ned Moran), Toberaphuicin (No. 88) is used for farming purposes (William Nicholson), Thubberniclaush (No. 95) was used for domestic reasons up to many decades ago (Tom Fitzpatrick), the Hanrahan family used the water of Tobar na Coille (No. 100) until the 1950s (Pat Galvin), Angela Donovan's mother, now long deceased, often drew water from Tubberachreene (No. 123), people used to drink from Kealy's Well (No. 125) until the 1960s (Michael Walks), Tobernagloghin (No. 126) was used for domestic purposes until the 1950s (Tom Meagher), neighbours used to seek the water of Tobernaraha (No. 129) for household reasons until the late 1950s (Martin O'Shea), St. Bridget's Well (No. 132) was often visited by John Comerford in his youth (some 75 years ago) to bring water home in buckets for drinking and washing, water was brought home in buckets from Toberpatrick (No. 138) until the period 1940–1950 (Mary Brophy), neighbours drew water from St. Bridget's Well (No. 142) until the 1970s (Stephen Hoyne), Toberakin (No. 145) was used for domestic and farming purposes up to a couple of decades ago — pig owners used to clean their churns at the well (Dick Walsh), Tobernavean (No. 150) was sometimes used for farming purposes but mainly for household reasons (John Foley), Toberaniddaun (No. 151) was similarly used until the 1960s (Violet Harris), water from Tobernacask (No. 159) was ferried home in buckets by neighbours until the 1970s (Andy Frisby), Riesk Holy Well (No. 161) water was used by local farmers to wash their milk churns and to bring home for cattle-drinking until the 1970s (Ned Brennan), St. Rosentha's Well water (No. 162) was carried home for domestic reasons until the 1960s (Elizabeth Lanigan), Nellie Hennessy (aged 80–85), while attending primary

school, used to be summoned at lunchtime by her teacher to St. Fintan's Well (No. 165) to fetch water for boiling tea, Billy Butler used to drink water from St. Bridget's Well (No. 172) while hunting during his youth, Bríd Dowling (aged 65–70) used to be summoned to Toberacrin (No. 175) by her primary teacher at lunchtime for boiling tea, William Maher's family used to drink from Thubberavweenia (No. 179) up to 20 years ago, a Purcell family drank from Lady's Well (No. 182) until the 1970s (Tom Queally) and up to 40 years ago neighbours from the Templeorum/Mountain Grove area used to ferry water home from Lady Well (No. 183) before the local water scheme was introduced.

Informants' descriptions of extant or relatively recent rituals at the wells

Surviving rituals practised at Kilkenny wells are now few and far between compared to the time of Carrigan or the Schools' Survey, as very few wells are presently visited in the county.

Mass used to be celebrated at a church ruins (Ballinamara) on Trinity Sunday (the second Sunday in July) until a few decades ago at which time pilgrims used to also visit Trinity Well (No. 8) (Peter Maher).

Tom Mullally (aged 80–85) gathers well-water from St. James's Well (No. 34) each year as Easter approaches and carries it to St. James's Chapel, Glenmore, for ceremonies each Easter Saturday night. The water is blessed and used for religious ceremonies for the coming year. Tom also visits other nearby wells around this time each year with the same purpose in mind, namely, Thubber Phaudhrig (No. 58), Thubberchooann (No. 70), Tobermurry (No. 71), Tobernanaspog (No. 89), Thubbervzheedha (No. 99) and Tobernagolomb (No. 155).

A once-off baptism, that of Maeve Galway, took place at Tobar Chiaráin (No. 38) in June 1982. It was a century since Mass had been celebrated here. The well was restored by the Tullaherin Historical Society in preparation for the Mass and baptism.

TubberKilkeerawn (No. 41) contains a ladle for drinking water (Mary O'Shea).

Pilgrims bless themselves with the holy water of Tubberadrugh (No. 49) from a church-font (May Maher), near the sacristy of Clontubbrid church.

Pilgrims used to bring water from St. Columbkille's Well (No. 151) home in bottles each year around the time of the saint's feastday each June (John Maher).

A Fr. Robertson from County Antrim, who officiated in Perth, used to drink the water of Tobar Phóil (No. 52) each time he returned home, as his housekeeper was from the area.

A Fr. Brennan used to say Mass at Caereeachth Well (No. 57) up to a number of years ago and he used to bless the well.

Water is taken home each Easter from St. Leonard's Well (No. 64) where neighbours bless themselves with it.

People made the sign of the Cross three times at Tobernasool (No. 84) until a couple of decades ago and left rags on a nearby hawthorn (Pat O'Loughlin).

Pilgrims used to visit Thibberawling (No. 85) almost every Sunday where prayers were recited until a number of decades ago (Hugh Bowers).

Mass is celebrated each year on the 15th August at Lady Well (No. 90) near which is a Marian grotto and Mass bushes (Margaret Holohan).

Tom Holden (aged 80–85), on visiting Kilkeasy graveyard, visits Kilkeasy Holy 'Well' (No. 107) on each occasion and blesses himself with the lodged water from the bough of a tree in the graveyard.

Up to 180 rags and ribbons were removed from St. Patrick's raggedy bush in 2000 but the bush, beside St. Patrick's Well or pump, is presently well-stocked with rags once more (Figures 67, 68).

American visitors bring water home from Trinity Well (No. 130), Knocktopherabbey) with a view to using the blessed water for future christenings in their native country.

A Fr. Henry used to recite the Rosary at Toberlaghten (No. 136) each year on the 15th August up to a number of years ago (Olive Ryan)

Tom Meagher (70–75), who tends to Tobaratiampuill (No. 143) relates that a cup is found for drinking at the well and that a Fr. Raftice used to say a Rosary and Benediction here each August up to a number of years ago.

Mass used to be celebrated on an altar beside St. Fiachra's Well (No. 166) each year on the last Sunday of August up to some years ago and a Rosary used to be recited here each weeknight leading up to it (Tom Hoyne).

Catherine (née O'Keeffe) relates that her late grandfather, Patrick O'Keeffe, used to gather water from Toberelleen (No. 170) and place it inside the front door in a water font. All family members used to bless themselves each time while leaving the house. Patrick used to also use the well-water for bless crops and sick animals.

Water used to be brought from St. Bridget's Well (No. 172), Ballycallan, to St. Bridget's Chapel, Ballycallan, each year around the time of the saint's feastday up to a number of years ago and a cup for drinking was placed near the well (Billy Butler).

Recent and not-so-recent parallel examples of rituals
which feature in the *Kilkenny People* newspaper (*KP*)

Mass was celebrated at the old monastic site of Aughkiletaun where a Fr. Seán Swayne and a Fr. John Hughes concelebrated before which Fr. Swayne blessed the holy well and sprinkled the congregation with the blessed water (No. 6: *KP* 25/8/1989, p17). There was also a big attendance there some three years later when the site was beautifully laid out with carpet and flowers and following the visitation to the well, the neighbouring Ryan family entertained the congregation to tea, sandwiches and cakes (*KP* 16/8/1991, p12).

Similarly, Mass was celebrated on Pattern Sunday at St. Columbkille's Well in an outdoor setting in June 1981 (No. 91: *KP* 12/6/1981, p29) and again in 1982 (*KP* 11/6/1982, p17), 1983 (*KP* 17/6/1983, p9) but it was celebrated in the nearby church in 1985 because of unfavourable weather (*KP* 14/6/1985, p14).

In 2001, parishioners gathered at St. Leonard's Church, Dunnamaggan, to bid farewell to the Jubilee/Millennium Year where, amid the singing of hymns by a choir, water was brought from St. Leonard's Well by a Noel McDonald, a stalwart in the parish and a member of the Ossory Lourdes Pilgrimage Helpers (No. 64: *KP* 9/2/2001, p7).

Members of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society visited St. Mullin's Well at Mullennakill in November 1971 where they drank the beautiful water and took home a scrap or sprig of the old alder tree thought to have the power to protect home owners from fire (No. 140: *KP* 19/11/1971, p5).

An open-air concelebrated Mass was also held here in August 1984 when the choir of the local church sung appropriate hymns and pilgrims marked the 25th anniversary of the erection of the statue to the saint (*KP* 31/8/1984, p18), the same tradition being observed once more the following year (*KP* 30/8/1985, p17) and as recently as August 2012 (*KP* 31/8/2012, p27).

Under the title 'Children lead the way into the New Millennium', the parish Millennium Committee planned a memorable ceremony for New Year's Eve which saw Mass being celebrated, music, lighted candles, the using of a relic from four graveyards (Kilbride, Ballygurrin, Kilmakevoge and Kilcolumb) and the bringing up of water from the nearby holy wells which was later blessed and sprinkled on the congregation (No. 155: *KP* 14/1/200, p16).

A special coming together of fourteen parishes of the southern Deanery of the Diocese of Ossory was organised in late April 2012 in Mooncoin church to mark the eightieth

anniversary of the Eucharistic Congress. During a special Mass, water from holy wells and places of worship of the fourteen parishes was poured into an oak vessel to symbolise the communities with water, including the holy well of Kilcolumb, Glenmore (No. 155: *KP* 4/5/2012, p26).

An annual Mass with recitation of the Rosary and an annual Novena taking place each night during the week leading up to the Sunday Mass was observed at St. Fiachra's Well, Sheastown in August 2000 (No. 166: *KP* 18/8/2000, p35). Similar pattern observances were recorded here in *KP* 28/8/1992, p3, *KP* 4/9/1981, p5 (where after concelebrated Mass, pilgrims sipped the well water), *KP* 28/8/1981, p25 (where after open-air Mass, many of the 2,500 attendees sipped the water, many for a toothache cure), *KP* 26.8.1977, p7, *KP* 22/8/1969, p20, *KP* 30/8/1968, p12, considerably earlier references being recorded in *KP* 7/9/1929, p9, in *KP* 6/9/1930, p2 (where the holy well was tastefully decorated with flowers and surrounded with lighted candles) and *KP* 8/9/1928, p7.

As recently as Saturday, 8th February, 2014, the annual pilgrimage in honour of St. Fiachra took place at the ancient church ruins and holy well at Ullard. At the ceremony the Ullard Mass Committee wished to acknowledge an anonymous donation received in appreciation of favours received through the intercession of the saint (No. 181: *KP* 7/2/2014, p5). In spite of continuous rain on Sunday, February 9th, 1986, pilgrims came from far and near to perform penitential exercises in honour of the feast (*KP* 13/2/1981, p21). The pattern was also observed the previous year when thousands of pilgrims joined in religious ceremonies and left twigs in the window of the eastern end of the ancient monastery, the highlight of proceedings being the prayerful visit to the holy well (*KP* 15/2/1980, p10). As far back as 1948, we are informed that 'many of the people, old and young, still make their penitential rounds at the well'. This same year sixty pilgrims made their rounds, 'speaking to no-one, only to God and to poor St. Feeragh, one old pilgrim puts it', the placing of crosses of twigs in the church also taking place at this time (*KP* 19/8/1948, p5).

Informants' descriptions of extant or relatively recent folk-beliefs at the wells

Relevant folk-beliefs here refer mainly to cures sought at the wells and to the occasional hagiographical origin legend.

A cure for warts used to be sought at Toberadrugh (No. 49) up to a number of decades ago (May Maher), people with sore eyes visited Garryduff Holy Well (No. 79) (James Power), Tobernasool (No. 84) (Pat O'Loughlin), Tubber Ullacawn (No. 158) (also Pat O'Loughlin),

St. Bridget's Well (No. 87) (Edward Murphy), Toberacluggeen (No. 136) (Mary Reid), Toberlaghteen (No. 137) (Olive Ryan), St. Catherine's Well (No. 153) (James Walsh — people used to come from far and near, even from Northern Ireland to this well many years ago), St. Finan's Well (No. 171) (Michael Staunton) and Thibberachollikeen (No. 173) (Michael Long).

People with sore chests visited ToberaChoinee (No. 80) (Richard Davis).

Three stones lie near TubbernaevMulleeng (No. 133), each providing a cure, 'one for your knee, one for your head and one for your back' (Eddie Long).

Toberaniddaun (No. 151) was visited 'for unspecified ailments' (Violet Harris), cures for headaches were sought by Patrick O'Keeffe and his family at Toberelleen (No. 170) (Catherine née O'Keeffe), John Campion refers to the well-water of Toberpatrick (No. 177) as 'spa water', while Eamonn Dempsey was summoned to Tobernaliha (No. 152) many years ago with a view to bringing water home to an elderly sick neighbour.

A local hagiographical legend includes the tale of The Conbhuí where Thubber Phaudhrig (No. 58) is located (Dick Claridge) — St. Patrick while building a church here at Davidstown, in the presence of his workmen, is approached by a woman from neighbouring Ballinorea townland. As she approaches Patrick with a covered dish of food, Patrick espies the paw of an animal whereupon a yellow hound leaps from the dish, is killed by an angry St. Patrick at St. Patrick's Bowl, after which the saint curses the woman.

Another locally-held belief is that St. Patrick is supposed to have opened the church of Donaghmore and to have blessed Donaghmore Well/St. Patrick's Well (No. 61) on the same day (John Walsh) and it is also believed locally that he blessed Toberpatrick (No. 138) (Mary Brophy).

Toberaphuicin (No. 88) is fenced in and cattle are not allowed to even roam near it out of respect for the well (William Nicholson), while Andy Frisby recalls his late father, George, speaking of the presence of a big eel at Tobbernacruchnhee (No. 160) some decades ago.

Fieldwork outings

The actual fieldwork outings proved to be very interesting and beneficial and added a practical dimension to this lengthy and very probing academic work in which I had been engaged for a period of about five years before I undertook the well visitations.

In addition, ringing potential informants and taking detailed notes of mainly well descriptions took a period of around four months before I was ready to visit a representational sample of twenty-five wells. My modus operandi was to contact the relevant person/persons a number of days before the visit to arrange a suitable time. My nephew, Patrick Daly, accompanied me on many of the fifteen day-long outings and took a photograph in most cases with the consent of the landowner who would have been au fait with the MIREC-approved questionnaire concerning permission on my behalf to visit a well, to have a photograph taken, as well as asking questions on some aspects of physical well descriptions, on relevant field names, on water usages, on rituals and on folk-beliefs.

Some of the fieldwork was carried out at weekends but the majority of it took place during weekday trips which required the taking of annual leave during the summer and spring of 2016.

Many informants also sent me photographs of wells which I did not manage to visit in this representational sample of well visitations, and Gearóid Ó Conchubhair, an intern at the Placenames Branch, processed all of the photographs for me before his internship expired in the late summer of 2016. He also typed the captions of the photographs which often reveal that many of the wells were no more than rushy, muddy pools in the ground, being quite shapeless and disfigured for some time now.

Visited wells

Having contacted Carmel Raggett of Aghaviller on a few occasions by phone prior to fieldwork, she accompanied me to St. Brandon's Well (No. 3) on Joseph Nolan's land. The well, which is now somewhat overgrown with grass, has a concrete lid bearing the inscription 'St. Brendan's Well'. It contains fresh running water and has a stream flowing beside it. It is a shallow well and has six steps at its side leading up to it. My nephew, Patrick Daly, photographed the well during the visit on 8/10/2015 (Figure 1).

The Church Well (No. 5) of Aughtabrid was visited on 19/3/2016 (Figure 22) and Michael Condren of Slatt Lawn accompanied me to it, the well being enclosed in an open horse-shoe-shaped enclosure with a small gate at its entrance. It is a shallow, square-shaped well with a good flow of pure clear water. Mass is said here annually by the parish priest of Clogh, Fr. Martin Tobin, in the month of September (Michael Condren). Mass was also celebrated here by Fr. Tobin in late September 2013 (*KP*: 11/10/2013) and two Pastoral

Council members had their baby baptised in a moving ceremony at Moneenroe with water from the well in May 1999 (*KP*: 28/5/1999, p32).

Tim Murphy escorted me to Mickel's Well (No. 12) on 4/4/2016. It is situated on Pat Barry's land, is now overgrown with briars and bushes (Figure 4) and has stones strewn about in its vicinity. There were two flagstones at the well up to around fifteen years ago.

Anne Downey of Connahy brought me to Tobar Phóil (No. 52) on 19/3/2016/ The well is on their land and is situated in the rushy Moneen Field. It is a gravity-flow well which is piped to a tank, contains fresh water, has stone-faced walls and is around 4ft deep. The well and rushy field may be viewed in Figure 25, both being located near the Downeys' driveway.

Donal Sheridan accompanied me to a roadside slab at Ennisnag bearing the words 'Site of Tober Mogue, St. Mogue's Well' (Figure 30) on 19/3/2016. During conversation, he explained that the well was about 4ft deep, that it issued from a rock, that a pump with a concrete base was erected here by the County Council in 1948, that it was stolen around ten years ago, that it was subsequently retrieved, only to be stolen once more. A slab was then put over it for safety reasons which is all that now remains of the former well.

Tobermurry (No. 71) at Flemingstown was visited on 20/3/2016. Water comes from inside a ditch by way of a tank which supplies water to the village of Glenmore. The well (Figure 32) is in a wet patch of land on the edge of the nearby road on the land of Patrick Fitzgerald. Steps lead down to it, the well now being barely visible. Dick Duggan relates that it was a small square well with a square wall around it, having been about 6ft deep. It is reached by way of a narrow entrance in from the road. Water is collected here each Easter by Tom Mullally (aged 80–85) who then carries it to Glenmore Church to be blessed at the Easter ceremonies on Easter Saturday night.

St. Canice's Well (No. 75), Kilkenny City, was viewed on 20/3/2016, and is a few hundred yards south-east of the Black Abbey. It is situated in a white-washed well-house (Figure 45, 46), the basin being visible from inside. There is a strong flow of water here into a rectangular trough with a stream nearby.

Kilkenny County Council, the Kilkenny Archaeological Society and the Tourist Board were lobbied in 1985 to restore the well, to slash away weeds, to make it more presentable, and, after thirteen years of campaigning, it was officially re-opened on the 10th October 1998. Many locals go to the well at least once a week for their drinking water and it is locally perceived to have curative properties.

I was accompanied to Tobernapastia (No. 174) by Tom Doheny on 20/3/2016. There is an old pedestrian entrance and a stile into the Well Field (Figure 71) and on entering it, Tom

brought me to a marshy area near the bottom of the field, the former location of the well. He kindly tracked its location by entering National Grid references on his phone.

Michael Long showed me Thibberachollikeen (No. 173) on 21/3/2016, his neighbour, Jack Kearns, being the present landowner. It is a circular stone well with a hole in the middle (Figure 70). Water flows through the stone and the well, which is about 2–3ft wide, is thought to contain a cure for sore eyes. The water is piped to keep the area dry and the well is fenced off to protect it from animals.

St. David's Well (No. 39) used to be a round stone-built well, according to Luke Roche, when we met 4/4/2016. One can look down into it and still see the surface stones. It has a cement top and a disused pump at its side (Figure 15). The hose and tap can be still clearly seen. It is situated just in from a gate.

Michael Long was to explain when he showed me Tubbernafauna (No. 35) on 9/4/2016 that there are concrete steps into it with a square 'house' or opening (Figure 10). An overflow is produced as the spring rises in the concrete structure of the well. The well, which was formerly a public facility, is now used by the Longs only for domestic and farming reasons. The roof of the 'house' is covered in moss and the well lies up against a fence. It never goes dry.

Ger Mullally of Kilree pointed out the location of Toberbride (No. 95) while meeting on 9/4/2016. A timber sign on the side of the public road marks where the well (Figure 41) was, there being no water there now. The ivy-covered area is now an earthen mound under large rocks.

Tom Reid of Milltown revealed the location of Toberacluggeen (No. 136) or at least what is left of the surface spring on 9/4/2016. The well bubbles up from the surface (Figure 53), has steps leading down to it, has a diameter of 3–4 yards across, there being stones on one side of it. A sally bush hangs over it. It was formerly popular as a cure for sore eyes.

Olive Ryan led me to Toberlaghteen (No. 137) on the same day (9/4/2016). Situated just at the Freshford Health Centre, the words 'Tobar Laichtain, St. Laghtain's Well' are inscribed on a plaque near the gate entrance (Figure 54). While members of FÁS took pampas grass out of this round-shaped well some years ago, the formerly-flooded well, which may be viewed in an open-air enclosure, may be in need of some further cleaning (Figure 56). It was formerly visited by people suffering from eye complaints.

Ray Brophy accompanied me to St. John's Well (No. 94), Johnswell, on 11/4/2016, where he showed me the blue and white well-house, the small blue cross on top, the brown entrance door, containing two windows, the step leading into it, a possible one-time rectangular

baptismal area on the other side of the entrance area and the well being to the other side (Figure 39). The door, once opened, reveals a broken statue of the saint, two protective stone lion statues and the roundish well inside. The well has been cleaned and drained since my visit (*KP*: 24/2/2017).

Joe Kennedy brought me to Toberbride (No. 19) on 18/4/2016 where he pointed out the site of the nearby Kilbride church, the graveyard and a small pond (Figure 5), the one-time location of a shallow, roundish well which was about 5ft wide. The area around it is grassy and was muddy on the day of my visit, the location of the pond being on Jimmy O'Brien's land. Before the well became disfigured around 1960 after being trampled on by cattle, it was used for household purposes.

A large tree (Figure 8) covered St. Margaret's Well (No. 26), Brabstown, which was still lying over it during my visit on 18/4/2016. It had fallen down during a winter storm in January 2014. Margaret Hennessy tells me that the well-water was formerly piped to their household. It was about 10ft square, was shallow and had blocks built up around it. The overflow of the well runs into a nearby river.

Some twelve days later, John Foley pointed out the wet area of a circular pool of water, the location of the one-time Toberboy (No. 149). It is located near the edge of a field owned by Tom McDonald and has branches spreading over the pool (Figure 59).

Immediately after visiting Toberboy, John showed me Tobernavean (No. 150). He pointed out the water-font beside the well and a carved cross in the same area. The well (Figure 60) is around 5ft deep, has man-made stones around it, is linked to a pump-shed nearby and it is always kept clean.

Joseph Kavanagh, O.P., enabled me to gain access to Blackabbey Well/St. Dominic's Well on 2/7/2016 and showed me the well in a garden near a railing area just outside the church and priory. It is located right up against the white wall of a house in Abbey Street in the corner of the garden. A small Celtic cross lies on top of the enclosure of the well (Figure 43) and the base of the well is muddy.

Ann Walsh of Rioch Court blesses herself while passing the well from the street outside.

Joe Kennedy accompanied me to the Abbey Meadow Well (St. Augustine's Well (No. 31)) in the Friary Meadow (Figure 9) on 9/7/2016. It has a strong rectangular wall around it and a strong flow of water issues from the nearby Abbey across the meadow before reaching a channel. It is a freshwater well and is reputed to have curative powers. The Abbey Meadow now serves as a local pitch and putt club which was opened by local Prior, Fr. Henry McNamara, O.S.A., on Friday, 4th June, 1999 (*KP*: 11/6/1999, p20).

The former location of St. Kieran's Well (No. 77), Kyteler's Inn, was shown to me by Richard Condren the following week (11/7/2016). It is viewed in Figure 51 and is in the newly-refurbished and recently covered-over smoking area at the rear of the pub and eaterie. Flags have covered the area of the two wells since refurbishment took place in 2013. The two adjoining wells which were outside up until then contained very little water, were circular in shape and were about 4ft up from ground level.

A special blessing took place on Wednesday, 15th March, 1967, when Rev. C. Sherwin, the administrator of nearby St. Mary's, blessed the then also newly-restored Inn with water taken from the well at which time we are told that 'the waters are as clear as ever in the courtyard, which is dominated by a huge chestnut tree' (*KP*: 17/3/1967, p6).

Trinity Well (No. 130) of Knocktopherabbey was visited on the same day after access was gained to the Abbey in the company of two employees of the Four Seasons, Derek and Liz. On walking down a winding staircase from the Ballroom, one reaches a plaque on a white-washed wall bearing the inscription 'Holy Trinity Well. Dated 1356'. The well (Figure 50), situated in the wine vault, is circular in shape and is around 4ft wide. There is a wooden floor around it and being connected to an underground reservoir, it becomes deep in winter. A light bulb shines over it for safety reasons as American tourists bring samples of the Blessed Trinity Well water home in bottles for future family christenings.

Three days later Des Fitzgerald of Urlingford brought me to the one-time location of Lady's Well/Connie's Well (No. 182). The well caved in some time in the 1980s when stones fell into it (Figure 75). The land around it is marshy. Des maintains that it must have been quite wide as a neighbour's horse fell into it many years ago. It was used for domestic purposes by a Purcell family up to the 1970s.

Lady's Well (No. 40) was visited the following day (15/7/2016) in the presence of Dermot Dorgan. It is a circular, stone-built well with steps leading into it and with a mesh covering over it for protection (Figure 18). A small stone cross lies over the well near the Marian shrine and the land is owned by the Shrine Committee. Devotees attend in great numbers on the 15th of August and a Novena takes place here each day from around 15th August until the 8th September. The annual Mass is normally concelebrated and is accompanied by the Ballyroan brass band and by the Ballyouskill church choir. Pilgrims recite the Rosary and are allowed to drink the well-water (*KP*: 17/8/2001, p1). The aforementioned brass band was described in August 2004 as having been attendees for sixty years, in which year Bishop Forristal was the chief celebrant of the Mass (*KP*: 20/8/2004, p14). Several thousand pilgrims attended the annual pilgrimage in August 1997, coming from 'all over Laois and Kilkenny

and many from other areas far removed from Ladywell' (*KP*: 29/8/1997, p22). Bishop Forristal was also principal celebrant here in August 1984 before which grass areas were cut, flowerbed cleaned up and Papal flags put in place to mark the occasion (*KP*: 10/8/1984, p17). A visit to the well on 8th September 1971 also included a visit to the nearby Marian shrine which was then described as having been 'recently erected' (*KP*: 17/9/1971, p8). Crowds from all over Laois and North Kilkenny gathered on 15th August 1963 for the recitation of the Rosary, and, before departing, drank the well's crystal clear water (*KP*: 9/8/1963, p3). Up to 20,000 people are believed to have visited the well in 1959 (*KP*: 12/9/1959, p8).

Conclusion

Since water is crucial for human existence and is ‘panhuman’ (Ray 2014, 1), it makes sense that it is fundamental to human religious practices throughout the globe. The importance of water as a sacred element is reflected in the number of myths and legends throughout time and throughout all cultures. One such legend involves a well moving location once profaned (witnessed very frequently in the holy well lore of Ireland, England, Scotland, Wales and even in Iceland), another common legend being to the effect that a saint or perhaps a benign or even evil spirit is the guardian of a well.

Ireland appears to punch above its weight in terms of the oft-quoted ‘guesstimate’ figure of 3,000 holy wells compared to 2,000 wells in England, 1,200 in Wales and 1,000 wells in Scotland. The Irish figure appears to have been originally arrived at by William Gregory Wood-Martin in the early twentieth century and followed thereafter by many scholars. However, we must conclude here that there were no data-bases on Irish monuments in existence in Ireland until the 1990s other than work done by individual scholars at their own expense. In addition, the low figure of 208 holy wells in Ulster (compared to Munster (1,123), Leinster (957) and Connacht (709)) must surely be due to the fact that there are less Catholics in the province (Monaghan only has eight wells which may be due to the high number of Presbyterians in the county), to the fact that neither the National Monuments of Ireland nor the Schools’ Folklore Collections cover the six northern counties and also because the first Ordnance Survey, which moved systematically from north to south, may have been on a learning curve while surveying the northern counties (which may account for the fact that the Ordnance Survey Letters are generally more comprehensive and detailed for the other provinces).

In terms of holy well definition, we may conclude, in an Irish context at least, that a holy well is mainly a natural source of water with stones around it and that it is more often than not situated in an ecclesiastical milieu. The patron saint of the parish or local church is the guardian of the well and the well is normally visited on the saint’s feastday where rituals are performed, that rituals such as saying prayers, rounding, drinking water, bathing the afflicted body part are performed and combined with the popular or sympathetic magic of leaving a token, mainly a rag, on a nearby bush in search of a cure. Legends often reflect the sanctity of the well water (the water never goes dry, it never freezes, it cannot be boiled) and the austerity of a penitential exercise is as important to the pilgrim as a hoped for cure. Although Catholic elements such as the Mass, prayers, hymns, processions, stations, visiting nearby

church ruins/graveyards are fused with a variety of beliefs and legends from a distant past such as tree-worship, stone-worship, circumambulation/rounding, yet it is not clear if these non-Christian aspects owe their inheritance to pre-Christian/early Christian practice or to modern folk-beliefs.

Seeing as County Kilkenny is very well represented in terms of the number of holy wells it contains or formerly contained and is very well represented in terms of its richly-documented source-related material, we may conclude that the county provides us with a rather particular and very useful case study for drawing a number of other conclusions.

In relation to the earliest of the four ‘surveys’ examined, the first Ordnance Survey (1831–1842 in the case of County Kilkenny) it was hoped that, in addition to mapping the entire country on the scale of 6" : 1 mile in preparation for Richard Griffith’s General Valuation of Ireland, the focus of the Irish survey be broadened to include ‘a full face portrait of Ireland’ (Boyne 1987, 9), including as many disappearing and endangered ‘manners, customs, traditions and songs’ (*ibid.* 40) as possible. Ordnance Survey scholars and, indeed, Captain Thomas Larcom, the head of the survey, were acutely aware of defective methods of research, of partisanship, of ignorance of the Irish language, of oral tradition and topography on the part of many historians/commentators who had not been conversant in the Irish language and who knew little or nothing about the ancient manuscript tradition or folklore and folk customs, and, there was now a very pressing and urgent need to set the record straight. In addition, for some time now ‘even churches and graveyards were considered legitimate quarries’ (Doherty 2004, 91) and landowners often ‘blocked and diverted wells believed to be holy or to have curative powers because of antipathy towards ‘superstition’’ (*ibid.* 131).

We are very fortunate that Kilkenny-born scholar and antiquarian, John O’Donovan, was to the fore of the survey and was, along with his colleagues, tasked with salvaging as much information as possible on the antiquities and traditions of the past, safeguarding them for future generations. The comprehensive nature of the resultant Ordnance Survey Letters for County Kilkenny bear testimony to his scholarship (especially regarding saints) and to his widespread fieldwork, even though the same work rarely provides any information on rituals or legends associated with the wells. Most of the wells are linked to the patron saint of the parish and the proximity of the wells to the local church ruins is also generally given. It is in these Letters that we more often than not first learn anything about the wells of the county.

We are also very fortunate to have the many works of Revd. William Carrigan, another Kilkenny scholar and antiquarian, who during his various curacies throughout the county,

engaged in notetaking and comprehensive fieldwork. By 1897 he had systematically visited every parish in the diocese, examining and detailing church ruins, chapels, old graveyards, holy wells, raths, castles, old roads as well as supplying Irish-language renderings of names, resulting in the publication of his Diocesan history, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory* in 1905, concerning which Ambrose Coleman was to claim that it ‘far surpasses in extent, minuteness and accuracy all other diocesan histories hitherto published’ (Coleman 1927, 624). The four-volume, 1,660 page work was to contain 240 photographs, 1,500 medieval inscriptions and almost a thousand will extracts (Ó Fearghail 2000, 117).

Like the Ordnance Survey before him, Carrigan was very strong on situational and hagiographical details as well as on feasts/days/pattern days, but he also (unlike O’Donovan and his associates) often describes how many of the wells evolved physically. It is in his many works, both published and unpublished, that we often gain information on rituals, on legends and on landowners of wells for the first time.

We are also very fortunate in having the manuscripts of the Schools’ Folklore Collection for County Kilkenny at our disposal, concerning which senior national schoolchildren in the late 1930s quizzed their parents, grandparents and elderly neighbours on matters concerning Local Cures, Local Place Names, Festival Customs, Local Monuments, Holy Wells, Local Ruins, and, *inter alia*, My Home District, noting all details into their copybooks.

Owen O’Kelly, a Tyrone-born Irish teacher with the Vocation Education Committee who came to County Kilkenny in 1925, was soon to become immersed in the local history of his adopted county, gathering during extensive fieldwork, much valuable information on the vulnerable minor placenames of the county, including holy wells, culminating in the publication of his *Kilkenny — a history of the county* in 1969. However, most of the wells are first documented by O’Donovan and it may be said that later sources merely add further details over time.

These four ‘surveys’ stretch in time from 1837–1969 and all four works as well as journals pertaining to the history and antiquities of the county, namely, *Transactions of the Ossory Archaeological Society*, the *Old Kilkenny Review*, *Deenside*, *In the Shadow of the Steeple* and numerous parish histories throughout the county, greatly assist us in preparing another ‘survey’ in the form of the present work.

Even though only 15% of the population of County Kilkenny claimed to have a knowledge of Irish by 1851 (Nic Eoin 1990, 467), yet exactly two thirds of the well names (122/183, 66.6%) have an Irish language form and/or an anglicised form transliterated from Irish, a fact which may suggest that many of these names, even though only first documented

in Ordnance Survey material (1837–1842), may well date to an earlier period when Irish was in a stronger position.

Seeing as holy wells are located near the ruins of a medieval parish church and/or adjoining graveyard in the majority of cases, Ann Hamlin suggests that ‘there were pressing practical reasons for building a church close to a good water supply’, not least for baptismal purposes (Hughes & Hamlin 1997, 108, 109; Whitfield 2007, 497), which would go some way to ensure a ‘frictionless continuity from pagan to Christian cult’ (Ray 2014, 83, 84).

More conclusions may be safely drawn from the chapters on saints, rituals and folk-beliefs. It is no surprise that the chapter on the saints is a lengthy one, seeing as 50 different saints feature in almost 62% of the wells (113/183), be they saintly persons who were rough contemporaries of Christ, National saints, Diocesan saints, saints who had a local cult or ‘foreign’, ‘imported’ saints who were well known internationally. One could not disagree with Professor Celeste Ray’s contention that ‘because Irish male saints exponentially outnumber female saints, female saints are overrepresented in surviving well traditions’ (Ray 2012, 148). Although male saints outnumber female saints at the wells of County Kilkenny by a ratio of 84% to 16%, yet Our Lady, mother of Christ, Mediatrix, who was ‘Alone of all her Sex’ and gave Christ his humanity via a virgin birth, tops the popularity list (19 instances), while Bríd, ‘Mary of the Gael’ occurs a dozen times, yielding a collective percentage of 82% of all female saints between them (31/38 instances). It may be that women attended wells in greater numbers or perhaps women believed these and other females saints to be associated with a form of female medicine at the wells.

While Patrick, Bríd and Colmcille were raised to the rank of the ‘three patrons of Ireland’ during the Anglo-Norman period (Hennig 1989, 417, 418), yet these saints are poorly represented in Bardic religious poetry, unlike, for example, the ‘foreign’ saints Catherine and Michael. Somewhat similarly, although Patrick, Bríd and Colmcille had four Lives between them as early as 650–700, and went on to have many more over time, yet Margaret of Antioch (who features at one well only (Brabstown)) had no fewer than ninety Irish Lives (Ó Laoghaire 1967, xxx, 73–138), perhaps related to the fact that she was the patron of women in labour.

Notwithstanding the fact that Mary, St. Anne, the Apostles St. James and St. Andrew, the Evangelists Luke and Mark, John the Baptist, Michael and the Blessed Trinity, all rough contemporaries of Christ and later ‘foreign’ or ‘imported’ saints, including St. Martin, St. Nicholas, St. Catherine, St. Michael, St. David, St. Leonard, St. Augustine, St. Dominic, St. Francis and St. Philomena, account for almost 40% of all the Kilkenny well-dedications

combined (30% + 8.8%) (a figure which could have hardly been envisaged when work on the present thesis began), yet 31 saints who appear to have had a 'local' cult account for a healthy percentage of 27% by themselves and nearly equal the contemporaries of Christ (30%). Professor Salvador Ryan's contention that local saints may have been more important than the diocesan patron' (Ryan I 2002, 217), appears to be a sound one (which is borne out in this thesis) and he further contends that these holy men and women may have been 'the most influential of all in the lives of the people in any given locality' (*ibid.* 269).

Concerning rituals, the idea of penance and penitential exercises leading to a cure or to the granting or fulfilment of some other request was central to the overall holy well experience. Not surprisingly, many of these exercises were water-related and included drinking the cold water, bathing the affected body part in the cold water or with a wet rag (sometimes an excised rag from a garment of the diseased pilgrim which was subsequently left to dry on a nearby bush), walking into the water or washing one's feet (washing in itself could scarcely be described as highly punitive but it is worth bearing in mind that the vast majority of the Kilkenny wells are located in an outdoor setting and winter washing would hardly have been a pleasant experience) or being dipped or immersed in the water. Other penance-related rituals were to include the repeated recital of prayers (such as the Rosary, sometimes in the water), rounding the well and/or a nearby church ruins or holy tree/bush or sacred stone, all-night vigils, stations of the Cross, crawling on one's knees, walking barefoot around the well, including on broken glass, and, travelling long distances to visit the well such as the young girl from County Wexford who undertook the arduous walk to St. John's Well in the hope of securing a cure for her 'sightless orbs', only to die the following day (*Carrigan III* 280; *Johnswell MR* 7).

Indeed, not alone was the idea of penance as important a consideration for the pilgrim visiting a well as the hoped-for cure, but the latter was very often dependent on the former. It is probable that not only was a rag left on a nearby bush as a scapegoat or riddance but other offerings at the well (such as prayer books, medals, coins, pins, scapulars) were clearly intended as a propitiary gift to the patron saint of the local parish church (ruin) and well. We may recall here 'the range of anatomical votive offerings' (Green 1999, 34) at Sequana's healing spring, whereby the ritual of leaving an offering was directly related to the possibility of a cure.

Legends, which are a recognised genre of oral narrative, are very aptly classified into origin legends and belief legends by Professor Diarmaid Ó Giolláin as all of the 66 legends which apply to 81 Kilkenny wells (covering 380 documented references) may be

conveniently slotted into one or other classification. Hagiographical origin legends are ‘the ultimate authority on the sanctity of the sacred site’ (Ó Giolláin 1998, 206) and link the saint to the locality of the well, such as the legendary notion that the saint lived near a well, prayed at the site only to have a well spring forth, said Mass nearby or preached or watered his cow or planted a nearby holy tree or built a church in the locality or baptised at the well or left the imprint of his knees or hands or feet on a nearby stone.

Belief legends, on the other hand, ‘provide the proof of supernatural power in the form of empirical accounts and at the same time tacitly counsel people on how to deal with that power’ (*ibid.*), relevant examples here being the notion of a legendary cure or the supernatural quality of the well-water which, if profaned, can move location, become dry, move location and become dry at once or cause some serious personal misfortune or even death to the profaner. Very often the well water cannot be boiled and remains ice-cold even in summer. A fish often resides in the well which is a sign of a cure and a holy tree/bush near the well, like the well itself, must not be profaned.

Not alone were wells visited for religious reasons but ‘they remained a prominent element of popular medication into the nineteenth century’ (Kelly 2008, 100), ‘sore eyes’ being by far the most common physical ailment sought by pilgrims in County Kilkenny (they are referenced in the case of 25 wells and account for almost half of all the documented references to the 37 different ailments presented at the wells), perhaps as a result of poor ventilation in dingy smoke-filled cabins. Amanda Green aptly cites some of the possible reasons for pilgrims seeking cures for their ailments at wells, including ‘poor hygiene, poverty, bad diet and hard physical labour’ (Green 1999, 35) while Professor Patrick Galliou mentions sites such as the Fontes Sequanae near Dijon, the Sanxay sanctuary near Vienne, the Aquae Sulis complex, Bath, St. Coventina’s Well near Carrawburgh, Northumberland where pilgrims came from far and near ‘to find temporary relief or a final cure to their ailment’ (Galliou 2006, 7, 8), all of which was probably happening a considerable time before the holy wells were visited here for such reasons.

However, it is of interest here that this appears to be medicine for the 19th century poor in Kilkenny as well as for early Celts further afield.

Regarding drinking the well water and seeking a cure at wells, Jocelin of Furness, a Cistercian monk, provides a late-twelfth century reference to a Saint Patrick’s Well in Dublin which was renowned for both:

Est itaque fons ille Dublinie scaturigine latus, profluxu peramplus, gustu sapidus, qui, ut dicunt, multis infirmantibus medetur et usque in presens sancti Patricii fons recte uocatur, ‘And so that is the well of Dublin, widely gushing, abundantly flowing forth, sweet in taste, which as is said, heals many illnesses, and up to the present day is rightly called Saint Patrick’s well’

(Boyle & Breatnach 2015, 31, 32)

(referring to Chapter 70 of Jocelin’s work)

However, the earliest Kilkenny examples of pilgrims seeking cures at wells and drinking the well water date to 1617 in the case of St. Francis Well, Kilkenny (Jennings 1934, 83) and to 1670 in the case of St. Canice’s Well nearby (*Carrigan III* 190).

Although Kilkenny has very substantial medieval material available on saintly parish patrons, mainly in the form of the martyrologies, the *Calendar of Papal Registers/Letters* (I–XX), the *Annates of Ossory* and the later list of patrons penned by James Phelan, Bishop of Ossory (c. 1670), yet in terms of evidence for holy wells themselves, all we have is a mere handful of wells for which documented evidence is available between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries (two from the thirteenth century, one from the fourteenth, one from the fifteenth, one from the sixteenth, one from the seventeenth and three from the eighteenth). It is not until the nineteenth century that we first encounter evidence for a large number of 123 wells, due mainly to the first Ordnance Survey and to the documents and maps which resulted from it. However, that said, Professor M.P. Carroll refers to the first devotional revolution, which occurred mainly in areas of Munster and Leinster at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when he argues that the lay elite of seventeenth-century Irish Catholicism resisted efforts to implement the decrees of the Council of Trent and instead promoted folk religious practices such as patterns and pilgrimages to holy wells (Carroll 1999, 135), which could later be misunderstood as survivals of Celtic religion (*ibid.* 134). It must have been around this time that terms such as popular Catholicism, popular magic, folk belief and the non-Christian supernatural came into being, the ‘popular’ Catholicism being mainly practised by the lower classes who ‘had little in common with the orthodoxy espoused by the church authorities and the social and intellectual elites’ (Gillespie 1997, 5).

Holy wells have been amazingly resilient and obdurate over time, withstanding edict after edict condemning non-Christian practices, including holy-well worship, in the form of Church Councils and other condemnatory edicts by Kings and Popes, the earliest Church Council being the Second Council of Arles as early as 452, around the time of St. Patrick.

Others were to follow such as the Diocesan Council of Auxerre, 561–605 (Ray 2014, 86), the denunciation of St. Gildas who died in 570 (Burne & Hope 1893, 13), the denunciation of St. Eligius, c. 588–660 (Ray 2014, 87), the Council of Toledo, 633–690 (Jones 1954, 22), the Council of Rouen, c. 650 (Jones 22), the Bobbio penitential, c. 700 (Burne & Hope 1893, 13), an edict from Charlemagne, 800–814 (Cordner 1946, 25), King Egbert's Poenitentiale, 802–839 (Burne & Hope 1893, 13; Whelan 2001, 21), a Canon of King Edgar, 963 (Courtney 1916, 76; Cordner 1946, 26), a Law of King Canute, 1018 (Burne & Hope 14, Carroll 1999, 57), and a canon of St. Anselm, 1102 (Jones 1954, 22).

The synod of Dublin and Armagh, meeting a few months apart in 1614, called for the reform of 'certain abuses and superstitious usages practised by ignorant persons assembling at wells and trees' (Connolly 1982, 111).

Later the Commonwealth administration was to condemn and proclaim 'popish superstitions and holy well visitation' in 1659 (Skyvova, *Fingallian Wells* 38) as did the Sunod of Tuam in 1660 (*ibid.*), followed some forty years later by Queen Anne's Act of Popery in 1704 which was to impose penalties on pilgrims visiting wells (Conlon, *Louth Wells* 332) mainly because of a fear of an increase in popery and superstition. However, many of the Ordnance Letters of County Kilkenny reveal that many of the wells had already been 'stopped up' and 'had lost their character for sanctity' for some time before O'Donovan was investigating the antiquities of his native county. It is stated in some of the Letters that brawling, drinking, cursing, carousing and bawdy behaviour in general at the patterns signalled the end of many of the wells in the county, a case in point here being the pattern at St. John's Well being banned and discontinued by Bishop Thomas Burke of Ossory in May 1761.

A certain Mick Bergin counted 52 barrels of beer at the pattern of Thubber Murrha, Kilmacar, County Kilkenny (*Carrigan NB* 85.60), a man named Byrne was killed at the pattern of Kealy's Well, Kiltown, Castlecomer around 1780 (*OSL(KK)* I 45; *OSM(KK)* 90), both of these patterns being discontinued as a result of the drinking and fighting, while drunkenness, profligacy and strife were ascribed to the attendees at St. Rock's pattern, Jamesgreen, Kilkenny (Hogan 1884, 413).

Later impediments to holy-well worship were the Great Famine, the Devotional Revolution (1850–1875) which saw a turning away from popular religion and a greater focus on orthodoxy and formality, Victorian attitudes of respectability and improvements in education, in medicine, in science, and in agriculture (e.g. drainage and ploughing). Holy wells before long were no longer the 'doctors of the peasantry' (Jones 1954, 1).

Many of the wells have been piped or drained or trampled on by cattle and many more, which still lay claim to a site, are in a very overgrown, neglected and disfigured condition, bearing little resemblance to their former appearance. We may add to this that only 106/(183) of the wells still exist in one shape or form and that 109 wells are known to very few people only, being rarely if ever mentioned. The name-forms of no fewer than 74 wells have been de-onomised (even 33·6% of all the wells of hagiographical origin have succumbed to this fate) and other forms have been corrupted or mistranslated. Only 4·4% of the wells appear to be well known outside of their immediate locality and many of the rituals and legends formerly associated with the wells have been consigned to oblivion. Minor toponyms like holy wells are very vulnerable and do not enjoy the protection of officially-recognised administrative names. In addition, the age-profile of most of the informants is in the 55–99 group (people generally younger than this have little or no knowledge concerning wells). Although holy wells (which are archaeologically resistant sites in any case) are supposedly National Monuments, yet the law regarding their protection appears to be weak and they are deemed to be monuments of little historical value. Finally, religious beliefs and customs have changed considerably over the last half century and beyond. Much of the foregoing would appear to point to the fact that the future of holy wells in general (Kilkenny included, despite the proud historical and archaeological tradition of the county) is not a very optimistic or inspiring one.

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OSFM (KK) Ordnance Survey Field Memorandum, County Kilkenny, 1947–8. Map sheet numbers: 10, 14, 19, 23, 26–8.

Kilkenny City Library, John's Green, Kilkenny

Irish Tourist Association Topographical and General Survey, County Kilkenny

Aghaviller	Form A	1944
Ballyhale	Form A	1944
Ballyragget	Form A	1942
Castlecomer	Form A	1945
Clara	Form A	1945
Dunnamaggin	Form A	1945
Freshford	Form A	1942
Galmoy	Form A	1945

Glenmore	Form A	1945
Johnstown	Form A	1942
Kilmacow	Form A	1944
Kilmanagh	Form A	1945
Piltown	Form A	1944
Rosbercon	Form B	1944
Slieverue	Form A	1944
Thomastown	Form A	1945
Tullaroan	Form A	1945
Urlingford	Form A	1942
Windgap	Form A	1945

National Archives, Dublin

- BSD (KK)* Books of Survey and Distribution, County Kilkenny.
(NA: MFS 2/5 (microfilm))
- Lodge Ms II* Record of the Rolls, vol. II, James I (–1610), John Lodge.
(NA: MFS 42/2 (microfilm))
- Lodge Ms III* Record of the Rolls, vol. III, James I (–1617), John Lodge.
(NA: MFS 42/2 (microfilm))
- Lodge Ms IV* Record of the Rolls, vol. IV, James I (–1625), John Lodge.
(NA: MFS 42/3 (microfilm))
- Lodge Ms V* Record of the Rolls, vol. V, Charles I (–1637), John Lodge
(NA: MFS 42/3 (microfilm))
- Lodge Ms XXXI* Crown Presentations, vol. XXXI, 1660–1772, John Lodge
(NA: MFS 42/12 (microfilm))
- OSITS (KK)* Ordnance Survey alphabetical indexes [*sic*] to townlands and small names, County Kilkenny (1841).
(NA: OS 93/18)
- OSM (KK)* Ordnance Survey Memoranda, County Kilkenny (1839–1842).
(NA: OS 97.13)
- OSNB* Ordnance Survey Name Book (County Kilkenny)
p Aghaviller, OS 88 Kilkenny 2 (1839)
p Aharney, OS 88 Kilkenny 4 (1838)
p Ballinamara, OS 88 Kilkenny 8 (1838)
p Ballycallan, OS 88 Kilkenny 9, 10 (1837)
p Ballygurrim, OS 88 Kilkenny 11 (1838)
p Ballyragget, OS 88 Kilkenny 34 (1837)
p Ballytarsney, OS 88 Kilkenny 13 (1838)
p Ballytobin, OS 88 Kilkenny 14 (1838)
p Blackrath, OS 88 Kilkenny 15 (1838)

p Blanchevilleskill, OS 88 Kilkenny 16 (1838)
p Borrismore, OS 88 Kilkenny 17 (1838)
p Burnchurch, OS 88 Kilkenny 18 (1838)
p Callan, OS 88 Kilkenny 19–21 (1838)
p Castlecomer, OS 88 Kilkenny 22 (1837)
p Clara, OS 88 Kilkenny 15 (1838)
p Clonamery, OS 88 Kilkenny 24 (1837)
p Clonmantagh [recte Clomantagh], OS 88 Kilkenny 25 (1838)
p Clonmore, OS 88 Kilkenny 26 (1839)
p Colombkille [recte Columbkille], OS 88 Kilkenny 27 (1838)
p Coolaghmore, OS 88 Kilkenny 28, 29 (1838)
p Coolcashin, OS 88 Kilkenny 30 (1838)
p Coolcraheen, OS 88 Kilkenny 31 (1838)
p Danesfort, OS 88 Kilkenny 32 (1838)
p Derrynahinch, OS 88 Kilkenny 33 (1838)
p Donaghmore, OS 88 Kilkenny 34 (1838)
p Dunmore, OS 88 Kilkenny 38 (1838)
p Dunnamaggan, OS 88 Kilkenny 39 (1838)
p Durrow, OS 88 Kilkenny 40 (1837)
p Dysart, OS 88 Kilkenny 41 (1837)
p Dysartmoon, OS 88 Kilkenny 42 (1838)
p Ennisnag, OS 88 Kilkenny 32 (1837)
p Erke, OS 88 Kilkenny 44 (1838)
p Fertagh, OS 88 Kilkenny 45 (1838)
p Fiddown, OS 88 Kilkenny 46, 47 (1839)
p Freshford, OS 88 Kilkenny 48 (1838)
p Gowran, OS 88 Kilkenny 35 (1838)
p Graiguenamanagh, OS 88 Kilkenny 52 (1838)
p Grange, Kilree and Kilferagh, OS 88 Kilkenny 54 (1837)
p Grangemaccomb, OS 88 Kilkenny 53 (1838)
p Grangesilvia, OS 88 Kilkenny 71 (1838)
p Inchyolohan (Castleinch or Inchyolohan), OS 88 Kilkenny 55 (1837)
p Inistioge, OS 88 Kilkenny 56 (1838)
p Jerpoint Church, OS 88 Kilkenny 57 (1838)
p Jerpoint West, OS 88 Kilkenny 58 (1838)
p Kells, OS 88 Kilkenny 59 (1839)

p Kilbride, OS 88 Kilkenny 61 (1839)
p Kilcoan, OS 88 Kilkenny 61 (1839)
p Kilcolumb, OS 88 Kilkenny 62 (1839)
p Kilderry, OS 88 Kilkenny 64 (1838)
p Kilfane, OS 88 Kilkenny 65 (1838)
p Kilferagh, OS 88 Kilkenny 54 (1837)
p Kilkeasy, OS 88 Kilkenny 66 (1838)
p Kilkeyran (recte Kilkieran), OS 88 Kilkenny 64 (1838)
p Killahy, OS 88 Kilkenny 67, 68 (1838)
p Killaloe, OS 88 Kilkenny 69 (1838)
p Killamery, OS 88 Kilkenny 70 (1839)
p Kilmacar, OS 88 Kilkenny 72 (1838)
p Kilmacow, OS 88 Kilkenny 73 (1838)
p Kilmadum, OS 88 Kilkenny 75 (1838)
p Kilmakevoge, OS 88 Kilkenny 78 (1838)
p Kilmanagh, OS 88 Kilkenny 79 (1837)
p Kilree, OS 88 Kilkenny 80 (1838)
p Knocktopher, OS 88 Kilkenny 81, 82 (1840)
p Listerlin, OS 88 Kilkenny 84 (1838)
p Mallardstown, OS 88 Kilkenny 85 (1838)
p Mothell, OS 88 Kilkenny 87, 88 (1837, -8)
p Muckalee, OS 88 Kilkenny 89 (1838)
p Muckalee, OS 88 Kilkenny 90 (1838)
p Owing, OS 88 Kilkenny 93 (1839)
p Pollrone, OS 88 Kilkenny 94 (1838)
p Portnascully, OS 88 Kilkenny 95 (1838)
p Powerstown, OS 88 Kilkenny 96 (1838)
p Rathaspick, OS 88 Kilkenny 97 (1837)
p Rathbeagh, OS 88 Kilkenny 98 (1838)
p Rathcoole, OS 88 Kilkenny 64 (1838)
p Rathkieran, OS 88 Kilkenny 99 (1838)
p Rathlogan, OS 88 Kilkenny 101 (1838)
p Rathpatrick, OS 88 Kilkenny 102 (1839)
p Rosconnell, OS 88 Kilkenny 104 (1838)
p Rosconnell, OS 88 Queen's Co. 56 (1838)
p Rossinan, OS 88 Kilkenny 105 (1838)
p St. Canice, OS 88 Kilkenny 109 (1838)

p St. John's, OS 88 Kilkenny 110 (1838)
p St. Mary's, OS 88 Kilkenny 111 (1838)
p Shanbogh, OS 88 Kilkenny 106 (1838)
p Sheffin, OS 88 Kilkenny 108 (1838)
p Stonecarthy, OS 88 Kilkenny 114 (1838)
p The Rower, OS 88 Kilkenny 115, 116 (1838, -9)
p Thomastown, OS 88 Kilkenny 65 (1838)
p Tiscoffin, OS 88 Kilkenny 107 (1838)
p Tubbrid, OS 88 Kilkenny 117 (1839)
p Tubbrid or Tubbridbritain, OS 88 Kilkenny 118 (1838)
p Tullaghanbrogue, OS 88 Kilkenny 119 (1838)
p Tullahirm (recte Tullaherin), OS 88 Kilkenny 16 (1838)
p Tullahought, OS 88 Kilkenny 120 (1839)
p Tullamaine, OS 88 Kilkenny 121 (1838)
p Tullaroan, OS 88 Kilkenny 122 (1838)
p Tybroughney (recte Tibberaghny), OS 88 Kilkenny 123 (1839)
p Ullard, OS 88 Kilkenny 124 (1838)
p Urlingford, OS 88 Kilkenny 126 (1838)
p Whitechurch, OS 88 Kilkenny 127 (1839)

OSNBPB (KK) Ordnance Survey Name Book, Parish and Barony, County Kilkenny (1839).
 (NA: OS 92/16)

Otway Vis. Visitation of the diocese of Ossory, Thomas Otway, 1679.
 (NA: M2830)

Tenison Vis. Visitation of the diocese of Ossory, Edward Tenison, 1731.
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National Library of Ireland

Ballyhale Bapt. Diocese: Ossory
 Parish: Ballyhale
 Baptisms: 26/8/1823–4/4/1876
 (NL: p5021 (microfilm))

Clogh Ccomer Bapt. Diocese: Ossory
 Parish: Clogh and Castlecomer
 Baptisms: 1/1/1812–2/10/1818
 (NL: p5017 (microfilm))

Danesfort Bapt. Diocese: Ossory
 Parish: Danesfort and Cuffes Grange
 Baptisms: 1/1/1819–13/2/1869

- (NL: p5025 (microfilm))
- Durrow Bapt.* Diocese: Ossory
Parish: Durrow
Baptisms: 1/1/1789–28/2/1805, 26/4/1832–15/2/1857
(NL: p5013 (microfilm))
- Freshford Bapt.* Diocese: Ossory
Parish: Freshford
Baptisms: 2/1/1825–28/12/1847
(NL: p5015 (microfilm))
- Glenmore Reg. Bapt.* Diocese: Ossory
Registry of Baptisms of the Parish of Glenmore, 1/1/1831–11/12/1880
(NL: p5022 (microfilm))
- Glenmore Reg. Marr.* Diocese: Ossory
Registry of Marriages of the Parish of Glenmore, 1/1/1831–11/12/1880
(NL: p5022 (microfilm))
- Gowran Bapt.* Diocese: Ossory
Parish: Gowran
Baptisms: 26/11/1818–25/12/1824
(NL: p5027 (microfilm))
- Gowran Clara Bapt.* Diocese: Ossory
Parish: Gowran and Clara
Baptisms: 1/1/1809–20/7/1828
(NL: p5026 (microfilm))
- Gowran Clara Marr.* Diocese: Ossory
Parish: Gowran and Clara
Marriages: 11/1/1810–28/11/1828
(NL: p5025 (microfilm))
- Graves Patrons* The Patron Saints of the Church in the Diocese of Ossory so far as they have been ascertained, J. Graves, 1858.
(‘Patroni Ecclesiarum Ossoriensium or notes on the patron saints of churches in the diocese of Ossory by Rev. J. Graves, 1858–1865’ per *Hayes’s Sources II* (Persons), 316.)
(NL: Ms 3725)
- Inistioge Bapt.* Diocese: Ossory
Parish: Inistioge
Baptisms: 2/12/1810–2/2/1829
(NL: p5021 (microfilm))
- Inistioge Marr.* Diocese: Ossory
Parish: Inistioge
Marriages: 22/1/1827–9/10/1876
(NL: p5021 (microfilm))
- Mullinavat Bapt.* Diocese: Ossory
Parish: Mullinavat
Baptisms: 21/2/1843–15/12/1880
(NL: p5021 (microfilm))
- Oning T.orum Bapt.* Diocese: Ossory
Parish: Oning and Templeorum
Baptisms: 7/1/1803–2/6/1815
(NL: p5019 (microfilm))

- Otway Pres.* Presentation by Thomas (Otway) Bishop of Ossory, of Thomas Way, M.A. to rectories of Jerpoint, Ballylinch, Grangelegane, and several others (in Co. Kilkenny), May 7, 1686.
(per *Hayes's Sources III* (Persons), 840)
(NL: D.10.136 (one manuscript sheet))
- Slievrué Par. Reg.* Diocese: Ossory
Slievrué Parochial Registry, 1778–1801
(NL: p5031 (microfilm))
- St. Canice's Bapt.* Diocese: Ossory
Parish: St. Canice's, Kilkenny
Baptisms: 3/1/1845–30/12/1880
(NL: p5030 (microfilm))
- St. Canice's Marr.* Diocese: Ossory
Parish: St. Canice's, Kilkenny
Marriages: 10/11/1811–26/11/1844, 7/1/1845–24/11/1880
(NL: p5030 (microfilm))
- St. John's Bapt.* Diocese: Ossory
Parish: St. John's, Kilkenny
Baptisms: 1/1/1809–8/7/1830, 1/2/1842–17/2/1877
(NL: p5030 (microfilm))
- St. Mary's Marr.* Diocese: Ossory
Parish: St. Mary's, Kilkenny
Marriages: 8/11/1858–18/11/1880
(NL: p5029 (microfilm))
- Thomastown Bapt.* Diocese: Ossory
Parish: Thomastown
Baptisms: 9/1/1810–28/3/1834
(NL: p5024 (microfilm))
- Thomastown Therin Bapt.* Diocese: Ossory
Parish: Thomastown and Tullaherin
Baptisms: 23/6/1782–27/9/1809
(NL: p5024 (microfilm))
- Urlingford Bapt.* Diocese: Ossory
Parish: Urlingford (Graine)
Baptisms: 5/5/1805–15/2/1844
(NL: p5016 (microfilm))
- Vis. Bk.: Kd. Oss. FL* Visitation Book, Dioceses of Kildare, Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin, 1705–1727.
(NL: p4292 (microfilm))
- Windgap Bapt.* Diocese: Ossory
Parish: Windgap
Baptisms: 18/8/1822–27/2/1852
(NL: p5023 (microfilm))

Ossory Diocesan Archive, Kilkenny

- de Burgo Reg.* Registrum Diocesarum I, Thomas de Burgo (Bishop of Ossory, 1759–76).

- Troy Reg. (de Burgo)* Registrum Diocesarum I, John Thomas Troy (Bishop of Ossory, 1777–86) (part of).
- Troy, Dunne, Lanigan Reg.* Registrum Diocesarum II, John Thomas Troy (Bishop of Ossory, 1787–89) James Lanigan (Bishop of Ossory, 1789–1812).

Registry of Deeds, Henrietta Street, Dublin (Clárlann na nGníomhas)
(volume, page, deed numbers)

- CGn.* 15.211.7254 (1715)
40.244.25422 (1727)
82.358.58151 (1736)
287.635.188506 (1771)
328.578.233704 (1780)
459.324.294067 (1792)
486.437.309944 (1794)
499.308.316586 (1795)
562.464.375041 (1804)
700.635.480467 (1816)
709.106.485441 (1816)
791.374.534909 (1824)
791.587.535123 (1824)

Representative Church Body Library, Dublin

- Graves Oss.* Three volumes of the collectanea of Rev. James Graves, relating to the history of the diocese of Ossory, 13th–16th century
(per *Hayes's Sources II* (Persons), 316)
(*RCBL*: 11/1, 11/2, 11/3)
- Tenison Vis.* The State of the Diocese of Ossory as far as the same could be collected from my parochial visitation, A.D. 1731, Ossory Visitations, 1731–2 (Edward Tenison)
(This source may also be consulted at (i) *NA*: 2462 and (ii) *Carrigan NB* 165.90–92, 224–229)
(*RCBL*: GS 2.7.3.23)

St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny
(Carrigan Notebooks) (volume, page number)

- | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1.131 | 1.158 | 1.197 | 1.265 |
| 1.137 | 1.162 | 1.201 | 1.271 |
| 1.142 | 1.175 | 1.248 | 1.635 |
| 1.143 | 1.181 | 1.250 | |
| 1.144 | 1.196 | 1.264 | 6.6 |

6.7	26.72	29.143	34.47
6.14	26.78	29.146	34.57
6.40	26.79	29.147	34.61
6.41	26.81	29.148	34.67
6.46	26.83	29.149	34.73
6.47	26.86	29.151	34.74
6.49		29.154	34.83
6.53	27.5	29.155	34.98
6.54	27.6	29.160	34.101
6.60	27.22	29.162	
6.63	27.23	29.176	40.171
6.70	27.25	29.184	40.172
6.75	27.27		40.175
6.80	27.37	30.4	40.179
6.81	27.41	30.5	
6.96	27.43	30.6	42.1
6.109	27.52	30.8	42.2
6.111	27.61	30.12	42.3
6.122	27.66	30.13	42.4
6.126	27.74	30.22	42.5
6.127	27.90	30.79	42.6
6.132	27.109		42.7
6.133	27.113	32.47	42.8
6.138		32.85	42.14
6.143	28.22	32.113	42.31
6.145	28.23	32.129	42.33
6.147	28.24	32.130	42.34
6.149	28.29	32.150	42.47
6.150	28.33	32.180	42.53
6.151	28.34	32.193	42.54
6.152	28.38		42.57
6.153	28.39	33.29	42.72
6.154	28.40	33.40	42.80
6.155	28.49	33.41	42.104
6.157		33.43	42.105
6.159	29.103	33.45	42.107
6.162	29.104	33.47	42.124
6.163	29.105	33.50	
6.181	29.106	33.51	43.106
6.182	29.107	33.52	43.107
6.185	29.108	33.53	
	29.112	33.55	44.105
20.298	29.115	33.62	
	29.117	33.170	45.30
26.4	29.120		45.75
26.5	29.124	34.22	45.76
26.40	29.125	34.23	45.85
26.61	29.138	34.34	45.86

	48.53	66.49	67.67
47.6	48.54	66.50	67.68
47.8	48.56	66.52	67.69
47.13	48.57	66.53	67.70
47.14	48.58	66.56	67.71
47.15	48.59	66.58	67.72
47.18	48.64	66.59	67.73
47.33	48.66	66.62	67.74
47.38	48.67	66.64	67.77
47.40	48.85	66.66	67.78
47.42	48.93	66.67	67.79
47.68	48.135	66.68	67.81
47.70	48.142	66.69	67.99
47.75		66.73	67.267
47.83	54.16	66.74	
47.94		66.75	71.98
47.97	55.87	66.77	71.99
47.98	55.90	66.78	
47.106	55.93		73.76
47.117	55.97	67.8	73.101
47.118	55.103	67.9	73.124
47.122		67.10	73.125
47.129	58.110	67.11	73.165
47.131	61.25	67.12	73.167
47.143	61.27	67.14	73.188
47.144	61.29	67.15	73.191
47.160	61.38	67.17	73.205
47.164	61.39	67.32	73.206
47.169	61.41	67.34	73.209
47.181	61.43	67.35	
	61.46	67.36	74.18
48.9	61.47	67.46	74.20
48.12	61.49	67.47	74.24
48.14	61.51	67.49	74.25
48.15	61.52	67.50	74.178
48.17	61.55	67.51	74.181
48.18	61.93	67.53	74.191
48.19	61.125	67.54	74.193
48.22		67.55	74.195
48.23	62.19	67.56	74.196
48.26		67.58	74.198
48.29	66.29	67.59	74.199
48.33	66.31	67.60	74.202
48.34	66.42	67.61	74.204
48.37	66.43	67.62	74.208
48.38	66.44	67.64	74.209
48.39	66.45	67.65	74.212
48.46	66.48	67.66	74.213

74.214		97.302	137.49
74.215	96.81	97.308	137.79
74.216	96.96	97.335	137.110
74.219	96.114	97.336	137.114
74.224	96.116	97.337	137.115
77.225		97.338	137.116
74.230	97.106	97.339	137.117
74.264	97.131	97.341	137.118
74.265	97.135	97.342	
74.271	97.137	97.343	141.13
74.342	97.140	97.344	141.19
	97.142	97.347	141.26
78.5	97.143	97.352	141.59
78.19	97.144	97.352	
78.27	97.149	97.353	143.122
78.55	97.154	97.359	143.188
	97.160	97.360	
84.61	97.163		147.95
84.62	97.166	109.36	147.96
84.64	97.170	109.42	147.97
84.82	97.184		147.104
84.85	97.188	118.89	147.105
84.87	97.193	118.99	147.114
	97.200		147.120
85.9	97.206	119.5	
85.40	97.221		149.4
85.42	97.226	120.5	149.7
85.43	97.228	120.6	149.8
85.46	97.229	120.44	149.9
85.47	97.241	120.45	149.12
85.53	97.248	120.58	149.15
85.57	97.248		149.27
85.61	97.251	124.59	149.37
85.70	97.253		149.69
	97.259	127.10	149.87
86.146	97.260	127.12	149.151
86.158	97.261	127.13	149.153
	97.262	127.14	
87.81	97.267	127.15	158.20
87.157	97.268	127.46	158.24
	97.274	127.17	158.28
94.55	97.275	127.32	158.110
94.57	97.276	127.33	158.143
94.59	97.281	127.44	
94.60	97.283	127.45	167.53
94.63	97.291	127.122	167.79
94.64	97.297		167.95
94.65	97.301	137.38	167.106

167.117
167.130
167.166
167.210
167.251
167.334
167.335
167.352

Trinity College, Dublin

Dep. Depositions, Carlow, Kilkenny (1641–53) (Ms. 812).

University College Dublin
National Folklore Collection (*NFC*)
Main Collection

Cuntaisí ar Thoibreacha Beannuithe Chúige Laighean do fuarathas ó Mhúinteoirí Náisiúnta (1934–1937), Vol. 468, pages 4, 92, 93, 95, 96, 103–108, 111–116, 118, 119, 121, 121a (1934 – references to County Kilkenny).

Schools' Folklore Collection (*NFCS*)

367.250	832.103	845.542	846.414
367.378	834.154	845.546	847.91
773.457	844.8	845.589	847.126
773.458	844.9	845.590	847.127
777.106	844.74	845.591	847.128
780.228	844.83	845.592	847.167
801.160a	844.110	846.1	848.60
804.36	844.111	846.2	848.61
804.54	844.112	846.105	848.62
809.36	844.113	846.106	848.63
813.61	844.118	846.107	848.85
816.211	844.119	846.123	848.94
816.212	845.3	846.124	848.135
816.221	845.8	846.129	848.182
820.214	845.9	846.142	848.193
820.265	845.10	846.144	848.194
821.39	845.49	846.250	848.237
821.300	845.50	846.251	848.281
821.311	845.63	846.252	848.282
823.12	845.64	846.254	848.292
823.302	845.68	846.263	848.293
826.214	845.69	846.264	848.301
826.247	845.70	846.266	848.302
828.184	845.92	846.268	848.303
828.417	845.95	846.308	848.304
829.184	845.96	846.309	849.35
829.229	845.241	846.313	849.36
832.69	845.471	846.314	849.37

849.80	854.174	856.238	859.233
849.137	854.175	856.249	859.236
849.149	854.176	856.250	859.242
850.100	854.177	856.266	859.247
850.101	854.193	857.31	859.252
850.104	854.194	857.54	859.272
850.153	854.195	857.55	859.284
851.19	854.196	857.87	859.285
851.20	854.228	857.88	859.402
851.46	854.229	857.89	859.403
851.47	854.230	857.119	859.404
851.48	855.3	857.129	860.72
851.49	855.4	857.145	860.115
852.5	855.9	857.146	860.116
852.70	855.10	857.164	860.120
852.133	855.48	857.170	860.121
852.213	855.76	857.171	860.169
852.214	855.77	857.269	860.170
852.215	855.78	857.290	861.420
852.217	855.79	857.291	862.32
852.272	855.135	857.308	862.276
852.293	855.136	857.309	863.52
852.294	855.213	857.386	863.158
852.295	855.214	857.387	863.212
852.321	855.250	857.400	863.273
852.322	855.258	857.401	863.287
852.358	855.259	857.423	863.325
853.68	855.290	857.424	863.335
853.69	855.291	857.425	863.356
853.72	855.339	857.468	863.367
853.126	855.341	857.469	864.55
853.127	855.346	857.471	864.72
853.128	855.347	858.21	864.128
853.152	855.365	858.22	864.129
853.232	855.370	858.23	864.149
853.247	855.372	858.39	864.167
853.248	855.373	858.40	864.168
853.249	855.382	858.41	864.170
853.250	855.396	858.42	864.171
854.8	855.397	858.43	864.173
854.10	855.407	858.44	864.174
854.21	856.90	858.45	864.183
854.30	856.147	859.184	864.184
854.31	856.195	859.185	864.348
854.54	856.198	859.186	864.349
854.121	856.199	859.187	864.398
854.138	856.236	859.205	865.76
854.155	856.237	859.232	865.96

865.105	868.15
865.109	868.62
865.113	868.67
865.141	868.88
865.175	868.96
865.188	868.139
865.199	868.141
865.287	868.142
865.288	868.149
865.289	868.158
865.290	868.167
865.291	869.22
865.296	869.23
865.371	869.24
865.385	869.25
865.388	869.27
865.393	869.145
865.459	869.146
866.183	869.209
866.203	869.227
866.281	869.228
866.293	
866.321	903.40
866.322	903.71
866.323	903.113
866.351	903.470
866.352	903.512
866.361	903.513
866.362	903.515
866.466	903.562
866.470	903.563
867.45	903.567
867.46	903.568
867.73	903.637
867.74	903.638
867.75	903.661
867.96	903.662
867.99	904.471
867.140	904.472
867.141	907.33
867.163	907.153
867.184	907.155
867.185	908.11
867.359	908.12
867.360	908.13
867.361	
868.4a	
868.14	

Typescript copies of manuscripts

Graigavine House, Piltown, County Kilkenny

- Bowers Transcripts* “Crest and Motto of the Bowers Descended from the Ancient and Honourable family of the Bowers, Shropshire, England.”
(Manuscript of the Bowers’ family history owned by Hew Bowers, Graigavine. I was unable to consult the original manuscript but was supplied with a typed version by Valerie Daniels in March 2015. Hew loaned the manuscript to Valerie in October 2014.)

Representative Church Body Library, Dublin

- Oss. Vis.* Typed copies of documents relating to Ossory diocese, including visitations 1731–2, 1777, 1781–1800
(per *Hayes’s Sources VI* (Subjects), 575)
(*RCBL*: GS 2.7.3.23)
- Otway Vis.* Typescript copies of visitations of the diocese of Ossory, 1622, 1679
(per *Hayes’s Sources VI* (Subjects), 574)
(The 1679 Visitatio may also be consulted at (i) *NA*: M28330 and (ii) *Carrigan NB* 165, 156–173)
(*RCBL*: D11.1.71)

Royal Irish Academy, Dublin

- OSL (Ca)* Letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the counties of Cavan and Leitrim collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1836, M. O’Flanagan (1929). Bray.
- OSL (FM)* Letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the county of Fermanagh ... in 1834–5, M. O’Flanagan (1928). Bray.
- OSL (KK)* Letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the county of Kilkenny ... in 1839, I, II, M. O’Flanagan (1930). Bray.
- OSL (KY)* Letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the county of Kerry ... in 1841, M. O’Flanagan (1927). Bray.
- OSL (Meath)* Letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the county of Meath ... in 1836, M. O’Flanagan (no date supplied). Bray.
- OSL (MO)* Letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the county of Mayo ... in 1838, I, II, M. O’Flanagan (no date). Bray.
- OSL (RC)* Letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the county of Roscommon, I, II, M. O’Flanagan (no date). Bray.

Maps

Kildalton College, Piltown, County Kilkenny

Bessborough Map *Maps of Estates in the County of Kilkenny belonging to the right honorable Earl of Bessborough* (Kildalton) (1847).
(Supplied by Finbar Hodge, Kildalton College.)

Kilkenny Archaeological Society Library, Rothe House, Kilkenny

Aher Clem. R32 Grand Jury Map, County Kilkenny, R[efere]nce] 32, Freshford, 1817, D. Aher, H. Clements.

Aher Clem. R33 Grand Jury Map ... R33, Kilmanagh, 1817, D. Aher, H. Clements.

Aher Clem. R34 Grand Jury Map ... R34, Castlecomer, 1819, D. Aher, H. Clements.

Aher Clem. R35 Grand Jury Map ... R35, Ballyragget, 1819, D. Aher, H. Clements.

Aher Clem. R36 Grand Jury Map ... R36, Durrow, 1812, D. Aher, H. Clements.

Aher Clem. R37 Grand Jury Map ... R37, Barony of Fassaghdieneen, 1812, D. Aher, H. Clements.

Aher Clem. R38 Grand Jury Map ... R38, Johnstown and Urlingford, 1817, D. Aher, H. Clements.

Aher Clem. R39 Grand Jury Map ... R39, Eirke, 1812, D. Aher, H. Clements.

Aher Clem. R40 Grand Jury Map ... R40, Ida, c.1818, D. Aher, H. Clements.

Aher Clem. R41 Grand Jury Map ... R41, Kilmacow, c.1818, D. Aher, H. Clements.

Aher Clem. R42 Grand Jury Map ... R42, Kells, c.1817, D. Aher, H. Clements.

Aher Clem. R43 Grand Jury Map ... R43, Callan, c.1816, D. Aher, H. Clements.

Aher Clem. R44 Grand Jury Map ... R44, Knocktopher, 1818, D. Aher, H. Clements.

Aher Clem. R45 Grand Jury Map ... R45, Mullinavat and Lukeswell, 1818, D. Aher, H. Clements.

Aher Clem. R46 Grand Jury Map ... R46, Danesfort, Stoneyford, 1816, D. Aher, H. Clements.

Aher Clem. R47 Grand Jury Map ... R47, Coolagh, Killamery, 1816, D. Aher, H. Clements.

National Archives, Dublin

OSFP Ordnance Survey Fair Plan Maps, County Kilkenny (1839, 1840)

p Aharney, OS 105 C 384.1, 2 (1839–40)

p Aughaviller, OS 105 C 481 (1839–40)

p Ballinamara, OS 105 C 481 (1839–40)

p Ballycallen, OS 105 C 401 (1839–40)

p Ballygurrem, OS 105 C 467 (1839–40)

p Ballyragget, OS 105 C 376.1 (1839)

p Ballytarsney, OS 105 C 493 (1839–40)
p Ballytobin, OS 105 C 421 (1839–40)
p Blackrath, OS 105 C 434 (1840)
p Blanchvillekill, OS 105 C 446 (1840)
p Burnchurch, OS 105 C 414 (1839–40)
p Burrismore, OS 105 C 389 (1839–40)
p Callan, OS 105 C 409.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Castlecomer, OS 105 C 372.1–6 (1839–40)
p Castleinch or Inchiolohan, OS 105 C 412 (1839–40)
p Clara, OS 105 C 435 (1840)
p Clomanta, OS 105 C 395.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Clonemary, OS 105 C 462 (1839–40)
p Clonmore, OS 105 C 448 (1839–40)
p Colombkill, OS 105 C 451 (1840)
p Coolagh, OS 105 C 426.1–3 (1839–40)
p Coolcashen, OS 105 C 385 (1839–40)
p Coolcraheen, OS 105 C 405 (1839–40)
p Danesfort, OS 105 C 417 (1839–40)
p Derrynahinch, OS 105 C 477.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Desertmoon, OS 105 C 464.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Donaghmore, OS 105 C 376.1 (1839)
p Donnabmaggin, OS 105 C 425.1–3 (1839–40)
p Dunmore, OS 105 C 381 (1839–40)
p Dysart, OS 105 C 373.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Earlstown, OS 105 C 410 (1839–40)
p Ennisnag, OS 105 C 419 (1839–40)
p Erke, OS 105 C 390.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Fartagh, OS 105 C 393.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Fiddown, OS 105 C 496.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Freshford, OS 105 C 398 (1839–40)
p Gowran, OS 105 C 444 (1839–40)
p Graignemanagh, OS 105 C 457.1–3 (1839–40)
p Grange, Kilree and Kilfera, OS 105 C 416, 687 (1839–40)
p Grange McComb, OS 105 C 382.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Grangesylva, OS 105 C 441 (1839–40)
p Innistiogue, OS 105 C 456.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Jerpoint Church, OS 105 C 461.1 (1839–40)

p Jerpoint West, OS 105 C 460.1–3 (1839–40)
p Kells, OS 105 C 428 (1839–40)
p Kilbride, OS 105 C 468 (1839–40)
p Kilcoan, OS 105 C 468 (1839–40)
p Kilcollum, OS 105 C 470.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Kilderry, OS 105 C 438 (1839–40)
p Kilfane, OS 105 C 450 (1839–40)
p Kilfera, OS 105 C 416 (1839–40)
p Kilkeasy, OS 105 C 482, 483 (1839–40)
p Kilkeyran, OS 105 C 437, 500 (1839–40)
p Killahy, OS 105 C 397, 480 (1839–40)
p Killaloo, OS 105 C 407.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Killamory, OS 105 C 427.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Kilmacar, OS 105 C 374.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Kilmackevogue, OS 105 C 469 (1839–40)
p Kilmacow, OS 105 C 491.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Kilmadum, OS 105 C 380.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Kilmanagh, OS 105 C 403 (1839–40)
p Kilmenan, OS 105 C 686.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Kilree, OS 105 C 416, 687 (1839–40)
p Knocktopher, OS 105 C 479 (1840)
p Listerlin, OS 105 C 474 (1839–40)
p Mallardstown, OS 105 C 420 (1839–40)
p Moathill, OS 105 C 377.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Monkeely or Muckalee, OS 105 C 375 (1839–40) (*bar*: Knocktopher)
p Muckalee, OS 105 C 484 (1839–40) (*bar*: Fassadinan)
p Owing, OS 105 C 485 (1840)
p Portnascully, OS 105 C 494 (1840)
p Poulrone, OS 105 C 495 (1839–40)
p Powerstown, OS 105 C 442 (1839–40)
p Rathbay, OS 105 C 383 (1839–40)
p Rathcoole, OS 105 C 437 (1840)
p Rathkeeran, OS 105 C 497 (1839–40)
p Rathlogan, OS 105 C 388 (1839–40)
p Rathpatrick, OS 105 C 473 (1839–40)
p Rosconnell, OS 105 C 369 (1839–40)
p Rosconnell (Laois), OS 105 C 349 (1839–40)

p St. Canice, OS 105 C 432.1–3 (1839–40)
p St. John's, OS 105 C 429 (1839–40)
p St. Mary's, OS 105 C 431 (1839–40)
p Shanbo, OS 105 C 466 (1839–40)
p Sheffin, OS 105 C 392 (1839–40)
p Stonecarty, OS 105 C 418 (1839–40)
p Templemartin, OS 105 C 436 (1840)
p The Rower, OS 105 C 463.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Thomastown, OS 105 C 453 (1839–40)
p Tiscoffin, OS 105 C 439.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Tubrid, OS 105 C 489 (1839–40)
p Tubrid (Tubbridbritain), OS 105 C 394 (1839–40)
p Tullaghanbrogue, OS 105 C 408 (1839–40)
p Tullahaught, OS 105 C 424.1, 2 (1839–40)
p Tullamain, OS 105 C 411 (1839–40)
p Tullaroane, OS 105 C 404.1–4 (1839–40)
p Tullowhirm, OS 105 C 447 (1839–40)
p Tybroughney, OS 105 C 487 (1840)
p Ullard, OS 105 C 458 (1839–40)
p Urlingford, OS 105 C 391 (1839–40)
p Whitechurch, OS 105 C 486 (1840)

National Library of Ireland

- E1(25)* Ordnance Survey Maps on the scale of 25" : 1 mile, County Kilkenny, first edition. Map sheet numbers: 1–3, 5, 6, 8–15, 17–45 (1899–1902 – *NL*: 9A 1–11)
- E2(25)* Ordnance Survey Maps on the scale of 25" : 1 mile, County Kilkenny, second edition. Map sheet numbers: 10, 14, 19, 23, 26–28 (1946–1902 – *NL*: 9A 12–14)
- Longfield (KK)* Longfield Maps – Maps of lands in the baronies of Crannagh, Callan, Fassadinan, Galmoy, Gowran, Ida, Kilkenny City, Knocktopher, Kells and Shillelogher, Co. Kilkenny. By John Brownrigg, John Longfield and others, 26 maps. (*NL*: 21F38 (1–26), 1784–1839.) (per *Hayes's Sources* VII 667.)

Placenames Branch, Dublin

- Boazio* [Map of] *Irelande*, B. Boazio, c.1599.
- DS* Down Survey Barony Maps, County Kilkenny

The Barony of Fassaghndning in the County of Kilkenny
The Barony of Galmoy in ye County of Kilkenny
The Barony of Crannagh in the County of Kilkenny
The Liberties of The Citty of Kilkenny
The Barony of Gowran in the County of Kilkenny
The Barony of Sheelelogher the County of Kilkenny
The Liberties of Callan in the County of Kilkenny
The Barony of Kells in the County of Kilkenny
The Barony of Knocktopher in the County of Kilkenny
The Barony of Iuerke in the County of Kilkenny
Ida, Igrin and Ibercon Baronys [sic] in the County of Kilkenny

- E1(6)* Ordnance Survey map sheets on the scale of 6" : 1 mile, first edition, County Kilkenny (sheets: 1–3, 5–6, 8–15, 17–45) (1842)
- E2(6)* Ordnance Survey map sheets on the scale of 6" : 1 mile, second edition, County Kilkenny (sheets: 1 (1899–1902), 2 (1902), 3 (1902), 5 (1902), 6 (1899), 8 (1900), 9 (1902), 10 (1947), 11–13 (1902), 14 (1946–7), 15 (1902), 17 (1902), 18 (1902), 19 (1945–6), 20–22 (1902), 23 (1947), 24 (1899–1902), 25 (1903), 26 (1948), 27 (1948), 28 (1948–9), 29–35 (1903), 36 (1899–1903), 37–45 (1903))
- Mercator* *Irlandiae Regnum* [Map], G. Mercator, 1595.
- Moll* *A New Map of Ireland divided into its Provinces, Counties and Baronies wherein are distinguished the Bishopricks, Borroughs, Barracks, Bogs, Passes, Bridges with the Principal Roads and the common Reputed Miles*, H. Moll, 1714.
- Speed* *The Kingdome of Ireland* [Map], J. Speed, 1610.
- Vallencey* *The Royal Map of Ireland*, C. Vallencey, 1785.

Newspapers

Kilkenny People

The Irish Examiner

The Nationalist and Leinster Times

Official Papers

Kilkenny City Borough Library, Kilkenny

- CR/B1* Corporation Records, Grants: 1244, Grant to the Bishop of Ossory, Geoffrey de Turville, conferring on the community of the Black Abbey the right to draw water from St. Canice's Well, laying down the

condition that the diameter of the conduit must not exceed the diameter of his episcopal ring.

CR/B4 Corporation Records, Grants: 1250–1260, Grant from Hugh, Bishop of Ossory, to the Friars Preachers of Kilkenny of the well of St. Canice.

CR/C2 Corporation Records, Copies and Translations: 1244, Copy translation of a Grant from the Bishop of Ossory, conferring on the community of the Black Abbey the right to draw water from St. Canice's Well.

Placenames Branch, Dublin

Report from the Select Committee on the Survey and Valuation of Ireland (Dublin, 1824).

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**The Holy Wells of County Kilkenny in terms of
documentary coverage, location, ritual practice and
onomastic concept**

Volume 2

Data

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Appendices

Appendix I

Distribution of wells according to province and county

Province of Connacht (709, 709/2,997 = 23.6%)

County (number of townlands)	Number of wells, NMS	% of total in province	% of total in the country
Galway (4,471)	325	$325/709 = 45.8\%$	$325/2,997 = 10.8\%$
Leitrim (1,481)	41	$41/709 = 5.7\%$	$41/2,997 = 1.3\%$
Mayo (3,252)	146	$146/709 = 20.6\%$	$146/2,997 = 4.8\%$
Roscommon (2,059)	79	$79/709 = 11.1\%$	$79/2,997 = 2.6\%$
Sligo (1,264)	118	$118/709 = 16.6\%$	$118/2,997 = 3.9\%$

Province of Leinster (957, 957/2,997 = 31.9%)

County	Number of wells, NMS	% of total in province	% of total in the country
Carlow (602)	48 (37 wells are enumerated in O'Toole, <i>Carlow Wells</i> 4–23)	$48/957 = 5\%$	$48/2,997 = 1.6\%$
Dublin (1,047)	110 112 wells are enumerated	$110/957 = 11.5\%$	$110/2,997 = 3.6\%$

	by Dr. Caoimhín Ó Danachair in <i>Dublin Wells:</i> <i>OD</i> 233–235 and 128 wells are enumerated by Gary Branigan in <i>Dublin Wells:</i> <i>Bran.</i> 16–124		
Kildare (1,210)	61 72 wells are enumerated by Patricia Johnson in <i>Kildare</i> <i>Wells</i> 144–161; Carroll 1999, 21	$61/957 = 6.3\%$	$61/2,997 = 2\%$
Kilkenny (1,210)	162	$162/957 = 16.9\%$	$162/2,997 = 5.4\%$
Laois (1,111)	49	$49/957 = 5.1\%$	$49/2,997 = 1.6\%$
Longford (896)	26	$26/957 = 2.7\%$	$26/2,997 = .86\%$
Louth (665)	50 37 wells are enumerated by Anne-Marie Moroney in <i>Louth Wells</i> 33–74, while 24 are enumerated in Carroll 1999, 21	$50/957 = 5.2\%$	$50/2,997 = 1.6\%$
Meath (1,595)	47 Noel French mentions ‘over one hundred and thirty holy wells and sacred places’ in <i>Meath Wells</i> ii	$47/957 = 4.9\%$	$47/2,997 = 1.5\%$
Offaly (1,159)	68	$68/957 = 7.1\%$	$68/2,997 = 2.2\%$
Westmeath (1,349)	47	$47/957 = 4.9\%$	$47/2,997 = 1.5\%$
Wexford	175	$175/957 = 18.3\%$	$175/2,997 = 5.8\%$

(2,306)			
Wicklow (1,354)	114	114/957 = 11.9%	114/2,997 = 2.8%

Province of Munster (1,123, 1,123/2,997 = 37.5%)

Clare (2,257)	238 Houlihan, <i>Clare Wells</i> 17 (238 wells); 'Upwards of one hundred holy wells in this county' Westropp in <i>Wood-Martin II</i> 90, 91 and in Carroll 1999, 21.	238/1,123 = 21.2%	238/2,997 = 7.9%
Cork (5,409)	357	357/1,123 = 31.7%	357/2,997 = 11.9%
Kerry (2,713)	181 44 wells are enumerated by Dr. Caoimhín Ó Danachair in <i>North Kerry Wells</i> 156–163 and a further 59 are mentioned by the same author in <i>Corkaguiney Wells</i> 70–78.	181/1,123 = 16.1%	181/2,997 = 6%
Limerick (1,972)	159 Dr. Caoimhín Ó Danachair enumerates 163 wells in <i>Limerick Wells</i> 202–217.	159/1,123 = 14.1%	159/2,997 = 5.3%
Tipperary (3,141)	109	109/1,123 = 9.7%	109/2,997 = 3.6%
Waterford (1,615)	79	79/1,123 = 7.03%	79/2,997 = 2.6%

Province of Ulster (208, 208/2,997 = 6.9%)

Cavan (1,977)	36	$36/208 = 17.3\%$	$36/2,997 = 1.2\%$
Donegal (2,614)	164 106 wells are enumerated by Énrí Ó Muirgheasa in <i>Donegal Wells</i> 144–161 and in Carroll 1999, 21.	$164/208 = 78.8\%$	$164/2,997 = 5.4\%$
Monaghan (1,846)	8	$8/208 = 3.8\%$	$8/2,997 = .26\%$

Concerning the aforementioned counties, the following table contains the number of townlands in descending order and the number of holy wells listed in each (*NMS*)

County	Number of townlands	Number of wells
Cork	5,409	357
Galway	4,471	325
Mayo	3,252	146
Tipperary	3,141	109
Kerry	2,713	181
Donegal	2,614	164
Wexford	2,304	175
Clare	2,257	238
Roscommon	2,059	79
Cavan	1,977	36
Limerick	1,972	159
Monaghan	1,846	8
Waterford	1,615	79
Meath	1,595	47

Kilkenny	1,572	162
Leitrim	1,481	41
Wicklow	1,354	114
Westmeath	1,349	47
Sligo	1,264	118
Kildare	1,210	61
Offaly	1,159	68
Laois	1,111	49
Dublin	1,047	110
Longford	896	26
Louth	665	50
Carlow	602	48

Table of the number of wells per county in descending order (*NMS*) and the number of townlands per county

County	Number of wells	Number of townlands
Cork	357	5,409
Galway	325	4,471
Clare	238	2,257
Kerry	181	2,713
Wexford	175	2,304
Donegal	164	2,614
Kilkenny	162	1,572
Limerick	159	1,972
Mayo	146	3,252

Sligo	118	1,264
Wicklow	114	1,354
Dublin	110	1,047
Tipperary	109	3,141
Roscommon	79	2,059
Waterford	79	1,615
Offaly	68	1,159
Kildare	61	1,210
Louth	50	665
Laois	49	1,111
Carlow	48	602
Meath	47	1,595
Westmeath	47	1,349
Leitrim	41	1,481
Cavan	36	1,977
Longford	26	896
Monaghan	8	1,846

Appendix II

Protestants are portrayed in a negative light in the Folklore collections

1. A 'tyrannical and bigoted landlord named Pratt' had St. Brandon's Well (3) on his Castlemorris estate filled in, only to find that his house was flooded the following morning (*NFCS* 849.137). He is described elsewhere (*NFCS* 849.149) as 'the evictor [who] caused the well to be closed'.

2. During the Penal Laws a priest named Fr. Leahy was murdered by the 'enemy' or Protestant soldiers while celebrating Mass at a Mass bush near Lady's Well (11). 'When the enemy was gone', having stabbed the priest, the congregation carried his body over to the well where they respectfully washed him (*NFCS* 849.80, *NFCS* 854.174, *NFCS* 854.176, *NFCS* 854.230, *NFCS* 855.214).

3. 'A friar was pursued one day by (Protestant) soldiers' near Trinity Well (16) but was, presumably, killed after the soldiers followed him into a cave where 'his gold chalice and other things' were (*NFCS* 863.212).

4. In 1826 Protestant engineers 'who were not Catholics' were constructing a new road near Tobernaskagh (20) and 'they scoffed at the idea of the (local) people treating with such reverence such an old dilapidated place' and proceeded to cut the new road through the neighbouring old churchyard only to find the scene of their labours under 7 feet of water the following morning (*NFCS* 848.281, 282).

5. 'Protestants named Navels' broke statues near St. Michael's Well (21) (*NFCS* 829.130).

6. Lady's Well (40) 'is supposed to be at the church and when the Cromwellian soldiers were in Ireland they stopped it up' (*NFCS* 831.129).

7. At Thibberawling (85) 'a Bishop was put to death on the spot where the well now is' during the penal times (*NFCS* 840.203).

8. Friars or monks were reported to have been slaughtered formerly at Friar's Well (111) in the 'monastery field' during one of the religious persecutions (*NFCS* 844.112, *NFCS* 852.215).

9. 'It appears that one day St. Senan [of Kilmacow] was walking along a road which is now obliterated and he was being hunted by the English soldiers [!] when he was shot dead' (*NFCS* 843.9) near Tobersenan (116); and

10. After St. Fiacre died a sculptor made a statue of him and placed it at the entrance to St. Fiachra's Well (166), Kilferagh, Sheastown, after which 'an English soldier broke the head off and as he climbed the rocks from the well he fell and his head fell off' [!] (*NFCS* 855.213).

Appendix III

Examples of O’Kelly’s reliance on Carrigan’s works

2. St. Patrick’s Well, ‘on the right of the avenue from Silverspring House to the lodge gate’ (*O’Kelly* 124; *Carrigan* IV 154);
16. Trinity Well, ‘Carrigan records Trinity Well in this townland’ (*O’Kelly* 40; *Carrigan* NB 74.342);
18. Thubberathoggarth, ‘Tober an tsagairt’ (*O’Kelly* 57; *Carrigan* NB 28.44);
43. Holy Cross Well, ‘He [Carrigan] states that the well between the chapel and the village was holy’ (*O’Kelly* 182; *Carrigan* III 391);
49. Toberadrugh, ‘Tobar an Díthreabhaigh, the hermit’s well’ (*O’Kelly* 25; *Carrigan* II 327);
60. Thubber Eheen, ‘Tobar Fheichín, once called Felix’s well, now known as Desert well’ (*O’Kelly* 191; *Carrigan* NB 6.126, 127; *Carrigan* NB 71.94);
68. Tubber Finnawn, ‘the Monastery Well’ (*O’Kelly* 39; *Carrigan* NB 27.52);
72. Sruthán na Ceárdcha (*O’Kelly* 37; *Carrigan* II 199);
84. Tobernasool, ‘curative properties of its water in eye diseases’ (*O’Kelly* 62; *Carrigan* II 334);
99. Thubbervzheedha, ‘Carrigan states that the holy well, Tober Bríde, was drained and destroyed in 1842’ (*O’Kelly* 109; *Carrigan* IV 92);
105. Lady Well, ‘on the slope of Shragh hill’ (*O’Kelly* 26; *Carrigan* II 372);
117. Toberachree, ‘in Drea’s land’ (*O’Kelly* 81; *Carrigan* IV 114);
118. St. Andrew’s Well, ‘Carrigan gives St. Andrew’s Well a couple of hundred yards south of the church’ (*O’Kelly* 45; *Carrigan* III 464);
120. Tubber a’ teampaill, ‘at the Blackmore residence’ (*O’Kelly* 128; *Carrigan* NB 6.14);
126. Tobernagloghin, ‘Carrigan translates as the babbling well’ (*O’Kelly* 150; *Carrigan* IV 323);
127. St. Luke’s Well, ‘pattern was held formerly at the well on St. James’s Day, July 25th, according to Carrigan’ (*O’Kelly* 167; *Carrigan* IV 21);
129. Tobernaraha, ‘in the Raheen field’ (*O’Kelly* 157; *Carrigan* IV 325);
133. TubbernaevMulleeng, ‘in a field called Feadán’ (*O’Kelly* 117; *Carrigan* IV 190);
136. Toberacluggeen, ‘a cure in its waters for sore eyes’ (*O’Kelly* 131; *Carrigan* IV 234);
139. Muckalee Holy Well, ‘Faiche (the site of a holy well according to Carrigan’s Notes)’ (*O’Kelly* 57; *Carrigan* III 454);

145. Toberakin, ‘Carrigan states that there is a holy well in the townland called Tobar an chinn’ (*O’Kelly* 181; *Carrigan* III 329);
146. Lady’s Well, ‘there was a Lady’s Well in the Orchard’ (*O’Kelly* 133; *Carrigan* IV 239);
147. Toberuna, ‘Tobar na Muchthee according to Carrigan’ (*O’Kelly* 133; *Carrigan* IV 239);
151. Toberaniddaun, ‘Lá Fhéile Nadáil, Tobar Nadáil, Sruth Nadáil’ (*O’Kelly* 17; *Carrigan* III 430);
155. Tobernagolumb, ‘Carrigan states that formerly a pattern was held at Tober na gColm’ (*O’Kelly* 110; *Carrigan* IV 96);
158. Tubber Ullacawn, ‘Tobar Ullacháin, St. Elakan’s well according to Carrigan’s Notes’ (*O’Kelly* 62; *Carrigan* NB 28.33);
175. Toberacrin, ‘Tobar Bhreanáin, St. Brendan’s well, latterly known as Tobar an chrainn, the tree well’ (*O’Kelly* 25; *Carrigan* III 196);
182. Lady’s Well, ‘by the side of the Tóchar (causeway) road’ (*O’Kelly* 64; *Carrigan* II 364);
183. Tobar Muire, ‘beside Cregg bridge’ (*O’Kelly* 140; *Carrigan* IV 241).

Appendix IV

Examples of O'Kelly's independence of thought and judgement

21. St. Michael's Well/Lady's Well 'is immediately north of Bayswell House' (*O'Kelly* 58);
33. St. Michael's Well, 'down by the Sallybog stream' (*O'Kelly* 79);
34. St. James's Holy Well, 'in the southern angle on the Kilmakevoge border' (*O'Kelly* 116);
36. Bostionfort Well, 'south of the Chapel road', (*O'Kelly* 72);
38. Toberatoo, 'Toberatoo alias Tobar Chiaráin, near Kilfane bogs' (*O'Kelly* 83);
45. Tobermurry, 'near the derelict flour mills on the Nuenna river' (*O'Kelly* 11);
49. Toberadrugh, 'is in an angle north-east of the cross-roads' (*O'Kelly* 25);
51. St. Columbkille's Well, 'near the road from Thomastown to Graignamanagh' [*sic*] (*O'Kelly* 68);
56. St. John's Well, 'by the boreen one field from the Nore near Norelands House' (*O'Kelly* 164);
61. Donaghmore Well, 'east of the church beside the railway' (*O'Kelly* 39);
64. St. Ronagh's Well, 'near the Glory river' (*O'Kelly* 146);
66. Tobermogue, '300 yards from the church, now supports a wayside pump' (*O'Kelly* 182);
73. St. Scoheen's Well, 'north of the road to Frenystown castle' (*O'Kelly* 97);
83. Toberkyle, 'south of the road from Sceach R.C. chapel' (*O'Kelly* 89);
90. Lady's Well, 'below the bridge on the Gowran road' (*O'Kelly* 78);
94. St. John's Well, 'a powerful spring on the village green' (*O'Kelly* 89);
95. Toberbride, 'on the northern boundary in Kells townland' (*O'Kelly* 154);
98. Tubbervrachawin, 'Tobar Bhearcháin is at the crossroads' (*O'Kelly* 16);
108. St. Kieran's Well, 'south of the road from Brittas to Fiddaun bridge' (*O'Kelly* 81);
135. St. James's Well, 'the local name for this well is Tober Rí' (*O'Kelly* 154);
137. Toberlaghteen, 'by the roadside leading to Kilkenny' (*O'Kelly* 13);
140. St. Mullin's Well, 'east of the road leading to Thomastown' (*O'Kelly* 165);
141. Lady's Well, 'originally in a field west of the Kilkenny road was piped years ago to the roadside and is now completely dried up' (*O'Kelly* 96);
168. St. Martin's Well, 'in the second field north of the church site' (*O'Kelly* 93);
171. St. Finan's Well, 'beside the Glaisegeal bridge' (*O'Kelly* 45);
177. Toberpatrick, 'at the foot of the Sliabh Ardachaidh hills' (*O'Kelly* 27);
178. David's Well, 'on the Tullaherin border' (*O'Kelly* 70).

Appendix V

A list of well names which do not feature in O'Kelly's work

6. Aughkiletaun Well, 7. Ballinvarry Well, 10. Ballyda Holy Well, 14. Ballyneale Holy Well, 15. St. Laurence's Well, 17. Ballyreddy Holy Well, 22. St. Cranagh's Well, 23. St. Patrick's Well, 24. TubbernaCruchthanee, 28. Lady's Well, 39. St. David's Well, 44. Clogharinka Well, 47. Clonmore Well, 48. Toberaghcanice, 53. St. Mary's Well, 55. St. Monchin's Well, 59. Derrynahinch Holy Well, 62. Donaguile Well, 65. St. Patrick's Well, 74. Angel's Well, 76. St. Francis Well, 77. St. Kieran's Well, 78. St. Mary's Well, 79. Garryduff Well, 85. Thibberawling, 86. Lady's Well, 87. Grange Holy Well, 92. St. Rock's Well, 100. Tobar na Coille, 102. Kildalton Well, 103. St. John's Well, 104. Kildrinagh Well, 106. Kilfane Well, 107. Kilkeasy Well, 109. Tubberkilkierawn, 114. Tobar Brigid, 115. Kilmacow Well, 119. St. Mogarra's Well, 121. Kilmog Holy Well, 122. Kilmogue Holy Well, 128. Knockroe Holy Well, 132. St. Bridget's Well, 134. Maudlin Holy Well, 144. Oldcourt Holy Well, 148. Pollagh Holy Well, 149. Toberboy, 150. Tobernavean, 154. St. Philomena's Well, 157. Rathlogan Holy Well, 161. Riesk Holy Well, 162. St. Rosentha's Well, 163. Rossdama Holy Well, 164. Loughman's Well and 174. Tobernapeastia.

Appendix VI

References to holy wells found in all four 'surveys', namely, early Ordnance Survey documents (A), Carrigan's works (B), the Schools' Folklore Collection (C) and Owen O'Kelly's work (D)

A+B+C+D (3, 11, 13, 19, 20, 21, 26, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 40, 49, 51, 52, 64, 71, 75, 81, 82, 84, 88, 94, 101, 108, 110, 112, 113, 116, 123, 125, 127, 130, 131, 135, 136, 137, 140, 141, 142, 147, 151, 155, 166, 168, 171, 172, 176, 179 and 180) (51 names, 27.9% of the total, 51/183).

The following nineteen numbered well-names do not feature in any of the aforementioned sources: 10, 14, 17, 44, 47, 53, 87, 102, 104, 106, 115, 121, 122, 128, 134, 144, 148, 157 and 163 (10.4% of the total, 19/183).

A combination of A and/or B and/or C and/or D or references appearing in A (only), in B (only), in C (only) and in D (only) are outlined below:

A only (149, 150 — 2/183, 1.09%)

B only (39, 46, 80, 103, 132, 139, 144, 161 — 8/183, 4.4%)

C only (7, 15, 22, 59, 62, 74, 79, 100, 107, 114, 119, 154, 162 — 13/183, 7.1%)

D only (9, 27, 28, 50, 69 — 5/183, 2.7%)

A+B+D (1, 8, 25, 29, 33, 38, 43, 45, 55, 56, 61, 66, 73, 89, 95, 96, 117, 124, 126, 129, 138, 145, 152, 153, 156, 159, 167, 175, 177, 178 — 30/183, 16.4%)

A+B (109 — 1/183, .55%)

A+C (86 — 1/183, .55%)

A+D (6, 83, 90 — 3/183, 1.64%)

A+B+C (48, 76, 169, 174 — 4/184, 2.2%)

B+C (23, 41, 77, 85, 92, 164 — 6/183, 3.3%)

B+D (2, 18, 35, 54, 57, 60, 67, 68, 72, 97, 98, 105, 118, 143, 146, 158, 173, 182 — 18/183, 9.8%)

B+C+D (4, 5, 12, 16, 24, 30, 42, 58, 63, 70, 93, 99, 111, 120, 133, 160, 165, 183 — 18/183, 9.8%)

C+D (65, 78 — 2/183, 1.09%)

Appendix VII

Number of references to Ordnance Survey Namebooks

(numbers refer to well names and to the amount of references in brackets)

OSNB (1 (1), 3 (2), 19 (5), 20 (2), 21 (1), 26 (2), 31 (1), 32 (1), 36 (6), 43 (1), 49 (5), 51 (3), 56 (2), 64 (3), 66 (6), 73 (2), 75 (3), 76 (1), 81 (4), 82 (4), 83 (4), 89 (5), 90 (4), 91 (2), 94 (4), 101 (3), 108 (2), 109 (1), 110 (1), 113 (2), 117 (4), 124 (2), 126 (3), 127 (1), 129 (1), 130 (1), 135 (2), 137 (4), 138 (5), 140 (3), 141 (3), 149 (6), 150 (6), 152 (3), 153 (2), 159 (5), 166 (2), 167 (5), 168 (1), 169 (3), 170 (8), 171 (1), 172 (2), 174 (3), 175 (3), 176 (1), 178 (5), 179 (2), 180 (1) and 181 (5)).

Appendix VIII

Examples of wells being located beside or close to churches mentioned in the Ordnance Survey Letters

8. Trinity Well, ‘there was a holy well a furlong [220 yards] to the east of the Church called Trinity Well’ (*OSL(KK)* I 208 (*EC*));
13. Tobernakill, ‘the ruins of an old Church lie in the Townland of Portnascully. There is a large burying ground attached. There is a holy well called Tobar na Cille, the Well of the Church’ (*OSL(KK)* II 239 (*EC*));
19. Toberbride, ‘there is a graveyard called Kilbride (or Killbridget) in the Townland of Kilbride and a holy well near it’ (*OSL(KK)* II 47 (*EC*));
21. St. Michael’s Well, ‘there was a Patron held here near the church on the 29th of September on which occasion those who attended performed devotions at a holy well called Bayswell’ (*OSL(KK)* I 115 (*EC*));
25. Toberpatrick, ‘in the Townland of Burrismore they shew the western, doorless, windowless gable of an old Church, Árt an Fhíona. There is a large spring well about a furlong to the west of Art an Fhiona [*sic*] which the people know as Tobar Patraig’ (*OSL(KK)* I 108, 109 (*EC*));
29. St. Dallan’s Well, ‘the walls of the old Church remained till pulled down about twenty years ago to supply materials for the present Protestant Church. There is a large and much frequented burying ground here. There is a holy well about a quarter of a mile south east of the graveyard called Tobar San Dallán’ (*OSL(KK)* II 31 (*EC*));
32. St. Kieran’s Well, ‘there is a little obsolete graveyard in the townland of Kilkieran but no remains of a church. There is a holy well near it called after the same St. Kieran’ (*OSL(KK)* II 285 (*EC*));
34. St. James’s Holy Well, ‘the old Church of this Parish [Kilmakevoge] was rebuilt about five hundred years since and placed under the patronage of St. James whose festival was annually celebrated at the Church and after whom a holy well in the vicinity was named’ (*OSL(KK)* II 177 (*OD*));
37. Tobernagibboge, ‘the ruined Church of Earlstown. This is evidently a Church of the 17th century. The inhabitants call this Church and place Roilig [*sic*] Naoimh a[n] Domhain, the Church or Burying Ground of the Saints of the World [All Saints]. There is a holy well a

- little to the westward [*sic*] of the Church called Tobar na nGiobog, the Well of the Rags' (*OSL(KK)* II 57, 58 (*EC*));
40. Lady's Well, 'the well lies about a quarter of a mile north east of the church' (*OSL(KK)* I 82 (*EC*));
45. Tobermurry, 'the ruined Church of Clochmantach. There is a large and much frequented burying ground attached to it. There is a well near the Mills of Cloghmanta [nearby] called by the inhabitants Tubber Muire (Tobermurry)' (*OSL(KK)* 161, 162, 167 (*EC*));
48. Toberaghcanice, 'the ruined Church of Clonmore, burying ground attached. There is a well near the Church — it is called Tobarach Chainneach, the Well or Wells of Cainneach' (*OSL(KK)* II 226, 227 (*EC*));
49. Toberadrugh [Tobar an Díthreabhaigh, 'well of the hermit'], 'at the east end of the Catholic Chapel a little pile of stone building, stone roofed. The point of the arch of this chamber is three feet over the door arch. They said that this was a hermit's cell and that it was occupied as such 60 years ago, and yet its popular name is Tobar a Drúdh, the Druid's Well' (*OSL(KK)* I 90, 91 (*EC*));
51. St. Columbkille's Well, 'the old Church is nearly destroyed. At a distance of twenty four feet from the doorway in the south wall there is a fine spring well, considered holy and dedicated to St. Columbkille' (*OSL(KK)* II 339, 340 (*OD*));
55. St. Monchin's Well, 'the Church of Coolcashen lies in ruins. The well belonging to this Church lay twenty yards to the west of it' (*OSL(KK)* I 100, 101 (*EC*));
61. Donaghmore Well, 'the old Church of Donoghmore stands in ruins. There is a well called Donoghmore Well about a furlong east of the Church' (*OSL(KK)* I 64, 67 (*EC*));
64. St. Ronagh's Well, 'the ruins of a Church stand in the Townland of Donnabmaggin [*sic*]. There is a holy well about three hundred yards west of the ruin called Tobar San Lionairt in Irish, and St. Leonard's Well in English' (*OSL(KK)* II 91, 92 (*EC*));
71. Tobermurry, 'the site of a Church called Cill Chuain. About one mile distant from it is a holy well called Tobermurry or the Virgin Mary's Well' (*OSL(KK)* II 176 (*EC*));
73. St. Scoheen's Well, 'the primitive Church of St. Scoithin has long since been destroyed and a modern Church erected near its site since the Reformation. A spring is called after his name near the [nearby] Castle of Freynystown' (*OSL(KK)* I 222 (*OD*));
84. Tobernasool, 'the ruined Church of Rathlogan. There is a small burying ground near it, having a few modern graves. There is a holy well called Tobar na Súil (Tobernasool), that is, the Well of the Eyes, at a distance of a quarter of a mile east of the Church' (*OSL(KK)* I 155, 156 (*EC*));

88. Toberaphuicin, ‘the people here ascribe the erection of this Church to St. Kieran. There is a well a little to the north called Tobar a Phúicín, the Little Puka’s Well, at which St. Kieran was in the habit of watering his cow’ (*OSL(KK)* I 133, 134, 135 (*EC*));
95. Toberbride, ‘this Church is dedicated to St. Bridget after whom a holy well lying to the north east of the Church about one furlong is called Tobar Brighde (Tober Bride)’ (*OSL(KK)* II 62 (*EC*));
96. Thubberniclaush, ‘in the Townland of Kilballykeeffe are the Ruins of a Church. There is a small burying ground attached and a well called Nicholas’s Well lies a little to the west of it’ (*OSL(KK)* I 237 (*EC*));
101. Kilcross Well, ‘the ruins of an old Church stand in the Townland of Kilcross. There is no burying ground here but there is a very fine spring well a few perches south east of the ruin called Tobar na Croiche Naoimh, the Well of the Holy Cross’ (*OSL(KK)* II 284, 285 (*EC*)) [1 perch = 21 feet];
110. St. Nicholas Well, ‘the foundation, between three and four feet high, remains on the south east side of the churchyard or burying ground. The well at the churchyard is dedicated to St. Nicholas’ (*OSL(KK)* II 96, 97 (*EC*));
112. Thubber Murrha, ‘the ruined old Church of Kilmacar. There is a Patron held still on the 29th June at Lady’s Well about half a mile east of the Church’ (*OSL(KK)* I 27, 28, 29 (*EC*));
124. Tobermurry, ‘there was an old Church in the Townland of Kilmurry which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and near it a holy well called Tobar Muire (Tobermurry)’ (*OSL(KK)* II 292 (*OD*));
125. Kealy’s Well, ‘in Kiltown Townland is a small burying ground used only for still-born children and about one eighth of a mile north west of this is a holy well called Tobar Philip’ (*OSL(KK)* I 45 (*EC*));
136. Toberacluggeen, ‘the old Church of Muckalee and a burying ground is the only remains of antiquity discovered in the Parish excepting a holy well in the [nearby] Townland of Milltown called Tobar a’ Chluigin’ (*OSL(KK)* II 201 (*EC*));
142. St. Bridget’s Well, ‘there is a well called Tobar Brighde or St. Bridget’s Well, about half a mile east of the Church’ [of Earlstown, ‘Roilig Naoimh a[n] Domhain’] (*OSL(KK)* II 59 (*EC*));
145. Toberakin, ‘there is a holy well a quarter of a mile north east of the Church [Roilig Naoimh a[n] Domhain] called Tobar a Chinn’ (*OSL(KK)* II 59 (*EC*));

147. Toberuna, ‘the ruins of the old Church of Owing. There is a well a little north of the Church called Tobar Una at which Patrons and Pilgrimages were formerly held’ (*OSL(KK)* II 190, 193 (*EC*));
153. St. Catherine’s Well, ‘the ruined Church of Rathbay. There was a well between this Church and the Nore called St. Catherine’s well’ (*OSL(KK)* I 86, 88 (*EC*));
155. Tobernagolomb, ‘the present old Church called Kilcolumb — the existence of a holy well in the vicinity at which people were wont to perform Stations on St. Columbkille’s Day’ (*OSL(KK)* II 180 (*OD*));
156. Toberkieran, ‘there is a large burying ground and a modern Protestant Church at Rathkeeran but no vestige of an old Church. There is a well half a furlong north of the Church called Tobar Kiaran or Kiaran’s Well’ (*OSL(KK)* II 242 (*EC*));
159. Tobernacask, ‘the ruins of an old Church. There is a very fine spring well in the [adjoining] Townland of Red Acres called Tobar a Chaisg, i.e. the Well of Easter’ (*recte* ‘the well of the drinking-vessel’) (*OSL(KK)* II 139, 140 (*EC*));
166. St. Fiachra’s Well, ‘there is a small burying ground in the Townland of Kilfera. There is a holy well called after Saint Fiachra a little to the east of the burying ground’ (*OSL(KK)* I 279 (*EC*));
167. Toberkieran, ‘the old Church of Stonecarthy is called Roilig Stún Carrtha. There is a well a little to the south of the Church called Tobar Ciarain (Toberkeeran)’ (*OSL(KK)* I 283 (*EC*));
168. St. Martin’s Well, ‘St. Martin’s Church — both its gables are totally destroyed. A well dedicated to St. Martin is situated in a bog about two hundred yards to the north east of the Church’ (*OSL(KK)* I 247 (*EC*));
170. Toberelleen, ‘the sites of Churches in the Townlands of Coolroe and Tigh Keerlevan, a short distance to the north of the latter of which there is a well called Tobar Eibhlinne’ (*OSL(KK)* II 10 (*OD*));
171. St. Finan’s Well, ‘the ruins of a Church called by the peasantry Cill Fhionain (Kilfinan), the Church of St. Finan. There is a small grave yard attached to it. There is a holy well to the south side called St. Finan’s Well’ (*OSL(KK)* I 74–76 (*EC*));
176. Tubbrid Holy Well, ‘small portions of the sides and east gable of an old Church remain. There is a small graveyard attached and a fine spring well a little to the north having a large ash tree growing over it’ (*OSL(KK)* II 228 (*EC*));

177. Toberpatrick, ‘the ruins of the Church of Tubbrid. There is a fine spring well a little to the south west of the ruin which the people call Tubber Patrick or Patrick’s Well’ (*OSL(KK)* I 170, 171 (*EC*));
180. Lady’s Well, ‘the ruined Church of Tullaroan. There is a holy well called Lady’s Well on the north side of the Church’ (*OSL(KK)* I 210, 213 (*EC*));
181. St. Fiachra’s Well, ‘the old Parish Church is a very interesting ruin. The Parish of Ullard has for its Patron St. Fiaghrach to whom there is a well dedicated [nearby]’ (*OSL(KK)* II 2, 4 (*EC*)).

Appendix IX

Information on saints' feastdays/pattern days in the Ordnance Survey Letters

8. Trinity Well, 'there was a Patron held here on Trinity Sunday until twenty years ago' (*OSL(KK)* I 207);
11. Lady's Well, 'frequented on the 15th of August' (*OSL(KK)* I 274);
21. St. Michael's Well, 'Patron held here on the 29th of September' (*OSL(KK)* I 115);
29. St. Dallan's Well, 'still [1839] held in veneration on the first Sunday in the month of August' (*OSL(KK)* I 31);
40. Lady's Well, 'A Patron was held on the 15th of August' (*OSL(KK)* I 82);
51. St. Columbkille's Well, 'patterns annually held on the Sunday after the 9th of June' (*OSL(KK)* I 340);
64. St. Ronagh's Well, 'a Patron held here formerly on St. Leonard's Day' (*OSL(KK)* II 93);
94. St. John's Well, 'Patron Day, 24th June' (*OSL(KK)* II 79, 80);
95. Toberbride, 'Pattern was held on St. Bridget's Day' (*OSL(KK)* II 62);
102. Kilcross Well, 'a Patron held here many years ago on the 3rd of May' (*OSL(KK)* II 285);
112. Thubber Murrha, 'a Patron held still on the 29th of June' (*OSL(KK)* I 29) — in relation to Kilmacar townland in which the well was located, Professor Ó Riain comments that Mac Earra was the eponymous saint and that the 'patronage of the parish later fell to Peter and Paul' (*Ó Riain Saints* 416, 417) whose feastday is June 29th.
124. Tobermurry, Patrons were held annually on the 15th of August' (*OSL(KK)* II 292);
131. Tobermolua, '4th day of August' (*OSL(KK)* II 52);
147. Toberuna, '15th of August' (*OSL(KK)* II 193) near which was located Lady's Well of Owing;
153. St. Catherine's Well, '24th day of June and the 6th of December' (*OSL(KK)* I 88);
168. St. Martin's Well, '11th of November' (*OSL(KK)* I 247);
169. St. Fachtna's Well, 'was a Patron held here formerly on the 13th of February' (*OSL(KK)* II 224);
180. Lady's Well, '15th of August' (*OSL(KK)* I 213).

Appendix X

Number of references to Ordnance Survey Memoranda (numbers refer to well-names and to the amount of references in brackets)

OSM(KK) (3 (2), 8 (1), 13 (1), 19 (1), 25 (2), 29 (4), 32 (1), 34 (1), 36 (1), 37 (2), 38 (3), 40 (1), 45 (2), 48 (3), 49 (4), 51 (1), 55 (1), 61 (1), 64 (1), 71 (2), 73 (1), 81 (2), 82 (1), 84 (1), 88 (2), 94 (1), 95 (2), 110 (1), 123 (1), 124 (1), 125 (2), 127 (1), 128 (2), 131 (1), 132 (1), 136 (4), 137 (1), 141 (1), 145 (2), 147 (2), 151 (3), 153 (1), 155 (2), 156 (2), 159 (1), 166 (1), 167 (2), 168 (1), 169 (1), 170 (2), 171 (2), 174 (1), 175 (1), 176 (1), 177 (2), 179 (2), 180 (1) and 181 (1)).

Appendix XI

Succinct references from the Memoranda which mirror the Letters

8. Trinity Well (*OSM(KK)* 19, 20; *OSL(KK)* I 207, 208);
13. Tobernakill (*OSM(KK)* 80; *OSL(KK)* II 239);
19. Toberbrick (*OSM(KK)* 24; *OSL(KK)* II 47);
25. Toberpatrick (*OSM(KK)* 105; *OSL(KK)* I 109);
29. St. Dallan's Well (*OSM(KK)* 46; *OSL(KK)* II 31);
34. St. James's Holy Well (*OSM(KK)* 126, 127; *OSL(KK)* II 177);
37. Tobernagibboge (*OSM(KK)* 26, 27; *OSL(KK)* II 58);
45. Tobermurry (*OSM(KK)* 11; *OSL(KK)* I 161, 162, 167);
48. Toberaghanice (*OSM(KK)* 78; *OSL(KK)* II 227);
51. St. Columbkille's Well (*OSM(KK)* 146; *OSL(KK)* II 339, 340);
55. St. Monchin's Well (*OSM(KK)* 109; *OSL(KK)* I 101);
61. St. Donaghmore Well (*OSM(KK)* 49; *OSL(KK)* I 67);
71. Tobermurry (*OSM(KK)* 126; *OSL(KK)* II 176);
73. St. Scoheen's Well (*OSM(KK)* 155; *OSL(KK)* I 222);
84. Tobernasool (*OSM(KK)* 8; *OSL(KK)* I 156);
88. Toberaphuicin (*OSM(KK)* 2; *OSL(KK)* I 134, 135);
95. Toberbride (*OSM(KK)* 62; *OSL(KK)* II 62);
97. St. Nicholas Well (*OSM(KK)* 39; *OSL(KK)* II 96, 97);
124. Tobermurry (*OSM(KK)* 110, 111; *OSL(KK)* II 292);
125. Kealy's Well (*OSM(KK)* 90; *OSL(KK)* I 45);
131. Tobermolua (*OSM(KK)* 25; *OSL(KK)* II 52);
133. TubbernaevMulleeng (*OSM(KK)* 173; *OSL(KK)* II 166);
136. Toberacluggeen (*OSM(KK)* 19; *OSL(KK)* II 201);
142. St. Bridget's Well (*OSM(KK)* 26; *OSL(KK)* I 59);
145. Toberakin (*OSM(KK)* 27; *OSL(KK)* II 59);
147. Toberuna (*OSM(KK)* 115; *OSL(KK)* II 193);
153. St. Catherine's Well (*OSM(KK)* 100; *OSL(KK)* I 88);
155. Tobernagolumb (*OSM(KK)* 19, 20; *OSL(KK)* II 180);
156. Toberkieran (*OSM(KK)* 80; *OSL(KK)* II 242);
159. Tobernacask (*OSM(KK)* 82; *OSL(KK)* II 139, 140);

166. St. Fiachra's Well (*OSM(KK)* 56; *OSL(KK)* I 279, 280);
167. Toberkieran (*OSM(KK)* 31, 32; *OSL(KK)* I 283);
168. St. Martin's Well (*OSM(KK)* 130, 131; *OSL(KK)* I 247);
170. Toberelleen (*OSM(KK)* 144; *OSL(KK)* II 10);
171. St. Finan's Well (*OSM(KK)* 50; *OSL(KK)* I 74–6);
176. Tubbrid Holy Well (*OSM(KK)* 79; *OSL(KK)* II 228);
177. Toberpatrick (*OSM(KK)* 11, 12; *OSL(KK)* I 170, 171);
179. Thubbervweenia (*OSM(KK)* 26; *OSL(KK)* II 55);
180. Lady's Well (*OSM(KK)* 20; *OSL(KK)* I 213);
181. St. Fiachra's Well (*OSM(KK)* 142; *OSL(KK)* II 2).

Certain such situational details are evidenced in the Letters but do not appear in the Memoranda:

40. Lady's Well (*OSL(KK)* I 82; *OSM(KK)* —);
64. St. Ronagh's Well (*OSL(KK)* II 92; *OSM(KK)* —);
96. Thubberniclaush (*OSL(KK)* I 237; *OSM(KK)* —);
101. Kilcross Well (*OSL(KK)* II 285; *OSM(KK)* —);
112. Thubber Murrha (*OSL(KK)* II 28, 29; *OSM(KK)* —);
130. Trinity Well (*OSL(KK)* II 113; *OSM(KK)* —);
142. St. Bridget's Well (*OSL(KK)* I 59; *OSM(KK)* —).

Appendix XII

Details concerning pattern days which are omitted from the Memoranda
but are contained in the Letters

13. Tobernakill, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘No Patron Saint or day is remembered’ (*OSL(KK)* II 239);
29. St. Dallan’s Well, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘a Patron is still held on the first Sunday in the month of August’ (*OSL(KK)* II 31);
40. Lady’s Well, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘a Patron was held on the 15th of August till about twenty years ago, as also on the eighth of September ... [it] is still resorted to for the cure of sore eyes’ (*OSL(KK)* I 82);
48. Toberaghcanice, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘Stations and a Patron were formerly held, both now disused’; ‘they believe the place to have been dedicated to the Patron of Kilkenny, the Caindeach of Achadh-Bo’ (*OSL(KK)* II 227);
51. St. Columbkille’s Day, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘Patterns were annually held here on the Sunday after the 9th of June and Stations performed at the well on the 9th of June, which is St. Columb’s Day’ (*OSL(KK)* II 340);
71. Tobermurry, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘it is probable that this Church [Kilcoan] was originally built by the celebrated St. Cuan of Ahascragh’ (*OSL(KK)* II 176) (*recte* Cuán of Kilquaine, *Ó Riain Saints* 239);
95. Toberbride, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘Stations were performed and a pattern was held at this well not many years since on St. Bridget’s Day’ (*OSL(KK)* II 62);
112. Thubber Murrha, Kilmacar, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘the name of this Parish is of ecclesiastical origin and derived from some one of the old Irish saints named Mochara or Moheara’ (*OSL(KK)* I 27) (*recte* Mac Eara, *Ó Riain Saints* 416, 417);
124. Tobermurry, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘Patterns were annually held on the 15th of August’ (*OSL(KK)* II 292);
125. Kealy’s Well/Tober Philip, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘there was a Patron held until about sixty years ago’ (*OSL(KK)* I 45);
127. St. Luke’s Well, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘Pilgrimages and Patrons were held till within the last ten years on Saint James’ Day’ (*OSL(KK)* II 146);
133. TubbernaevMulleeng, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘there is no Patron nor Patron Day’ (*OSL(KK)* II 166); ‘a sprawling hawthorn tree, which, the tradition says, sprung from St. Mullen’s walking staff that he struck down in that spot’ (*ibid.*);

136. Toberacluggeen, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘the water has lost its repute among the people, who formerly visited it for the cure of sore eyes’ (*OSL(KK)* II 201);
137. Toberlaghteen, hagiographical details concerning St. Laichtín which are extracted from *An Leabhar Breac*, from *The Martyrology of Donegal* and from Colgan’s *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* and cited in *OSL(KK)* I 181 are not mentioned in the Memoranda;
139. Muckalee Holy Well, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘there was a Patron held here on the 8th of September till about the year 1830’ (*OSL(KK)* I 17);
141. Lady’s Well, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘it is held in no particular veneration nor is it remembered to have been so held’ (*OSL(KK)* II 247);
142. St. Bridget’s Well, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘it is still held in veneration but not visited for cures or devotion; (*OSL(KK)* I 59);
145. Toberakin, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘it is not now frequented for any devotional purpose’ (*OSL(KK)* II 59);
147. Toberuna, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘Patrons and Pilgrimages were formerly held on the 15th of August. The well is not in any religious esteem now’ (*OSL(KK)* II 193);
153. St. Catherine’s Well, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘they say here that a nunnery under the Patronage of St. Catherine stood here long ago’ (*OSL(KK)* I 88); ‘a Patron was held till within the last ten years on the 24th of June and the 6th of December’ (*ibid.*);
155. Tobernagolumb, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘People were wont to perform Stations on St. Columbkille’s Day’; ‘a short distance to the north of the Church are stones in which Saint Columbkille left the impress of his head and two knees’ (*OSL(KK)* I 180);
156. Toberkieran, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘the name of this Parish [Rathkieran] is of ecclesiastical origin, derived from Saint Kieran of Saighir, the great patron of the Ossorians’; ‘Patrons and Stations were held many years ago, but it is now neglected and in no veneration’ (*OSL(KK)* II 242);
159. Tobernacask, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘there was a Patron held here formerly but the day on which it was held is now forgotten’ (*OSL(KK)* II 140);
166. St. Fiachra’s Well, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘a Patron was held up to about sixty years ago, but the day is not now remembered’ (*OSL(KK)* I 279);
168. St. Martin’s Well, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘Stations are performed at it on St. Martin’s Day, 11th of November’ (*OSL(KK)* I 247);
169. St. Faghtna’s Well, *OSM(KK)* —; ‘there was a Patron held here formerly on the 13th of February, Saint Modomnoc’s Day’; ‘Saint Dominic or Modomnoc flourished about the

middle of the 6th century; his feast is celebrated in Tipradfachtna, 13th February' (*OSL(KK)* II 222, 224);

171. St. Finan's Well, *OSM(KK)* —; 'a Patron was held some day in August till about thirty years ago' (*OSL(KK)* II 76);

174. Tobernapeastia, *OSM(KK)* —; 'in which it is said people were accustomed to wash their hands to cure the worm' (*OSL(KK)* I 188);

176. Tubbrid Holy Well, *OSM(KK)* —; 'held in no veneration' (*OSL(KK)* II 228);

179. Thubbervweenia, *OSM(KK)* —; 'the natives call the place in Irish Tulamaoin, from a Saint of the name of Maon' [*recte* Tulach Mhaighne, 'hillock of the place/spot']; 'it is not now frequented for any devotional purposes' (*OSL(KK)* II 55);

180. Lady's Well, *OSM(KK)* —; 'a Patron was held on the 15th of August till within a few years' (*OSL(KK)* I 213).

Appendix XIII

Ordnance Survey Fair Plan map references
(numbers refer to well-names and to the amount of references in brackets)

OSFP (3 (1), 6 (1), 13 (1), 19 (1), 20 (1), 21 (1), 25 (1), 26 (1), 29 (1), 31 (1), 34 (1), 36 (1), 37 (1), 38 (1), 40 (1), 45 (1), 48 (1), 49 (1), 51 (1), 55 (1), 56 (1), 61 (1), 66 (1), 71 (2), 73 (1), 75 (1), 81 (1), 82 (1), 83 (1), 88 (1), 89 (1), 90 (1), 94 (1), 95 (1), 110 (1), 113 (1), 124 (1), 126 (1), 127 (1), 129 (1), 130 (1), 131 (1), 135 (1), 136 (1), 137 (1), 141 (1), 142 (1), 145 (1), 147 (1), 149 (1), 150 (1), 151 (1), 153 (1), 155 (1), 156 (1), 166 (1), 167 (1), 168 (1), 169 (1), 171 (1), 174 (1), 175 (1), 176 (1), 177 (1), 178 (1) and 179 (1)).

Appendix XIV

Refined and standardised spellings adopted by the Ordnance Survey

- 11. Lady's Well (*EI(6)*); Ladies Holy Well (*OSFP*);
- 13. Tobernakill (*EI(6)*); Tobarnacille (*OSFP*);
- 19. Toberbride (*EI(6)*); Tubberbreede (*OSFP*);
- 20. Tobernaskeagh (*EI(6)*); Tubarnaskeagh (*OSFP*);
- 25. Toberpatrick (*EI(6)*); Patrick's Well (*OSFP*);
- 29. St. Dallan's Well (*EI(6)*); Tobar San Dallan (*OSFP*);
- 36. Bostionfort Well (*EI(6)*); Bostion Fort Well (*OSFP*);
- 37. Tobernagibboge (*EI(6)*); Tobar na Ngiobog (*OSFP*);
- 38. Toberatoo (*EI(6)*); TubberaChoo (*OSFP*);
- 40. Lady's Well (*EI(6)*); Ladies Well (*OSFP*);
- 48. Toberaghcanice (*EI(6)*); Tobarachchainneach (*OSFP*);
- 49. Toberadrugh (*EI(6)*); Tubber Dugh [*sic*] (*OSFP*);
- 51. St. Columbkille's Well (*EI(6)*); Colombkill Well (*OSFP*);
- 61. Donaghmore Well (*EI(6)*); Donoughmore Well (*OSFP*);
- 66. Tobermogue (*EI(6)*); Tubber Madughoge (*OSFP*);
- 73. St. Scoheen's Well (*EI(6)*); St. Scoithin's Well (*OSFP*);
- 81. Tobermamonine (*EI(6)*); Tobar Mamonine (*OSFP*);
- 82. Tobermathulla (*EI(6)*); Tobar Mathulla (*OSFP*);
- 83. Toberkyle (*EI(6)*); Tubberkyle (*OSFP*);
- 89. Tobernanaspog (*EI(6)*); TubbernaNasbogue (*OSFP*);
- 94. St. John's Well (*EI(6)*); John's Well (*OSFP*);
- 95. Toberbride (*EI(6)*); Tubber Bride (*OSFP*);
- 113. Lady's Well (*EI(6)*); Ladies Well (*OSFP*);
- 124. Tobermurry (*EI(6)*); Lady Well (*OSFP*);
- 126. Tobernagloghin (*EI(6)*); Tobarnaglughen (*OSFP*);
- 127. St. Luke's Well (*EI(6)*); Luke's Well (*OSFP*);
- 129. Tobernaraha (*EI(6)*); Tubbernaratha (*OSFP*);
- 132. Tobermolua (*EI(6)*); Tubber Molua (*OSFP*);
- 135. St. James's Well (*EI(6)*); St. James Well (*OSFP*);
- 136. Toberacluggeen (*EI(6)*); Tobar a Chluigin (*OSFP*);

137. Toberlaghteen (*EI(6)*); Tubberloughteen (*OSFP*);
145. Toberakin (*EI(6)*); Tobar A Chinn (*OSFP*);
147. Toberuna (*EI(6)*); Tobaruna (*OSFP*);
149. Toberboy (*EI(6)*); Tubberbweenapullie (*OSFP*);
150. Tobernavean (*EI(6)*); Tubbernavbein (*OSFP*);
151. Toberaniddaun (*EI(6)*); Tubbernadhawn (*OSFP*);
153. St. Catherine's Well (*EI(6)*); St. Cathrine's Well (*OSFP*);
155. Tobernagolumb (*EI(6)*); Tobarnagolumb (*OSFP*);
156. Toberkieran (*EI(6)*); Tobar Kiaran (*OSFP*);
159. Tobernacask (*EI(6)*); Tobar a Chaisg (*OSFP*);
166. St. Fiachra's Well (*EI(6)*); Holy Well (*OSFP*);
167. Toberkieran (*EI(6)*); Tobar Keran (*OSFP*);
169. St. Faghtna's Well (*EI(6)*); Holy Well (*OSFP*);
172. St. Bridget's Well (*EI(6)*); Bridget's Well (*OSFP*);
174. Tobernapeastia (*EI(6)*); Tubbernapaistia (*OSFP*);
175. Toberacrin (*EI(6)*); Well (*OSFP*);
176. Tubbrid Holy Well (*EI(6)*); Tubrid Holy Well (*OSFP*);
177. Toberpatrick (*EI(6)*); Tubberpatrick (*OSFP*).

Appendix XV

First edition Ordnance Survey map references (numbers refer to well-names)

EI(6) (3, 8, 13, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 40, 45, 48, 49, 51, 56, 61, 64, 66, 71, 73, 75, 81, 82, 83, 84, 89, 90, 91, 94, 95, 101, 110, 112, 117, 124, 126, 127, 129, 130, 131, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 145, 147, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 155, 156, 159, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180 and 181).

Appendix XVI

A composite list of references to Carrigan's works
(numbers refer to well-names and to the amount of references in brackets)

1 (*Carrigan NB* (11), *Carrigan* (3): 14), 2 (*Carrigan NB* (4), *Carrigan* (1): 5), 3 (*Carrigan NB* (10), *Carrigan* (4): 14), 4 (*Carrigan NB* (6), *Carrigan* (1): 7), 5 (*Carrigan NB* (9), *Carrigan* (2): 11), 8 (*Carrigan NB* (9), *Carrigan* (2): 11), 11 (*Carrigan NB* (20), *Carrigan* (1): 21), 12 (*Carrigan NB* (6), *Carrigan* (0): 6), 13 (*Carrigan NB* (9), *Carrigan* (2): 11), 16 (*Carrigan NB* (3), *Carrigan* (1): 4), 18 (*Carrigan NB* (3), *Carrigan* (0): 3), 19 (*Carrigan NB* (9), *Carrigan* (1): 10), 20 (*Carrigan NB* (10), *Carrigan* (1): 11), 21 (*Carrigan NB* (8), *Carrigan* (1): 9), 22 (*Carrigan NB* (2), *Carrigan* (0): 2), 23 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (0): 5), 24 (*Carrigan NB* (7), *Carrigan* (1): 8), 25 (*Carrigan NB* (6), *Carrigan* (3): 9), 26 (*Carrigan NB* (3), *Carrigan* (3): 6), 29 (*Carrigan NB* (11), *Carrigan* (5): 16), 30 (*Carrigan NB* (7), *Carrigan* (4): 11), 31 (*Carrigan NB* (2), *Carrigan* (0): 2), 32 (*Carrigan NB* (2), *Carrigan* (1): 3), 33 (*Carrigan NB* (7), *Carrigan* (2): 9), 34 (*Carrigan NB* (11), *Carrigan* (3): 14), 35 (*Carrigan NB* (1), *Carrigan* (2): 3), 36 (*Carrigan NB* (4), *Carrigan* (4): 8), 37 (*Carrigan NB* (11), *Carrigan* (3): 14), 38 (*Carrigan NB* (3), *Carrigan* (0): 3), 39 (*Carrigan NB* (0), *Carrigan* (1): 1), 40 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (1): 6), 41 (*Carrigan NB* (0), *Carrigan* (2): 2), 42 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (1): 6), 43 (*Carrigan NB* (1), *Carrigan* (1): 2), 45 (*Carrigan NB* (7), *Carrigan* (0): 7), 46 (*Carrigan NB* (14), *Carrigan* (3): 17), 48 (*Carrigan NB* (12), *Carrigan* (4): 16), 49 (*Carrigan NB* (19), *Carrigan* (10): 29), 51 (*Carrigan NB* (2), *Carrigan* (1): 3), 52 (*Carrigan NB* (2), *Carrigan* (1): 3), 54 (*Carrigan NB* (13), *Carrigan* (2): 15), 55 (*Carrigan NB* (1), *Carrigan* (0): 1), 56 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (2): 7), 57 (*Carrigan NB* (4), *Carrigan* (2): 6), 58 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (3): 8), 60 (*Carrigan NB* (22), *Carrigan* (3): 25), 61 (*Carrigan NB* (1), *Carrigan* (0): 1), 63 (*Carrigan NB* (11), *Carrigan* (3): 14), 64 (*Carrigan NB* (19), *Carrigan* (2): 21), 66 (*Carrigan NB* (10), *Carrigan* (2): 12), 67 (*Carrigan NB* (3), *Carrigan* (2): 5), 68 (*Carrigan NB* (9), *Carrigan* (4): 13), 70 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (3): 8), 71 (*Carrigan NB* (9), *Carrigan* (3): 12), 72 (*Carrigan NB* (0), *Carrigan* (1): 1), 73 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (1): 6), 75 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (4): 9), 77 (*Carrigan NB* (0), *Carrigan* (5): 5), 80 (*Carrigan NB* (1), *Carrigan* (1): 2), 81 (*Carrigan NB* (31), *Carrigan* (7): 38), 82 (*Carrigan NB* (19), *Carrigan* (4): 23), 84 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (3): 8), 85 (*Carrigan NB* (4), *Carrigan*

(1): 5), 88 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (2): 7), 89 (*Carrigan NB* (14), *Carrigan* (2): 16), 93 (*Carrigan NB* (0), *Carrigan* (2): 2), 94 (*Carrigan NB* (11), *Carrigan* (7): 18), 95 (*Carrigan NB* (1), *Carrigan* (1): 2), 96 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (3): 8), 97 (*Carrigan NB* (9), *Carrigan* (1): 10), 98 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (0): 5), 99 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (2): 7), 101 (*Carrigan NB* (9), *Carrigan* (1): 10), 103 (*Carrigan NB* (9), *Carrigan* (1): 10), 105 (*Carrigan NB* (4), *Carrigan* (1): 5), 108 (*Carrigan NB* (4), *Carrigan* (3): 7), 109 (*Carrigan NB* (0), *Carrigan* (1): 1), 110 (*Carrigan NB* (10), *Carrigan* (4): 14), 111 (*Carrigan NB* (1), *Carrigan* (1): 2), 112 (*Carrigan NB* (9), *Carrigan* (3): 12), 113 (*Carrigan NB* (14), *Carrigan* (3): 17), 116 (*Carrigan NB* (7), *Carrigan* (4): 11), 117 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (1): 6), 118 (*Carrigan NB* (2), *Carrigan* (1): 3), 120 (*Carrigan NB* (7), *Carrigan* (1): 8), 123 (*Carrigan NB* (11), *Carrigan* (3): 14), 124 (*Carrigan NB* (13), *Carrigan* (3): 16), 125 (*Carrigan NB* (8), *Carrigan* (4): 12), 126 (*Carrigan NB* (11), *Carrigan* (2): 13), 127 (*Carrigan NB* (16), *Carrigan* (4): 20), 129 (*Carrigan NB* (10), *Carrigan* (1): 11), 130 (*Carrigan NB* (6), *Carrigan* (1): 7), 131 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (5): 10), 132 (*Carrigan NB* (4), *Carrigan* (1): 5), 133 (*Carrigan NB* (3), *Carrigan* (2): 5), 135 (*Carrigan NB* (10), *Carrigan* (3): 13), 136 (*Carrigan NB* (7), *Carrigan* (2): 9), 137 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (2): 7), 138 (*Carrigan NB* (4), *Carrigan* (0): 4), 139 (*Carrigan NB* (1), *Carrigan* (1): 2), 140 (*Carrigan NB* (15), *Carrigan* (4): 19), 141 (*Carrigan NB* (0), *Carrigan* (2): 2), 142 (*Carrigan NB* (12), *Carrigan* (3): 15), 143 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (1): 6), 144 (*Carrigan NB* (3), *Carrigan* (1): 4), 145 (*Carrigan NB* (14), *Carrigan* (3): 17), 146 (*Carrigan NB* (3), *Carrigan* (1): 4), 147 (*Carrigan NB* (32), *Carrigan* (6): 38), 151 (*Carrigan NB* (10), *Carrigan* (2): 12), 152 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (0): 5), 153 (*Carrigan NB* (2), *Carrigan* (2): 4), 155 (*Carrigan NB* (7), *Carrigan* (2): 9), 156 (*Carrigan NB* (8), *Carrigan* (2): 10), 158 (*Carrigan NB* (10), *Carrigan* (2): 12), 159 (*Carrigan NB* (10), *Carrigan* (2): 12), 160 (*Carrigan NB* (4), *Carrigan* (2): 6), 161 (*Carrigan NB* (3), *Carrigan* (1): 4), 164 (*Carrigan NB* (0), *Carrigan* (1): 1), 165 (*Carrigan NB* (10), *Carrigan* (4): 14), 166 (*Carrigan NB* (4), *Carrigan* (2): 6), 167 (*Carrigan NB* (2), *Carrigan* (3): 5), 168 (*Carrigan NB* (2), *Carrigan* (1): 3), 169 (*Carrigan NB* (2), *Carrigan* (0): 2), 171 (*Carrigan NB* (11), *Carrigan* (2): 13), 172 (*Carrigan NB* (0), *Carrigan* (2): 2), 173 (*Carrigan NB* (17), *Carrigan* (3): 20), 174 (*Carrigan NB* (7), *Carrigan* (2): 9), 175 (*Carrigan NB* (9), *Carrigan* (6): 15), 176 (*Carrigan NB* (1), *Carrigan* (0): 1), 177 (*Carrigan NB* (5), *Carrigan* (3): 8), 178 (*Carrigan NB* (6), *Carrigan* (1): 7), 179 (*Carrigan NB* (8),

*Carrigan (2): 10), 180 (Carrigan NB (5), Carrigan (4): 9), 182 (Carrigan NB (6),
Carrigan (2): 8), 183 (Carrigan NB (1), Carrigan (3): 4).*

Appendix XVII

References to holy wells which feature in both the Ordnance Survey material (A) and in Carrigan's works (B) and other findings

References to holy wells which feature in both A and B: 3, 8, 11, 13, 19, 20, 21, 25, 29, 33, 34, 36, 37, 40, 45, 48, 49, 51, 56, 61, 64, 66, 71, 73, 75, 76, 81, 82, 84, 88, 89, 91, 94, 95, 96, 101, 110, 112, 113, 117, 124, 125, 126, 127, 129, 130, 131, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 145, 147, 151, 152, 153, 155, 156, 159, 166, 167, 168, 169, 171, 172, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180 and 181.

References which are found in B only are evidenced in the case of 63 names (63/183, 34.4% of the total) which are numbered thus: 1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 12, 16, 18, 23, 24, 26, 30, 31, 35, 39, 41, 42, 43, 46, 52, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 63, 67, 68, 70, 72, 77, 80, 85, 92, 93, 97, 98, 99, 103, 105, 108, 109, 111, 116, 118, 120, 123, 132, 133, 139, 141, 142, 143, 144, 146, 158, 160, 161, 164, 165, 173, 182 and 183.

References which feature in A only are evidenced in the case of the following 7 names (7/183, 3.8% of the total): 38, 83, 86, 90, 149, 150 and 170.

Neither A nor B feature in the case of the following 40 names (40/183, 21.9% of the total): 6, 7, 10, 14, 15, 17, 22, 27, 28, 44, 47, 50, 53, 59, 62, 65, 69, 74, 78, 79, 87, 100, 102, 104, 106, 107, 114, 115, 119, 121, 122, 128, 134, 143, 144, 148, 154, 157, 162 and 163.

Appendix XVIII

Commonness of surnames in Carrigan's works

4. Broochgarrig, 'in Michael Brenan's land' (*Carrigan II* 190);
5. The Church Well, 'in Moore's land' (*Carrigan NB* 87.157); 12. St. Mickel's Well, 'in Kealy or Maher's land' (*Carrigan NB* 47.73);
20. Tobernaskeagh, 'in Mr. Aylward's' (*Carrigan NB* 137.118);
21. St. Michael's Well, 'in Mr. Connell's garden' (*Carrigan NB* 43.178);
24. TubbernaCruchthanee, 'in Thomas Breen's land' (*Carrigan NB* 42.104, 105);
33. St. Michael's Well, 'in John Murphy's land' (*Carrigan NB* 94.60);
37. Tobermagibboge, 'in Donovan's in Castleve' (*Carrigan NB* 137.41);
52. Tobar Phóil/Monteenafyna 'in Widow Pat Downey's land' (*Carrigan NB* 27.61);
54. Thubberakilleen, 'in John Julian's, Kyle' (*Carrigan NB* 127.13);
57. Caereeachth Well, 'in Mrs Brenan's' (*Carrigan NB* 73.188);
61. Donaghmore Well, 'in G. Brenan's field' (*Carrigan NB* 74.51);
80. ToberaChoinee, 'in Pat Maher's' (*Carrigan IV* 235);
81. Tobermamoinine, 'Broderick's Well' (*Carrigan IV* 328);
81. Tobermamoinine, 'Broderick's Well' (*Carrigan IV* 328);
88. Toberaphuicin, 'a field from Cormack's house' (*Carrigan NB* 43.161);
110. St. Nicholas Well, 'in Mr. Carroll's land' (*Carrigan NB* 47.118);
112. Thubber Murrha, 'was in Dick Reed's garden formerly' (*Carrigan NB* 20.298);
113. Lady's Well, 'a Mrs. Ryan now occupies the house' built over the well (*Carrigan IV* 326);
117. Toberchree, 'in Mr. Edward Drea's land' (*Carrigan IV* 114);
120. Tubbera'teampaill, 'at Blackmores' (*Carrigan NB* 6.14);
123. Tubberachreene, 'on Mick Power's land' (*Carrigan NB* 6.139);
126. Tobernagloghin, 'on William Neill's land' (*Carrigan IV* 323);
138. Toberpatrick, 'at McDonnells' (*Carrigan NB* 48.142);
139. Muckalee Holy Well, 'in Mr. Hunt's' (*Carrigan III* 454);
143. St. Bridget's Well, 'in Jerry Nolan's' (*Carrigan NB* 85.47);
145. Toberakin, 'at John Cass's' (*Carrigan NB* 137.110);
146. Lady's Well, 'in Mrs. O'Neill's' (*Carrigan IV* 239);
147. Toberuna, 'Con Neill's well' (*Carrigan NB* 32.180);

156. Toberkieran, 'it is in Asper's land' (*Carrigan NB* 47.33);
158. Tubber Ullacawn, 'in Michael Moore's land' (*Carrigan II* 299);
161. Riesk Holy Well, 'at James Tobin's' (*Carrigan NB* 6.126);
173. Thibberachollikeen, 'in James Walsh's land' (*Carrigan NB* 30.22);
175. Toberacrin, 'Meg Ryan's well' (*Carrigan NB* 85.53);
182. Lady's Well, 'in Mrs. Quinlan's land' (*Carrigan NB* 147.120).

Appendix XIX

Commonness of field names in Carrigan's works

3. St. Brandon's Well, 'in a field called the Church Meadow' (*Carrigan NB* 6.155); 5. The Church Well, 'in a field called the church field' (*Carrigan NB* 143.122); 20. Tobernaskeagh, 'in Mr. Aylward's kiln field' (*Carrigan NB* 137.118); 26. St. Margaret's Well, 'in a field called Pawrkachreen' (*Carrigan NB* 96.116); 39. St. David's Well, 'in the "Castle Field"' (*Carrigan III* 229); 54. Thubberakilleen, "churchyard field" (*Carrigan III* 335); 55. St. Monchin's Well, 'in the "church field"' (*Carrigan NB* 26.86); 58. Thubber Phaudhrig, 'the Cunnia-vwee' (*Carrigan IV* 98); 60. Thubber Eheen, 'the "church field"' (*Carrigan NB* 97.251); 80. ToberaChoinee, "Church field" (*Carrigan IV* 235); 98. Tubbervrachawin, 'in Paurkathubber' (*Carrigan NB* 97.267); 109. Tubberkilkierawn, 'in the "castle field"' (*Carrigan IV* 116); 120. Tubbera'teampaill, 'in the "church field"' (*Carrigan NB* 6.14); 123. Tubberachreene, 'part of the townland called Tertane' (*Carrigan NB* 6.139); 129. Tobernaraha, 'in a field called "the Raheen"' (*Carrigan IV* 325); 132. St. Bridget's Well, 'in the church field' (*Carrigan IV* 324); 133. TubbernaevMulleeng, 'in a field called Fidhawn' (*Carrigan IV* 190); 139. Muckalee Holy Well, 'in Mr. Hunt's "Faugha"' (*Carrigan III* 454); 143. Templeorum Well, 'in the "church field"' (*Carrigan IV* 231); 145. Toberakin, 'in a field called "Rillig"' (*Carrigan III* 329); and 146. Lady's Well, 'in Mrs. O'Neill's "Orchard"' (*Carrigan IV* 231).

Appendix XX

Commonness of feastdays/pattern days in Carrigan's works

3. St. Brandon's Well, 'the patron of the church is St. Brendan of Birr' (*Carrigan* IV 4);
9. St. Brigid's Well, 'dedicated to St. Bridget (Feb. 1st)' (*Carrigan* II 308);
19. Toberbride, 'a pattern was held at Kilbride on St. Bridget's day' (*Carrigan* III 321);
20. Tobernaskeagh, 'pattern formerly held here about harvest' (*Carrigan NB* 33.41);
21. St. Michael's Well, 'St. Michael's ancient church of Erke' (*Carrigan* II 277);
26. St. Margaret's Well, 'a pattern used formerly to be held on the 15th of August' (*Carrigan* III 497); 29. St. Dallan's Well, 'its patron was St. Dallan' (*Carrigan* III 375);
39. St. David's Well, 'dedicated to St. David, Bishop (March 1st)' (*Carrigan* III 229);
40. Lady's Well, 'dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin' (*Carrigan* II 111);
45. Tobermurry, 'the Church of Clomantagh dedicated to the Blessed Virgin' (*Carrigan* II 367); 48. Toberaghcanice, 'St. Canice's Parish Church of Clonmore' (*Carrigan* IV 148);
51. St. Columbkille's Well, 'people still assemble here on each recurring 9th of June' (*Carrigan* IV 272);
61. Donaghmore Well, 'the parish church of Donoughmore [*sic*], dedicated to St. Patrick' (*Carrigan* II 81);
64. St. Ronagh's Well, 'pattern held on 1st Sunday of November' (*Carrigan NB* 33.53);
66. Tobermogue, 'its patron was St. Mogue whose feastday was celebrated here on the 14th Feb. [*sic*]' (*Carrigan* III 374);
80. ToberaChoinee, 'St. Canice's Church of Muckalee' (*Carrigan* IV 231);
88. Toberaphuicin/St. Kyran's Well, 'pattern was held March 5th' (*Carrigan NB* 28.29);
110. St. Nicholas Well, 'St. Nicholas (Dec. 6th) patron of Killamery' (*Carrigan* IV 315);
116. Tobersenan, 'pattern held some day towards the end of August' (*Carrigan* IV 134);
124. Tobermurry, 'Pilgrimages "Lady Day" in August' (*Carrigan* IV 202);
125. Kealy's Well, '14th September' (*Carrigan* II 162);
127. St. Luke's Well, 'St. James's day (July 25th)' (*Carrigan* IV 21);
135. St. James's Well, 'July 25th' (*Carrigan NB* 85.47);
140. St. Mullin's Well, 'on the Sunday following the 20th of August or on August 20 if a Sunday' (*Carrigan NB* 61.39);
144. Templeorum Well, 'the pattern was held on the Sunday after the 11th of October' (*Carrigan* IV 231);

151. Toberaniddaun, ‘Pattern day of the parish July 31st — Law’il Naddawn’ [Lá Fhéile Nadáin] (*Carrigan* III 430);
156. Toberkieran, ‘the Catholic church of Rathkieran dedicated to St. Kieran of Saighir’ (*Carrigan* IV 158); 160. Tubbernacruchnhee, ‘the church was dedicated to the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (Sept. 14)’ (*Carrigan* IV 173);
165. St. Fintan’s Well, ‘pattern of Shannavuch 2nd Sunday of October’ (*Carrigan NB* 149.9);
166. St. Fiachra’s Well, ‘St. Fiachra’s day (Aug. 30th)’ (*Carrigan* III 321);
167. Toberkieran, ‘the church of Stonecarty [*sic*] dedicated to St. Kieran of Saighir’ (*Carrigan* IV 9);
168. St. Martin’s Well, ‘St. Martin of Tours, Nov. 11th’ (*Carrigan* III 362);
172. St. Bridget’s Well, ‘the parish church dedicated to St. Bridget (Feb. 1st)’ (*Carrigan* III 442);
177. Toberpatrick, ‘the patron saint was St. Patrick’ (*Carrigan* II 370);
179. Thubbervweenia, ‘the parish church dedicated to St. Catherine’ (*Carrigan* III 321); ‘Jan. 21st’ (*Carrigan* III 322);
181. St. Fiachra’s Well, ‘St. Fiachra, patron of the church of Ullard’ (*Carrigan* II 330);
182. Lady’s Well, ‘The Blessed Virgin is the Patron of Urlingford’ (*Carrigan* II 364).

Appendix XXI

Number of references in the Folklore Collections
(numbers refer to well-names and to the amount of references in brackets)

3 (8), 4 (3), 5 (5), 7 (1), 11 (16), 12 (1), 13 (4), 15 (1), 16 (3), 19 (2), 20 (5), 21 (4), 22 (1), 23 (2), 24 (1), 26 (1), 30 (2), 31 (1), 32 (1), 34 (2), 36 (2), 37 (2), 40 (20), 41 (3), 42 (2), 48 (1), 49 (2), 51 (5), 52 (1), 58 (1), 59 (2), 62 (1), 64 (10), 65 (2), 70 (2), 71 (4), 74 (2), 75 (5), 77 (1), 78 (1), 79 (2), 81 (1), 82 (1), 84 (8), 85 (9), 86 (2), 88 (3), 91 (7), 92 (1), 93 (3), 94 (5), 99 (1), 100 (4), 101 (3), 107 (1), 108 (2), 110 (2), 111 (2), 112 (11), 113 (1), 114 (1), 116 (4), 119 (1), 120 (1), 123 (2), 125 (1), 127 (8), 130 (1), 131 (3), 133 (7), 135 (6), 136 (3), 137 (5), 140 (15), 141 (1), 142 (2), 147 (2), 151 (1), 154 (1), 155 (1), 160 (1), 162 (1), 164 (1), 165 (3), 166 (11), 168 (1), 169 (1), 170 (3), 171 (3), 172 (1), 174 (2), 176 (3), 179 (1), 181 (4), 183 (1).

Well-names which feature in the main or national collection are as follows:

13 (2), 26 (1), 64 (2), 76 (2), 85 (1), 94 (4), 127 (2), 170 (4) and 180 (1).

Appendix XXII

Commonness of surnames in the Folklore collections

4. Broochgarrig, 'in the land of J. McGrath' (*NFCS* 864.168);
5. The Church Well, 'on the land of Mr. Moore' (*NFCS* 847.128);
7. Ballinvarry Well, 'in Doyle's field', (*NFCS* 847.128);
11. Lady's Well, 'in Mr. Murphy's field' (*NFCS* 849.80);
13. Tobernakill, 'a man named Walsh of Ballygorey on whose land the well is situated' (*NFCS* 840.176);
15. St. Laurence's Well, 'in Mr. Barron's field' (*NFCS* 857.471);
21. St. Michael's Well, 'in the garden of Mr. Delaney's farm' (*NFCS* 829.130);
22. St. Cranagh's Well, 'in the middle of Mr. Stephen Breen's field' (*NFCS* 857.423);
26. St. Margaret's Well, 'on Grace's land' (*NFCS* 867.163);
40. Lady's Well, 'Mr. Delahunty owns the field that the well is in' (*NFCS* 831.43);
42. St. Colman's Well, 'in a field on Mrs. O'Keeffe's farm' (*NFCS* 859.401);
59. Derrynahinch Holy Well, 'in a field at the back of Mac Bride's' (*NFCS* 848.85);
79. Garryduff Well, 'in Jim Walsh's bog' (*NFCS* 841.119);
81. Tobermamonine, 'on Broderick's land' (*NFCS* 852.214);
82. Tobermathulla, 'on Holden's land' (*NFCS* 852.214);
85. Thibberawling, 'the late Mrs. Bowers on whose land the well was then situated' (*NFCS* 840.173);
101. Kilcross Well, 'opposite the site of Mrs. Brown's forge' (*NFCS* 859.184);
110. St. Nicholas Well, 'in Dowling's field' (*NFCS* 852.70);
112. Thubber Murrha, 'situated in Mr. Jer Healy's field' (*NFCS* 865.371);
113. Lady's Well, 'at back [sic] on Griffin's house' (*NFCS* 852.214);
114. Tobar Brigid, 'in the grove at Maher's Cottage' (*NFCS* 852.214);
116. Tobersenan, 'in a boggy field at the back of my [Peter Hearn's] house' (*NFCS* 843.229);
119. St. Mogarra's Well, 'situated in a field belonging to Mr. Malone' (*NFCS* 859.404);
125. Kealy's Well, 'in Mr. Kealy's field' (*NFCS* 865.175);
133. TubbernaevMulleeng, 'in a field belonging to Robert Lalor' (*NFCS* 846.1);
136. Toberacluggeen, 'situated on Aylward's ground' (*NFCS* 842.122);
147. Toberuna, 'situated in Nolan's field' (*NFCS* 844.8);

165. St. Fintan's Well, 'the particular field containing the well is now owned by a farmer named Martin Hennessy' (*NFCS* 846.128);
168. St. Martin's Well, 'in the centre of a marshy field known as Mrs. Quirke's bog' (*NFCS* 859.403);
170. Toberelleen, 'Mr. James Naddy in whose farm the well is situated' (*NFC* 468.108);
171. St. Finan's Well, 'a well in a field that belongs to Mr. Keoghan' (*NFCS* 868.49);
172. St. Bridget's Well, 'at first the well was in Butler's Orchard until a woman came and washed clothes in it and dishonoured it. The well changed and sprung up in Mulrooney's field' (*NFCS* 867.45, 46);
176. Tubbrid Holy Well, 'the gate opposite Michael Dunphy's house' (*NFCS* 840.150);
181. St. Fiachra's Well, 'opposite Mrs. Baird's house' (*NFCS* 857.145).

Appendix XXIII

Number of references to Owen O’Kelly’s work (numbers refer to well-names and to the amount of references in brackets)

O’Kelly (1 (2), 2 (2), 3 (2), 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12 (2), 13, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33 (2), 34, 35, 36, 37 (2), 38 (2), 40 (4), 42, 43, 45 (2), 49 (2), 50 (2), 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 58, 60 (3), 61, 63 (3), 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70 (3), 71 (2), 72, 73, 75 (2), 81 (2), 82 (2), 83, 84 (2), 88, 89, 90, 91 (2), 93, 94 (2), 95, 96 (4), 97, 98, 99, 101, 105, 108, 110, 111, 112 (2), 113 (2), 116 (2), 117, 118 (2), 120, 123, 124 (2), 125, 126, 127, 129, 130, 131, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142 (2), 145, 146, 147, 151, 152, 153, 155 (2), 156, 158 (2), 159, 160 (2), 165, 166, 167, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182 and 183).

Appendix XXIV

Commonness of feastdays/pattern days in O'Kelly's work

3. St. Brandon's Well, 'a pattern was held here on the 12th of August' (*O'Kelly* 158);
8. Trinity Well, 'pattern is still held on the second Sunday in July' (*O'Kelly* 4);
9. St. Brigid's Well, 'pattern was held on the saint's feastday' (*O'Kelly* 54);
11. Lady's Well, 'still frequented on the 15th of August' (*O'Kelly* 180);
19. Toberbride, 'a pattern was held annually on February 1st' (*O'Kelly* 142);
29. St. Dallan's Well, 'pattern was held formerly on the 1st Sunday of August' (*O'Kelly* 175);
32. St. Kieran's Well, 'the pilgrimage held on St. Ciaran's feast-day, March 5th' (*O'Kelly* 81);
40. Lady's Well, 'a pattern is held on August 15th' (*O'Kelly* 52);
43. Holy Cross Well, 'a pattern held on the first Sunday of May' (*O'Kelly* 182);
51. St. Columbkille's Well, 'pattern observed on the 2nd Sunday in June' (*O'Kelly* 68);
54. Thubberakilleen, 'pattern held on the first Sunday of September' (*O'Kelly* 143);
64. St. Ronagh's Well, 'a pattern was held on November 6th' (*O'Kelly* 146);
88. Toberaphuicin, 'a pattern was held formerly on March 5th' (*O'Kelly* 60);
108. St. Kieran's Well, 'pilgrimage held on St. Ciaran's feast-day, March 5th' (*O'Kelly* 81);
124. Tobermurry, 'a pattern was held here formerly on Our Lady's Day, 15th August' (*O'Kelly* 118);
135. St. James's Well, 'the last Sunday of July' (*O'Kelly* 154);
140. St. Mullin's Well, 'a pattern is held on August 20th' (*O'Kelly* 165);
166. St. Fiachra's Well, 'held annually on the 1st Sunday in August' (*O'Kelly* 184);
169. St. Faghtna's Well, 'patron's feast-day, February 21st' (*O'Kelly* 137).
171. St. Finan's Well, 'a pattern held formerly in August' (*O'Kelly* 45);
179. Thubbervweenia, 'pattern was held formerly on January 21st' (*O'Kelly* 192).

Appendix XXV

List of Irish speakers interviewed by Carrigan

Barony	Informant	Interviewed	Irish
Fassadinan	Paddy Dunne	31/8/1898	‘An Irish speaker all his life’ (Ó hÓgáin 194)
Fassadinan	Michael Rowe	before 1/1/1902	‘A good Irish speaker’ (<i>ibid.</i>)
Gowran	James Carrigan (Carrigan’s father)	before 2/6/1897	‘A good Irish speaker’ (<i>ibid.</i>)
Gowran	Tom Marshall	30/1/1896	‘A good Irish speaker’ (<i>ibid.</i>)
Gowran	John Walsh	22/8/1900	Practically one of ‘the only Irish speakers in Thomastown parish in August 1900’ (<i>ibid.</i> 195)
Crannagh	Mrs John Hara als. Fitzpatrick, born in Trenchardstown	May 1898	‘An Irish speaker from her cradle’ (<i>ibid.</i> 194)
Crannagh	Paddy Lanigan (born 1814)	Unknown	‘An intelligent man and Irish speaker’ (<i>ibid.</i>)
Callan	John Dawson	August 1920	‘Aged about 80, the last of the old native Irish speakers of Callan parish’ who spoke mainly Irish during his youth (<i>ibid.</i> 195)

Appendix XXVI

List of selected name forms from the first edition Ordnance Survey maps

3. St. Brandon's Well, 8. Trinity Well, 11. Lady's Well, 13. Tobernakill, 19. Toberbride, 20. Tobernaskeagh, 25. Toberpatrick, 26. St. Margaret's Well, 29. St. Dallan's Well, 31. St. Augustine's Well, 32. St. Kieran's Well, 33. St. Michael's Well, 34. St. James's Holy Well, 36. Bostionfort Well, 37. Tobernagibboge, 38. Toberatoo (a *-coo* rather than a *-too* termination may have been the more appropriate form to adopt for engraving here, cf. Tubber a Choo, *OFSP* (1839–40) < ? *Tobar an Chumha*, 'well of (the) sorrow'), 40. Lady's Well, 45. Tobermurry, 48. Toberaghcanice, 49. Toberadrugh, 51. St. Columbkille's Well, 56. St. John's Well, 61. Donaghmore Well, 64. St. Ronagh's Well (St. Leonard's Well may have been the more appropriate form to adopt for engraving here), 66. Tobermogue, 71. Tobermurry, 73. St. Scoheen's Well, 75. St. Canice's Well, 81. Tobermamonine, 82. Tobermathulla (Tobermakulla, or some such spelling may have been more appropriate for engraving here and more reflective of the name's origin, *Tobar Mochuille*), 83. Toberkyle, 86. Lady's Well, 89. Tobernanaspog, 90. Lady Well, 91. Columbkille's Well, 94. St. John's Well, 95. Toberbride, 101. Kilcross Well, 108. St. Kieran's Well, 110. St. Nicholas Well, 113. Lady's Well, 117. Toberachree, 124. Tobermurry, 126. Tobernaglohin, 127. St. Luke's Well, 129. Tobernaraha, 130. Trinity Well, 131. Tobermolua, 135. St. James's Well, 136. Toberacluggeen, 137. Toberlaghteen, 138. Toberpatrick, 140. St. Mullin's Well, 141. Lady's Well, 142. St. Bridget's Well, 145. Toberakin, 147. Toberuna, 149. Toberboy, 150. Tobernavean, 151. Toberaniddaun (Tobernaddaun or some such spelling may have more accurately reflected the name's origin, *Tobar Nadáin* < *Tobar Nadáil* (St. Natalis)), 152. Tobernaliha (Tobernalika may have been more appropriate here as Carrigan's later works portray a *Tobar na Leice* derivation), 153. St. Catherine's Well, 155. Tobernagolumb, 156. Toberkieran, 159. Tobernacask (a somewhat misleading *Tobar na Cásca* origin is deduced in early Ordnance Survey sources while Toberagask < *Tobar an Ghaisc*, 'well of the drinking vessel' may have been the more appropriate form to adopt for engraving as evidenced in Carrigan's later works, which later spellings were not available to the Ordnance Survey team of the 1830s), 166. St. Fiachra's Well, 167. Toberkieran, 168. St. Martin's Well, 169. St. Faghtna's Well, 170. Toberelleen, 171. St. Fintan's Well, 175. Toberacrin, 176. Tubbrid Holy Well, 177. Toberpatrick, 178. David's Well, 180. Lady's Well and 181. St. Fiachra's Well (*EI(6)*).

Appendix XXVII

List of wells with English, Irish and transliterated name forms

1. St. Bridget's Well (*EI(6)*)
Tobar Bhríde (*O'Kelly* 124)
Toberavreedha (*Carrigan NB* 6.6)
3. St. Brandon's Well (*EI(6)*)
Tobar bréanaill (*OSNB(24):OD*)
Thubber Bzhee-annl (*Carrigan IV* 4)
4. The Red Bank (*Carrigan II* 190 — a translation of Bruach Dearg)
Bruach Dearg (*NFCS* 864.174)
Broochgarrig (*Carrigan II* 190)
8. Trinity Well (*EI(6)*)
Tobar na Tríonóide (*Carrigan II* 266)
Tobarnatrinoadha (*Carrigan NB* 97.149)
11. Lady's Well (*EI(6)*)
Tobar Mhuire (*O'Kelly* 180)
Tubber-Muzzha (*Carrigan NB* 61.43)
13. The Well of the Church (*OSL(KK)* II 239 — a translation of Tobar na Cille)
Tobar na Cille (*OSL(KK)* II 239)
Tobernakill (*EI(6)*)
19. St. Bridget's Well (*Carrigan NB* 33.40)
Tobar brigde (*OSNB(1:30):OD*)
Toberbride (*EI(6)*)
20. Well of the briars (*OSNB(1:30):OD* — a translation of Tobernaskeagh)
Tobar na Sceiche (*NFCS* 853.249, 250)
Tobernasceha (*Carrigan NB* 66.53)
24. Well of the Holy Cross (*Carrigan NB* 42.105)
Tobar na Croiche Naoi (Naofa) (Kennedy (2001), 7)
TubbernaCruchthanee (*Carrigan II* 408)
25. Patrick's Well (*OSFP*)

- Tobar Phádraig (*O'Kelly* 56)
- Toberpatrick (*EI(6)*)
29. St. Dallan's Well (*EI(6)*)
- Tobar San Dallán (*OSL(KK)* II 31)
- Thobersanallawn (*Carrigan NB* 6.35)
30. The Virgin's Well (*Carrigan NB* 33.52 — a translation of Tobar na Maighdine)
- Tobar na Maighdine (*Carrigan IV* 45)
- Thubber na Mydan (*Carrigan IV* 45)
33. Well of the townland of the woodcock (*Carrigan IV* 116 — a translation of Baile an Choiligh/Balachullia well which is a variant form of St. Michael's Well (*EI(6)*))
- Baile a' choiligh (*Carrigan IV* 116)
- Ballachullia well (*Carrigan IV* 116)
34. St. James's Holy Well (*EI(6)*)
- Tobar Shan Shém (*O'Kelly* 116)
- Thibber-san-Sheem (*Carrigan NB* 61.93)
35. Well of the slope (*Carrigan IV* 157 — a translation of Tobar na Fána)
- Tobar na fana (*sic*) (*O'Kelly* 126)
- Tubberafauna (*Carrigan IV* 157)
36. Baptism well of the hole or the pit (*OSNB(56):OD* — a translation of tobar bhaiste an phoill)
- tobar bhaiste an phoill (*OSNB(56):OD*)
- Toberbastinphile (*OSNB(56):OD*), q.v.
- Bostionfort Well (*EI(6)*)
37. The Well of the Rags (*OSL(KK)* II 58 — a translation of Tobar na nGiobóg)
- Tobar na nGiobog (*OSL(KK)* II 58)
- Tobernagibboge (*EI(6)*)
41. Kilkieran holy well (*Carrigan IV* 243)
- Tobar Chiaráin (*O'Kelly* 139)
- Tubber-Kilkeerawn (*Carrigan IV* 243)
45. Lady's Well (*OSL(KK)* I 167)
- Tobar Muire (*OSL(KK)* I 167)
- Tobermurry (*EI(6)*)

48. The Well or Wells of Cainneach (*OSL(KK)* II 227 — a translation of Tobarach Chainneach)
 Tobarach Chainneach (*OSL(KK)* II 227)
 Toberaghcanice (*EI(6)*)
49. The Well of the Hermit (*Carrigan* II 329 → *O’Kelly* 25 — a translation of Tobar an Díthreabhaigh)
 Tobar a’ díthreabhaigh (*Carrigan* II 329)
 Toberadrugh (*EI(6)*)
50. The Virgin’s Well (*O’Kelly* 41 — a translation of Tobar Mhuire)
 Tobar Mhuire (*O’Kelly* 41)
 Coolnatobar (*O’Kelly* 41 — a transliterated form of the same well, presumably)
54. The Well of the Little Church (*Carrigan* III 335 — a translation of Tobar an Chillín)
 Tobar an Chillín (*O’Kelly* 143)
 Thubberakilleen (*Carrigan* III 335)
58. St. Patrick’s Well (*Carrigan* IV 98)
 Tobar Phádraig (*O’Kelly* 113)
 Thubber Phaudhrig (*Carrigan* IV 98)
60. Well of St. Feichín (*Carrigan NB* 6.127 — a translation of Tobar Fhéichín)
 Thiobar Fheichín (*Carrigan* III 389)
 Thubber Eheen (*Carrigan* III 389)
63. Holy Cross Well (*Carrigan NB* 84.82 — a translation of Tobar na Croiche Naofa)
 Tobar na Croiche Naoi, -Naofa (*O’Kelly* 33)
 Tubbernacruchneech (*Carrigan NB* 84.82)
64. St. Leonard’s Well (*Carrigan NB* 33.53)
 Tobar Raighnéid (*OSNB(26):OD*)
 Tobarsan Leenarth (*Carrigan NB* 33.53)
 (cf. St. Ronagh’s Well (*EI(6)*))
66. Mogue’s Well (*OSNB(46):OD*)
 Tobar Maedhóig (*OSNB(46):OD*)
 Tobermogue (*EI(6)*)
67. Well of the Cross (*Carrigan* IV 126 — a translation of Tobar na Croise)
 Tobar na Croise (*O’Kelly* 121)

- Tubbernacrusha (*Carrigan* IV 126)
68. Saint Finnan's holy well (*Carrigan* II 101)
 Tobar Fhionnáin (*O'Kelly* 39)
 Tubber Finnawn (*Carrigan* II 101)
70. St. Cuan's Well (*O'Kelly* 109 — a translation of Tobar Chuáin)
 Tobar Chuain (*sic*) (*O'Kelly* 109)
 Thubberchooann (*Carrigan* IV 91)
71. The Virgin's Well (*OSM(KK)* 126 — a translation of Tobar Mhuire)
 Tobar Mhuire (*O'Kelly* 109)
 Tobermurry (*EI(6)*)
81. Moninna's well (*OSNB(51):OD* — a translation of Tobar Moninne)
 Tobar Moninne (*OSNB(51):OD*)
 Tobermamonine (*EI(6)*)
82. Mochuille's well (*OSNB(51):OD* — a translation of Tobar Mochuille)
 tobar mochuille (*OSNB(51):OD*)
 Tobermathulla (*EI(6)*)
83. well of the hazel (*OSNB(37):OD* — a translation of Tobar Coill)
 tobar coill (*OSNB(37):OD*)
 Toberkyle (*EI(6)*)
84. The Well of the Eyes (Hogan (1884), 252 — a translation of Tobar na Súil)
 Tobar na Súil (*OSL(KK)* I 156)
 Tobernasool (*OSM(KK)* 8)
85. fine beautiful well (*Bowers Transcripts* 7 — a translation of Tobar Álainn)
 Tobar Álainn (*NFCS* 840.173)
 Thibberawling (*Carrigan* IV 149)
88. Little Puka's (or the Hoodwinked) Well (*OSL(KK)* I 135 — a translation of Tobar an Phúicín)
 Tobar a Phúicín (*OSL(KK)* I 135)
 Toberaphuicin (*OSM(KK)* 2)
93. The priest's well (*Carrigan* IV 89 — a translation of Tobar an tSagairt)
 Tobar an tSagairt (*NFCS* 846.266)
 Tubberathoggarth (*Carrigan* IV 89)
94. St. John's Well (*EI(6)*)

- Tobar Eoin Baiste (*Cinnlae Amhl.* I 292)
- Thubberoonboshdha (*Carrigan NB* 48.46)
96. St. Nicholas's well (*Carrigan III* 436 — a translation of Tobar Niocláis)
 Tobar Niocláis (*O'Kelly* 9)
 Thubberniclaush (*Carrigan III* 436)
98. St. Brachan's holy well (*Carrigan III* 442 — a translation of Tobar Bhearcháin)
 Tobar Bhearcháin (*O'Kelly* 6)
 Tubbervrachawin (*Carrigan III* 442)
99. St. Bridget's Well (*Carrigan IV* 92 — a translation of Tobar Bhríde)
 Tobar Bríde (*sic*) (*O'Kelly* 109)
 Thubbervzheedha (*Carrigan IV* 92)
101. The Well of the Holy Cross (*OSL(KK)* II 284 — a translation of Tobar na Croiche
 Naoimh/Naofa)
 Tobar na Croiche Naoimh (*OSL(KK)* II 285)
 Thubbernacruchnae (*Carrigan NB* 94.57)
110. St. Nicholas Well (*E1(6)*)
 Tobar San Niocláis (*O'Kelly* 149)
 Tubber Niclaus (*Loc. Pat.* 288)
112. Lady's Well (*OSL(KK)* I 29)
 Tobar Mhuire (*NFCS* 865.388)
 Thubber Murrha (*Carrigan II* 201)
113. Lady's Well (*E1(6)*)
 Tobar Mhuire (*O'Kelly* 156)
 Tober-Muzzha (*Carrigan NB* 97.338)
116. the Well of St. Senan or Synan (*Carrigan IV* 134 — translation of Tobar
 Sheanáin)
 Tobar Shéanáin (*sic*) (*Carrigan IV* 134)
 Toberenan (*E2(6)*)
117. Well of the old tree (*Carrigan IV* 114 — a translation of Tobar an Chrainn)
 Tobar a' chrainn (*Carrigan IV* 114)
 Tubberachreen (*Carrigan IV* 114)
123. the well of the tree (*OSM(KK)* 67 — a translation of Tobar an Chrainn)
 Tobar a Chrainn (*OSM(KK)* 67)

- Tubberachreene (*Carrigan* IV 233)
125. Philip's well (*Carrigan* II 162 — a translation of Tobar Philib, a variant form of Kealy's Well)
 Tobar Philip (*OSL(KK)* I 45)
 Tober Philip (*OSM(KK)* 90)
126. well of the skulls (*sic*) (*OSNB(43):OD* — a translation of Tobar na gCloigeann)
 tobar na gcloigeann (*OSNB(43):OD*)
 Tobernagloghin (*EI(6)*)
127. the well of the Black River (*Carrigan* IV 21 — a translation of Tober na hAbha Duibhe, a variant form of St. Luke's Well)
 Tobar na habha duibhe (*Carrigan* IV 21)
 Tubbernahowdhee (*Carrigan* IV 21)
129. the Rath-well (*Carrigan* IV 325 — a translation of Tobar na Rátha)
 Tobar na rátha (*O'Kelly* 157)
 Tobernaraha (*EI(6)*)
131. St. Molua's Well (*Moss* (2014), 181)
 Tobar Molua (*O'Kelly* 185)
 Tobermolua (*EI(6)*)
139. well of St. Moling (*Cambr. Evers.* I 132)
 Tobar Naomh Moling (*O'Kelly* 117)
 TubbernaevMulleeng (*Carrigan* IV 454)
135. St. James's Well (*EI(6)*)
 Tobar San Seam (*Cinnlae Amhl.* I 170, 184 (4/12/1827))
 Tobarsansheem (*Carrigan NB* 66.53)
136. the Well of the Little Bell (*OSL(KK)* II 201 — a translation of Tober an Chloigín)
 Tobar a Chluigin (*OSL(KK)* I 201)
 Toberacluggeen (*EI(6)*)
137. St. Lachtin's well (*OSNB(30):OD* — a translation of Tobar Laichtín)
 tobar laichtin (*OSNB(30):OD*)
 Toberlaghteen (*EI(6)*)
138. Patrick's well (*OSNB(41):OD* — a translation of Tobar Phádraig)
 Tobar Phadruig (*OSNB(41):OD*)
 Toberpatrick (*EI(6)*)

140. St. Mullin's Well (*EI(6)*)
 tobar moling (*OSNB(76):OD*)
 Thubberyass Crown Mullh-eeng (*Carrigan NB 61.51*)
142. St. Bridget's Well (*EI(6)*)
 Tobar Brighde (*OSL(KK) I 59*)
 Thubber-vzheedha (*Carrigan III 328*)
143. The Church Well (*Carrigan NB 97.337* — a translation of Tobar an Teampaill)
 Tobar an Teampaill (*O'Kelly 150*)
 Tobaratiampuill (*Carrigan IV 323*)
145. the Well of the Head (*OSL(KK) II 59* — a translation of Tobar an Chinn)
 Tobar a' Chinn (*OSL(KK) II 59*)
 Toberakin (*EI(6)*)
147. Winifred's Well (*OSL(KK) II 193* — a translation of Tobar Úna)
 Tobar Una (*sic*) (*OSL(KK) II 193*)
 Toberuna (*EI(6)*)
147. Well of the Trees (*Carrigan IV 239* — a translation of Tobar na gCrann, a variant form of Toberuna)
 Tobar na gCrann (*Carrigan IV 239*)
 Tubbernagraoun (*Carrigan IV 239*)
149. yellow well (*OSNB(36):OD* — a translation of Tobar Buí)
 Tobar buidhe (*OSNB(36):OD*)
 Toberboy (*EI(6)*)
150. well of the Fians or Fingallians (*OSNB(38):OD* — a translation of Tobar na bhFian(n))
 Tobar na bhfian (*OSNB(38):OD*)
 Tobernavean (*EI(6)*)
151. St. Enda's well (*sic*) (Holohan (1875), 29 — a mistranslation of Tobar Nadáil)
 Tobar Nadáil (*O'Kelly 17*)
 Toberaniddaun (*EI(6)*)
152. Well of the flags (*sic*) (*Carrigan NB 61.38* — a translation of Tobar na Leice)
 Tobar na líthe (*sic*) (*OSNB(56):OD*)
 Thubbernalicka (*Carrigan NB 61.38*)
156. Kiaran's Well (*OSL(KK) II 242*)

- Tobar Chiaráin (*O'Kelly* 137)
- Toberkieran (*EI*(6))
158. St. Eelakan's Well (*Carrigan NB* 97.16 — a probable translation of Tobar Lócháin)
- Tobar a' lochain (*sic*) (*Lyng, OKR II* (1959), 29)
- Tubber Ullacawn [spás?] (*Carrigan II* 299)
159. Easter well (*OSNB*(28):*OD* — a mistranslation of Tobar an Ghaisc)
- Tobar na Casg (*sic*) (*OSNB*(28):*OD*)
- Thubberaghawsk (*Carrigan NB* 66.68)
160. Well of the Holy Cross (*Carrigan IV* 173 — a translation of Tobar na Croiche Naofa)
- Tobar na Croiche Naofa (*O'Kelly* 169)
- Tubbernacruchnhee (*Carrigan IV* 173)
165. St. Fintan's Well (*Carrigan II* 194)
- Tobar Fhionntáin (*O'Kelly* 123)
- Tubber-Founthan (*Carrigan NB* 61.55)
167. St. Kieran's well (*OSNB*(35):*OD* — a translation of Tobar Chiaráin)
- Tobar chiaráin (*OSNB*(35):*OD*)
- Toberkieran (*EI*(6))
170. Eveleen's well (*OSNB*(53):*OD* — a translation of Tobar Eibhlín)
- Tobar Eibhlín (*OSNB*(53):*OD*)
- Toberelleen (*EI*(6))
172. St. Bridget's Well (*Graves Patrons* 1)
- Tobar Bríde (*O'Kelly* 9)
- Tubber-Vzheedia (*Carrigan III* 442)
173. well of the eye disorder (*O'Kelly* 29 — a translation of Tobar an Chailcín)
- Tobar an chailcín (*O'Kelly* 29)
- Thibberachollikeen (*Carrigan IV* 236)
174. well of the worm or serpent (*OSNB*(29):*OD* — a translation of Tobar na Péiste)
- tobar na péiste (*OSNB*(29):*OD*)
- Tobernapeastia (*E2*(6))
175. the well of the tree (*OSNB*(56):*OD* — a translation of Tobar an Chrainn)
- tobar a' chroinn (*OSNB*(56):*OD*)

- Toberacrin (*EI(6)*)
177. Patrick's Well (*OSL(KK)* I 171 — a translation of Tobar Phádraig)
 Tobar Phádraig (*O'Kelly* 27)
 Toberpatrick (*EI(6)*)
179. Maon's Well (*OSM(KK)* 26 — mistranslation of Tobar Mhaighne, well of (the)
 steading < Tulach Mhaighne)
 Tiobar Mhaighne (*Carrigan* III 322)
 Thubbervweenia (*Carrigan* III 322)
183. the Blessed Virgin's Well (*Carrigan* IV 241 — a translation of Tobar Mhuire)
 Tobar Muire (*sic*) (*Carrigan* IV 241)
 Tubbermuire (*Carrigan* IV 432).

Appendix XXVIII

List of English name forms

5. The Church Well (*Carrigan* II 190)
6. St. Fiachra's Well (2015, Pat Ryan, Aughkiletaun)
9. St. Brigid's Well (*O'Kelly* 54)
12. St. Mickel's Well (*Carrigan NB* 66.59)
15. St. Lawrence's Well (*NFCS* 857.471)
16. Trinity Well (*Carrigan NB* 74.342)
21. St. Michael's Well (*NFCS* 869.145)
Lady's Well (*EI(6)* — a variant form)
22. St. Cranagh's Well (*NFCS* 830.221)
23. St. Patrick's Well (*NFCS* 867.184 — a variant form of the etymologically-unrelated Thubberadhrynee (*Carrigan NB* 54.16))
28. Lady's Well (*O'Kelly* 175)
39. St. David's Well (*Carrigan* III 229)
40. Lady's Well (*EI(6)*)
42. St. Colman's Well (*Carrigan* III 356)
43. Holy Cross Well (*Graves Patrons* 3)
(Church Well (*Carrigan NB* 84.87))
55. St. Monchin's Well (Higgins, *OKR* 41 1989, 600)
56. St. John's Well (*EI(6)*)
61. St. Patrick's Well (Lyng, *OKR* 9 1956–7, 34 — a variant form of Donaghmore Well (*EI(6)*))
63. Holy Cross Well (*Carrigan NB* 84.82 — a variant form of Cruckny Well (*EI(6)*)
Wood Well (*Carrigan* II 160 — a variant form of Cruckny Well (*EI(6)*))
69. Nanny's Well or St. Anne's Well (*O'Kelly* 35)
73. St. Scoheen's Well (*EI(6)*)
78. Angel's Well (Hogan 1884, 262)
Blackabbey Well (Hogan 1884, 262 — a variant form of Angel's Well)
81. Broderick's Well (*Carrigan* IV 328 — a variant form of Tobermamoinine (*EI(6)*)
86. Lady's Well (*EI(6)*)
90. Lady Well (*EI(6)*)
91. St. Columbkille's Well (*EI(6)*)

92. St. Rock's Well (Hogan 1884, 262)
103. St. John's Well (*Carrigan IV* 220)
105. Lady Well (*Carrigan II* 372)
111. Friar's Well (*Carrigan IV* 241)
118. St. Andrew's Well (*Carrigan III* 464)
119. St. Mogarra's Well (*NFCS* 859.404)
125. Kealy's Well (*Carrigan II* 162 — Tobar Philip (*OSL(KK)* I 45) being a variant form)
127. St. Luke's Well (*EI(6)*)
130. Trinity Well (*EI(6)*)
132. St. Bridget's Well (*Carrigan IV* 324)
134. Maudlin Well (*NMS, ASI*)
141. Lady's Well (*EI(6)*)
154. St. Philomena's Well (*NFCS* 860.120)
162. St. Rosentha's Well (*NFCS* 852.5)
164. Loughman's Well (*Carrigan IV* 194)
166. St. Fiachra's Well (*EI(6)*)
170. St. Fiachra's Well (*NFC* 468.107 — a variant form of Toberelleen (*EI(6)*)
179. Ashbrook Well (*Carrigan III* 322 — a one-time variant form of Thubbervweenia (*Carrigan III* 322))
- St. Cathrine's [*sic*] Well (*NFCS* 853.248 — a variant form of Thubbervweenia)
- Couchlan's Well (Fitzgerald 2003, 104 — the current spoken form of Thubbervweenia)
180. Lady's Well (*EI(6)*)
182. Lady's Well (*Carrigan II* 364)

Appendix XXIX

List of wells with transliterated name forms only

7. Ballinvarry Holy Well (*NFCS* 847.128)
(The townland name is used in this instance for labelling and naming purposes only)
10. Ballyda Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*)
14. Ballyneale Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*)
17. Ballyreddy Holy Well (*RMPKK*)
23. Thubberadhrynee (*Carrigan NB* 54.16 — a variant form of St. Patrick's Well (*NFCS* 867.184))
38. Toberatoo (*EI(6)*) — Toberakoo, or some such transliteration may have been a more preferable form for engraving here, cf. Tubber a Choo (*OSFP*, 1839–40) (< Tobar an Chumha, well of the sorrow (probably)), Tobar Chiaráin (*O'Kelly* 83) being a variant form.
44. Clogharinka Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*)
47. Clonmore Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*)
52. Monteenafyna (*Carrigan NB* 85.57 — the etymologically-unrelated Tobar Phóil (*NFCS* 865.385) being a variant form)
57. Caereeachth Well (*Carrigan III* 457)
59. Derrynahinch Holy Well (*NFCS* 848.85 — no name was secured for the well per se and as a result, the townland name has been provided for labelling purposes)
61. Donaghmore Well (*EI(6)*) — St. Patrick's Well (Lyng 1956–7, 34) being a later variant form)
62. Donaguile Well (*NFCS* 865.51)
79. Garryduff Holy Well (*NFCS* 844.8 — see no. 59 above)
84. Tobernasool (*OSL(KK)* I 156 — Tubber Caceh [Caoch] (Moore 1874–9, 37) being a one-time variant form)
102. Kildalton Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*)
104. Kildrinagh Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*)
106. Kilfane Holy Well (Walsh 2012, 70, 71), cf. no. 59 above)
107. Kilkeasy Holy Well (*NFCS* 848.63 — cf. no. 59 above)
109. Tubberkilkierawn (*Carrigan IV* 116)
114. Tober Brigid (*NFCS* 852.214)
115. Kilmacow Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*)

121. Kilmog Holy Well (*RMPKK*)
122. Kilmogue Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*)
128. Knockroe Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*)
139. Muckalee Holy Well (*Carrigan IV 454*)
144. Templeorum Well (*Carrigan IV 231*)
147. Toberuna (*E1(6)* — Tubberowning (*Carrigan NB 27.37*), Tubbernamuchthee (*Carrigan IV 239*) and Tubbernagraoun (all etymologically unrelated) being variant transliterated forms)
148. Pollagh Holy Well (*RMPKK*)
157. Rathlogan Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*)
161. Riesk Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*)
163. Rossdama Holy Well (Holahan 1883, 83).

Appendix XXX

List of wells with transliterated and English name forms only

6. Auchailten Well (*Comerford Coll.* III (1886) 226), the field of Cailtan (*Loc. Pat.* 200)
23. Thubberadhrynee (*Carrigan NB* 54.16), the well [of the] blackthorn tree (*ibid.*)
26. Tubber Vawzheedh (*Carrigan* III 497), St. Margaret's Well (*EI(6)*)
31. Tubber Agustheen (*Carrigan NB* 71.192), St. Augustine's Well (*EI(6)*)
32. Tubberkilkierawin (*Carrigan* IV 116), St. Kieran's Well (*EI(6)*)
33. Ballachullia Well (*Carrigan* IV 116 — a variant form of St. Michael's Well (*EI(6)*)), well of the townland of the woodcock (*ibid.*), a translation of the same
46. Tubber Broondhawin (*Carrigan* IV 120), St. Brendan's Well (*Carrigan NB* 40.175)
53. Thubbermuire (Brennan (2006), 137), St. Mary's Well (*ibid.*), a translation of the same
61. Donaghmore Well (*EI(6)*), Church Well (Murphy 1874–9, 114)
80. ToberaChoinee (*Carrigan NB* 30.3), St. Canice's Well (O'Shea 1999, 38)
87. TubberanBreeda (*Bowers Transcripts* 7), Bridget's Well (*ibid.*)
97. Tobervrachawing (*Carrigan NB* 67.11), St. Broghan's Well (*Carrigan* IV 194)
108. Tubberkilkierawin (*Carrigan* IV 116), St. Kieran's Well (*EI(6)*)
153. Tubber Naev Kathaleen (*Carrigan* II 325), St. Catherine's Well (*EI(6)*)
168. Tubber Martain (*Loc. Pat.* 393), St. Martin's Well (*EI(6)*)
171. Tubber Finnawn (*Carrigan NB* 26.5), St. Finan's Well (*EI(6)*)
176. Tubbrid Holy Well (*EI(6)*), St. Brigid's Well (*NFCS* 840.150), a variant form of the same.

Appendix XXXI

List of wells bearing more than one name

1. 6. Aughkiletaun Well (*Loc. Pat.* 200) (townland name), St. Fiachra's Well (2015, Pat Ryan, Aughkiletaun)
2. 21. Lady's Well (*EI(6)*), St. Michael's Well (*NFCS* 869.145)
3. 23. St. Patrick's Well (*Carrigan NB* 42.107), Thubberadhrynee (*Carrigan NB* 54.16) ('well of the blackthorn')
4. 33. St. Michael's Well (*EI(6)*), Ballachullia Well (*Carrigan IV* 116) ('well of the woodcock')
5. 38. Toberatoo (*EI(6)*) ('well of the sorrow'), Tobar Chiaráin (*O'Kelly* 83) ('St. Kieran's well')
6. 43. Holy Cross Well (*Graves Patrons* 3), The Church Well (*Carrigan NB* 84.87)
7. 49. Toberadrugh (*EI(6)*) (Tobar an Díthreabhaigh, well of the hermit), The Saint's Well (*Carrigan II* 330), St. Fiachra's Well (*Carrigan NB* 35.52), Clonetubrid Well (*Carrigan NB* 48.64) (townland name)
8. 52. Tobar Phóil (*NFCS* 865.385) ('Paul's well'), Monteenafyna (*Carrigan NB* 85.57) ('well of the white (cow)')
9. 61. Donaghmore Well (*EI(6)*), St. Patrick's Well (Murphy 1874–9, 114)
10. 63. Cruckny Well (*EI(6)*) ('well of the Holy Cross'), The Wood Well (*Carrigan II* 160)
11. 68. Tubber Finnawn (*Carrigan II* 101) ('well of St. Finnian'), The Monastery Well (*Carrigan NB* 26.5)
12. 74. Angel's Well (Hogan 1884, 262), Blackabbey Well (*ibid.*), St. Dominic's Well (2015, Joseph Kavanagh, O.P., Blackabbey)
13. 77. St. Kieran's Well (Hogan 1884, 253), The Ark Well (Hogan 1861, 352) (perhaps in the context of 'enclosure', cf. Onions, *OED* I 97, 'chest, coffer')
14. 79. Garryduff Holy Well (*NFCS* 844.8), St. Mark's Well (O'Shea 2014, 92)
15. 81. Tobermamonine (*EI(6)*) ('well of St. Moninne'), Broderick's Well (*Carrigan IV* 328) (former landowner)
16. 84. Tobernasool (*OSL(KK)* I 156) ('well of the eyes'), Tubber Caceh (Moore 1874–9, 37) (Tobar *Caoch*, perhaps in the context of 'a disused or dry well')

(*Dinneen* 160))

17. 88. Toberaphuicin (*OSM(KK)* 2) ('well of the sprite'), St. Kyran's Well (*Carrigan NB* 43.161)
18. 89. Tobernanaspog (*EI(6)*) ('well of the bishops' — genitive plural), Thubberanaspig (*Carrigan NB* 55.103) ('well of the bishop' — genitive singular)
19. 101. Kilcross Well (*EI(6)*), Holy Cross Well (Fitzgerald 2005, 375)
20. 120. Tubber a' teampaill (*Carrigan IV* 240) ('well of the church'), Kilmanahan Well (*Carrigan NB* 30.14) (townland name)
21. 125. Kealy's Well (*Carrigan II* 162), Tobar Philip (*OSL(KK)* I 45) ('Philip's well')
22. 127. St. Luke's Well (*EI(6)*), Tubbernahowdhee (*Carrigan IV* 21) ('well of the Black River')
23. 147. Toberuna (*EI(6)*) ('Winifred's well'), Tubbernagraoun (*Carrigan IV* 238, 239) ('well of the trees'), Tubbernamuchthee (*ibid.*) (meaning obscure), Toberowning (*Carrigan NB* 27.37) ('well of Owing' (townland)), a polytoponymical/multi-onomastical name in earnest.
24. 152. Tobernaliha (*EI(6)*) ('well of the flag'), Kitty's Well (2015, Eamonn Dempsey, Powerswood)
25. 156. Toberkieran (*EI(6)*), The Grove Well (*Carrigan IV* 160)
26. 165. St. Fintan's Well (*Carrigan II* 194), Hennessy's Well (2015, Thomas Green, Shanbogh)
27. 170. Toberellen (*EI(6)*) ('Eileen's well'), St. Fintan's Well (*NFC* 468.107)
28. 173. Thibberachollikeen (*Carrigan IV* 236) ('well of the eye-disorder'), Toberabrone (*EI(6)*) ('well of the quern')
29. 175. Toberacrin (*EI(6)*) ('well of the tree'), St. Brendan's Well (*Carrigan III* 196, 197)
30. 176. Tubbrid Holy Well (*EI(6)*), St. Brigid's Well (*NFCS* 840.150)
31. 179. Thubbervweenia (*Carrigan III* 322) ('well of the steading'), St. Cathrine's Well (*sic*) (*NFCS* 853.248, 249), Couchlan's Well (*ibid.*), Tullamaine Well (*Carrigan NB* 47.70), Ashbrook Well (*ibid.*)
32. 182. Lady's Well (*Carrigan II* 364), Connie's Well (2015, Des Fitzgerald, Urlingford, whose family formerly owned the well)
33. 183. Tobar Mhuire (*Carrigan IV* 241), Cregg Well (2015, Betty Hanrahan (aged

95), Whitechurch) (< Cregg townland, County Tipperary, *bar*: Iffa and Offa East, *p*: Newtownlennan, *OS* 79, which adjoins the townland of Whitechurch, County Kilkenny, Cregg Well being in this latter townland).

Appendix XXXII

Obsolete forms of names which contain more than one name in Carrigan's works, the obsolete form being italicised in each case

21. *Lady's Well*, St. Michael's Well
23. *Thubbernadhrynee*, St. Patrick's Well
33. *Ballachullia Well*, St. Michael's Well
43. *Church Well*, Holy Cross Well
49. *Toberadrugh*, St. Fiachra's Well
61. *Donaghmore Well*, St. Patrick's Well
63. *The Wood Well*, Cruckny Well
77. *The Ark Well*, St. Kieran's Well
81. *Broderick's Well*, Tobermamoneine
88. *Toberaphuicin*, St. Kyran's Well
125. *ToberPhilip*, Kealy's Well
127. *Tubbernahowdhee*, St. Luke's Well
147. *Tubbernamuchthee*, Toberuna
147. *Tubbernagraoun*, Toberuna
156. *The Grove Well*, Toberkieran
170. *Toberelleen*, St. Fiachra's Well
173. *Thibberachollikeen*, Tobernabrone
175. *St. Brendan's Well*, Toberacrin
176. *St. Brigid's Well*, Tubbrid Holy Well
179. *St. Catherine's Well*, Thubbervweenia
179. *Ashbrook Well*, Thubbervweenia

Appendix XXXIII

Commonness/frequency or otherwise of the spoken forms of names

2A. Wells which are not located and which have no spoken forms (23/183, 12.6%, cf. Category H above)

2B. Names which are known to very few informants only and which are heard only very occasionally (if at all) (109/183, 59.5%): 1, 2, 4, 7, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38 (one name), 39, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48, 51, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 63, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 86, 88, 89, 90, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 103, 105, 106, 108, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 132, 136, 138, 139, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 149, 150, 152, 153, 156, 158, 159, 160, 162, 163, 168, 169, 171, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 182 and 183.

2C. Names which are known to a number of local informants and which are heard (presumably) occasionally (44/183, 24.04%): 3, 5, 6, 8, 12, 13, 16, 21, 23, 36, 38 (one name), 49, 50, 52, 58, 64, 71, 74 (3 names), 84, 85, 87, 107, 110, 119, 129, 131, 133, 135, 137, 144, 145, 151, 154, 155, 161, 165, 166, 167, 170, 173, 174, 179 and 181.

2D. Names which are known to very many informants in the locality and beyond and which are often heard, an annual Mass being still celebrated at some of these wells (8/183, 4.4%): 11, 40, 75, 91, 94, 130, 140 and 141.

Appendix XXXIV

List of nineteenth-century names

- 1800–99 Toberadrugh, *tld*: Clontubbrid, Tubbrid na draoith (*Stat. Sur. (KK)* 635 (1802))
- St. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Columbkille, the spring of Columkill (*Stat. Sur. (KK)* 120 (1802))
- St. John's Well, *tld*: Cottrellsbooly, Johnswell (*Stat. Sur. (KK)* 589 (1802))
- Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Inistioge, well of St. Columb (*Stat. Sur. (KK)* 121 (1802))
- St. Faghtna's Well, *tld*: Tibberaghny, esteemed holy [well] at Tybrachny (*Stat. Sur. (KK)* 121 (1802))
- Toberpatrick, *tld*: Borrismore, Tobar Patrick Well (*Aher Clem. R38* (1812))
- Toberlaghteen, *tld*: Moat, Toberleaghteen (*Aher Clem. R32* (1817))
- TubbernaevMulleeng, *tld*: Listerlin, a well (*Par. Sur. III* 244 (1819))
- Lady's Well, *tld*: Newtown, Lady Well (*Thomastown T.herin Bapt.* 14/3/1822)
- Lady's Well, *tld*: Ballyda, Ladyswell (*Danesfort Bapt.* 11/8/1824)
- St. James's Well, *tld*: Mill Island, Tobar San Seain [*recte* Seam] (*Cinnlae Amhl. I* 100 (21/7/1827))
- Holy Cross Well, *tld*: Church Hill, contains a well (*OSNB(65)* (1837))
- Tobermogue, *tld*: Ennisnag, Tobermogue, TubberMadaghogue, Tobar Maedhóig (*OSNB(46)* (1837))
- St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Sheastown, The Holy Well of Saint Fiachra (*OSNB(9)* (1837))
- St. Finan's Well, *tld*: Tinnalintan, a holy well called Saint Finan's Well (*OSNB(4)* (1837))
- St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Toberbreedia, St. Bridget's Well (*OSNB(2:5)* (1837))
- Toberbride, *tld*: Baunta Commons, Tubber Breede, Tobar Brigde (*OSNB(1:30)* (1838))
- Tobernaskeagh, *tld*: Baunta Commons, Tobernaskeagh, tobar na sgeach (*OSNB(1:30)* (1838))

St. Margaret's Well, *tld*: Brabstown, St. Margaret's Well (*OSNB*(42) (1838))

St. Augustine's Well, *tld*: Callan North, well of St. Augustine (*OSNB*(1:54) (1838))

St. Kieran's Well, *tld*: Cappagh, St. Keeran's Well (*OSNB* 37 (1838))

St. Ronagh's Well, *tld*: Dunnamaggan East, St. Rynard's Well (*OSNB*(25) (1838))

St. Scoheen's Well, *tld*: Freneystown, Scoithin's Well (*OSNB*(40) (1838))

Toberkyle, *tld*: Gorteen, Tubber Kyle (*OSNB*(16) (1838))

Tobernanaspog, *tld*: Grangehill, Tobernanaspog, Tubber na Easpogue, tobar na n-easpog (*OSNB*(41) (1838))

Lady Well, *tld*: Grange Lower, Lady Well, Lady's Well, Tobar Muire (*OSNB*(46) (1838))

Kilcross Well, *tld*: Kilcross, Kilcross Well (*OSNB*(54) (1838))

St. Kieran's Well, *tld*: Kilkieran, St. Keeran's Well (*OSNB*(55) (1838))

Toberachree, *tld*: Kilmacshane, Toberachree (*OSNB*(21) (1838))

Toberpatrick, *tld*: Mounnugent Lower, Toberpatrick, Tobar Phadruig (*OSNB*(41) (1838))

Toberboy, *tld*: Pollagh, Toberboy, Tubberbweenapullie, tobar buidhe (*OSNB*(36) (1838))

Tobernavean, *tld*: Pollagh, Tobernavean, Tubbernavhen, Tobar na bhfian (*OSNB*(38) (1838))

Tobernaliha, *tld*: Powerswood, Tobernaliha, Thubbernaliha, tobar na líthe (*OSNB*(56) (1838))

St. Catherine's Well, *tld*: Rathbeagh, St. Cathrine's Well (*OSNB*(26) (1838))

Tobernacask, *tld*: Redacres North, Tobar a Chaisg (*OSNB*(28) (1838))

Toberkieran, *tld*: Stonecarthy West, Toberkieran, Tobar Keran, Tobar chiaráin (*OSNB*(35) (1838))

St. Martin's Well, *tld*: Templemartin, St. Martin's Well (*OSNB*(50) (1838))

Toberelleen, *tld*: Tikerlevan, Toberelleen, Tubberfelian, Tobar Eibhlín (*OSNB*(53) (1838))

Tobernapeastia, *tld*: Tobernapeastia, Tubbernapaista, tobar na péiste (*OSNB*(29) (1838))

David's Well, *tld*: Tullaherin, David's Well, Day's Well, Tobar Dháith

(*OSNB*(48) (1838))

Thubberweenia, *tld*: Tullamaine (Ashbrook), Tullamain Holy Well
(*OSNB*(3) (1838))

St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard, St. Fearagh's Well, Tobar Fiachrach
(*OSNB*(28) (1838))

St. Brandon's Well, *tld*: Aghaviller, St. Brandon's Well, Tobar bréanaill
(*OSNB*(24) (1839))

Trinity Well, *tld*: Ballycannon, Trinity Well (*OSL*(*KK*) 207, 208; *OSM*(*KK*)
18 (1839))

Tobernakill, *tld*: Ballygorey, Tobar na Cille (*OSL*(*KK*) II 239; *OSM*(*KK*) 80
(1839))

St. Dallan's Well, *tld*: Burnchurch, Tobar San Dallan (*OSL*(*KK*) II 31;
OSM(*KK*) 45 (1839))

St. James's Holy Well, *tld*: Carrickloney, St. James's Well (*OSL*(*KK*) II 177;
OSM(*KK*) 126 (1839))

Tobernagibboge, *tld*: Castle Eve, Tobar na nGiobog, Well of the Rags
(*OSL*(*KK*) II 58; *OSM*(*KK*) 26, 27 (1839))

Lady's Well, *tld*: Castlemarket, Lady's Well (*OSL*(*KK*) I 82; *OSM*(*KK*) 51
(1839))

Tobermurry, *tld*: Clomantagh Lower, Tobermurry or Lady's Well, Tubber
Muire, (*OSL*(*KK*) I 167; *OSM*(*KK*) 11 (1839))

Toberaghcanice, *tld*: Clonmore, Tobarach Chainneach, the Well or Wells of
Cainneach, (*OSL*(*KK*) II 227; *OSM*(*KK*) 78 (1839))

St. Monchin's Well, *tld*: Coolcashin, Coolcashen Well (*OSL*(*KK*) I 100;
OSM(*KK*) 109 (1839))

Donaghmore Well, *tld*: Donaghmore, Donaghmore Well (*OSL*(*KK*) I 67;
OSM(*KK*) 49 (1839))

Tobermurry, *tld*: Flemingstown, Tobermurry or the Virgin's Well (*OSL*(*KK*)
II 176; *OSM*(*KK*) 126 (1839))

Tobermamonine, *tld*: Glencommaun, Tober Mamonine, tobar Moninne
(*OSNB*(51) (1839))

Tobermathulla, *tld*: Glencommaun, Tober Mathulla, tobar mochuille
(*OSNB*(51) (1839))

Tobernasool, *tld*: Gorteennamuck, Tober na Súil (Tobernasool) (*OSL(KK)* I 156; *OSM(KK)* 8 (1839))

Toberaphuicin, *tld*: Grangefertagh, Tobar a Phúicín (*OSL(KK)* I 135; *OSM(KK)* 1 (1839))

Toberbride, *tld*: Kells, Tobar Brighde (*OSL(KK)* II 62; *OSM(KK)* 33 (1839))

Thubberniclaush, *tld*: Kilballykeefe, Nicholas's Well (*OSL(KK)* I 237 (1839))

St. Nicholas Well, *tld*: Killamery, St. Nicholas Well (*OSL(KK)* II 96; *OSM(KK)* 39 (1839))

Thubber Murrha, *tld*: Kilmacar, Lady's Well (*OSL(KK)* I 29 (1839))

Lady's Well, *tld*: Kilmacoliver, Ladies Well (*OSNB(63)* (1839))

Tubberachreene, *tld*: Kilmogue, Tobar a Chrainn (*OSM(KK)* 67 (1839))

Tobermurry, *tld*: Kilmurry, Lady Well (*OSNB(20)* (1839))

Tobernaglohin, *tld*: Kiltrassy, Tobarnagluhen, tobar na gcloigeann (*OSNB(43)* (1839))

Tobernaraha, *tld*: Knockroe, Tubbernaratha (*OSNB(73)* (1839))

Tobermolua, *tld*: Kylenaskeagh, a holy well called after Molua (*OSL(KK)* II 52; *OSM(KK)* 25 (1839))

Toberaclugheen, *tld*: Milltown, Tobar a Chluigin [*sic*] (*OSL(KK)* II 201; *OSM(KK)* 119 (1839))

St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Newtown (Shea), Tober Brighde or St. Bridget's Well (*OSL(KK)* II 59 (1839))

Toberakin, *tld*: Ovenstown, Tobar a Chinn (*OSL(KK)* II 59; *OSM(KK)* 27 (1839))

Toberuna, *tld*: Owing, Tobar Una [*sic*] (*OSL(KK)* II 193; *OSM(KK)* 115 (1839))

Tobernagolumb, *tld*: Rathinure, Tobar na gColumb (*OSL(KK)* II 180; *OSM(KK)* 127 (1839))

Toberkieran, *tld*: Rathkieran, Tobar Kiaran or Kiaran's Well (*OSL(KK)* II 242; *OSM(KK)* 80 (1839))

Tubbrid Holy Well, *tld*: Tubbrid, Tubbrid Holy Well (*OSNB(8)* (1839))

Toberpatrick, *tld*: Tubbrid Upper, Tubber Patrick or Patrick's Well (*OSL(KK)* I 177; *OSM(KK)* 12 (1839))

Lady's Well, *tld*: Tullaroan, Lady's Well (*OSL(KK)* I 213; *OSM(KK)* 20

(1839))

- Toberatoo, *tld*: Castlegarden, Tubber a Choo (*OSFP* (1839–40))
- Toberaniddaun, *tld*: Pottlerath, Tubbernedhawn (*OSFP* (1839–40))
- St. Michael's Well, *tld*: Cappagh, St. Michael's Well (*EI(6)* (1842))
- Lady's Well, *tld*: Graiguenamanagh, Lady's Well (*EI(6)* (1842))
- St. Bridget's Well/TubberanBredda, *tld*: Grange, St. Bridget's Well (*Bowers Transcripts 7* (c.1850))
- St. Rock's Well, *tld*: Jamesgreen, a spring well (Hogan 1859, 473)
- St. Colman's Well, *tld*: Churchclara, St. Colman's Well (Hogan 1864, 212)
- Ballyneale Holy Well, *tld*: Ballyneale, the holy well (Moore 1874–9, 29)
- Ballyreddy Holy Well, *tld*: Ballyreddy, a well (Moore 1874–9, 29)
- TobaraChoinee, *tld*: Garrygaug, a holy well (Moore 1874–9, 34)
- Tubberathoggarth, *tld*: Jamestown, Tubberathoggarth (Farrell 1874–9, 202)
- St. Broghan's Well, *tld*: Kilbraghan, a holy well (Moore 1874–9, 30)
- Thubbervzheedha, *tld*: Kilbride, the well (Farrell 1874–9, 201)
- Tobersenan, *tld*: Kilmacow, the holy Well (Moore 1874–9, 64)
- Tubber a' teampaill, *tld*: Kilmanahin, Tubber-na-Teauple (Moore 1874–9, 35)
- Templeorum Well, *tld*: Oldcourt, Templeorum Well (Moore 1874–9, 33, 34)
- Tubber Ullacawn, *tld*: Rathlogan, Tober Ullacan (Moore 1874–9, 37)
- St. Fintan's Well, *tld*: Shanbogh Upper, the holy well (Moore 1874–9, 27, 28)
- Thibberachollikeen, *tld*: Tobernabrone, Thibberachollikeen (Moore 1874–9, 33)
- Lady's Well, *tld*: Urlingford, Tuber Marie (Healy 1874–9, 42)
- Tobar Muire, *tld*: Whitechurch, Tubber Maura or Mary's Well (Moore 1874–9, 31)
- Rossdama Holy Well, *tld*: Rossdama, a holy well (Holahan 1875, 7)
- St. David's Well, *tld*: Castleinch or Inchiologhan, St. David's Well (Hogan 1880–3, 47)
- Aughkiletaun Holy Well, *tld*: Aughkiletaun, holy well (*Loc. Pat.* 200 (1882))
- Angel's Well, *tld*: Gardens, Angel's Well (Hogan 1883, 5)
- Kilfane Holy Well, *tld*: Kilfane, Kilfane Well (Egan 1884, 301)
- Broochgarrig, *tld*: Aughatubbrid or Chatsworth, Broochgarrig (*Carrigan NB*)

73.165 (1887))

The Church Well, *tld*: Aughtatubbrid or Chatsworth, Church Well (*Carrigan NB 73.167 (1887)*)

Caereeachth Well, *tld*: Croghtenclogh, Caer-ee-arth (*Carrigan NB 73.188 (1887)*)

Cruckny Well, *tld*: Drumgoole, Crucknee, the wood well (*Carrigan NB 73.191 (1887)*)

Kealy's Well, *tld*: Kiltown, Kealy's Well (*Carrigan NB 73.124 (1887)*) (*olim Tobar Philip, OSL(KK) I 45; OSM(KK) 90*)

Trinity Well, *tld*: Ballyrafton, Trinity Well (*Carrigan NB 109.42 (1887–9)*)

Tubber Broondhawin, *tld*: Clonamery, Tubber Brunduin or St. Brendan's Well (*Carrigan NB 40.175 (1887–92)*)

St. Michael's Well, *tld*: Bayswell, St. Michael's Well (*Carrigan NB 137.79 (1888)*)

Tobar Phóil, *tld*: Connahy, a well said to be holy (*Carrigan NB 85.57 (1889)*)

ThubbernaMydan, *tld*: Caherlesk, TobernaMeidan (*Carrigan NB 33, 52 (1889–90)*)

Thubberakilleen, *tld*: Coolaghmore, Killeen Well or Toberkilleen (*Carrigan NB 127.13 (1889–90)*)

St. Andrew's Well, *tld*: Kilmadum, St. Andrew's Well (*Carrigan NB 85.61 (1890)*)

Tubber Finnawn, *tld*: Tinnan, Tober Finnawn (*Carrigan NB 27.52 (1890–1)*)

Muckalee Holy Well, *tld*: Muckalee, Muckalee Holy Well (*Carrigan NB 26.4 (1891)*)

Tobaratiampuill, *tld*: Oldcastle Lower (*Carrigan NB 26.81 (1891)*)

St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Afaddy or Silverspring, Tober-a-Bidea (*Carrigan NB 6.96 (1893)*)

Thubber Eheen, *tld*: Desart Demesne, Desart Well, St. Phoenix's Well (*Carrigan NB 6.126, 127 (1893)*)

Thibberawling, *tld*: Graigavine, Tubber awling (*Carrigan NB 6.162 (1893)*)

St. John's Well, *tld*: Kildalton, John's Well (*Carrigan NB 6.162 (1893)*)

Mickel's Well, *tld*: Ballyda, Mickel's Well (*Carrigan NB 55.90 (1899)*)

Appendix XXXV

List of twentieth-century names

- 1900–99 Thubber Phaudhrig, *tld*: Davidstown, Tubber Phadraig (*Carrigan NB* 61.27 (1900))
- Tubbernacrusha, *tld*: Farrantemple, Tubbernacrusha (*Carrigan NB* 61.47 (1900))
- Thubberchooann, *tld*: Flemingstown, Thubber Chooan (*Carrigan NB* 6.49 (1900))
- Friar's Well, *tld*: Killonerry, Friar's Well (*Carrigan NB* 73.101 (1904c.))
- TubbernaCruchthanee, *tld*: Boggan, TubbernaCruchthanee (*Carrigan III* 498 (1905))
- Tubberafauna, *tld*: Cashel or Tobernaafauna, Tubberafauna (*Carrigan IV* 157 (1905))
- Tubber-Kilkeerawn, *tld*: Castletown, Tubber-Kilkeerawn (*Carrigan IV* 243 (1905))
- Sruthán na Ceárdcha, *tld*: Foulksrath, Sruthán na Ceárdcha (*Carrigan II* 199 (1905))
- Tubbervrachawin, *tld*: Kilbraghan, Tubbervrachawin (*Carrigan III* 442 (1905))
- Lady Well, *tld*: Kildrinagh, Lady Well (*Carrigan II* 372 (1905))
- Tubberkilkierawn, *tld*: Kilkieran, Tubberkilkierawn (*Carrigan IV* 116 (1905))
- St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Lamoge, a holy well ... thought by some to have been dedicated to St. Bridget (*Carrigan IV* 324 (1905))
- Lady's Well, *tld*: Owing, Lady's Well (*Carrigan IV* 239 (1905))
- Tubbernacruchnhee, *tld*: Redacres North, Tubbernacruchnhee (*Carrigan IV* 173 (1905))
- Loughman's Well, *tld*: Shanbogh Upper, Loughman's Well (*Carrigan IV* 194 (1905))
- St. Patrick's Well, *tld*: Afaddy or Silverspring, St. Patrick's Well (*Carrigan NB* 47.40 (1920))
- Thubberathoggarth, *tld*: Baunballinlough, Tobar-a-togarth (*Carrigan NB* 28.44 (1920))
- St. Patrick's Well, *tld*: Boggan, St. Patrick's Well (*Carrigan NB* 42.107 (1920))
- Ballinvarry Holy Well, *tld*: Ballinvarry, Ballinvarry Holy Well (*NFCS* 847.128

(1938))

St. Laurence's Well, *tld*: Ballyogan, St. Laurence's Well (*NFCS* 857.471 (1938))

St. Cranagh's Well, *tld*: Boggan, St. Cranagh's Well (*NFCS* 857.471 (1938))

Derrynahinch Holy Well, *tld*: Derrynahinch, Derrynahinch Holy Well (*NFCS* 848.85 (1938))

Donaguile Holy Well, *tld*: Donaguile, Donaguile Holy Well (*NFCS* 865.51 (1938))

St. Patrick's Well, *tld*: Earlsbog Commons, St. Patrick's Well (*NFCS* 860.116 (1938))

Garryduff Holy Well, *tld*: Garryduff, Garryduff Holy Well (*NFCS* 841.120 (1938))

Tobar na Coille, *tld*: Kilconnelly, Tobar na Coille (*NFCS* 847.91 (1938))

Kilkeasy Holy Well, *tld*: Kilkeasy, Kilkeasy Holy Well (*NFCS* 848.63 (1938))

Tobar Brigid, *tld*: Kilmacoliver, Tobar Brigid (*NFCS* 852.214 (1938))

St. Mogarra's Well, *tld*: Kilmagar, St. Mogarra's Well (*NFCS* 859.404 (1938))

(Revd. Carrigan traces the origin of Kilmagar to 'Cill Mogharadh, or St. Mogarra's Church' (*Carrigan* III 359) which form appears to be reasonably consistent with Cill MoGharaidh (*Liostaí Log.CC* 78) *rectius* Cill Mogharaidh (logainm.ie 28/11/2016). Professor Ó Riain appears to have unravelled the origin of the personal name, Mogharadh, in stating that Colmán of Holdenstown [civil parish of Dunbell which adjoins the civil parish of Clara] had two companions, Guaire and Maol Dubh son of Ultán and that 'the former's memory may be preserved 'church of my Guaire' in the parish of Clara' (*Ó Riain Saints* 189, 190).)

Philomena's Well, *tld*: (?) Rathcash, Philomena's Well (*NFCS* 860.120 (1938))

St. Rosentha's Well, *tld*: Rossaneany (Reade), St. Rosentha's Well (*NFCS* 852.5 (1938))

St. Brigid's Well, *tld*: Ballyconra, St. Brigid's Well (*O'Kelly* 54 (1969))

Tobar Bríde, *tld*: Brandondale, Tobar Bríde (*O'Kelly* 74 (1969))

Lady's Well, *tld*: Burnchurch, Lady's Well (*O'Kelly* 175 (1969))

Coolnatobar, *tld*: Coan West, Coolnatobar (*O'Kelly*, 41 (1969))

Nanny's Well or St. Anne's, *tld*: Firoda Upper, Nanny's Well (*O'Kelly* 35

(1969))

Kilmog Holy Well, *tld*: Kilmog or Racecourse, Holy Well Possible (*RMPKK*

(1996))

Pollagh Holy Well, *tld*: Pollagh, Holy Well (*RMPKK* (1996))

Appendix XXXVI

A tabular summary of the earliest documented evidence of the wells across the centuries

Century	Number of wells	% of total
1200–99	2	1.09
1300–99	2	1.09
1400–99	1	0.55
1500–99	1	0.55
1600–99	1	0.55
1700–99	3	1.64
1800–99	123	67.2
1900–99	38	20.8
2000–	12	6.5

Appendix XXXVII

Church ruins and graveyards listed on the first-edition Ordnance Survey maps

Aghaviller, Aughtatubbrid, Ballycannon, Ballyconra, Ballygorey, Ballyneale, Bayswell, Caherlesk, Carrickeloney, Castleinch, Castletown, Churchclara, Clogharinka, Clomantagh Lower, Clonamery, Clonmore (two wells), Columbkille, Coolaghmore (x2), Coolcashin, Derrynahinch, Donaghmore, Gorteennamuck, Jamestown, Kells, Kilkballykeefe, Kilbride, Kilcross, Kildrinagh, Kilfane Demesne, Kilkeasy, Killamery, Kilmacar, Kilmacow (x2), Kiltown, Kiltrassy (x2), Mill Island, Milltown, Muckalee, Mullennakill, Newtown (Shea), Oldcastle Lower, Pottlerath, Rathbeagh, Rathinure, Rathkieran, Rathlogan, Redacres North (x2), Rossaneany (Reade), Stonecarthy West, Tibberaghny, Tinnalintan, Troyswood, Tubbrid, Tubbrid Upper, Tullaerin, Tullaroan, Ullard and Urlingford.

Appendix XXXVIII

Percentage of tree-types/bushes at or near holy wells in County Kilkenny

Type	Number	% of total (specified)	% of total (specified + unspecified)
Hawthorn	13	$13/42 = 30.9\%$	$13/58 = 22.4\%$
Ash	11	$11/42 = 26.2\%$	$11/58 = 18.9\%$
Oak	3	$3/42 = 7.1\%$	$3/58 = 5.1\%$
Blackthorn	3	$3/42 = 7.1\%$	$3/58 = 5.1\%$
Elder	3	$3/42 = 7.1\%$	$3/58 = 5.1\%$
Alder	3	$3/42 = 7.1\%$	$3/58 = 5.1\%$
Mass bushes	2	$2/42 = 4.8\%$	$2/58 = 3.4\%$
Hazel	1	$1/42 = 2.4\%$	$1/58 = 1.7\%$
Yew	1	$1/42 = 2.4\%$	$1/58 = 1.7\%$
Palm	1	$1/42 = 2.4\%$	$1/58 = 1.7\%$
Blackthorn or Hawthorn	1	$1/42 = 2.4\%$	$1/58 = 1.7\%$

Appendix XXXIX

A tabular summary of percentages of holy well locational characteristics

Locational characteristic	Total	%
Wells located near church ruins and graveyard (62), near a church site and graveyard (22), near church ruins only (11), near non-ruinous churches (9), near Roman Catholic chapels (8), near the site of a church (8), near friaries or abbeys (7), near church ruins + graveyard + Roman Catholic chapel (6), near a chapel and graveyard (4), while a mere tradition of a church or monastery or chapel and graveyard survives in the case of 14 names	151/183	82.5
Wells located within well-houses or domes	5/183	2.7
Wells located near or in holy trees	58/183	31.7
Wells located near or in holy stones	17/183	9.3
Wells located near holy crosses	17/183	9.3
Wells located near effigies and statues	9/183	4.9
Wells located near raths, enclosures, moats	24/183	13.1
No ecclesiastical accompaniment	32/183	17.5

Appendix XL

List of wells with comprehensive local hagiographical evidence

3. St. Brandon's Well, 8. Trinity Well, 9. St. Brigid's Well, 12. Mickel's Well, 16. Trinity Well, 19. Toberbride, 21. St. Michael's Well, 29. St. Dallan's Well, 30. Thubbernamydan, 34. St. James's Holy Well, 38. Toberatoo / Tobar Chiaráin, 39. St. David's Well, 40. Lady's Well, 42. St. Colman's Well, 45. Tobermurry, 46. Tubber Broondhawin, 48. Toberaghcanice, 49. Toberadrugh / St. Fiachra's Well, 51. St. Columbkille's Well, 53. St. Mary's Well, 55. St. Monchin's Well, 58. Thubber Phaudhrig, 64. St. Ronagh's Well, 65. St. Patrick's Well, 66. Tobermogue, 73. St. Scoheen's Well, 80. ToberaChoinee, 86. Lady's Well, 88. Toberaphuicin / St. Kyran's Well, 91. Columbkille's Well, 95. Toberbride, 96. Thubberniclaush, 98. Tubbervrachawin, 99. Thubbervzheedha, 110. St. Nicholas Well, 116. Tobersenan, 118. St. Andrew's Well, 131. Tobermolua, 133. TubbernaevMulleeng, 135. St. James's Well, 137. Toberlaghteen, 140. St. Mullin's Well, 141. Lady's Well, 142. St. Bridget's Well, 146. Lady's Well, 151. Toberaniddaun, 153. St. Catherine's Well, 156. Toberkieran, 165. St. Fintan's Well, 166. St. Fiachra's Well, 167. Toberkieran, 168. St. Martin's Well, 170. Toberelleen / St. Fiachra's Well, 171. St. Fintan's Well, 172. St. Bridget's Well, 175. Toberacrin / St. Brendan's Well, 177. Toberpatrick, 178. David's Well, 179. Thubbervweenia / St. Cathrine's Well [*sic*], 180. Lady's Well, 181. St. Fiachra's Well and 182. Lady's Well (61/113 = 54%)

Well-names with associated hagiographical evidence only

31. St. Augustine's Well, Callan North, in the form of the Augustinian Friary; 74. Angel's Well / St. Dominic's Well / Blackabbey Well, in the form of the Dominican Blackabbey; 75. St. Canice's Well, Kilkenny, in the form of the cathedral and graveyard; 76. St. Francis Well, Kilkenny, in the form of the Franciscan Abbey / Friary; 77. St. Kieran's Well, Kilkenny, in the form of the saint's chapel, statue and chair; 78. St. Mary's Well, Kilkenny, in the form of St. Mary's church and graveyard, and 92. St. Rock's Well, Jamesgreen, in the form of St. Rock's church and graveyard (7/113 = 6.2%)

Well-names which have no documented local hagiographical evidence

1. St. Bridget's Well, 11. Lady's Well, 15. St. Lawrence's Well, 22. St. Cranagh's Well (assuming that St. Cranat is the saint involved), 23. St. Patrick's Well, 27. Tobar Bride, 28.

Lady's Well, 32. St. Kieran's Well, 50. Tobar Mhuire, 56. St. John's Well, 60. Thubber Eheen, 68. Tubber Finnawn, 69. Nanny's Well or St. Anne's Well, 79. St. Mark's Well, 81. Tobermamonine, 87. St. Bridget's Well, 90. Lady Well, 94. St. John's Well, 109. Tubberkilkierawn, 112. Thubber Murrha, 113. Lady's Well, 114. Tobar Brigid, 119. St. Mogarra's Well, 124. Tobermurry, 127. St. Luke's Well, 130. Trinity Well, 138. Toberpatrick, 154. St. Philomena's Well, 158. Tubber Ullacawn, 169. St. Faghtna's Well and 183. Tobar Muire (31/113 = 27.4%).

Wells for which documented hagiographical evidence of the patron saint featuring in the well-name is associated with the actual townland in which the well is located:

3. St. Brandon's Well, *tld*: Aghaviller (e.g. Ecclesia de Aghavillir, Sanctus Brandanus, *pp:Spic. Oss.* I 9 (1669-93)); 8. Trinity Well, *tld*: Ballycannon (Ballinamara Church ruins were in this townland); 25. Toberpatrick, *tld*: Borrismore; 26. St. Margaret's Well, *tld*: Brabstown; 29. St. Dallan's Well; *tld*: Burnchurch; 39. St. David's Well, *tld*: Castleinch; 42. St. Colman's Well, *tld*: Churchclara; 45. Tobermurry, *tld*: Clomantagh (Lower); 46. Tubber Broondhawin, *tld*: Clonamery 48. Toberaghcanice, *tld*: Clonmore; 49. Toberadrugh / St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Clontubbrid; 51. St. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Columbkille; 53. St. Mary's Well, *tld*: Coolaghmore; 55. St. Monchin's Well, *tld*: Coolcashin; 58. Thubber Phaudhrig, *tld*: Davidstown; 64. St. Ronagh's Well / St. Leonard's Well, *tld*: Dunnamaggan (East); 66. Tobermogue; *tld*: Ennisnag; 73. St. Scoheen's Well, *tld*: Freneystown (Tiscoffin Church ruins were situated in this townland, Freneystown); 80. Tobera Choinee, *tld*: Garrygaug (the old church of Muckalee was situated in this townland, Garrygaug); 86. Lady's Well, *tld*: Graiguenamanagh; 88. St. Kyran's Well, *tld*: Grangefertagh (the Priory of Fertagh is situated in this townland, Grangefertagh); 91. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Inistioge; 96. Thubberniclaush, *tld*: Kilballykeefe; 98. Tubbervrachawin, *tld*: Kilbraghan; 99. Thubbervzheedha, *tld*: Kilbride; 110. St. Nicholas Well, *tld*: Killamery; 116. Toberenan, *tld*: Kilmacow; 118. St. Andrew's Well, *tld*: Kilmadum; 133. Tubbernaev Mulleeng; 140. St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill; 146. Lady's Well, *tld*: Owing; 153. St. Catherine's Well, *tld*: Rathbeagh; 156. Toberkieran, *tld*: Rathkieran; 165. St. Fintan's Well, *tld*: Shanbogh (Upper); 167. Toberkieran, *tld*: Stonecarthy (West); 168. St. Martin's Well, *tld*: Templemartin; 170. St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Tikerlevan; 175. St. Brendan's Well, *tld*: Troyswood (Thornback Church ruins are in this townland); 177. Toberpatrick, *tld*: Tubbrid (Upper); 179. St. Cathrine's [*sic*] Well, *tld*: Tullamaine; 180. Lady's Well, *tld*: Tullaroan; 181. St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard, and 182.

Lady's Well, *tld*: Urlingford (43/113 = 38% (Total) or 43/83 (51.8%) for wells with documented hagiographical evidence).

Wells for which hagiographical evidence linking the patron saint to the locality of the well is found not in the case of the townland in question but, rather, in the case of the adjoining townland (the adjoining townland being written in capital letters in each case):

12. Mickel's Well, *tld*: Ballyda, DANESFORT; 16. Trinity Well, *tld*: Ballyrafton, DUNMORE; 19. Toberbride, *tld*: Baunta Commons, KILBRIDE GLEBE; 30. Thubbernamydan, *tld*: Caherlesk, BALLYTOBIN; 34. St. James's Well, *tld*: Carrickcloney, KILMAKEVOGE; 36. Thubbernamydan, *tld*: Caherlesk, BALLYTOBIN; 40. Lady's Well, *tld*: Castlemarket, ROSCONNELL GLEBE; 41. Tubber-Kilkeerawn, *tld*: Castletown, KILKIERAN; 70. Thubberchooann, *tld*: Flemingstown, KILCOAN (Kilcoan Church ruins are in the adjoining townland of Weatherstown); 95. Toberbride, *tld*: Kells, KILREE; 131. Tobermolua, *tld*: Kyleneaskeagh, KILLALOE; 135. St. James's Well, *tld*: Mill Island, MALLARDSTOWN; 137. Toberlaghteen, *tld*: Moat, FRESHFORD/ACHADH ÚR; 141. Lady's Well, *tld*: Newtown, THOMASTOWN; 142. St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Newtown (Shea), KILLINNY; 151. Toberaniddaun, *tld*: Pottlerath, KILMANAGH; 166. St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Sheastown, KILFERAGH; 171. St. Finan's Well, *tld*: Tinnalintan, GORTEENARA (in the sense that Kilfinan Church ruins are in the adjoining townland, Gorteenara, and not in Tinnalintan); 172. St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Toberbreedia, BALLYCALLAN; 178. David's Well, *tld*: Tullaherin, DUNGARVAN.

Hagiographical evidence for patron saints and lists of wells

1. Biblical persons/rough contemporaries of Christ

1.1 The Blessed Virgin

Some early references to Mary in the dating of a deed and of events in a municipal document in County Kilkenny:

1319 Roger fitz Milo, Overk, given at Knocktopher on Wednesday next after the feast of the Annunciation of the B.V.M.

COD 1 244

1392 post festum Natiuitatis Beate Marie Uirginis
Lib.Prim.Kilk. 44 (Liber Primus Kilkenniensis)

1403 post festum Annunciacionis Beate Marie Uirginis
Lib.Prim.Kilk. 43

11. Lady's Well, tld: Ballyda/Danesfort [< Dunfert < Dún Feart]

28. Lady's Well, tld: Burnchurch/Kiltravyn

30. Thubberna Mydan [Tobar na Maighdine], tld: Caherlesk

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint.

Caherlesk and Ballytobin are adjoining townlands and the Virgin Mary is also attested in the latter:

1669-93 Ecclesia de Bellaghtobin, Nativitas B[eatae] V[irginis], 8 Sept[embris].
PP:Spic.Oss. I 9

1759 Thomas Quirk Parochus S[anctae] Mariae Assumptae de Ballytobin.
de Burgo Reg. 4;
Carrigan I 162

1769 Richardus Shee ad parochiam S[anctae] Mariae Assumptae de Ballaghtobin
de Burgo Reg. 29

1905 The church of Ballytobin, dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (Sept. 8).
Carrigan IV 44

1920 Ballytobin: Nativity of BVM. *Carrigan NB 67.34*

40. Lady's Well, tld: Castlemarket

Local hagiographical evidence

Castlemarket and Rosconnell Glebe are adjoining townlands.

- 1396 St. Mary's, Roschonnyl. *CPL IV 529*
- 1669-93 Ecclesia de Rosconnel, Assumptio B[eatae] V[irginis], 15 Aug[usti].
PP:Spic.Oss. I 7
- 1759 Edmundus Kavanagh Parochus S[anctae] Mariae de Rosconnell.
de Burgo Reg. 2, 5;
Carrigan I 162;
Carrigan NB 167.130
- 1764 Stephanus Lower Parochus S[anctae] Mariae de Rosconnell.
de Burgo Reg. 24;
Carrigan I 173
- 1874-9 The ancient Parish Church at Rosconnell dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Dorgan 86
45. Tobermurry, tld: Clomantagh Lower

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Our Lady
- 1669-93 Ecclesia de Clomantagh et Kilrush, Nativitas B[eatae] M[ariae], 8 Sept[embris]

PP: Spic.Oss. I 7
- 1759 Edmundus Butler Parochus S[anctae] Mariae Natae de Clomanti

de Burgo Reg. 3;
Carrigan I 162;

1765 Nicolaus Butler Parochus S[anctae] Mariae Natae de Clomanti

de Burgo Reg. 25

1771 Thomas Lalor Parochus S[anctae] Mariae Natae de Clomanti

de Burgo Reg. 29

1774 Richardus de Burgo Parochus S[anctae] Mariae Natae de Clomanti.

Carrigan I 173;
Carrigan NB 167.53

50. Tobar Mhuire, tld: Coan West – no Anglo-Norman surnames found

53. St. Mary's Well, tld: Coolaghmore

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Our Lady

1669-93 Ecclesia de Coulaghmore, Nativitas B[eatae] M[ariae], 8 Sept[embris].

PP:Spic.Oss. I 9

1759 Jacobus Butler Parochus S[anctae] Mariae Natae de Coolough.

de Burgo Reg. 5;
Carrigan I 163;
Carrigan NB 167.251

1768 Dermitius Murphy transfertur ad Parochiam S[anctae] Mariae Natae de Coolough.

de Burgo Reg. 26

14/9/1828 An ceathramha la deag .i. dia domhnach .i. lá pátrúin na Cuailighe .i. an

domhnach d'eis la Feil Muire.

Cinnlae Amhl. II 12

1903 St. Mary's R.C. Chapel, Coolaghmore. *E2(6)*

71. Tobermurry, tld: Flemingstown

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Our Lady

2008 Kilcoan – Blessed Virgin Mary. Pattern – No Dorgan & Dorgan 21

78. St. Mary's Well, tld: Gardens/Kilkenny City

Associated hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Our Lady

1202 Church of the Blessed Mary of Kilkenny. Hogan 189, 338, 38

1202-89 ius patronum ecclesiarum Beate Marie de Kilkenia et sancti Patricii de Donaghmore.

Lib.Albus Oss. 119

1343 Fit novum campanile ecclesie beate Marie Kilkennie.

Clyn Ann. 229

1352 in Ecclesia beate Marie Kilkennie. *Lib.Prim.Kilk.* 118

1359 in campanili ecclesie Beate Marie Kilkennie. *Lib.Prim.Kilk.* 21

1360 ecclesie Beate Marie Kilkennie. *Lib.Prim.Kilk.* 34

86. Lady's Well, tld: Graiguenamanagh/Duiske

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Our Lady

1210c. fundasse in honorem dei et beate Marie uirginis – in terra Dowisky.

Duiske Chart. 18

- 1210c. Charter of Foundation, by William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, of the monastery of St. Saviour, in honour of God and of the B.V.M., for Cistercian monks of Duiske.

Duiske Chart. 17

- 1210c. fundasse Beatae Mariae Virginis et matris Domini, abbatiam Sancti Salvatoris, de ordine monachorum in terra Dowiskyr.

Comerford Coll. III 202

- 1306 abbas et conuentus monasterii beate Marie de Sancto Salvatore uidelicet de Dolbisky Cisterciensis.

Duiske Chart. 132

- 1352 deo et beate Marie ac abbatie de Dowisky. *Duiske Chart. 135*

90. Lady Well, tld: Grange Lower

105. Lady Well, tld: Kildrinagh

112. Thubber Murrha, tld: Kilmacar

113. Lady's Well, tld: Kilmacoliver

124. Tobermurry, tld: Kilmurry

Toponymical evidence in which the name of the patron saint, Our Lady, is preserved

- 1411 Cowlefeagh [meaning obscure] *COD II 300*

1434	Cowillfeagh	<i>COD III 77</i>
1442-3	Cowillesfeagh	<i>COD III 135</i>
1584-7	Kilvorry	<i>COD V 162</i>
1599c.	Killmory	<i>Boazio</i>
1607	Kilmurry alias Cowlfeye	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK) 1 J1</i>
1619	Kilmurrey al Cowlefey	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK) 25 J1</i>
1637	Killmorry als Cowlfy	<i>Lodge Ms. V 494</i>
1655	Kilmurry	<i>DS</i>
1659	Killinurrey (<i>sic</i>)	<i>Cen. 420</i>
1660c.	Killmurry	<i>BSD(KK) 155</i>
1668	Killmurrey	<i>ASE 120a</i>
1668	Killmurry	<i>ASE 143a</i>
1778	Kilmurry	<i>Vallencey</i>
28/9/1794	Kilmurray	<i>Slieverue Par.Reg.</i> (s.n. Michael Kealy)

141. Lady's Well, tld: Newtown, Thomastown

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint

Newtown and Thomastown are adjoining townlands.

1669-93 Ecclesia de Thomastown, Assumptio B[eatae] V[irginis], 15 Augusti.

PP: Spic.Oss. I 9

1759 Thomas Forstall Parochus S[anctae] Mariae Assumptae.

*de Burgo Reg. 4;
Carrigan I 163*

1764 Patritius Murphy a Parochia de S[anctae] Mariae Assumptae de Thomastown.

de Burgo Reg. 24

1774 per Translationem Richardi Hart ad Parochiam S[anctae] Mariae Assumptae de Thomastown.

Carrigan I 173

1777 Richardus Hart Parochus S[anct]ae M[ari]ae Assumptae de Thomastown.

Troy Reg. (de Burgo) 34

1785-94 Gulielmus Phelan Parochus S[anct]ae M[ari]ae assumptae [*sic*] de Thomas Town [*sic*].

*Troy, Dunne, Lanig. Reg.
14*

147. Lady's Well, tld: Owing

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Our Lady

1440 Villa de Ownyng, the church of the B.V.M. there.

COD III 118

1759 Matthias Lanigin Parochus S[anctae] Mariae Assumptae de Owing.

de Burgo Reg. 4;
Carrigan I 163

1777 Matthias Lanigin Parochus S[anct]ae M[ari]ae Assumptae de Owing.

de Burgo Reg. 34

1781 Jacobus Lalor transfertur a Parochia S[ancti] Crucis de Castlecomer ad Parochiam S[anctae] Mariae de Owing.

Troy Reg. (de Burgo) 42;
Troy Reg.: Carrigan I
197

1781 Thomas Lalor Parochus S[anctae] Mariae Assumptae de Owing.

Troy Reg. (de Burgo) 96

180. Lady's Well, tld: Tullaroan

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Our Lady

1669-93 Ecclesia de Tulloroan, Assumptio B[eatae] V[irginis], 15 Augusti.

PP: Spic.Oss. I 8

1759 Thomas Whyte Parochus S[anctae] Mariae assumptae de Tullarone.

de Burgo Reg. 3;
Carrigan I 162

1785-94 Patricius Grady, the parish of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin of Tullarone.

Carrigan NB 167.117

1819 The church of Tullaroan, dedicated to St. Mary, is rectorial.

Par.Sur.III 609

1876 Tullaroan – the parish festival being that of the “Assumption”, the 15th August.

Hogan 107

182. Lady’s Well, tld: Urlingford

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Our Lady

1669-93 Ecclesia de Urlingford, Assumptio B[eatae] M[ariae], 15 Augusti.

PP: Spic.Oss. I 7

1759 Edmundus Butler Parochus S[anctae] Mariae Assumptae de Urlingford.

de Burgo Reg. 3;
Carrigan I 162;
Carrigan NB 167.106

1765 Nicolaus Butler Parochus S[anctae] Mariae Assumptae de Urlingford.

de Burgo Reg. 25

1771 Thomas Lalor Parochus S[anctae] Mariae Assumptae de Urlingford.

de Burgo Reg. 29

1774 Richardus de Burgo Parochus S[anctae] Mariae Assumptae de Urlingford.

Carrigan I 173;

Carrigan NB 167.53

183. Tobar Muire, tld: Whitechurch/An Teampall Geal

Mary's popularity in the county was clearly not confined to holy wells or to parish churches at or near them. The most popular saintly dedicatee in the county was also revered in many non-hydrolatrous locations, places of note here being:

(i) Glashare, OS 8

1669-93 Ecclesia de Glashare, S[anctae] Mariae

PP: Spic.Oss. I 7

(See also *de Burgo Reg. 3* (1759); *de Burgo Reg. 27* (1768); *Carrigan I* 1905, 173; *Carrigan II* 1905, 287 – it is not stated on which day her feast was celebrated here).

(ii) Muckalee, OS 10

1669-93 Ecclesia de Mucully, Nativ[itas] B[eatae] V[irginis], 8 Septembris

PP: Spic.Oss. I 8

(See also *de Burgo Reg. 3* (1759); *de Burgo Reg. 26* (1767); *Troy Reg. (de Burgo)* 40 (1780); *OSL(KK) I* 17 (1839); Hogan 1884, 130; *Carrigan III* 1905, 453; *Deenside* (Deireadh Fómhair), page 11 (1960)).

(iii) Blackrath, OS 20

- 1669-93 Ecclesia de Blackrath, Nativitas B[eatae] M[ariae], 8 Septembris
PP: Spic.Oss. I 8
 (See also *de Burgo Reg. 2* (1759); *Carrigan I* 162 (1759); *Carrigan III* 366; *Carrigan NB* 67.34 (1920)).
- (iv) Gowran, *OS* 20
- 1313 The Church of the Blessed Mary of Ballygowrane *Carrigan III* 409
- 1539 the church of St. Mary in Gowran *COD IV* 187
- 1669-93 Ecclesia de Gowran, Assumptio B[eatae] V[irginis], 15 Augusti
PP: Spic.Oss. I 8
 (See also *de Burgo Reg. 2* (1759); Hogan 1884, 238; *Carrigan III* 1905, 402; *Carrigan NB* 67.34 (1920); *O’Kelly* 1969, 73; *Shell Guide Harb.* 198 (1989)).
- (v) Outrath, *OS* 23
- 1437 prebend beate Marie de Wotyorathe *Ann.Oss.* 4.14
- (vi) Bennettsbridge, *OS* 24
- 1399 St. Mary’s chapel, Benetisbirg *CPL V* 240
- 1407 the chapel of St. Mary, Ben[n]tisbrige *CPL VI* 118

- 1412 the chapel of St. Mary, Benetisbrige *CPL VI 120*
- 1419 capella be[ate] Marie de Benetsbrige *Rot.Pat.Cl. 215b*
- 1969 ‘The Chapel of Our Lady on the Bridge of Saint Benet’
O’Kelly 98

(vii) Callan, *OS 26*

1669-93 Ecclesia de Callan, Assumptio B[eatae] M[ariae], 15 Augusti

PP: Spic.Oss. I 9

(See also *Rot.Pat.Cl. 137b* (1388); *Rot.Pat.Cl. 181a* (1405); *Rot.Pat.Cl. 190a* (1409); *Rot.Pat.Cl. 192a* (1409); *CPL XII 427* (1465); *CPL XIII 2.638* (1478-9); *Ann.Oss. 17.53* (1482); *CPL XVIII 575* (1498); *Ann.Oss. 95.29, 30* (1498); *Ann.Cas. 27.60* (1505); *COD IV 140* (1530); *COD IV 187* (1539); *COD V 272* (1575); *COD V 326* (1583); *de Burgo Reg. 26* (1768); *Carrigan III 297*; *Commins 1906, 273*; *Leask III 83* (1955); *O’Kelly 1969, 176*; *Shell Guide Harb. 88* (1989); *Nat.Mon.Harb. 194* (1992); *Kennedy 2000, 9*; *Kennedy 2010, 49*).

(viii) Kells, *OS 27*

1202-11 Kenles...ecclesiam Sancti Marie *IMED 2*

(See also *IMED 3* (1228); *Vet.Mon. 83* (1259); *Pont.Hib. II 280.452* (1259); *Pont.Hib. II 306.481* (1260); *Lib.Rub.Oss. 19a* (1303-6); *Lib.Rub.Oss. 21g* (1351); *CPL III 571* (1355); *Rot.Pat.Cl. 145a* (1390); *Rot.Pat.Cl. 199a* (1412); *Rot.Pat.Cl. 227b* (1423); *CPL VII 180* (1421); *Ann.Oss. 2.4* (1421); *Ann.Oss. 9.32* (1471); *Ann.Oss. 25.79* (1492); *Ann.Oss. 26.81* (1493); *CPL*

XVII 220.350 (1500c.); *CPL* XIX 205.342 (1510); *Ann.Oss.* 37.121 (1531); *Ware's Antiq.* 263 (1745); *Mon.Hib.* 361 (1786); *Shell Guide Harb.* 208 (1989); *Nat.Mon.Harb.* 199 (1992); Salter 2009, 96).

(ix) Knocktopher, *OS* 31

1356 James, the second Earl of Ormond founded a friary here for Carmelites or
(1786) White Friars, under the invocation of the Virgin Mary.

Mon.Hib. 375

(See also *Carrigan* IV 25)

(x) Jerpoint, *OS* 28

1158 The abbey was founded in honour of the Blessed Virgin for Cistercian monks.

Carrigan IV 284

(See also *Rot.Pat.Cl.* 94b (1375); *Rot.Pat.Cl.* 147b (1391); *CPL* VII 73 (1417); *CPL* IX 248 (1442); *CPL* X 664 (1453); *CPL* XII 713, 714 (1469); *CPL* XVIII 527.769 (1507); *COD* IV 28 (1516); *Mon.Hib.* 355 (1786); *Grose* I 37 (1791); *Lewis* I 2, 3 (1837); *Brash* 1875, 123).

(xi) Kilmurry, *OS* 28

1839 Besides this old church [Columbkille] of St. Columb there was another in the
Townland of Kilmurry dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

OSL(KK) II 341

(See also *Carrigan IV 272*)

(xii) Kiltorcan, *OS 32*

1905 Kiltorcan [church]. From the fact of the Blessed Virgin's statue occupying so prominent a place over the entrance to the church, it may be inferred that during the middle ages, St. Torcan's title as patron of the church and district was transferred to the Mother of God.

Carrigan IV 15

(xiii) Kiltown, *OS 33*

1905 Kiltown – Kilmurindowny, i.e. Cill Mhuire an Domhnaigh, signifies the Blessed Virgin's Church of Dhounagh

Carrigan IV 128

(xiv) Rosbercon, *OS 37*

1669-93 Ecclesia de Rosbercon, Nativitas B[eatae] V[irginis], 8 Septembris

PP: Spic.Oss. I 9

(See also *de Burgo Reg. 21 (1759)*; *Carrigan I 163*; *Carrigan I 171*; *Mon.Hib. 376 (1786)*; *Lewis II 533 (1837)*; *OSL(KK) II 159 (1839)*; Moore 1874-9, 26; *Carrigan IV 1905, 182*).

(xv) Gaulstown, OS 43

1759 Edmundus Shortall Parochus S[anctae] Mariae Assumptae de Gaulstown

Carrigan I 163

(See also *Carrigan I 172* (1761); *Carrigan I 173* (1775-6); *Carrigan IV 1905*, 140).

(xvi) Aglish South, OS 42

1759 Ecclesia de Aiglinemartin [*sic* – Aglishmartin], Purificatio B.V., 2 Februarii

PP: Spic.Oss. I 10

1905 Aglish. In Irish, Eaglais, that is, the Church. The Parish Church of Aglish, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, under the title of her Purification, stood in the village of Aglish, partly on a piece of commonage called the *Rillig* (i.e. the graveyard).

Carrigan IV 163

(xvii) Portnascully, OS 45

1669-93 Ecclesia de Portnascully, Assumptio B[eatae] V[irginis], 15 Augusti

PP: Spic.Oss. I 10

(See also *de Burgo Reg. 4* (1759); *Carrigan I 163* (1759); *Troy Reg. (de Burgo) 37* (1777); *OSL(KK) II 239* (1839); *Carrigan IV 1905*, 161).

(xviii) Ballypatrick, OS 39

1759 Ecclesia de Ballypatrick, Assumptio B.V., 15 Augusti

Spic.Oss. I 10

(*de Burgo Reg.*)

(xix) Templeorum, OS 39

1905 Templeorum. The present parish chapel stands partly between the site of the 18th century chapel and that of the ancient church. It was commenced about 1810, but was not covered in, or used for the celebration of Mass, till 1814. It is said to be dedicated to the Blessed Virgin under the title of her Assumption.

Carrigan IV 231

(xx) Kilfane, OS 28

1669-93 Ecclesia de Kilfane, Conceptio B[eatae] V[irginis], 8 Decembris

PP: Spic.Oss. I 8

(See also *de Burgo Reg.* 4 (1759); *de Burgo Reg.* 24 (1764); *Carrigan* III 1905, 482, 483; *Carrigan NB* 67.34 (1920); *Ó Riain Saints* 525, 526).

1.3 James

34. St. James's Well, *tld*: Carrickcloney

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint of the well, St. James, Apostle Carrickcloney and Kilmakevoge are adjoining townlands.

- 1669-93 Ecclesia de Kilmahenock, S[anctus] Jacobus, Ap[ostolus], 25 Julii.
PP:Spic.Oss. I 9
- 1759 Richardus Archdekin Parochus S[ancti] Jacobi de Kilmacavoghe.
de Burgo Reg. 4;
Carrigan I 163
- 1765 Dionysius Deleign ad Parochiam S[ancti] Jacobi de Kilmacavoghe.
de Burgo Reg. 25
- 1874-9 Kilmackevogue – the present beautiful and commodious church of St. James.

Farrell 202
- 1905 The church of Kilmokevoge was originally dedicated to St. Mochaevog, or Pulcherius, abbot and patron of Liath-Mochaevog, in the Co. Tipperary, but, after the Norman Invasion, it was placed under the patronage of St. James the Apostle (July 25).

Carrigan IV 92

136. St. James's Well, tld: Mill Island, Callan, p: Mallardstown

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, St. James, Apostle

Mill Island is a small townland which lies between Mallardstown Lower and Mallardstown Upper

- 1669-93 Ecclesia de Mallardstown, S[anctus] Jacobus, Ap[ostolus], 25 Jul[iii].

PP: Spic. Oss. I 9

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| 1759 | Jacobus Butler Parochus S[ancti] Jacobi apostoli de Mallardstown. | <i>de Burgo Reg. 5;</i>
<i>Carrigan I 163;</i>
<i>Carrigan NB 167.251</i> |
| 1768 | Dermitius Murphy transfertur ad Parochiam S[ancti] Jacobi de Mallardstown. |

<i>de Burgo Reg. 26</i> |
| 1905 | The parish church of Mallardstown...was dedicated to St. James, the Apostle, (July 25). |

<i>Carrigan III 323</i> |
| 1920 | Mallardstown: S[t] James, July 25. | <i>Carrigan NB 67.34</i> |
| 2008 | Mallardstown – St. James. Pattern – Yes. | <i>Dorgan & Dorgan 20</i> |

Situated a short distance to the east of Mallardstown in the civil parish of Columbkille is the townland of Kiljames, *OS 28*:

- | | | |
|--------|---|---------------------------------|
| 1584-7 | Kilteames (Cill tSéamais) (<i>Liostaí Log.CC 71</i>) | <i>COD V 158</i> |
| 1609 | Killtheamus alias

Killsheamus |

<i>Inq.Lag.(KK) 8J1</i> |
| 1609 | Kilthemuse | <i>Inq.Lag.(KK) 10J1</i> |
| 1667 | Killteomes alias

Kill-James |

<i>ASE 130b</i> |
| 1905 | Kiljames – In Irish Kill-tee-omish, i.e. Cill tSeamuis, or St. James’s Church – | |

the name of the Apostle of St. James.

Carrigan IV 273

Carrickcloney is situated in the catholic parish of Glenmore and in the adjoining catholic parish of Mullinavat is situated Gaulskill civil parish:

Local hagiographical evidence

1669-93 Ecclesia de Killokighan [meaning obscure], S[anctus] Jacobus, Ap[ostulus],
25 Julii

PP: Spic.Oss. I 10

1905 The original name of the church of Gaulskill was Kilakan or Kiltokechan.

Carrigan IV 140

1905 In Bishop Phelan's *List*, St. James, the Apostle (July 25), is made the patron of Gaulskill.

Carrigan IV 140

Also situated in the catholic parish of Mullinavat is Lukeswell village, where the well, St. Luke's Well, now no longer in existence, was visited on St. James's day:

1839 There is a holy well dedicated to Saint Luke in the townland of Smithstown [recte Knockmoylan] at which Pilgrimages and Patrons were held till within the last ten years on Saint James' Day.

OSL(KK) II 146

(See also *Carrigan NB 119.5* (1890); *Carrigan NB 6.149* (1893); *Carrigan IV* (1905), 21; *Carrigan NB 78.27* (1920); *NFCS 848.193* (1937); *O'Kelly 1969*, 167).

The following are, or in some cases were, situated in Jamesgreen, Kilkenny City:

1905 St. James's Church most probably stood in James's Green. James's Street and James's Green are called from Saint James, as in Irish the former is called Srawd Sin Sheomish, the Street of Saint James.

Carrigan III 192

(See also St. James's Gate (*Lib.Prim.Kilk.* 38 (1384); *Ibid.* 88 (1419); *Ibid.* 108 (1498-9); *Ibid.* 110 (1499-1500); *Ibid.* 117 (1505); *Ibid.* 132 (1507); Hogan 1884, 322; Kenealy 1949, 35) and St. James's Chapel (Hogan 1884, 23; *Ibid.* 401) in the same vicinity).

1.4 Andrew, Apostle

1669-93 Ecclesia de Kilmedom, S[anctus] Andreas, Ap[ostolus], 30 Nov[embris].

PP: Spic.Oss. I 8

1747 Patronus de Killmadum, Sanctus Andreas, die 30a 9 bris.

Carrigan II 165

1759 Jacobus Brophy Parochus S[ancti] Andreae de Kilmadum.

de Burgo Reg. 3;

Carrigan I 162;

Carrigan NB 167.166

1774 Jacobus Brophy transfertur a Parochiis S[ancti] Crucis de Castlecomber, S[ancti] Andreae de Kilmadum...

Carrigan I 173

1905 In Irish Kilmodum is called Kil-mo-ghumma, that is, the Church of St.

Modumm or St. Modumma.

Carrigan III 463

1905 After the Norman Invasion the old Irish patron of the church was set aside and St. Andrew, the Apostle, (Nov. 30th), was made patron in his place.

Carrigan III 464

Andrew features in the *Calendar of Justiciary Rolls (CJR)*, in the *Liber Primus Kilkenniensis (Lib.Prim.Kilk.)* and in the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds (COD)* in temporal contexts, viz.:

1/12/1305 Pleas of the Crown at Coumbre [Castlecomer] before John Wogan, Justiciar, on Wednesday ‘in the morrow of S. Andrew’

CJR II 162; CJR II 474

1389 ante festum Sancti Andree Apostoli

Lib.Prim.Kilk. 46

1401 Rental of the borough of Callan on Monday next before the feast of St. Andrew

COD II 255

1.5 Luke, Evangelist

Some early (fourteenth century) references to St. Luke are mentioned in a temporal context in the medieval municipal document, the *Liber Primus Kilkenniensis*:

1384 in uigilia Sancti Luce Euangeliste

Lib.Prim.Kilk. 38

1384 post festum Sancti Luce Euangeliste

Lib.Prim.Kilk. 67

1386 in uigilia Sci. Luce Ewangeliste

Lib.Prim.Kilk. 89

and

1400c. in festo Sci. Luce Ewangeliste

Lib.Prim.Kilk. 71

1.7 John the Baptist

56. St. John's Well, tld: Cottrellsbooly

94. St. John's Well, tld: Johnswell, p: Jerpointabbey

103. St. John's Well, tld: Kildalton

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, St. John the Baptist

1874-9 Kildalton, or “Dalton’s Church”, gave name to the townland [*sic*] now called Bessborough. In front of the present mansion stood the church of Kildalton. It was dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

Moore 33

1999 In the case of Kildalton [church], it was rededicated to a more well known saint, St. John the Baptist, as distinct from the original St. Modailbh, whose feast day is the 3rd of October.

O’Shea 17

[q.v. Cill Modalla, St. Modailbh’s church, *O’Kelly* (1969), 128].

2008 Kilmodalla – St. John. Pattern – No

Dorgan & Dorgan 23

He would also appear to have been venerated at Rossdama Holy Well (No. 164):

1883 In Rossdama, within less than a mile of Bridget’s Well, is a “holy well”, over which grew and oak tree called “the Blessed Tree”. Pilgrimages were made

at this well on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, until about fifty years ago.

Holahan 83

1.8 Michael the Archangel

12. Mickel's Well, *tl*: Ballyda, Danesfort

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Michael the Archangel

Ballyda and Danesfort are adjoining townlands.

1669-93 Ecclesia de Dunfert, S[anctus] Michael Archang[elus], 29 Sept[embris].

PP:Spic.Oss. I 8

1759 Marcus Mansfield Parochus S[ancti] Michaelis de Danesfort.

de Burgo Reg. 2;
Carrigan I 162

1785-94 John Gorman Parochus S[ancti] Michaelis de Danesfort.

Troy, Dunne, Lanig.Reg.
12

1790 Gulielmus Swift fit Parochus S[ancti] Michaelis de Danesfort.

Lanigan Reg.: Carrigan I
214

1858 Danesfort – dedicated to St. Michael.

Graves Patrons 11

1905 The Parish Church of Dunfert, dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel
(Sept. 29).

Carrigan III 371

1920 Dunfert: S[t] Michael *Carrigan NB 67.32*

21. St. Michael's Well, tld: Bayswell, Erke

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Michael the Archangel

Bayswell and Castletown (where Erke Church was located (*O'Kelly 58*)) are neighbouring although not adjoining townlands.

1506 the parish church of St. Michael, Here [Herc]. *CPL XVIII 432.611*

1506 pro annata ... perpetue vicarie parrochialis [sic] ecclesie S[an]c[t]I
Michaelis de Herc.

Ann.Oss. 34.110

1514 the parish church of St. Michael, of the place of Erich.

CPL XX 181.265

1516 the parish church of St. Michael, Hermicoda. *CPL XX 467.656*

1533-4 ad vicariam perpetuam ecclesie porrochialis (sic) Sancti Michaelis de
Eyghirk.

IMED 185

1669-93 Ecclesia de Eirke, S[anctus] Michael Archang[elus], 29 Septembris.

PP:Spic.Oss. I 7

1759 Joseph Clarke Parochus S[ancti] Michaelis de Erke.

de Burgo Reg. 3;

Carrigan I 162;

33. St. Michael's Well, tld: Cappagh

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, (?) Michael the Archangel

2008 Cappagh – St. Michael. Pattern – Yes Dorgan & Dorgan 22

Michael features in temporal contexts in a number of medieval sources, namely, the *Liber Primus Kilkenniensis*, the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds* and the *Calendar of Justiciary Rolls*, viz.:

- | | | |
|--|---|----------------------------|
| 1335 | Die Ueneris proximo post festum Sci. Michaelis archangeli | <i>Lib.Prim.Kilk.</i> 5, 6 |
| 1352 | ante festum beati Michaelis | <i>Lib.Prim.Kilk.</i> 18 |
| (Municipal events in this source date from the period 1230 – 1538) | | |
| 1372 | in festo Sancti Michaelis archangeli | <i>Lib.Prim.Kilk.</i> 25 |
| 1380 | post festum Sci. Michaelis archangeli | <i>Lib.Prim.Kilk.</i> 36 |
| 1401 | post festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli | <i>Lib.Prim.Kilk.</i> 42 |
| 1410 | in festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli | <i>Lib.Prim.Kilk.</i> 52 |
| 1474 | assizes held in County Kilkenny [Ballygeragh near Knocktopher], Monday next after the Octave of St. Michael, October 24, 1474 | |

COD III 215

1.9 The Holy Trinity

8. Trinity Well, tld: Ballycannon

Documented local evidence of the Blessed Trinity

Ballinamara Holy Trinity Church site was situated in this townland, Ballycannon (*O'Kelly* 4).

1669-93 Ecclesia de Bellanamarra, Dominica SS. Trinitatis

PP: Spic.Oss. I 8

1759 Thomas Whyte Parochus S[antissimi]mae Trinitatis de Ballanamarra

de Burgo Reg. 3;
Carrigan I 162

1785-94 Patricius Grady – The Holy Trinity of Ballanamarra

Carrigan NB 167.117

1839 Ballinamarra. There is a new Protestant Church built on the site of the old church, which they say was called the Church of the Trinity. There was a Patron held here on Trinity Sunday until twenty years ago.

OSL(KK) I 207

1839 Ballinamarra. There is a new Protestant church built on the site of the old church which they say was called the Church of the Trinity

OSM(KK) 19

1858 Ballynemara dedicated to the Holy Trinity *Grave Patrons 1*

16. Trinity Well, tld: Ballyrafton

Documented local evidence of the Holy Trinity

Ballyrafton and Dunmore East are adjoining townlands

1178-1202	ecclesiam Sancte Trinitatis de Dunmore	<i>Reg.St.T.</i> I 127
1178-1202	ecclesiam Sancte Trinitatis de Balimucchin	<i>Reg.St.T.</i> I 128
1178-1202	ecclesiam Sancte Trinitatis de Dunmor	<i>Reg.St.T.</i> I 310
1178-1202	the church of the Holy Trinity of Baligilemucki	<i>Carrigan</i> III 270
1194-1202	the church of the Holy Trinity of Balimucchin	<i>Carrigan</i> III 270
1202	the church of the Holy Trinity, of Balimucchin	<i>Carrigan</i> III 270
1202-18	the church of the Holy Trinity of Dunmore	<i>Carrigan</i> III 270
1215c.	the church of the Holy Trinity of Dunmor	<i>Carrigan</i> III 270
1669-93	Ecclesia de Dunmire, Dominica SS. Trinitatis	<i>PP:Spic.Oss.</i> I 8
1759	Philippus Purcell Parochus SS. Trinitatis de Dunmore	<i>Carrigan</i> I 162; <i>Carrigan NB</i> 167.334
1763	Thomas Rourke Parochus SS. Trinitatis de Dunmore	<i>Carrigan</i> I 172; <i>Carrigan NB</i> 167.335

130. Trinity Well, *tld*: Knocktopherabbey

The Trinity features in temporal contexts in late thirteenth and early fourteenth century Justiciary Rolls, the following instances relating to County Kilkenny:

15/6/1297 Gilbert Smiche and Adam Purcel, Kilkenny, ‘made fine with the King

[Edward 1] for a trespass done to Hoel, son of Stephen', on Saturday before Octave of Holy Trinity'.

CJR I 132, 133

16/6/1297 Pleas of Plaints at Balygaueran [Gowran], of the Octaves of Holy Trinity.

CJR I 141

20/6/1305 Essoins taken at Balygaueran, before John Wogan, Justiciar, in the Octave of Holy Trinity.

CJR II 81

2. National Saints

2.1 Patrick

2. St. Patrick's Well, *tld*: Afaddy or Silverspring, *p*: Ballytarsney, *cp*: Mooncoin

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Patrick, National Apostle

2008 Silverspring – St. Patrick. Pattern – No Dorgan & Dorgan 22

23. St. Patrick's Well, *tld*: Boggan, *p*: Tullaroan, *cp*: Urlingford

25. Toberpatrick, *tld*: Borrismore, *p*: Borrismore, *cp*: Urlingford

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Patrick, National Apostle

2008 Borrismore – St. Patrick. Pattern – No. Dorgan & Dorgan 24

2014 Borrismore [Church ruins]. Probably named St. Patrick's.

Hayes 11

58. Thubber Phaudhrig, *tld*: Davidstown, *p*: Kilcolumb, *cp*: Glenmore

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Patrick, National Apostle

1839 In the Townland of Baile Dháith or Davidstown is a monument of great antiquity called Gluin Phadruig (i.e. Genu Patricii). It consists of a blind well and a heap of stones on which is placed a larger stone with two remarkable hollows said to be the impression of St. Patrick's knees.

OSL(KK) II 181

1839 In the townland of Davidstown is a monument of great antiquity called Gluin Phadruig. It consists of a blind well and heap of stones on which is placed a larger stone with two remarkable hollows said to be the impressions of St. Patrick's knees.

OSM(KK) 128

1839-40 Gluin Phadruig *OSFP*

1841 Kilcollum. Gluin Phadruig, a blind well and heap of stones, one of which leaving the impressions of St. Patrick's knees engraved.

OSM(KK) 354

1842 Gloonpatrick *EI(6)*

61. Donaghmore Well / St. Patrick's Well, *tld*: Donaghmore, *p*: Donaghmore, *cp*: Ballyragget

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Patrick, National Apostle

1669-93 Ecclesia de Kilcormick et Donaghmore, S[anctus] Patritius, 17 Mar[tii].

PP:Spic.Oss. I 8

1759 Edmundus Kavanagh Parochus S[ancti] Patritii de Ballyragget sive Donoghmore.

de Burgo Reg. 2;

Carrigan I 162

1759 Edmundus Kavanagh Parochus S[ancti] Patritii de Ballyragget alias Donoghmore.

de Burgo Reg. 5;
Carrigan NB 167.130

1762 Jacobus Dowling collatus fuit...ad Parochiam S[ancti] Patritii de Ballyragget, seu Donoghmore.

Carrigan I 172

1875-1907 St. Patrick – Ballyragget (patron). *O'Hanlon Saints III 808*

65. St. Patrick's Well, *tld*: Earlsbog Commons, *p*: Gowran, *cp*: Gowran

Possible local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint

Earlsbog Commons and Gowran are neighbouring townlands

700c. Ordinavit Feccum Album i Sleibti, et babtizavit filios Dunlinge et erexit se Belut Gabrain et fundavit aelessiam hir Roigniu Martorthige.

Pat.Texts 51.4

900c. Et íarsindi ro órdnestar Fíacc Find hi Slebti i n-epscopóti in chóicid, luid íar suidiu for Belach Gabran hi tír nOssraigi Martartech i mMaig Roigne.

Bethu Phát. 117

1647 Tunc venit Patricius per Bealach Gabhran ad reges Mummiensium.

TT 26

(also cited in Hogan
1876, 133)

1838 Having founded Churches and disposed the affairs of the Catholic cause (rei) through Leinster and having ordained Fiech, Bishop of Slepte and supreme Bishop of the entire province, undertaking his journey by Belach Gaurain, Patrick betook himself to Osrigia or Ossory.

OSL(La) II 34

1884 St. Patrick on the occasion of his visit to Aenghus, King of Munster, was met in the fields of Femin by that monarch, and as the saint travelled from Leinster through Bealach Gabhran, he must have entered Tipperary between the hills of Killamery and Slievearda.

Hogan 58

While Gowran and Earlsbog Commons are neighbouring townlands, it must be stressed, however, that Belach Gabráin would have been more extensive than the actual townland of Gowran.

John Hogan states that Bealach Gabhráin 'is the well-known opening under the Sliabh Margie or Gabhan hills, which run in a continued ridge from near Athy to Gowran in the County of Kilkenny and this bealach or pass gave name to the district of central Ossory lying between the present town of Gowran and the borders of Tipperary' (Hogan 1876, 133).

139. Toberpatrick, *tld*: Mountnugent Lower, *p*: Rathcoole, *cp*: St. John's

177. Toberpatrick, *tld*: Tubbrid Upper, *p*: Tubbridbritain, *cp*: Urlingford

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Patrick, National Apostle Tubbridbritain Church ruins are located in this townland, Tubbrid Upper.

1669-93 Ecclesia de Tubbrid Britain, S[anctus] Patritius, 17 Martii.

PP: Spic.Oss. I 7

1759 Edmundus Butler Parochus S[ancti] Patritii de Tobrid.

de Burgo Reg. 3;

Carrigan I 162;

Carrigan NB 167.106

1765 Nicolaus Butler Parochus S[ancti] Patritii de Tobrid.

de Burgo Reg. 25

1771 Thomas Lalor Parochus S[ancti] Patritii de Tobrid.

de Burgo Reg. 29

1774 Richardus de Burgo Parochus S[ancti] Patritii de Tobrid.

Carrigan I 173;

Carrigan NB 167.53

1875-1907 St. Patrick – Tubrid-Britain (patron).

O'Hanlon Saints III 808

1874-9 St. Patrick is the patron of the old church of Tubrid Britain.

Healy 46, 47

1882 Tubrid Brittain – the church of that place being dedicated to St. Patrick.

Loc.Pat. 362

He is commemorated elsewhere in the county in the following (apparently non-hydrolatrous) instances:

(i) *tld*: Aughtatubbrid, *p*: Castlecomer, *cp*: Castlecomer

1905 On the Church Hill, in Moore's land, in Aghatubrid [*sic*], stood the ancient church of Kyle-Phawdhrig, or Kylepatrick, i.e. St. Patrick's Church. Tradition makes this church the first founded in Ossory by our National Apostle.

Carrigan II 90

(See also *NFCS* 836.220; *NFCS* 864.167; *NFCS* 864.183; *NFCS* 865.113; T.P.L., *Deenside* (Márta) (1967), page 7)

(ii) *tld*: Ballygorey, *p*: Portnascully, *cp*: Mooncoin

1905 There is a holy well called Thibbernakilla, or the Church Well, in the townland of Ballygorey. It is still frequented for devotional purposes by the people. Some connect St. Patrick with this well, and say that certain marks on a stone beside it are the imprint of his knees.

Carrigan IV 161

(iii) Bealach Gabhráin

700c. Ordinavit [Patrick ordained] Feccum Album i Sleibti, et babtizavit filios Dunlinge et erexit se Belut Gabrain

Pat.Texts 51.4

(See also *Bethu Phát.* 117 (900c.); *TT* 26 (1647); Hogan 1884, 58; *OSL(KK)* II 34; Ó Murchadha 1995, 41).

(iv) *tld*: (?) Coan West, *p*: Dysart, *cp*: Castlecomer

1938 There is an old graveyard near the village of Coone. It is up on a big hill with a river flowing near. This graveyard is not in use now. St. Patrick is said to have blessed this graveyard.

NFCS 864.349

- (v) *tld*: Donaghmore, *p*: St. Patrick's, *cp*: St. Patrick's
- 1202-89 Ius patronum ecclesiarum Beate Marie de Kylkennia et sancti Patricii de Donaghmore
- Lib.Albus Oss.* 119
- 1316-18c. Douenaghmore *Lib.Rub.Oss.* 22g
- 1627c. princeps Domhpnaidh Mhóir *VSHP* I 166.40
- 1693 Patronus S[ancti] Patricii Kilkenniae, S[anctus] Patritius Hiberniae Apostulus
- PP: Spic.Oss.* I 6

(See also St. Patrick's Church, St. Patrick's Gate, St. Patrick's Street, St. Patrick's Parish, St. Patrick's Steps, St. Patrick's Churchyard:

Lib.Prim.Kilk. 38 (1384); *Lib.Prim.Kilk.* 88 (1419); *Lib.Prim.Kilk.* 100 (1473); *Lib.Prim.Kilk.* 132 (1507); *CPR* 365 (1619); *Lewis* II 113 (1837); Hogan 1858-9, 468, 469, 476, 477; Hogan 1861, 366, 371, 374; *Loc.Pat.* 275, 276 (1882); Hogan 1883, 16, 26, 31; Hogan 1884, 13, 14, 22, 37, 136, 137, 216, 226, 234, 318, 322, 367, 395, 397, 406, 412; *Carrigan* I 1905, 15, 30; *Carrigan* III, 209, 215; *NFCS* 855.290 (1938); *OSFM(KK)* 8824A (1946); Walsh 1955, 12; Dowling 1978, 9; Bradley 1990, 67; Bradley 2009, 13, 18).

- (vi) *tld*: Donaghmore, *p*: Fertagh, *cp*: Johnstown
- 1905 This was a distinct parish down to the Reformation, when it was united to Fertagh. It was appropriated to Fertagh Priory at an early date. The parish church, dedicated to St. Patrick, was called in Irish Teampall Domhnaigh Mhóir.

Carrigan II 299

(vii) *tld*: Drumdowney, *p*: Rathpatrick, *cp*: Slieverue

1905 The parish church of Rathpatrick, situated in a townland of the same name, was dedicated to and took its name from, our National Apostle, St. Patrick. In the list of churches of the *Red Book of Ossory* it appears as Droundonenni, Dromdowny, Rathpatrik and Rathpadryg. From this, it must be concluded that, in early times, Rathpatrick formed but one townland with Drumdowney.

Carrigan IV 200

(See also *Lib.Rub.Oss.* 19b (1303-6); *Lib.Rub.Oss.* 20b (1318); *Lib.Rub.Oss.* 36g (1480c.); *CPL XVIII* 424.603 (1506); *de Burgo Reg.* 4 (1759); *OSL(KK)* II 290; *O'Hanlon Saints* III 696 (1875-1903); *O'Hanlon Saints* III 808; *ITAS(KK)*, Slieverue, Form A, page 2 (1945); *O'Kelly* (1969), 118; Murtagh 2000, 98).

(viii) *tld*: Dysart Glebe, *p*: Dysart, *cp*: Castlecomer

1875-1903 It is stated that the old church of Dysart, in the barony of Fassadinan, and situated at the confluence of the River Dineen, with the Duan stream, is a church of Patrician origin.

O'Hanlon Saints III
696

(See also Murphy 1874-9, 396; *Loc.Pat.* 271 (1882); *NFCS* 865.188 (1938)).

(ix) *tld*: Glenbower, *p*: Fiddown, *cp*: Mooncoin

1874-9 In Glenbower, in a lonely, yet lovely spot, are seen the marks of St. Patrick's knees, crozier, &c., imprinted on a stone.

Moore 35

(See also *Carrigan IV* 1905, 232; *O'Kelly* 1969, 127; O'Shea 1999, 28).

(x) *tld*: Killonerry, *p*: Whitechurch, *cp*: Templeorum

1874-9 The old church and burial ground have totally disappeared. There are, however, a holy well, and a stone hollowed like a dish, which hollow is popularly believed to be the print of St. Patrick's knees. There is also (according to some popular belief) the print of one of the saint's hands.

Moore 31

(See also Moore 1874-9, 32; *Carrigan IV* 1905, 247; *O'Kelly* 1969, 140).

(xi) *tld*: Kilmog, *p*: Grange, *cp*: Danesfort

St. Patrick's Bush, St. Patrick's Knee/Glúin Phádraig

1839¹ A little to the east of the liagan on the west side of the road from Kilkenny to Kells is a stone called Gloon Phadraig, i.e., St. Patrick's knee.

OSL(KK) I 267;

OSM(KK) 53

1842 St. Patrick's Bush

EI(6)

1882 On the Kells road, distant about two miles from Kilkenny, is another Patrician momento. The 'Glun Padraig' or St. Patrick's knees [*sic*] – a rock which crops above the surface, has two remarkable indentations, resemble the impression of two knees. These are impresses which ancient traditions

attribute to St. Patrick. An old hawthorn bush overshadows the Glun Padraig.

Loc.Pat. 276

(See also *Carrigan NB* 55.91 (1899); *Carrigan III* (1905), 392; *Duiske Chart.* 165 (1918); *Duiske Chart.* 167 (1918); *Carrigan NB* 97.247 (1920); *NFCS* 854.228; *NFCS* 854.229; *NFCS* 855.339 (1938); *OSFM(KK)* 8922 (1947); Lucas 1963, 36; *O'Kelly* 1969, 179, 183).

(xii) *tld*: Lisnafunshin, *p*: Mothell, *cp*: Muckalee

1938 Long ago when St. Patrick was in Ireland he passed along the Lisnafunshin road. He passed by the River Dinan and he was trying to cross but he was not able and he curses the stones of the Dinan.

NFCS 864.72

(See also O'Donovan 1850, 365; *Loc.Pat.* 270 (1882); *NFCS* 863.459 (1938); Gibb 1946-7, 29).

(xiii) *tld*: Outrath, *p*: Outrath, *cp*: St. Patrick's

1669-93 Ecclesia de Outrath, S[anctus] Patritius, 17 Martii *PP*: *Spic.Oss.* I 8

(See also *de Burgo Reg.* 2 (1759); *de Burgo Reg.* 26 (1768); *de Burgo Reg.* 29 (1769); *Loc.Pat.* 274 (1882); *Carrigan III* (1905), 228; *Carrigan NB* 67.32 (1920); Sparks & Bligh 1926, 98; Bradley 2006, 19).

(xiv) *tld*: Rathkieran, *p*: Rathkieran, *cp*: Mooncoin

1839 Rathkieran – St. Patrick was passing that way, he called to see St. Kieran.

1850 It is said traditionally that St. Patrick met St. Kieran for the first time, A.D. 439 at the church of Rathkieran in Iverk.

O'Donovan 363

(See also *OSL(KK)* I 252 (1839); Hogan 1884, 194).

(xv) *tld*: Rathpatrick, *p*: Rathpatrick, *cp*: Slieverue

See Drumdowney (vii) above

(xvi) *tld*: Sheastown, *p*: Kilferagh, *cp*: St. Patrick's

1882 The old church of Sheestown [*sic*] was dedicated to St. Patrick, and near the highroad to Kilkenny adjoining Kilferagh are what were believed to be the marks of his feet on a rock which was called 'Ciscaem Padraig', i.e. St. Patrick's footsteps [*sic*].

Loc.Pat. 199

(See also *Loc.Pat.* 275 (1882); *Loc.Pat.* 283; *Carrigan* III 1905, 226; *Carrigan NB* 149.93 (1920); *OSFM(KK)* 8889 (1947); *O'Kelly* 1969, 184; *FitzPatrick* 2004, 237).

2.2 Brigid

1. St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Afaddy or Silverspring, *p*: Ballytarsney, *cp*: Mooncoin

9. St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Ballyconra, *p*: Aharney, *cp*: Lisdowney

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Bríd of Kildare

1494 the parish church of St. Brigid, Harongayt and Hacharna (q.v. 1905, *infra*)

- 1494 pro annata...S[anctae] Brigide de Hartagaye et Hacharna
Ann.Oss. 28.90
- 1669-93 Ecclesia de Acharny, S[ancta] Brigida, 1 Februarii
PP: Spic.Oss. 7
- 1759 Richardus Shee Parochus S[anctae] Brigidae de Acharny
de Burgo Reg. 3;
Carrigan I 162
Carrigan NB 167.79
- 1768 Joseph Clarke transfertur ad Parochiam S[anctae] Brigidae de Acharny
de Burgo Reg. I 27

19. Toberbride, *tld*: Baunta Commons, *p*: Callan, *cp*: Callan

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Bríd of Kildare

Baunta Commons and Kilbride Glebe are adjoining townlands.

- 8/8/1873 St. Brigid: Kilbride near Callan (patroness). *O'Hanlon Saints II*
201.128
- 1905 The church of St. Bridget, of Kilbride, is said, and with every appearance of truth, to have been the parochial church of Callan parish several centuries ago.
Carrigan III 319
- 1905 A pattern was held at Kilbride on St. Bridget's day (Feb. 1st), till the beginning of the 19th century.
Carrigan III 320

- 1938 Kilbride. Her feast day is the 1st February. *NFCS* 845.64
- 1938 Kilbride. Pattern held on St. Bridget's Day, Feb. 1 till the beginning of the 19th century.
NFCS 854.10

Toponymical evidence in which the name of the patron saint is preserved

- 1400 Kilbride *COD* II 360
- 1460 Kilbride *CPL* XI 463
- 1462 rectorie parrochialis [*sic*] ecclesie de
Callan alias
Kilbride *Ann.Oss.* 6.22
- 1465 Callam [*sic*] alias
Kilbride (parish church of). *CPL* XII 414
- 1465 annata parrochialis [*sic*] ecclesie de
Callan alias de
Kylbride *Ann.Oss.* 6.24
- 1465 parochialis ecclesie de Callan alias
Kilbride *Ann.Oss.* 6.25

27. Tobar Bríde, *tld*: Brandondale, *p*: Graiguenamanagh, *cp*: Graiguenamanagh

87. St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Grange Lower, *p*: Pollrone, *cp*: Mooncoin

95. Toberbride, *tld*: Kells, *p*: Kells, *cp*: Dunnamaggan

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Bríd of Kildare

Kells and Kilree are adjoining townlands.

1669-93 Ecclesia de Kilree, S[ancta] Brigida, 2 Februarii.

PP: Spic.Oss. I 9

1759 Thomas Quirk Parochus S[anctae] Brigidae de Kilree.

*de Burgo Reg. 4;
Carrigan I 162*

1769 Richardus Shee ad parochiam S[anctae] Brigidae de Kilree.

de Burgo Reg. 29

1838 Gloon Bride,

glún brighde,

Bridget's knee

OSNB(22): OD

1839 Kilree. This Church is dedicated to St. Bridget. *OSL(KK) II 62*

1839 This Church was erected by or dedicated to St. Bridget.

OSL(KK) II 62

99. Thubbervzheedha, tld: Kilbride, p: Kilbride, cp: Glenmore

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Bríd of Kildare

1669-93 Ecclesia de Kilbride, S[ancta] Brigida, 1 Februarii.

PP:Spic.Oss. I 9

1759 Dermitius Criory Parochus S[anctae] Brigidae de Kilbride.

de Burgo Reg. 3;

Carrigan I 162

1759 Richardus Archdekin Parochus S[anctae] Brigidae de Kilbride.

de Burgo Reg. 4;

Carrigan I 163

1760 Mauritius Delany Parochus S[anctae] Brigidae de Kilbride.

de Burgo Reg. 22

1760 Mauritius Delany transfertur ad Parochiam S[anctae] Brigidae de Kilbride.

Carrigan I 172

Toponymical evidence in which the name of the patron saint is preserved

1420 Kilbride *COD II 357*

1450c. Bryd *Lib.Rub.Oss. 3a*

1450c. Kylbryd *Lib.Rub.Oss. 41d*

1571 Kilbrid *F1930*

1572 Kilbrid *F2034*

1576 Kilbride *F2938*

1589 Kilbride *F5332*

1597 Kilbredie church *F6165*

1602 Kilbride *F6706*

1637 Kilbride *Inq.Lag.(KK) 83 C1*

1647

Killbrigde maior

TT 625

114. Tobar Brigid, tld: Kilmacoliver, p: Tullahought, cp: Windgap

132. St. Bridget's Well, tld: Lamoge, p: Tullahought, cp: Windgap

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Bríd of Kildare

2008

Lamoge – St. Bridget. Pattern – No.

Dorgan & Dorgan 24

142. St. Bridget's Well, tld: Newtown (Shea), p: Earlstown, cp: Callan

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Bríd of Kildare

Killinny and Newtown (Shea) are adjoining townlands (the holy well is located very close to the western boundary of Killinny).

1864

This saint [Finech, Finnche] was neither the patron nor titular of Killinny, for the old church of the place was dedicated to St. Bridget. There are persons still living who remember St. Bridget's patron to be annually observed there on the 1st February.

Hogan 209

1864

Killinny, St. Bridget is its patron.

Hogan 210

1876

Saint Bridget was the patroness of the old church of Killinny.

Hogan 48

1884

Killinny – the old church of the place was dedicated to St. Bridget. There are persons still living who remember St. Bridget's patron to be annually observed there on the 1st February.

Hogan 84

2010

St. Bridget – Newtown.

Lynch 12

172. St. Bridget's Well, tld: Toberbreedia, p: Ballycallan, cp: Ballycallan

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Bríd of Kildare

Toberbreedia and Ballycallan are adjoining townlands.

1669-93 Ecclesia de Ballycallan, S[ancta] Brigida, 1 Februarii.

PP: Spic.Oss. I 8

1759 Cornelius Delany Parochus S[anctae] Brigidae de Ballycallen.

de Burgo Reg. 2;

Carrigan I 162;

Carrigan NB 167.281

1858 Ballycallan dedicated to St. Bridget as appears by the patron being held on St. Bridget's day or the Sunday next after.

Graves Patrons 1

1883 St. Bridget's, of Ballycallan

Holahan 94

8/6/1893 St. Brigid – Ballycallan (patroness)

O'Hanlon Saints II

201.128

1905 The parish Church, dedicated to St. Bridget (Feb. 1st), has been completely uprooted.

Carrigan III 442

176. St. Brigid's Well [NFCS 840.150, a variant of Tubbrid Holy Well], *tld*: Tubbrid, *p*:

Tubbrid, *cp*: Mooncoin

Brigid is commemorated elsewhere in the county in the following (seemingly non-hydrolatrous) instances:

(i) *p*: Attanagh, *cp*: Ballyragget

1669-93 Ecclesia de Aghtyde et Attanagh, S[ancta] Brigida, 1 Feb[ruarii]

PP: Spic.Oss. I 8

(See also *de Burgo Reg.* 5 (1759); *de Burgo Reg.* 24 (1764); *O’Hanlon Saints* II 201.128 (1875-1903); *Carrigan* II 1905, 107; *Carrigan NB* 67.32 (1920); Dorgan 1996, 119).

(ii) Ballyphilip, *tld*: Whiteswall, *p*: Erke, *cp*: Galmoy

1905 Ballyphilip, a small subdivision of Whiteswall. There is a most ancient graveyard here called the ‘Churchyard of Ballyphilip’. The foundations of a church remain under the surface.

Tradition, however, makes St. Bridget an occasional visitor here, and this would, perhaps, tend to show that the church had been dedicated to her.

Carrigan II 280;
Dowling 1978, 19

(iii) *tld*: Drumgoole, *p*: Castlecomer, *cp*: Castlecomer

1945 St. Brigid’s holy well, down by the river south of the churchyard, referred to in Carrigan’s History (1905) [*Carrigan* II 160] as the Wood well, is impossible to find as it has a new plantation around it.

ITAS(KK), Castlecomer, Form A, page 4

(iv) *tld*: Gardens/Kilkenny City

1865 St. Bridget’s church Hogan 250

1883 St. Bridget’s chapel Hogan 232

(See also Hogan 1884, 336; *Carrigan* III 1905, 174 and ‘the statues of saints to whose guardianship and patronage the city was of old committed – St. Canice, St. Kieran, St. Patrick and St. Brigid the Virgin’ (Prim 1851, 220); Moran 1883, 233; *Carrigan* III 1905, 59).

(v) *tld*: Kilbride, *p*: Callan, *cp*: Callan

(vi) *tld*: Kilbride Glebe, *p*: Callan, *cp*: Callan

(vii) Kilcreddy, *p*: Derrynahinch, *cp*: Ballyhale

1905 During the last two centuries it [Kilcreddy] has been sunk in the civil parish of Derrynahinch.

Bishops Phelan and Burke place Kilcreddy under the patronage of All Saints (November 1st). Locally the patron is believed to be St. Bridget.

Carrigan IV 19

(viii) *tld*, *p*: Killahy, *cp*: Urlingford

1177-1202 *ecclesiam Sancte Brigide de Kilhachad [sic]*

Reg.St.T I 128

1905 The parish church of St. Bridget of Killahy

Carrigan III 269, 270;

Carrigan II 375

(ix) *tld*, *p*: Kilmacahill, *cp*: Gowran

1224c. the church of St. Brigid of Kil mac Kathel *Kts' Fees* 180

2.3 Colm Cille

51. St. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Columbkille, *p*: Columbkille, *cp*: Thomastown

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Colum Cille of Iona

1669-93 Ecclesia de Columbkil, S[anctus] Columba, Abbas, 9 Junii.

PP:Spic.Oss. I 9

1759 Thomas Forstall Parochus S[ancti] Columbae de Columbkil.

de Burgo Reg. 4;
Carrigan I 163

1764 Patritius Murphy a parochia S[ancti] Columbae Abbatis de Columbkil.

de Burgo Reg. 24

1839 St. Columbkille, the Patron Saint of this Parish [St. Columbkille].

OSL(KK) II 340

1840 Ruins of Colombkill Church.

OSFP

Toponymical evidence in which the name of the patron saint is preserved

1303-6 Colmekyll Chapel

Lib.Rub.Oss. 19b

1316-18 Colmekyll Chapel

Lib.Rub.Oss. 22c

1318 Colmekille

Lib.Rub.Oss. 20b

1419 Collymkill

COD III 24

1561	Columbkille	<i>COD V 117</i>
1606c.	Collvmkill [<i>sic</i>]	<i>IMED 278</i>
1630	Columbkill	<i>Lodge Ms. V 229</i>
1631	Collumkille	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK) 37 C1</i>
1637	Collumbkill	<i>Lodge Ms. V 503</i>
1655	Cullumkill	<i>DS</i>

91. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Inistioge, *p*: Inistioge, *cp*: Inistioge, Thomastown and Inistioge being adjoining catholic parishes, near which parishes is situated the catholic parish of Glenmore, in which lies the civil parish of Kilcolumb/Cill Cholm (*Liostaí Log.(CC) 51*) which would not appear to be linked with Tobernagolumb (no. 155), i.e. < *Tobar na gColm*, 'well of the doves' (and not Tobar Naomh Choluim (*Onom.Goed. 640b*; *O'Kelly 1969, 110*).

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Colum Cille of Iona

1210	in villa quae dicitur Inestiock, in honorem Dei et beatae Mariae & Sancti Columbae.	<i>Carrigan IV 105</i>
1212-21	secundum formam transactionis pacis inter eos et priorem et Canonicos Sanctae Mariae de Aynestioe confectae.	<i>Carrigan IV 106</i>
1318	the Prior and Convent of the Blessed Mary of Inistyoc.	<i>Carrigan IV 106</i>
1351	St. Columba's, Instyok	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss. 21i</i>

1355 prior of SS. Mary and Columba, Instiok. *CPL* III 574
(also cited in *Carrigan*
IV 106)

3. Diocesan Patrons

3.1 Brendan of Clonfert

46. Tubber Broondhawin, *tld*: Clonamery, *p*: Clonamery, *cp*: Inistioge

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Bréanainn of Clonfert

1669-93 Ecclesia de Cloneamory, S[anctus] Brandanus, Abbas, 16 Maii.

PP:Spic.Oss. I 9

PP:Carigan IV 120

1759 Jacobus Comerford Parochus S[ancti] Brandani de Cloneamory.

de Burgo Reg. 5

Carrigan I 163

1764 Richardus Shee Parochus S[ancti] Brandani Abbatis de Cloneamory.

de Burgo Reg. 25

1769 Richardus Hart Parochus S[ancti] Brandani Abbatis de Clonemory.

de Burgo Reg. 29

1769 Richardus Shee Parochus S[ancti] Brandani Abbatis de Cloneamory.

de Burgo Reg. 29

175.* St. Brendan's Well, *tld*: Troyswood, *p*: St. Canice's, *cp*: St. Canice's

Local hagiographical evidence of the former patron saint mentioned in association with the holy well

Thornback/Drumdelgyn Church ruins are situated in this townland, Troyswood.

1430-1 in tenemento de Drumdelgyn, una cum tota aqua del Neor ex oposito dicte terre a rivulo fontis Sancti Brandani.

Carrigan III 196

1905 Thornback Church. About 200 yds to the north-west is the holy well called Thubberachreen (Tiobar a' chroinn) or well of the old tree.

Its ancient name, as appears from a document to be quoted just now [listed above], was Tiobar Breannain, or St. Brendan's Well. From this it may be safely concluded that St. Brendan was the patron of the adjacent church.

Carrigan III 196

1946-7 Thornback. The church was dedicated to St. Brendan.

Gibb 25

He features elsewhere in the county as follows:

(i) *tld*: Brandonhill, *p*: Graiguenamanagh, *cp*: Graiguenamanagh

(ii) *tld*: Dysart Glebe, *p*: Dysart, *cp*: Castlecomer

1669-93 Ecclesia de Dysert, S[anctus] Brandanus, Abbas, 16 Maii

PP: Spic.Oss. I 8

(See also *de Burgo Reg. 3* (1759); *de Burgo Reg. 26* (1767); *Loc.Pat. 271* (1882); Healy 1893, 358; *Carrigan II* 1905, 162; *Carrigan IV* 1905, 18; *Carrigan NB 67.32* (1920); *Gibb 1946-7*, 140; *O'Kelly 41*).

(iii) *tld*: Mullennakill, *p*: Jerpointwest, *cp*: Rosbercon

1962 Saint Brendan, who had protected the infant Moling at Mullinakill, was also, in some degree, his precursor at Ros mBroc.

Fest.Lugh. 266

3.2 Cainneach of Achadh Bhó/Cill Chainnigh

The saint's associations with both Aghaboe and Kilkenny is detailed in many sources.

1645 Canicus Monasterii Achadh bo & Killkennie conditor

ASH 191

1905 There can be no doubt that the Cathedral church of Ossory, which had been at Aghaboe in the beginning of Bishop O'Dulany's Episcopate, was translated to Kilkenny, by the same prelate, at some time previous to his death [1202].

Carrigan I 25

1905 His early biographers make no mention of the Saint's connection, while living, with any religious establishment on the site now occupied by the Round Tower and Cathedral of St. Canice's, in Kilkenny city; yet the constant tradition of Upper Ossory leaves little room for doubt that he founded and presided over a monastery there. Aghaboe was, however, his greatest foundation.

Carrigan II 32

1963 St. Canice is believed to have established in the 6th century, his little monastery on the grounds of where St. Canice's Cathedral now stands.

AA Road Bk. 37

1970 Aghaboe St. Canice died here in 599-600. Bishops are said to have moved

from Seirkieran to Aghaboe, possibly in 1052 when a church was built in Aghaboe from the shrine of St. Canice. The see of the bishops of Ossory was fixed at Cell Cainnig in 1111.

Med.Rel.Ho. 28

1989 St. Cainneach founded a celebrated monastery there [Aghaboe], where he died and was buried (599-600). In time this monastery supplanted Seirkieran as the principal church of Ossory, and it was not until the synod of Ráth Breasail (1111) that it, in turn, was supplanted by Kilkenny.

Shell Guide Harb. 36

Holy wells are dedicated to the patron of Ossory at:

48. Toberaghcanice, tld: Clonmore, p: Clonmore, cp: Mooncoin

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Cainneach of Aghavoe and of Kilkenny City

1669-93 Ecclesia de Clonimore, S[anctus] Canicus, Abbas, 11 Octobris.

PP:Spic.Oss. I 10

1759 Jacobus Purcell Parochus S[ancti] Canici Clonemore.

de Burgo Reg. 4;

Carrigan I 163

1777 Gulielmus FitzPatrick ... transfertur ... ad Parochiam S[ancti] Canici de Clonemore.

Troy Reg.(de Burgo) 37;

Troy Reg.: Carrigan I

197

1839 Clonmore. They believe the place to have been dedicated to the Patron of

Kilkenny, the Caindech of Achadh-Bo.

OSL(KK) II 227

1875-1905 The church of Clonmore, beside an old Episcopal mansion of the Bishops of Ossory, had for Patron St. Canice.

O'Hanlon Saints X 163

75. St. Canice's Well, *tld*: Gardens, *p*: St. Canice's, *cp*: St. Canice's

Associated hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Cainneach of Aghaboe and Kilkenny City

1202-89	ad Ecclesiam sancti Canici Kilkenie.	<i>Lib.Albus Oss.</i> 117
1282	in ecclesia S[anct]i Kannici Kilkennie.	<i>Lib.Prim.Kilk.</i> 63
1282	ecclesie cathedralis Sancti Kannici Kilkennie.	<i>Lib.Prim.Kilk.</i> 68
1297	the church of S. Kannicus, Kilkenny.	<i>CJR I</i> 149
1303-6	St. Canice's	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 19e
1373-77	St. Canice's church.	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 12
1498	in ecclesia S[an]c[t]i Kanici.	<i>Lib.Prim.Kilk.</i> 103
1500c.	[St.] Kannice's [church]	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 36a
1506-7	in ecclesia cathedral Sancti Kanici Kylkenie.	<i>IMED</i> 61
1509	in ecclesia cathedrali Kannici Kilkennie.	<i>IMED</i> 114
1516	in ecclesia cathedrali Kannici Kilkennie.	<i>IMED</i> 126
1517	in Cimiterio ecclesie Sancti Kannici Kilkenie.	<i>IMED</i> 134

1519	in cimitterio [<i>sic</i>] ecclesie cathedralis Sancti Kanice Kylkeny.	<i>IMED</i> 135
1530	cathedralis ecclesie S[an]c[t]i Kannici.	<i>Lib.Prim.Kilk.</i> 155
1530	in ecclesia nostra cathedral Sancti Kanicii Kilkenie.	<i>IMED</i> 175, 177
1533-4	in ecclesia Sancti Kanici.	<i>IMED</i> 186
1577	ecclesie Sancti Canici Kilkennie.	<i>IMED</i> 213
1637	St. Kenny's Parish.	<i>Lodge Ms.</i> V 519
1639	Canicus nepotism Dalani filius, monasterii Campuli Bovis sive Achadh-bho et Cellae Canici sive Kilkenniae conditor.	<i>Ussher</i> VI 590
1645	Canicus Monasterii Achadh bo & Killkennie conditor.	<i>ASH</i> 191
1669	St. Canice's parish	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK, civ.)</i> 2CI
1731	St. Canice's parish	<i>Carrigan</i> I 146
1788	St. Kenny's – the cathedral began in 1202, finished in 1252, is a Gothic edifice; a flight of marble steps.	<i>Compleat Trav.</i> 108
1791	Cathedral Church of St. Canice	<i>Grose</i> I 33-35

1810 St. Kieran was settled in the see of Sageir which in the process of time was translated to Aghavoe and from there to Kilkenny.

Lynch 173

1837 Aghaboe. The town soon afterwards became the seat of a diocese. The see continued under a succession of bishops, to retain its episcopal distinction till near the close of the 12th century, when Felix O'Dullany, the last bishop, was compelled to remove the sea of his diocese to Kilkenny.

Lewis I 11

1838 St. Canice's Cathedral *OSNB(51): Inhabitants*

1838 St. Canice's Graveyard *OSNB(52): Inhabitants*

1839-40 St. Canice's Cathedral *OSFP*

1839-40 St. Canice's Graveyard *OSFP*

1839-40 St. Canice's Tower *OSFP*

1839-40 Kenny's Well Street *OSFP*

1842 A round tower, in good preservation, but without the cap, immediately adjoins the cathedral.

Hall II 23

1849 Kennyswell Street *Griff.Val. 15*

1857 the Round Tower of St. Canice *Graves, Prim 25*

1857 The bounds of the diocese of Ossory, as they at present remain, had by this time been fixed by the canons of the Synod of Rathbreasail. The see, however, still remained at Aghabo, and we have no reason to suppose that,

before the translation of the cathedral to Kilkenny, the church of Canice could lay claim to any dignity beyond the parochial.

		<i>Graves Prim 26</i>
1857	A cathedral existed at Kilkenny before 1229.	<i>Graves Prim 32</i>
1861	St. Kenny's Steps	Hogan 353
18/7/1864	Canice's Steps (home-address)	St. Canice's Bapt. (s.n. Damien Linehan)
20/7/1864	Canice's Steps (home-address)	<i>St. Canice's Bapt.</i> (s.n. Frances Tynan)
1874-9	Round tower of St. Canice's	Moran 14
1875-1907	St. Kenny – The Patron saint of the city, and venerated on the 11 th of October.	 <i>O'Hanlon Saints VIII 6</i>
1875-1907	St. Kenny's steps lead to the Cathedral.	<i>O'Hanlon Saints X 163</i>
1884	Ancient church, 'St. Kennys'.	Hogan 226
1884	St. Canice's Steps. The twenty-seven steps which the visitor ascended form part of the interesting addenda of the cathedral.	 Egan 229
1884	St. Canice's Steps	Hogan 352
1884	St. Kenny's Steps	Hogan 391

- 1884 [St. Canice] must have established his cell or church on the grounds of the present Canice's Cathedral.
- Egan 577*
- 1990c. St. Canice's Churchyard *Carrigan NB 45.85*
- 1905 A church of some kind must have stood within the precincts of the cemetery attached to St. Canice's Cathedral, almost from the first planting of the Christian Faith in Ireland.
- Carrigan III 142*
- 1905 St. Canice's churchyard was the site of a church long before the erection of the Round Tower was thought of, and therefore long before the ninth century.
- Carrigan III 143*
- 1905 The Diocesan Cathedral, towards the close of the 12th century, probably stood on the site of the present Cathedral of St. Canice.
- Carrigan III 144*
- 1905 St. Canice's Round Tower (stands at the south side of the Cathedral).
- Carrigan III 145*
- 1905 Kenny's Steps *Carrigan III 173*
- 1926 St. Kenny's Church. This Church had been the Cathedral Church of Ossory and occupied the site of the present St. Canice's Cathedral.
- Sparks & Bligh 23*
- 1926 St. Canice's Steps built in 1614. *Sparks & Bligh 30*

- 1938 The Round Tower of St. Canice. *NFCS 855.75*
- 1938 St. Canice's Steps *NFCS 855.75*
- 1963 St. Canice is believed to have established in the 6th century, his little monastery on the grounds where St. Canice's Cathedral now stands.
AA Road Bk. 37
- 1969 St. Canice's Cathedral and Round Tower. *O'Kelly 20*
- 1970 Aghaboe. St. Cainnech d[ied] here in 599-600. Bishops are said to have moved from Seirkieran to Aghaboe, possibly in 1052 when a church was built in Aghaboe for the shrine of St. Canice. The see of the b[isho]ps of Ossory was fixed at Cell Cainnig in 1111.
Med.Rel.Ho. 28
- 1970 Kilkenny (Cell Cainnigh). The name *Cell Cainnigh* is of itself evidence that this church was f[ounde]d by St. Canice, whose principal church was at Aghaboe.
Med.Rel.Ho. 84
- 1970 Felix O'Dullany, b[isho]p of Ossory, 1178-1202, is reported to have quitted Aghavoe and to have removed his Episcopal See to Kilkenny.
Med.Rel.Ho. 101
- 1977 The present building [cathedral] was preceded by an early monastic settlement, and subsequently a small Hiberno-Romanesque Church, which in turn was replaced by the present Cathedral. The round tower also survives from the monastery.
Lanigan & Tyler 28

- 1977 The first wooden church of St. Canice was built on the nearby eminence to be followed in due course by its protective round tower which stands today next to the Cathedral.

Lanigan & Tyler 35
- 1981 He [Cainnech] founded Abbeys at Aghaboe and Kilkenny.

Montague 127
- 1981 St. Cainnech of Aghaboe whose feast-day is 11 October and who is patron of Kilkenny.

GPN 43
- 1985 Cainnech. His two most important foundations in Ireland were Aghaboe and Kilkenny.

Ryan D'Arcy 80
- 1985 The Cathedral Church of St. Canice. Empey 9
- 1985 The Celtic round tower. Empey 9
- 1989 St. Canice's Cathedral; St. Canice's Steps; The Round Tower.

Shell Guide Harb. 21
- 1989 Aghaboe. St. Cainneach founded a celebrated monastery there, where he died and was buried (599/600). In time this monastery supplanted Seir Kieran as the principal church of Ossory, and it was not until the synod of Ráth Breasail (1111) that it, in turn, was supplanted by Kilkenny.

Shell Guide Harb. 36
- 1995 Canice of Aghaboe. His first foundation was made at Aghaboe in Co.

Laois, some time in the sixth century. In the course of time it took the place of Seir-Kieran as the seat of the diocese, until this title went to Kilkenny, also founded by St. Canice, when the diocese was reorganised in the twelfth century.

Brennan 136

2000 The church of St. Canice had its origins in the late sixth or seventh century.

Bradley 11

2000 St. Canice's Cathedral

Bradley 106

2000 Aghaboe. By tradition Canice also founded a monastery in Kilkenny. St. Canice's Cathedral (Church of Ireland) in Kilkenny which dates from the 13th century, is reputed to be on the site of the 6th century monastery of St. Canice.

Gallagher & McDaid 15

2003 St. Canice's Steps leading up to the Cathedral. Hughes 105

2003 St. Canice's Steps Hughes 106

2004 St. Canice is Patron of the City of Kilkenny and his Feast Day is the 11th October.

O'Carroll 18

2004 St. Canice's Cathedral O'Carroll 24

2006 St. Canice's Steps leading up to St. Canice's Cathedral, dating to 1614.

Tynan 64.65

2007 The round tower at St. Canice's Cathedral. Murtagh & Corlett 96

2007	St. Canice's Steps in Irishtown.	Murtagh & Corlett 96
2008	St. Canice's Cathedral	Meehan 340
2009	Ecclesiastically Kilkenny played second fiddle to Aghaboe until 1111, when it was named at the Synod of Ráth Breasaill [<i>sic</i>] as the episcopal see of Ossory.	
		Bradley 21
2009	The church dedicated to Canice lay on a hill overlooking a major fording point on the river Nore, later marked by Green's Bridge. Nothing is known of the form of the early church.	
		Bradley 21
2014	St. Canice's Cathedral	Farrell 68
2014	The cathedral of St. Canice	Farrell 170
2014	St. Canice's Cathedral	Moss 167
2014	Cainneach. The patron of Aghaboe and Kilkenny.	
		Ó Riain 101
2015	St. Canice's Cathedral	Callan 79, 92, 112, 118, 119, 121, 133, 136, 138
2015	St. Canice Cathedral	O'Keeffe 14, 15
2017	St. Canice's Cathedral	Murphy 190
2017	St. Canice's Steps	OKR 69 2017, 206

80. Tobera Choinee, tld: Garrygaug, p: Muckalee, cp: Mullinavat, Mooncoin and Mullinavat being adjoining catholic parishes.

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Cainneach of Aghaboe and Kilkenny City

1669-93 Ecclesia de Mucully, S[anctus] Canicus, Abbas, 11 Octobris.

PP:Spic.Oss. I 10

1759 Matthias Lanigan (*sic*) Parochus S[ancti] Canici de Mucully.

*de Burgo Reg. 4;
Carrigan I 163*

1874 Muckalee Old Church dedicated to St. Canice. Moore 34

1875-1907 In the County of Kilkenny, the Church of Muckalee, in the Barony of Iverk, has for patron St. Canice.

O'Hanlon Saints X 163

1905 St. Canice's church of Muckalee. *Carrigan IV 231*

1905 Its patron [the church of Muckalee] was St. Canice of Aghaboe.

Carrigan IV 235

3.3 Ciarán of Saighir

He is/was commemorated in the case of the following holy wells in County Kilkenny:

32. St. Kieran's Well, tld: Cappagh, p: Inistioge, cp: Inistioge

41. Tubber Kilkeerawn, tld: Castletown, p: Whitechurch, cp: Templeorum

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Ciarán of Seirkieran

1938 Kilkieran – the Patron Saint is St. Kieran who lived in a little hut at the back of Mr. Mahony's house.

NFCS 844.188

Toponymical evidence in which the saint's name is preserved

18/12/1801	Kilkearan	<i>Oning T.orum Bapt.</i> (s.n. Andrew Malloy)
1840	Kilkerin Church	<i>OSFP</i>
1905	Kilkieran [Whitechurch]. In Irish it is called <i>Kill-Keerawin</i> , i.e. the church of St. Kieran, of Ossory.	 <i>Carrigan IV 242</i>
1969	Kilkieran ancient church	<i>O'Kelly 139</i>
1995	St. Kieran – Kilkieran	Brennan 132

77. St. Kieran's Well, *tld: Gardens, p: St. Mary's*

Associated hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Ciarán of Seirkieran

1852-3	Statues of the saints to whose guardianship and patronage the city was of old committed. These are St. Canice, St. Kieran, St. Patrick and St. Brigid.	 <i>Prim 220</i>
1876	“the old chappell near Kieran's well”.	<i>Hogan 100</i>
1876	the old chapel near Kyrock's well.	<i>Hogan 177</i>
1876	St. Ciaran's Chair. In the north transept of St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny, is preserved an ancient ecclesiastical stall, well known as “St. Ciaran's chair”.	 <i>Hogan 211</i>
1876	St. Ciaran's statue. A figure of St. Ciaran stood as one of the four patron	

saints of Kilkenny on the canopy of the ancient market cross, which stood in the middle of High-street, and occupied the site of the present Tholsel pump.

Hogan 212

88. St. Kyran's Well, tld: Grangefertagh, p: Fertagh, cp: Johnstown

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Ciarán of Seirkieran and Fertagh

The Priory of Fertagh is situated in this townland, Grangefertagh.

1476 pro annata prioratus monasterii...Sancti Kerani Fertheragh.

Ann.Oss. 12.39

1480-1 the monastery of St. Kieran (sancti Chierani), Fertakeyra.

CPL XIII 723

1481 pro annata prioratus monasterii Sancti Chierani de Fertakeyra.

Ann.Oss. 15.49

1491 the monastery of St. Kieran (sancti Kyrani), Fertha.

CPL XV 363.688

1491 the monastery of St. Kieran (sancti Kyrani), Fernthykerath.

CPL XV 364.690

Local toponymical evidence in which the name of the patron saint is preserved

1637 Boherkerran

Lodge Ms. V 519

Danesfort Bapt.

- (s.n. Mary Meaney)
- 30/8/1828 Boherkyran *Danesfort Bapt.*
- (s.n. Martin Holden)
- (home-address)
- 12/6/1831 Boherkyran *Danesfort Bapt.*
- (s.n. Dennis Meaney)
- (home-address)
- 1839 Boherkieran, i.e. Kieran's road, leading out from the tower to the south.
- OSM(KK) 1, 2*
- 1839 They traced this old road through corn fields, meadows and more than four miles from Fertá. It is known all the way to Cullan [*sic*], over hills and valleys.
- OSM(KK) 2, 3*
108. St. Kieran's Well, *tld*: Kilkieran, *p*: Inistioge, *cp*: Inistioge
- Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Ciarán of Seirkieran
- 1875-1907 St. Kieran – Kilkieran (patron) (p. Inistioge). *O'Hanlon Saints III*
144.55
- 1876 There is here [Cill Ciaran [*sic*] of Inistioge] a fine old ruin, richly clothed in ivy, called St. Ciaran's church.
- Hogan 207
- 1969 The site of St. Ciaran's church with some remains and one chiselled

boulder stone in the small churchyard lies on the north bank of the Fiddaun stream.

O'Kelly 80

Toponymical evidence in which the name of the patron saint is preserved

1858	Kilkieran	<i>Graves Patrons 9</i>
1875-1907	Kilkieran	<i>O'Hanlon Saints III 144</i>
1876	Kilkieran	Hogan 207
1889-90	Kilieran	Carrigan NB 32.47
1891-2	Kilkieran	Carrigan NB 66.42
1893-4	Kilkieran	<i>Carrigan NB 6.75</i>
1895-7	Kilkieran	<i>Carrigan NB 43.3</i>
1905	Kilkieran	<i>Carrigan IV 116</i>
1969	Kilkieran, Cill Chiaráin	<i>O'Kelly 80</i>
1993	Cill Chiaráin	<i>Liostaí Log.CC 77</i>

109. Tubberkilkierawn, tld: Kilkieran, p: Inistioge, cp: Inistioge

157. Toberkieran, tld: Rathkieran, p: Rathkieran, cp: Mooncoin

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Ciarán of Seirkieran

1669-93 Ecclesia de Rathkiran, S[anctus] Kiranus, Ep[iscopu]s, 5 Martii.

PP:Spic.Oss. I 10

1759 Jacobus Purcell Parochus S[ancti] Kirani de Rathkiran.

- de Burgo Reg. 4, 22*
Carrigan I 163;
Carrigan I 172
- 1773 Jacobus Purcell Parochus S[ancti] Kirani de Rathkiran.
- de Burgo Reg. 8*
- 1777 Gulielmus Fitz-Patrick...transfertur... ad Parochiam S[ancti] Kirani de Rathkiran.
- Troy Reg.(de Burgo) 35;*
Troy Reg.: Carrigan I
197
- 1785-94 Jacobus Butler Parochus S[ancti] Kirani de Rathkiran.
- Troy, Dunne, Lanig.Reg.*
14
- 1787 Jacobus Butler transfertur a Parochia S[anc]ti Kyrani de Rathkyran.
- Dunne Reg.: Carrigan I*
208

Toponymical evidence in which the name of the patron saint is preserved

- | | | |
|--------|-----------|-------------------------|
| 1303-6 | Rathkeran | <i>Lib.Rub.Oss. 19c</i> |
| 1351 | Rathkeran | <i>Lib.Rub.Oss. 21h</i> |
| 1375 | Rathkeran | <i>COD II 143</i> |
| 1411 | Rathkeran | <i>COD II 299</i> |

1412

Rathkeran

COD II 308

168. Toberkieran, tld: Stonecarthy West, p: Stonecarthy, cp: Aghaviller

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Ciarán of Seirkieran

1669-93 Ecclesia de Stamcarty [*sic*], S[anctus] Kiranus, Ep[iscopos], 5 Martii.

PP: Spic.Oss. I 9

1759

Patritius Murphy Parochus S[ancti] Kirani de Stumcarty.

de Burgo Reg. 4;

Carrigan I 162

1875-1907

St. Kieran – Stamcarty (patron)

O'Hanlon Saints III 144

1876

The holy well here took its name from the patron saint of the church, and if this was so St. Ciaran should have been the patron of both the church and parish of Stonecarty.

Hogan 208

1905

The church of Stonecarty, dedicated to St. Kieran of Saighir.

Carrigan IV 9

In relation to the above, Cappagh and Kilkieran are adjoining townlands, Templeorum and Mooncoin are adjoining catholic parishes and the catholic parish of Aghaviller adjoins that of Templeorum.

He is commemorated elsewhere in the county in the following (apparently non-hydrolatrous) instances:

(i) *tld, p: Clashacrow, cp: Freshford (Clashacrow < Glais an Chró)*

1491

the rectory of St. Kieran (sancti Kyrani), Glayferon [*sic*]

CPL XV 350.673

1498 the parish church of St. Kieran (Sancti Cherani), Glasco

CPL XVII 1.368.574

1669-93 Ecclesia de Glashecron, S[anctus] Kiranus, Ep[iscopu]s, 5 Martii

PP: *Spic.Oss.* I 7

(See also *de Burgo Reg.* 3 (1759); *O'Hanlon Saints* III 1875-1903 144.49; Hogan 1876, 209; Healy 1893, 155; *Carrigan* II 1905, 264; *Carrigan NB* 67.32 (1920); Phelan 1971, 47; Cantwell 2000, 15; *Freshford Sketches* 49 (2003); Bradley 2009, 19).

(ii) *tld*: Garryduff, *p*: Owing, *cp*: Templeorum

1969 Garryduff: There is an old graveyard called Cill Chiaráin

O'Kelly 132

(iii) *tld, p*: Kells, *cp*: Dunnamaggan

1905 Down to the Norman Invasion, St. Kieran, of Saighir, was patron of Kells parish and parish Church.

Carrigan IV 56

(See also Lahert 1956, 62; *O'Kelly* 1969, 147; Meehan 2008, 362).

(iv) *tld, p*: Kilkieran, *cp*: St. John's

1759 Matthias Lanigin Parochus S[ancti] Kirani de Kilkiran

de Burgo Reg. 4

1839 Kilkieran, the Church of St. Kieran. This Saint was not the Kieran of Clonmacnoise, but old Kieran of Saigher, who is said to have preached Christianity in Ossory before the arrival of St. Patrick.

OSL(KK) I 251

(See also *O'Hanlon Saints III 144.55 (1875-1903)*; Hogan 1876, 208; *Carrigan III 1905, 280*; *Ó Riain Saints 173.*)

(v) *tld, p*: Kilmacow, *cp*: Kilmacow

1759 Edmundus Shortall Parochus S[ancti] Kirani de Kilmacow

de Burgo Reg. 5

(See also *de Burgo Reg. 25 (1765)*; *O'Hanlon Saints III 144 (1875-1903)*; *Carrigan IV 1905, 134*; Laffan 2005, 32).

(vi) *tld, p*: Tullaherin, *cp*: Tullaherin

1669-93 Ecclesia de Tullohirm, S[anctus] Kiranus Ep[iscopus], 5 Martii

PP: Spic.Oss. I 8

(See also *de Burgo Reg. 4 (1759)*; *de Burgo Reg. 24 (1764)*; *OSL(KK) I 262 (1839)*; *O'Hanlon Saints III 144.56 (1875-1903)*; *Nat.Mon.Harb. 205 (1992)*;

Bradley 2009, 5, 19; *Ó Riain Saints* 173).

In relation to the above, Freshford (no. i) and Johnstown (no. 88) are adjoining catholic parishes, Owing (no. ii) and Whitechurch (no. 41) are adjoining civil parishes, Kells (no. iii) and Stonecarthy (no. 168) are adjoining civil parishes, Kilmacow (no. v) and Rathkieran (no. 157) are adjoining civil parishes, Tullaherin (no. vi) and Aghaviller (no. 168) are adjoining catholic parishes, and Garryduff (no. ii) and Castletown (no. 41) are both in the catholic parish of Templeorum.

4. Irish saints with a local cult

4.1 Bearchán of Drumlohan

97. St. Broghan's Well, *tld*: Kilbraghan, *p*: Dysartmoon, *cp*: Rosbercon

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, (?) Bearchán of Drumlohan

2008 Kilroghan (*sic*) – St. Broghan. Pattern – Yes Dorgan & Dorgan 23

Toponymical evidence in which the name of the patron saint is preserved

1619	Kilberghan	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK)</i> 28 J1
1624	Kilberaghane	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK)</i> 44 J1
1655	Kilbraghane	<i>DS</i>
1660c.	Kilbraghan	<i>BSD (KK)</i> 143
1670	Kilbraghan alias	
	Kilbrackan	<i>ASE</i> 223 a
1715	Kilbrahane	<i>CGn.</i> 15.211.7254
1818c.	Killbrahan	<i>Aher Clem.</i> R40
1831	Kilbrahan	<i>TAB</i> 15

1838 Kilbrahan OSNB(16): BS

Cill bhracháin,

St. Broughan's church : OD

98. Tubbervrachawin, tld: Kilbraghan, p: Kilmanagh, cp: Kilmanagh

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Bearchán of Drumlohan

1875 According to local tradition, there was a church here, but no traces of it now remain. The church was dedicated to St. Braghan, from whom the place derives its name.

Holahan 32

(also cited in Holahan
1883, 107)

1905 St. Bearchan – locally, Broghan – of Clonsast, in the King's Co[unty], was a famous saint of the early Irish Church. It is not improbable that it is from him our Kilbraghan is named.

Carrigan III 441

1945 Kilbraghan Old Church. This old church was called after St. Brachan, from which the name of the townland is derived.

*ITAS(KK) Kilmanagh,
Form A, page 3*

2002 Kilbraghan Church. St. Brachan's church stood at Kilbraghan cross, at the exact point where the public road branches off to Graigue.

Larkin 118

2008 Kilbraghan – St. Brachan. Pattern – No Dorgan & Dorgan 19

2011 Bearchán of Drumlohan, barony of Decies without Drum, Co. Waterford ...
Kilbraghan in the Kilkenny parish of Kilmanagh.

Toponymical evidence in which the name of the patron saint is preserved

1520	Kilberecan	<i>COD IV 64</i>
1559	Kilwarghan	<i>F107</i>
1566	Kilberraghan	<i>F912</i>
1567	Kilberighan	<i>F1030</i>
1571	Kilberaghan	<i>F2083</i>
1571-2	Kilberighan	<i>F1031</i>
1574-7	Kilberechan	<i>COD V 155</i>
1585	Kilbereghan	<i>F4695</i>
1601	Kilbereghan	<i>F6564</i>
1636	Killbrekane	<i>Inq.Lag(KK) 74 C1</i>
1655	Killebregan	<i>DS</i>
1659	Kilbrehane	<i>Cen.429</i>
1660c.	Kilbregan	<i>BSD(KK) 202</i>
1816	Kilbrohan	<i>Aher Clem. R43</i>
1817	Kilbrahan	<i>Aher Clem. R33</i>
1825	Kilbrohane	<i>TAB 9</i>
6/12/1827	Cill Breacáin	<i>Cinnlae Amhl. I 172</i>

The parish of Kilmanagh lies to the south-west of Kilkenny City while Rosbercon parish is situated a considerable distance to the south-east of the city in the south-eastern part of the county.

The parish of Dysartmoon (Kilkenny) is situated in the barony of Ida while Drumlohan lies in the barony of Decies without Drum (Waterford), this latter barony being a nearby but not adjoining barony of Ida, (Ida lies some distance to the north-east of Decies without Drum).

4.2 Brendan of Birr

3. St. Brandon's Well, tld: Aghaviller, p: Aghaviller, cp: Aghaviller

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Bréanainn of Birr

- | | | |
|---------|--|--|
| 1669-93 | Ecclesia de Aghavillir, S[anctus] Brandanus, 29 Nov[embris] | <i>PP:Spic.Oss. I 9</i> |
| 1759 | Patritius Murphy Parochus S[ancti] Brandani de Aghaviller | <i>de Burgo Reg. 4;
Carrigan I 162</i> |
| 1874-9 | St. Brendan, patron of Aghavillar (<i>sic</i>) | Moran 14 |
| 1905 | Aghaviller [church]. The patron of the church is St. Brendan, of Birr, Abbot (Nov. 29). | <i>Carrigan IV 4</i> |
| 1920 | Aghaviller: S[t.] Brandon, Nov. 29 | <i>Carrigan NB 67.34</i> |
| 1989 | Aghaviller – the site of an ancient monastic foundation to St. Brendan of Birr. | <i>Shell Guide Harb. 229</i> |
| 2011 | Bréanainn of Birr. His association with Ciarán of Seir may be reflected in the dedication to Bréanainn at Aghaviller in the Kilkenny barony of Knocktopher. Bréanainn was principally remembered on 29 November. | <i>Ó Riain Saints 114</i> |

4.3 Colmán of Holdenstown

42. St. Colman's Well, tld: Churchclara, p: Clara, cp: Clara

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Colmán Bhealach Buaidhghe

1669-93 Ecclesia de Claragh, S[anctus] Colmanus, Conf[essor], 16 Octobris.

PP:Spic.Oss. I 8

1759 Joannes Hoyne Parochus S[ancti] Colmani de Clara.

de Burgo Reg. 2;

Carrigan I 162;

Carrigan NB 167.210

1775-6 Jacobus Stapleton...transfertur...ad Parochiam S[anctae] Mariae de
Gowran, cum annexis Parochiis S[ancti] Nicolai de Blanchfield's
Hill...S[ancti] Colmani de Clara...

Carrigan I 173, 174

1864 the church of Claragh of which parish St. Colman is patron.

Hogan 212

1864 the church of St. Colman.

Hogan 213

Other names in the county include:

- (i) Colmán Lobhar, patron of Ballygurrim, *OS 37, 41 (Ibid. 206)*;
- (ii) Colmán Ghleann Dealmhaic of Dysart, *OS 28, 32 (Carrigan IV 277; O'Kelly 1969, 87; Ó Riain Saints 189)*;
- (iii) Colmán Dhoire Mór (of Longfordpass) who appears to have been formerly honoured at Burnchurch, *OS 23 (Ó Riain Saints 195, 196)*: 'Marcus Mansfield Parochus S[ancti] Colmani de Burnchurch' (*de Burgo Reg. 2; Carrigan I 162*), St. Dallán being more commonly associated with this place – it is worthy of note here that he referred to as 'son of Colla' in *Carrigan III 375*), and

- (iv) ‘St. Colman, Confessor, (Sept. 26th), is made the patron [of Tullaghanbrogue, OS 22, 23] by Bishop Phelan in his *List of Patrons* (Carrigan III 385), while St. Colmán of Lynally is also venerated on this day (*Ó Riain Saints* 658).

4.4 Cranat

22. St. Cranagh’s Well, tld: Boggan, p: Tullaroan, cp: Tullaroan

4.5 Cuán of Flemingstown, Kilcoan, Weatherstown

70. Thubberchooann, tld: Flemingstown, p: Kilcoan, cp: Glenmore

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Cuán of Kilcoan

Flemingstown and Weatherstown are adjoining townlands.

2008	Kilcoan – St. Coan. Pattern – No	Dorgan, Dorgan 21
2011	Cuán of Kilcoan (Ceall Chuáin), barony of Ida, Co. Kilkenny, and more specifically of an ecclesiastical site in the townland of Weatherstown, formerly known as Achadh Bearnchon (Bearchon).	

Ó Riain Saints 239

Toponymical evidence in which the name of the patron saint is preserved

1303-6	Kilcoan	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 19h
1316	Kilcoan	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 22c
1351	Kilcoan	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 21f
1450c.	Cowan	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 3a
1480c.	Kylcoan	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 36g
1584-7	Killcowan	<i>COD V</i> 163

1597	Kilcoan	<i>F6165</i>
1666	Kilcoan	<i>Lodge Ms. XXXI 51</i>
1679	Kilcoane	<i>Otway Vis. 10</i>
1679	Killcoane	<i>Otway Vis. 16</i>
1731	Kilcoan	<i>Tension Vis. 5</i>

4.6 Dallán Forghaill

29. St. Dallan's Well, *tld*: Burnchurch, *p*: Burnchurch, *cp*: Danesfort

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Dallán Forghaill of Kildallan

1669-93	Ecclesia de Burnchurch, S[anctus] Dullanus, 31 Julii.	<i>PP:Spic.Oss. I 8</i>
(1759	Marcus Mansfield Parochus S[ancti] Colmani de Burnchurch.	<i>de Burgo Reg. 2;</i> <i>Carrigan I 162)</i>
1858	Burnchurch dedicated to St. Dallan.	<i>Graves Patrons 11</i>
1905	The Parish Church of Burnchurch. Its patron was St. Dallan or Dallawn, whose feast was celebrated here, according to Bishop Phelan's <i>List</i> , on the 31 st of July.	<i>Carrigan III 375</i>
1906	Burnchurch. St. Dallan was patron of the parish.	<i>Commins 267</i>

4.7 Fachtna of Tibberaghny

169. St. Faghtna's Well, *tld*: Tibberaghny, *p*: Tibberaghny, *cp*: Templeorum

Toponymical evidence in which the name of the patron saint is preserved:

830c.	i Tiprait Fhachtna	<i>FOeng.</i> 74
830c.	ó Thiprait Fhachtna	<i>FOeng.</i> 134
830c.	(g.) Tiprat Fachtna	<i>MTall.</i> 44
1160c.	(g.) Tiprat Fachtna	<i>LL VI</i> 49772
1170c.	Tipra Fachtna	<i>FGorm.</i> 98
1185	ag tipraid Fachtna	<i>ALC I</i> 170
1185	oc tioprait fhachtna	<i>ARE III</i> 66
1303-6	Typerauth	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 19c
1316-18	Typeraght	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 22e
1351	Tyberaght	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 21h
1432	Tiperagh	<i>COD III</i> 95
1470c.	Typeraght	<i>COD III</i> 210
1472	Typeragh	<i>COD III</i> 21
1480c.	Tyberacht	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 36h
1484	Tyburduy (parish church of)	<i>CPL XIII</i> 858
1519	Tuberyaghny	<i>COD IV</i> 55
1524	Tybyeraghny	<i>COD IV</i> 93

1527	Typeraght	<i>COD IV 110</i>
1531	Tipperaght	<i>COD IV 145</i>
1536	Tipperaghtney	<i>COD IV 169</i>
1541	Tubberaghne	<i>COD IV 208</i>
1549	Tybraght	<i>COD V 37</i>
1551	Typperaghny	<i>F963</i>

4.8 Féichín of Fore

60. Thubber Eheen, *tld*: Desart Demesne, *p*: Tullaghanbrogue, *cp*: Danesfort

4.9 Fiachra of south-east Kilkenny (alias Fiachna)

6. St. Fiachra's Well/Aughkiletaun Well, *tld*: Aughkiletaun, *p*: Powerstown, *cp*: Graiguenamanagh

49. St. Fiachra's Well/Toberadrugh, *tld*: Clontubbrid, *p*: Sheffin, *cp*: Lisdowney

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint [Fiachra of Ullard, 8 February, *FOeng.70*]

1669-93 Ecclesia de Skiffin [*sic*] et Clontubrid, S[anctus] Fiacrius, Abbas, 8 Februarii.

PP:Spic.Oss. I 7

1759 Richardus Shee Parochus S[ancti] Fiacrii de Skiffin & Clonetubrid, alias Rathine.

de Burgo Reg. 3;

Carrigan I 162;

Carrigan NB 167.79

1768 Joseph Clarke transfertur ad Parochiam S[ancti] Fiacrii de Skiffin & Clonetubrid, alias Rathine.

1778 Andreas Gorman Parochus S[anctae] Brigidae de Acharny, cum annexis S[ancti] Manachini de Coolcashel...S[ancti] Fiacrii de Skiffin & Clonetubrid.

Troy Reg.(de Burgo) 40

1905 According to Bishop Phelan's List, St. Fiachra, Abbot, was the patron of Clonetubrid, and his festival was kept here on the 8th of February.

Carrigan II 330

1905 The hermit of Clonetubrid, who afterwards became its patron, was no other than St. Fiachra, the hermit saint of Meaux.

The civil parish name, Sheffin, is a corruption of Tigh Fiachna/Fiachra:

1504	Teseghraghe (-feghraghe)	<i>COD III 307</i>
1526	Theghfegre	<i>Carrigan II 331</i>
1527	Theaghseghre (-feghre)	<i>COD IV 110</i>
1601	Teighfeigheighrie	<i>F6484</i>
1621	Tafeaghrae	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK) 31 J1</i>
1622	Tafeaghrae	<i>CPR 525b</i>

166. St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Sheastown, *p*: Kilferagh, *cp*: St. Patrick's

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Fiachra (of Ullard, 8 February, *FOeng.70*) Sheastown and Kilferagh are adjoining townlands.

1669-93 Ecclesia de Kilferagh, S[anctus] Fiacrius, Conf[essor], 8 Feb[ruarii].

- 1759 Mauritius Delany Parochus...Parochiae de S[ancti] Fiacrii de Kilfera.

de Burgo Reg. 2;
Carrigan I 162;
Carrigan NB 167.352
- 1760 Dermotus Murphy Parochus S[ancti] Fiacrii de Kilfera.

Carrigan I 172
- 1768 Robertus Brenan Parochus S[ancti] Fiacrii de Kilfera.

de Burgo Reg. 26
- 1769 Gulielmus Phelan Parochus S[ancti] Fiacrii de Kilfera.

de Burgo Reg. 29

170. St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Tikerlevin, *p*: Graiguenamanagh, *cp*: Graiguenamanagh

Local hagiographical evidence of St. Fiachra

- 1934 St. Fiachra lived in the vicinity of the well *NFC 468.108*
- 1938 This saint lived there [Tikerlevin] before he removed to Ullard.

NFCS 857.54
- 1938 He [Fiachra] is supposed to have lived beside the Holy Well situated in
Tickerlivan.

NFCS 857.56

181. St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard, *p*: Ullard, *cp*: Graiguenamanagh

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, St. Fiachra (of Ullard, 8 February, *FOeng.* 70)

1838 [St.] Fiaghrach. He is the patron saint of Ullard *OSNB(28): OD*

1839 The Parish of Ullard has for its Patron St. Fiaghragh.

OSL(KK) II 2

1883 Ullard – St. Fiachra Comerford 56

1886 St. Fiachra founded a church and monastery here [Ullard] in the latter half of the sixth century.

Comerford Coll. III 221

1892 The ruins of the little ancient Church at Ullard, where a church and monastery were founded by St. Fiachra, in the latter half of the sixth century.

anon., JRS AI 22.210

In relation to the above, Powerstown, Graiguenamanagh and Ullard are all adjoining civil parishes, while St. Patrick's catholic parish is near Kilkenny City and Lisdowney parish is in the north-western part of the county.

4.10 Finnian of Clonard

68. Tubber Finnawn, *tld*: Finnan, *p*: Donaghmore, *cp*: Ballyragget

171. St. Finan's Well, *tld*: Tinnalintan, *p*: Donaghmore, *cp*: Ballyragget

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Finnian, Confessor, November 15.

(Neither Baring-Gould XIII 1914, 334 nor *Ó Riain Saints* 319-324, however, list such a saint under this date. The feast day of Finnian of Clonard, [Confessor], is given as December 12 in *Ó Riain Saints* 321).

Kilfinan Church ruins are situated very near the holy well in the adjoining townland of Gorteenara.

1669-93 Ecclesia de Kilmenan, S[anctus] Finianus, Conf[essor], 15 Nov[embris].

PP: Spic.Oss. I 8

1759 Edmundus Kavanagh Parochus S[ancti] Finiani de Kilminam [sic].

de Burgo Reg. 5;
Carrigan I 162;
Carrigan NB 167.130

1764 Stephanus Lower Parochus S[ancti] Finani de Kilminan.

de Burgo Reg. 24;
Carrigan I 173

1882 St. Finnian or Findan – the patron of Kilmenan or Kilfinan.

Loc.Pat. 304

Toponymical evidence in which the name of the patron saint is preserved

1247 Killeynan *Kts' Fees 182*

1303-6 Kilmennan *Lib.Rub.Oss. 19h*

1318 Kilmenhan *Lib.Rub.Oss. 20h*

1324 Kylmannan *Kts' Fees 182*

1351 Kylmannan *COD II 2*

1351 Kilmanan *Lib.Rub.Oss. 21c*

1450c. Kylmanann *Lib.Rub.Oss. 41h*

1480c. Kymannan *Lib.Rub.Oss. 36d*

1507	Kilmenan	<i>COD</i> III 321
1518	Kilmaynan	<i>Crown Sur.</i> 235
1525	Kylmanan	<i>Crown Sur.</i> 262

Finnan and Tinnlintan share the same civil and catholic parishes.

4.11 Laichtín of Freshford

137. Toberlaghteen, *tld*: Moat, *p*: Freshford, *cp*: Freshford

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Laichtín of Achadh Úr

Moat and Freshford (< *Achadh Úr*, *Liostaí Log.CC* 72) are adjoining townlands

622	S. Lachtnain, abb Achaidh uir	<i>ARE</i> I 244
626	Lachtnene mac Toirbene, abb Achaid úir	<i>ATig.</i> 179
830c.	Lacteine Achid úir	<i>FOeng.</i> 100
830c.	Lachtain Achaid Úir	<i>MTall.</i> 25
1160c.	Lachtain Achaid Úir	<i>LL</i> VI 49302
1170c.	Lachtain Achaidh úir	<i>FGorm.</i> 58
15 th century	beatissimus Lacteanus, qui fundauit egregium monasterium Achad Ur	<i>VSHP</i> II 168
1400c.	Lachtnan achaid uir	<i>Lec.</i> 45Va 9
1400c.	Lachtain echach uir	<i>BB</i> 224 a34, 35
1410c.	Lachtain achaid úir	<i>LB</i> 18d
1418	the church of St. Lactanus, Achoyr	<i>CPL</i> VII 101

1630c.	Lachtnáin, Achaidh – úir	<i>FNE</i> 80
1645	Beatissimus Lachteanus qui fundauit egregium Monasterium Achadhur	
		<i>ASH</i> 590.11
1645	De S. Lactino siue Lacteno Abbate de Achadh-Vr	
		<i>ASH</i> 655.1
1650c.	Lachtain Achuidh Úir	<i>LGen.</i> 720.7
1650c.	Lachtan ... a nAchudh Ur	<i>LGen.</i> 722.3

4.12 Laurence/Lorcán of Glendalough and Dublin

15. St. Laurence's Well, *tld*: Ballyogan, *p*: Graiguenamanagh, *cp*: Graiguenamanagh

He also features in relation to Ballinvarry Holy Well (no. 7), *tld*: Ballinvarry English, *p*: The Rower, *cp*: Inistioge:

1938 In the townland of Ballavarra [*sic*] there is a well which was blessed by St. Laurence.

NFCS 847.128

In relation to the above, Graiguenamanagh and The Rower are adjoining civil parishes while Graiguenamanagh and Inistioge are adjoining catholic parishes.

4.13 Lóchán of Rathlogan

158. Tubber Ullacawn, *tld*: Rathlogan, *p*: Rathlogan, *cp*: Johnstown

Toponymical evidence in which the name of the patron saint is preserved, Lóchán of Rathlogan

1303-6	Rathlohan	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 19g
1318	Rathlohan	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 20g

1348	Rathlothan	<i>COD</i> III 340
1351	Rathloghan	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 21b
1450c.	Rathloghan	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 41g
1480c.	Rahtlowan	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 36c
1543	Ralwoghan	<i>COD</i> IV 251
1571	Rathlogane	<i>COD</i> V 199
1576	Rathloghan	<i>COD</i> V 203
1603	Rathloghane	<i>COD</i> VI 170
1614	Rathlogan	<i>COD</i> VI 174
1618	Rathlogan	<i>CPR</i> 457
1626	Rathloghan	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK)</i> 8C1
1631	Rathloghan	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK)</i> 36C1
1659	Raloghane	<i>Cen.</i> 413
1679	Rathlogan	<i>Otway Vis.</i> 20
1801	Rathlogan	<i>Stat.Sur.(KK)</i> 609
1812	Rathlogan	<i>Aher Clem.</i> R39

4.14 Mainchín of Coolcashin

55. St. Monchin's Well, *tld*: Coolcashin, *p*: Coolcashin, *cp*: Lisdowney

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Mainchín of Coolcashin

- 1669-93 Ecclesia de Coolcasheen, S[anctus] Manihinus, Conf[essor], 2 Jan[uarii].

PP:Spic.Oss. I 7;
Carrigan II 334
- 1759 Richardus Shee Parochus S[ancti] Manachini de Coolcashell [sic].

de Burgo Reg. 3;
Carrigan I 162;
Carrigan NB 167.79
- 1768 Joseph Clarke transfertur ad Parochiam S[ancti] Manachini de Coolcashell.

de Burgo Reg. 27
- 1778 Andreas Gorman Parochus S[anctae] Brigidae de Acharny, cum annexis
S[ancti] Manachini de Coolcashel, S[anct]ae Catharinae de Rathbeag.

Troy Reg. (de Burgo) 40
- 1903 St. Munighan's R.C. Chapel, Gattabawn. *E2(6)*

He is also commemorated elsewhere in the county, viz.:

- (i) *tld: Kilmanaheen, p: Fiddown, cp: Templeorum (< Cill Mhainchín) (Liostaí Log.CC 78)*
- (ii) *tld: Kilmanahan, p: Dungarvan, cp: Gowran (< Cill Mhainchín) (Liostaí Log.CC 78)*

Lisdowney is situated in the north-west of the county and north-west of Kilkenny City, Gowran lies to the south east of the city and Templeorum is in the south-west of the county, which appears to yield a good geographical spread of the saint.

See also:

- (i) Manchin Cula Cassin (*CGSH* 298.2);
- (ii) Mainchin Cula Cais[*sic*] (*CGSH* 662.239) and
- (iii) Manchin Cula Cassin (*CGSH* 730).

4.15 Mochuille of Dreasnaidh

82. Tobermathulla [*sic*], *tld*: Glencommaun, *p*: Tullahought, *cp*: Windgap

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Mochuille, ‘a hypocoristic or pet form of Colum’ (*Ó Riain Saints* 473)

2008 Glencommon – St. Mocuille. Pattern – Yes. Dorgan & Dorgan 24

4.16 Modhomhnóg Oilithir

66. Tobermogue, *tld*: Ennisnag, *p*: Ennisnag, *cp*: Danesfort

He is also venerated at Tibberaghny, *p*: Tibberaghny, *cp*: Templeorum (q.v. St. Faghtna’s Well (no. 169)).

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Modhomhnóg Oilithir

1669-93 Ecclesia de Ennisnag, S[anctus] Moguntinus, 14 Feb[ruarii].

PP:Spic.Oss.. I 9

1759 Marcus Mansfield Parochus S[ancti] Mogunti de Ennisnag.

de Burgo Reg. 2;

Carrigan I 162

1905 The Parish Church of Ennisnag. Its patron was St. Mogue, whose feast day was celebrated here on the 14th Feb[ruary].

Carrigan III 374

1969 St. Mogue of Ferns [*sic*], Wexford, was patron of the ancient church beside the King’s River.

2008 Ennisnag – St. Mogue. Pattern – Yes. Dorgan & Dorgan 21

Ennisnag lies south of Kilkenny City while Tibberaghny is situated a considerable distance from it in the south-west of the county.

4.17 Moling Luachra

133. Tubbernaev Mulleeng, *tld*: Listerlin, *p*: Listerlin, *cp*: Rosbercon

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Moling Luachra

1819 There is a tradition that St. Mullen formerly resided in or near the Moat of Listerling.

Par. Sur. III 244

(also cited in *OSL(KK)* II
166)

1819 The Saint taking up residence here [Listerling] had it in contemplation to erect a monastery or religious house but having been disgusted by the ill-conduct of the people, who stole some articles from him he left them in displeasure.

Par. Sur. III 245

(cited also in *OSL(KK)* II
167)

1837 Listerling. At Listerling is a mount surrounded by a fosse – it is traditionally stated that St. Mullen formerly resided at or near this moat.

Lewis II 288

1839 There is a tradition that St. Mullin formerly resided in or near the moat of Listerling.

OSL(KK) II 166;

OSM(KK) 173

1850c.-1914 St. Moling. Local traditional lore ascribes his birth at Listerling.

Prim-Anders. Nooks 14

140. St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill, *p*: Jerpointwest, *cp*: Thomastown

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Moling Luachra

1819 The Saint taking up his residence here [Listerlin] had it in contemplation to erect a monastery or religious house, but having been disgusted by the ill-conduct of the people, who stole some articles from him, he left them in displeasure, and removed to a place about two miles distant called Carrickmullen, now Mullinakill. Here, the legend says, he resided for a short time.

Par.Sur. III 245

(also cited in *OSL(KK)* II
167, 168)

1850c.-1914 He [Moling] erected his first church, called to this day Mullin-a-kill [Mullennakill < Muileann na Cille, *Liostaí Log.CC* 83, not Moling na Cille] and where the anniversary is still kept by a patron.

Prim Anders.Nooks 14

1905 The church of the district was situated at Mullinakill. It was at first, most probably, dedicated to St. Mulling (June 9), but was afterwards transferred to the patronage of St. Bernard.

Carrigan IV 191

1944 Mullinakill Church. The church was called after St. Mullings.

1962 The saint came to Mullinakill from Listerling, two miles away.

Fest.Lugh. 233

He also features elsewhere in the county:

(i) 7. Ballinvarry Holy Well, *tld*: Ballinvarry English, *p*: The Rower, *cp*:
Inistioge

1938 When Saint Moling was going to Saint Mullin's [Carlow], he passed by
Ballavarra

NFCS 847.128

(ii) St. Mullin's Cave was situated at Coolnahau (*Carrigan NB 61.41 (1900);*
NFC 468.92 (1934); O'Kelly 1969, 165; Shell Guide Harb. 1989, 207).

(iii) *tld*: Columbkille, *p*: Columbkille, *cp*: Thomastown

1874-9 The saint left [Mulleenakill] and went to the church of Columbkille, near
Thomastown

Moore 28; *Fest.Lugh.*
234; Murphy 2000,

In relation to the above, Jerpointwest and Listerlin are adjoining civil parishes, Coolnahau and Mullennakill are adjoining townlands, both being located in the civil parish of Jerpointwest and in the catholic parish of Thomastown, Rosbercon and Thomastown are adjoining catholic parishes, while the catholic parish of Inistioge adjoins the catholic parish of Thomastown to the south-east and the catholic parish of Rosbercon to the north-west.

4.18 Molua of Kyle (Cluain Feartha Molua/Clonfertmulloe)

131. Tobermolua, tld: Kylenaskeagh, p: Killaloe, cp: Kilmanagh

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Molua of Kyle
Kylenaskeagh and Killaloe are adjoining townlands

1669-93 Ecclesia de Killaloe, S[anctus] Luanus, Conf[essor], 4 Augusti.

PP: Spic.Oss. I 9

1759 Cornelius Delany Parochus S[ancti] Luani de Killaloe.

de Burgo Reg. 2;
Carrigan I 162;
Carrigan NB 167.281

1839 The name of the Saint in question was Molua but his Church was always called Cill Da Lua or Da Lua's Cell.

OSL(KK) II 52

1839 There is a wooden figure of St. Molua preserved by a farmer named Michael Butler (Surname², *infra*) in the immediate vicinity of Killaloo.

OSL(KK) II 53

1875-1907 St. Molua – Killaloe.

O'Hanlon Saints VIII 69

Toponymical evidence in which the name of the patron saint is preserved

1400c.	Killaloo	<i>COD</i> II 360
1422	Kyllalo	<i>COD</i> II 301
1422	Kyllaloo	<i>COD</i> III 40
1432	Killaloe	<i>COD</i> III 80
1450c.	Kyllalo	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 3d
1472	Kylalo	<i>COD</i> III 210
1480c.	Kyldalo	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 36h
1571	Killaloo	<i>COD</i> V 199
1576	Killaloo	<i>COD</i> V 203
1584-7	Killalo	<i>COD</i> V 159
1595-6	Killaloo	<i>COD</i> VI 88
1603	Killaloe	<i>COD</i> VI 174
1607	Killaloe	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK)</i> 2J1
1607	Killaloe	<i>Lodge Ms.</i> II 298
1655	Killalow	<i>DS</i>
1659	Killinloe	<i>Cen.</i> 427
1660c.	Killalow	<i>BSD (KK)</i> 163
1669-93	Killaloe	<i>PP: Spic.Oss.</i> I 9

1759	Killaloe	<i>de Burgo Reg. 2</i>
1802	Killaloe	<i>Stat.Sur.(KK) 61</i>
1816c.	Killaloo or Killaloe	<i>Aher Clem. R43</i>
13/5/1827	co Cilldaluadh	<i>Cinnlae Amhl. I 52</i>
14/5/1827	Cilldaluadh	<i>Cinnlae Amhl. I 54</i>
27/1/1829	i cCill Malua	<i>Cinnlae Amhl. II 100</i>
9/8/1829	La Patruin Chill Mhalua	<i>Cinnlae Amhl. II 186</i>
21/2/1832	a cCill-da-Lua	<i>Cinnlae Amhl. III 114</i>
27/10/1833	a cCillmhaluadh	<i>Cinnlae Amhl. III 246</i>

Kylenaskeagh and Killaloe/Cill Dalua (*Liostaí Log.CC 77*) (a variant hypocoristic form of Molua) are adjoining townlands.

4.19 Moninne of Killeavy

81. Tobermamoninne, tld: Glencommaun, p: Tullahought, cp: Windgap

4.20 Moríóg of Inchbofin

92. St. Rock's Well, tld: Jamesgreen, p: St. Canice's, cp: St. Mary's

Associated hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Moríóg of Inchbofin, 1 August (*Ó Riain Saints 497; Carrigan III 193*)

1623	cimiterium Sancti Rochi	Bradley 71
1838	St. Rock's Graveyard, "at Upper Walkinstreet".	<i>OSNB(53): Descr.Rem.</i>

1839-40	St. Rock's Graveyard	<i>OSFP</i>
1858-9	St. Rioch's Churchyard. St. Rioch's, or, as it is vulgarly called St. Rock's Churchyard, is situated at the southmost angle of Walkin's Green. Within the shelter of this secluded vale, St. Rioch built his cell, wherein he lived for a time in solitude and prayer; here he died and was buried, and over his grave his followers erected a church, and dedicated it to his memory.	
		Hogan 471, 472
1858-9	St. Rioch's Churchyard	Hogan 475
1858-9	the ancient parish of St. Rioch.	Hogan 476, 477
1858-9	St. Rioch's [parish].	Hogan 478
1858-9	a full-sized oil painting of this saint which was preserved in "James's street Chapel" down to the year 1804.	
		Hogan 479

4.21 Munna of Taghmon

165. St. Fintan's Well, *tld*: Shanbogh Upper, *p*: Shanbogh, *cp*: Rosbercon

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Munna of Taghmon, 'under the guise of Fiontan' (*Ó Riain Saints* 507)

1759 Patritus Nowlan Parochus S[anti] Fantin de Shanbough.

de Burgo Reg. 5

1759 Per obitum Patritii Nowlan, vacabat Parochia S[anctae] Mariae Natae de Rosbercon cum annexis Parochiis...S[ancti] Bernardi de Mullinakill, S[ancti] Fantani de Shanbough.

1759 Gulielmus Fitz Patrick Parochus S[ancti] Fantin de Shanbough.

de Burgo Reg. 21;
Carrigan I 172

1874-9 Shanboth or Shanbaugh. In it are the remains of a very ancient church, dedicated to St. Fintan Munna, who died in 634. His feast is the 21st October; Clogh Fintan.

Moore 27

1887-92 Shanbo. A little more than a field from the church is a huge stone with some tracks like the prints of human footsteps – it is said St. Fintan stepped across the river and stood there. He had a child with him whose tracks are also seen – this stone is called “Clogh Fintan” and the water that rests in these footsteps is said to have healing powers.

Carrigan NB 40.172

4.22 Nadál/Natalis of Kilmanagh/Pottlerath

151. Toberaniddaun, *tld*: Pottlerath, *p*: Kilmanagh, *cp*: Kilmanagh

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Nadál

Pottlerath and Kilmanagh are adjoining townlands.

830c. Mac tail [leg. Natail] a Cill mhanach. *FOeng. 172*

830c. Sancti Natali i Cill Manach. *MTall. 59*

1170c. Nattal, ó Chill na manach. *FGorm. 146*

1400c.(1890) Luidh dano Senán...cu Notail cu Cill Manach. *Lis.L. 1958*

- 1488 the rectory of the parish church of St. Natal (sancti Nadalis), Kylmanach.
CPL XV 122.256
- 1488 rectorie parrochialis [*sic*] ecclesie S[ancti] Nadalis de Kylmanagh.
Ann.Oss. 23.71
- 1630c. Natal, o Chill na manach. *FNÉ 206*
- 1645 S. Natalis Abbas...in Ecclesia de Kill-namanach.
ASH 169.4
- 1645 S. Natalis Abbas de Kill-namanach. *ASH 174.19*
- 1669-93 Ecclesia de Kilmanagh, S[anctus] Aidanus [*sic*], Ep[iscopos], 31 Julii.
PP: Spic.Oss. I 8
- 1745 Kilmanagh – St. Natalis. *Ware's Antiq. 263*
- 1759 Cornelius Delany Parochus S[ancti] Edani de Kilmanagh.
de Burgo Reg. 2;
Carrigan I 162;
Carrigan NB 167.281
- 1762 Kilmanagh, Abbata fundata à S. Natali Abbate. *Hib.Dom. 728*

Kilmanagh and Pottlerath are adjoining townlands.

4.23 Scoithín of Tiscoffin

73. St. Scoheen's Well, *tld*: Freneystown, *p*: Tiscoffin, *cp*: Windgap

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Scoithín of Tiscoffin (Tiscoffin Church was situated in Freyneystown townland)

830c.	Scoithine o Thigh Scoithine	<i>FOeng.</i> 40
1630c.	Sguithhin ó Tigh Sguithin	<i>FNÉ</i> 4
1693-93	Ecclesia de Tiscoffin, S[anctus] Scoffinus, 7 Januarii	<i>PP:Spic.Oss.</i> I 8
1759	Joannes Hoyne Parochus S[ancti] Schophini de Tasscoffin.	<i>de Burgo Reg.</i> 2; <i>Carrigan</i> I 162; <i>Carrigan NB</i> 167.210
1775-6	Jacobus Stapleton...transfertur...ad Parochiam...S[anctae] Mariae de Gowran, cum annexis Parochiis S[ancti] Nicolai de Blanchfield's Hill, ... S[ancti] Schophini de Tascoffin.	<i>Carrigan</i> I 173, 174

Toponymical evidence in which the name of the patron saint is preserved

830c.	Scoithine o Thigh Scoithine	<i>FOeng.</i> 40
1273-1287	Taschochyn	<i>COD</i> I 77
1303-6	Tascohyn	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 19e
1311	Tascholyn	<i>CJR</i> III 216
1318	Tascohyn	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 20e
1345	Tasscohyn	<i>COD</i> I 326
1422	Tasscoffyne	<i>COD</i> III 42

1450c.	Teascofynn	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 41f
15 th century	Thascofyn	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 1
1482	Tascuphyn	<i>COD</i> III 251
1491	Thachscofin	<i>CPL</i> XV 324.618
1492	Thinchstoffyn	<i>CPL</i> XVI 14.22
1500c.	Taheschohyn	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 36a
1530	Tascoffin	<i>IMED</i> 293
1530	Theacstoffin	<i>IMED</i> 359
1609	Tascoffin	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK)</i> 9J1
1623	Tascoffin	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK)</i> 40J1
1636	Sguithin ó Thigh Sguithin	<i>FNÉ</i> 4
1637	Tagscoffin	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK)</i> 95C1
1645	Tegh Scoithin – Scothinus	<i>ASH</i> 9.9
1645	Teagh Scuitin	<i>ASH</i> 10.9

4.24 Seanán of Laraghbryan

116. Tober(s)enan, *tld*: Kilmacow, *p*: Kilmacow, *cp*: Kilmacow

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint

1669-93 Ecclesia de Kilmacoe, S[anctus] Senanus, Ep[iscopus], 22 Augusti.

PP: Spic.Oss. I 10;

PP: Carrigan IV 134

- 1874-9 St. Senanus of Kilmacow. Moran 14
- 1874-9 The patron saint of Kilmacow, St. Senanus or Senan, whose feast is celebrated August 22nd.
Moran 64
- 1905 According to Dr. Burke, St. Kieran of Saighir is the patron of Kilmacow; Bishop Phelan on the other hand, in his *List of Patrons*, has: “Patronus Ecclesiae de Kilmacoe, S. Senanus, Episcopus 22 Augusti”. The pattern of Kilmacow till its suppression in 1802, was held, not in March, St. Kieran’s month, but on some day towards the end of August.

Carrigan IV 134

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Seanán Láthrach Briúin, in the nearby townland of Rossinan:

- 1759 Edmundus Shortall Parochus S[ancti] Senani de Rossenan.
de Burgo Reg. 5;
Carrigan I 163
- 1759 Dionysius Deleign Parochus S[ancti] Senani de Rossenan.
de Burgo Reg. 23
- 1761 Jacobus Stapleton collatus fuit...ad Parochiam S[ancti] Senani de Rossenan
Carrigan I 172
- 1761 Parochia S[ancti] Senani de Rossenan. *Carrigan I 172*
- 1774 Jacobus Stapleton transfertur a Parochia S[ancti] Senani de Rossenan.

In relation to the above, Kilmacow and Rossinan are adjoining civil parishes while Kilmacow and Mullinavat are adjoining catholic parishes.

5. 'Foreign' or 'imported' saints who were not roughly-contemporaneous with Christ

5.1 Martin of Tours

168. St. Martin's Well, tld: Templemartin, p: St. John's, cp: Clara

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, St. Martin of Tours

1487 pro annata rectorie parrochialis [*sic*] ecclesie S[anc]ti Martini alias de
Tompuyl.

Ann.Oss. 21.66

1669-93 Ecclesia de S[ancti] Martini, S[anctus] Martinus, Ep[iscopus], 11
Nov[embris].

PP: Spic.Oss. 8

1759 Joannes Hoyne Parochus S[ancti] Martini de Templemartin et Par[ochi]ae
de Dunbell.

de Burgo Reg. 2;

Carrigan I 162;

Carrigan NB 167.210

1775 Parochial S[ancti] Martini de Templemartin. *Carrigan I* 174

1775-6 Jacobus Stapleton...transfertur...ad Parochiam S[anctae] Mariae de
Gowran, cum annexis Parochiis S[ancti] Nicolai de Blanchfield's
Hill...S[ancti] Martini de Templemartin & [*sic*] Parochiae de Dunbell.

Carrigan I 173, 174

Toponymical evidence in which the saint's name is preserved

1303-6	St. Martin's	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 19e
1318	St. Martin's	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 20e
1351	St. Martin's	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 21e
1450c.	St. Martin's	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 41f
1480c.	St. Martin's	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 36a
1480c.	St. Martin's	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 36f
1487	pro annata rectorie parrochialis ecclesie S[anc]ti Martini alias de Tompuyl.	<i>Ann.Oss.</i> 21.66
1509	Tempallmurtan	<i>CPL XIX</i> 127.214
1544c.	St. Martin's	<i>COD IV</i> 269
1582	St. Martyns [<i>sic</i>]	<i>F4099</i>
1584-7	St. Martin's	<i>COD V</i> 157
1601	St. Martin's	<i>F6519</i>
1621	St. Martin's in fest' s[an]c[t]I Martin[i].	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK)</i> 43 J1
1628	St. Martin's in poch S[an]c[t]I Martin[i].	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK)</i> 18 C1
1637	St. Martin's	<i>Lodge Ms.</i> V 487
1655	Martins	<i>DS</i>

He appears in non-hydrolatrous contexts elsewhere in the county:

Derrynahinch, *cp*: Ballyhale

1861 I [John Hogan] have been informed by an aged person, a native of the place, that about seventy years ago the “patron” which had been previously held on the Sunday next after the 11th November (St. Martin’s day) in the churchyard of Derrynahinch, was transferred to the chapel-yard of Ballyhale, where it continued to be kept on the same day for many years’.

Hogan 379

(See also Hogan 1861, 384; *O’Hanlon Saints* II 1875-1903, 259; Hogan 1884, 44; *Carrigan* IV 1905, 17, 18).

(ii) Ballyhale, *p*: Derrynahinch, *cp*: Ballyhale See Hogan 1861, 379, (i) above; *AA Tour Guide* 162 (1976) and Pike 1989, 575)

(ii) Kilmartin, *p*: Listerlin, *cp*: Rosbercon

1905 Kilmartin. In Irish Kyle-Mawrthin, i.e. Cill Mártain, St. Martin’s Church. This church stood on Mr. Ryan’s land in Guilcagh, but must have become a ruin many centuries ago.

Carrigan IV 191;

Murphy 2000, 14

(iv) Aglish < Aglish Martine (*COD* V 161 (1584-7), *cp*: Kilmacow

In relation to the above, both Derrynahinch and Ballyhale are situated in the catholic parish of Ballyhale, Kilmacow is a neighbouring although not an adjoining catholic parish of Ballyhale (to the south) and to Rosbercon catholic parish (to the south-west).

Martin also features in temporal contexts in the *Calendar of Judiciary Rolls* and in the *Annals of Friar Clyn* regarding events in County Kilkenny:

18/11/1305 William son of Adam Lam[b], robbery of Inistioge priory ... plea ‘on Thursday in the octave of S. Martin.

CJR II 468

25/11/1305 Adam le Blund of Callan v[ersus] Walter de Kenleie of a plea of trespass ‘in the quinzaine of S. Martin.

CJR II 159

9/11/1321 On the day before the eve of the Blessed Martin, bishop and confessor, [Edmund Butler] was buried at Gowran.

Williams, *Clyn Ann.*
174, 175

5.2 Nicholas of Myra

He is venerated at the following holy wells in County Kilkenny:

96. Thubberniclaush, tld: Kilballykeefe, p: Ballycallan, Tullaghanbrogue, cp: Kilmanagh

Local hagiographical evidence of patron saints, one who is mentioned in association with the holy well, Nicholas, Bishop of Myra (Farmer 364, 365) and Colmán Lainn Eala, who is not

1669-93 Ecclesia de Tullyghanbrogue, S[anctus] Colmanus, Conf[essor], 26 Sept[embris].

PP: Spic.Oss. I 8

1701 St. Nicholas’s chapel, Killballykeeffe.

Carrigan III 436

- 1801 the church of St. Nicholas, Thullachbrock (now called Tullahanbroge).
Stat.Sur.(KK) 520
- 1905 The church of St. Nicholas of Tulachbrow (that is, Tullaghanbroge, parish of Danesfort).
Carrigan II 107
- 1905 the church of St. Nicholas of Thulachbroc. *Carrigan III 384*
- 1905 It would appear that St. Nicholas was the patron of the church of Tullaghanbroge. St. Colman, Confessor, (Sept. 26th), is made the patron by Bishop Phelan, in his *List of Patrons*. The explanation seems to be that St. Colman was the ancient patron; that St. Nicholas was substituted for him by the Anglo-Normans; and that, notwithstanding this substitution, the old Irish saint continued to hold his place, as patron, at least in the traditions of the period in which Bishop Phelan lived and wrote.
Carrigan III 385

110. St. Nicholas Well, *tld*: Killamery, *p*: Killamery, *cp*: Windgap

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, Nicholas, bishop of Myra (Farmer 364, 365)

- 1669-93 Ecclesia de Killamery, S[anctus] Nicolaus, Ep[iscopus], 6 Decem[bris].
PP: Spic.Oss. I 9
- 1759 Thomas Quirk Parochus S[ancti] Nicolai de Killamer [*sic*].
de Burgo Reg. 4;
Carrigan I 162
- 1769 Richardus Shee Parochus S[ancti] Nicolai Episcopi de Killamer.

1876 the feast of St. Gobban; but this same day being also the feast of St. Nicholas, and he, being more popularly known, was substituted for Gobban as patron of that church.

Hogan 108

1905 St. Nicholas (Dec. 6th), patron saint of Killamery.

Carrigan IV 315

Other pertinent venerations in the county include:

(i) Blanchvilleskill, *p*: Blanchvilleskill, *cp*: Gowran

1669-93 Ecclesia de Blanchvilstown, S[anctus] Nicolaus, Ep[iscopus], 6 Dec[embris]

PP: Spic.Oss. I 8

(See also *de Burgo Reg.* 2 (1759); *Carrigan I* 162, 173, 174; *Carrigan NB* 67.34 (1902); Brennan 1955, 19; *Clara Hist.* 12 (2006)).

(ii) *p*: Coolcraheen, *cp*: Connahy

1669-93 Ecclesia de Coolcrahin, S[anctus] Nicolaus, Ep[iscopus], 6 Dec[embris]

PP: Spic.Oss. I 8

(See also *de Burgo Reg.* 5 (1759); *Carrigan I* (1905), 162, 172; *Carrigan II* (1905), 194; *Carrigan NB* 67.32 (1920); *NFCS* 865.386 (1938); *Shell Guide Harb.* 67 (1989)).

(iii) Jerpointchurch, *p*: Jerpointchurch, *cp*: Thomastown
1669-93 Ecclesia Parochialis de Jeripont, S[anctus], Nicolaus, Ep[iscopus], 6
Dec[embris]

PP: Spic.Oss. I 9

2007 St. Nicholas Parish Church. It is popularity associated with St. Nicholas,
bishop of Myra

NJCP 41

(Conservation Plan)

(See also *de Burgo Reg. 4* (1759); *de Burgo Reg. 24* (1764); *Carrigan IV* 299;
OSFM(KK) 9716 (1949); *O'Kelly* 1969, 164; *AA Tour Guide* 225 (1976);
Murtagh 1997, 118; Farrell 2014, 111).

(iv) St. Nicholas Church, Butt's Cross, Kilkenny City

1865 St. Nicholas' church Hogan 250

1883 St. Nicholas' chapel Moran 232

1884 The site of St. Nicholas's Church is well known. The Butts Cross now
represents its position.

Hogan 267

(See also Hogan 1884, 336 and *Carrigan III* 1905, 192).

(v) St. Nicholas' Church/Chapel, *tld*: Kilmacoliver, *p*: Tullahought, *cp*: Windgap

1903 St. Nicholas' R.C. chapel, Kilmacoliver E2(6)

1969 Tobar Mhuire is near the roadside south of St. Nicholas's R.C. church.

O'Kelly 156

(vi) Threecastles/Odagh, *p*: Odagh, *cp*: St. Patrick's

1669-93 Ecclesia de Odogh, S[anctus] Nicholaus, Ep[iscopu]s, 6 Dec[embris]

PP: Spic.Oss. I 7

(See also *Ann.Oss.* 30.96 (1498); *Ann.Oss.* 27.60 (1505); *de Burgo Reg.* 3 (1759); *Carrigan II* 1905, 268; *Carrigan NB* 67.32 (1920); *Freshford Sketches* 49 (2003)).

In relation to the above, Coolcraheen and Odagh are adjoining civil parishes, Blanchvilleskill civil parish adjoins the civil parishes of Ballycallan and Tullaghanbrogue, Tullahought and Killamery are adjoining civil parishes, Odagh and Ballycallan are neighbouring although not adjoining civil parishes, and Blanchvilleskill and Jerpointchurch are also neighbouring although not adjoining civil parishes.

St. Nicholas also features in temporal contexts concerning early and mid-fourteenth century events in County Kilkenny, namely, in the *Calendar of Justiciary Rolls* and in the *Annals of Friar Clyn*:

5/12/1302 Pleas of Plaints, at Kilkenny, before J. Wogan, Justiciar of Ireland, on Wednesday the vigil of S. Nicholas.

CJR I 453

7/12/1347 On Friday, the day after blessed Nicholas, Oliver de la Freigne died in the office of [the] seneschal of Kilkenny.

Williams, *Clyn Ann.*
242, 243

5.3 Catherine of Alexandria

153. St. Catherine's Well, *tld*: Rathbeagh, *p*: Rathbeagh, *cp*: Lisdowney

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, St. Catherine, Virgin and Martyr
(*Carrigan* II 323, Baring-Gould XIV 540, *Misc.Hag.Hib.* 257, Farmer 92)

1494 the rectory of the parish church of St. Catherine's, Rabchach [*recte*
Rabehach].

Ann.Oss. 28.90

1669-93 Ecclesia de Rathbeagh, S[ancta] Catharina, V[irgo] et M[artyr], 25
Nov[embris].

PP: Spic.Oss. I 7

1759 Richardus Shee Parochus S[anctae] Catharinae de Rathbeagh.

de Burgo Reg. 3;
Carrigan I 162;
Carrigan NB 167.79

1768 Joseph Clarke transfertur ad Parochiam S[anctae] Catharinae de Rathbeagh.

de Burgo Reg. 27

1778 Andreas Gorman Parochus S[anctae] Brigidae de Acharny, cum annexis
S[ancti] Manachini de Coolcashel, S[anctae] Catharinae de Rathbeag.

Troy Reg. (de Burgo) 40

1839 Rathbay. They say here that a nunnery under the Patronage of St.
Catherine stood here long ago and I am disposed to believe them from the

number of well cut stones up and down in the walls of the present ruin, evidently belonging to an older and more respectable building.

OSL(KK) I 88

1893 St. Catherine is the patroness of Rathbeagh. Healy 175

179. St. Cathrine's [sic] Well, tld: Tullamaine (Ashbrook), p: Tullamaine, cp: Callan, Lisdowney being situated in the north-west of the county and Callan in the mid-west.

St. Catherine's Chapel and chantry and Abbey ruins are also located in Callan (q.v. *IMED* 187 (1560c.); *COD* V (1563), 136; *IMED* 205 (1569-70); *IMED* 294 (1570); *Mon.Hib.* 349 (1786); *Lewis* I 245 (1837); Hall II 1842, 62; *Carrigan* III 1905, 342; Commins 1906, 273; Kennedy 2000, 11; Spears 2006, 103), 'half way up the hill on Green Street stand the ruins of St. Catherine's Abbey' (Bassett 1884, 166).

5.4 Margaret of Antioch

26. St. Margaret's Well, tld: Brabstown, p: Tullaroan, cp: Tullaroan

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, St. Margaret (*Misc.Hag.Hib.* 264)

2008 Brabstown – St. Margaret. Pattern – Yes. Dorgan & Dorgan 24

She also features in temporal contexts in the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds* and in the *Liber Primus Kilkenniensis* concerning certain (although admittedly rare) events in County Kilkenny in the early and mid-fifteenth century:

1401 given at Kells on St. Margaret's day *COD* II 254

1460 in uigilia Sancte Margarete Uirginis *Lib.Prim.Kilk.* 63

5.5 David of Wales

39. St. David's Well, tld: Castleinch or Inchyolaghan, p: Castleinch or Inchyolaghan, cp: St. Patrick's

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, St. David of Wales (Mould 1964, 135)

- 1486 the parish church of St. David, Insiuolakan. *CPL XIV 120*
- 1486 the parish church of St. David, Insywolachom [*sic*].
CPL XIV 130
- 1486 pro annata rectorie parrochialis [*sic*] ecclesie Sancti David de Insywolachon.
Ann.Oss. 20.62
- 1669-93 Ecclesia de Inchiwolaghan, S[anctus] David, Ep[iscopus], 1 Martii.
PP: Spic.Oss. I 8
- 1759 Mauritus Delany Parochus S[ancti] Davidis de Castle Inch.
de Burgo Reg. 2;
Carrigan I 162;
Carrigan NB 167.352

180. David's Well, *tld*: Tullaheerin, *p*: Tullaheerin, *cp*: Tullaheerin

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint
Dungarvan and Tullaheerin are adjoining townlands.

- 1669-93 Ecclesia de Dungarvan, S[anctus] David, Ep[iscopus], 1 Martii.
PP: Spic.Oss. I 8
- 1759 Joannes Hoyne Parochus S[ancti] Davidis de Dungarvan.
de Burgo Reg. 2;
Carrigan I 162;
Carrigan NB 167.210

1775-6 Jacobus Stapelton...transfertur...ad Parochiam S[anctae] Mariae de
Gowran, cum annexis Parochiis S[ancti] Nicolai de Blanchfield's Hill,
S[ancti] Davidis de Dungarvan.

Carrigan I 173, 174

1882 Saint Dathi or David, church of Dungarvan. *Loc.Pat.* 310

1905 The ancient parish church of Dungarvan was dedicated to St. David, Bishop
of Menevia (March 1st).

Carrigan III 417

1920 Dungarvan – S[t] David, March 1. *Carrigan NB 67.34*

1969 Dungarvan. The ancient church, dedicated to St. David of Wales, was
taken down in the early 19th century.

O'Kelly 70

2015 The present-day chapel of Dungarvan is called St. David's.

He is venerated elsewhere in the county in seemingly non-hydrolatrous contexts:

(i) Dungarvan, *p*: Dungarvan, *cp*: Gowran

1669-93 Ecclesia de Dungarvan, S[anctus] David, Ep[iscopos], 1 Martii

PP: Spic.Oss. I 8

(See also *de Burgo Reg. 2* (1759); *Loc.Pat.* 310 (1882); *Carrigan I* 162, 173,
174; *Carrigan III* 1905, 417; *Carrigan NB 67.34* (1920); *O'Kelly* 1969, 70).

(ii) Knocktopher, *p*: Knocktopher, *cp*: Ballyhale

1999 There was a long-standing connection between the town of Knocktopher and St. David. The parish church there had been dedicated to St. David since at least the fifteenth century.

Cunningham &
Gillespie 39

(iii) Listerlin, *p*: Listerlin, *cp*: Ballyhale

1669-93 Ecclesia de Listerling, S[anctus] David, Ep[iscopus], 1 Martii

PP: Spic.Oss. I 9

(See also *de Burgo Reg. 5* (1759); Moore 1874-9, 28; *Carrigan I* 163, 172; *Carrigan IV* 1905, 190; Orpen 1909, 325; *O'Kelly* 1969, 117; Cunningham & Gillespie 1999, 33; Murphy 2000, 14)

(iv) Ullid, *p*: Ullid, *cp*: Kilmacow

1669-93 Ecclesia de Illud, seù Ullid, S[anctus] David, Ep[iscopus], 1 Martii

PP: Spic.Oss. I 10

(See also *de Burgo Reg. 5* (1759); Brennan 1874-9, 60; *Loc.Pat.* 310 (1882); *Carrigan NB* 67.36 (1920); *NFCS* 843.173 (1938); *O'Kelly* 1969, 139).

In relation to the above, Castleinch and Tullaherin are neighbouring although not adjoining civil parishes, Dungarvan and Tullaherin are adjoining civil parishes, Ballyhale and Tullaherin are neighbouring although not adjoining catholic parishes, Rosbercon and Ballyhale are adjoining catholic parishes, and Rosbercon and Kilmacow are neighbouring although not adjoining catholic parishes.

5.6 Leonard of Noblac

64. St. Ronagh's [Leonard's] Well, tld: Dunnamaggan East, p: Dunnamaggan, cp: Dunnamaggan

Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, St. Leonard, Abbot, 6 Nov. (Baring-Gould XII 159)

1669-93 Ecclesia de Dunnamaggan, S[anctus] Leonardus, Abbas, 6 Novembris.

PP:Spic.Oss. I 9

1759 Thomas Quirk Parochus S[ancti] Leonardi de Dunnamaggin.

de Burgo Reg. 4;

Carrigan I 162

1769 Richardus Shee ad parochiam S[ancti] Leonardi de Dunnamaggin.

de Burgo Reg. 29

1888 Crown Linny or St. Leonard's tree is in Tobin's ground, it is an oak tree. A ditch is called St. Leonard's ditch, and part of the parish is St. Leonard's parish.

Carrigan NB 137.115

1893-4 Crown-San-Leenerth is a venerable sceach. *Carrigan NB 6.41*

5.7 Augustine of Hippo

31. St. Augustine's Well, tld: Callan North, p: Callan, cp: Callan

Associated hagiographical evidence of the patron saint, St. Augustine of Hippo [354-430], bishops and Doctor of the Church' (Farmer 34)

1507 hac presenti carta mea confirmaui priori conuentui et monasterio Sancti Augustini in Callan;

- inter monasterium Sancti Augustini. *IMED 238*
- 1541 the site of the monastery of Augustin friars of Callan.
F243
- 1541 Austin Friary of Callan *IMP 202*
- Augustinian Friary of Callan *IMED 295*
- 1590 the frery or late dissolved house of Callan commonly callid [*sic*] the Austyn freres and the convent or confrers therof [*sic*].
IMED 274, 275
- 1786 A friary for Augustinian Eremites was founded here [Callan].
Mon.Hib. 348
- 1810 A Friary for Augustinian Eremites was founded here.
Carlisle

The saint's feastday is acknowledged in temporal contexts in the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*:

- 1382 given at Kells on Sunday next after the feast of St. Augustine
COD II 190
- 1446 Given at Henbryeston [= Ballyhenebery, Owing/Whitechurch] on Wednesday next after the feast of St. Augustine in the 24th year of Henry VI, August 31, 1446.
COD III 164

5.8 Dominic of Caleruega

74. Angel's Well, Blackabbey Well (alias), St. Dominic's Well (alias), tld: Gardens, p: St. Canice's, cp: St. Canice's

The Dominican Blackabbey Friary was founded here in 1225 (*Med.Rel.Ho.* 220; O'Keefe 2016, 10), while the Dominican house at Rosbercon was founded in 1267 (*Ibid.* 220), references to which include the following:

1612	abbia de St. Dominick's, Rosbercon	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK) 53 C 1</i>
1637	St. Dominick's Abbey	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK) 90 C 1</i>
1662	St. Dominick's Abbey	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK) 2 C II</i>

5.9 St. Francis of Assisi

76. St. Francis Well, tld: Gardens, p: St. Canice's, cp: St. Canice's

Associated hagiographical evidence of the abbey of St. Francis of Assisi (1181-1226), 'confessor, founder of the Franciscan Order' (Farmer 191)

17/11/1338 fuit maxima inundancia aque, qualis a xlta annis ante non est visa; que pontes, molendina et edificia funditus evertit et asportavit; solum altare magnum et gradus altaris de tota abbacia Fratrum Minorum Kilkennie, aqua non attigit nec cooperuit.

Clyn Ann. 225

(*Carrigan III 105*)

1479 dedimus concessimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmauimus Richardo fizt Gerrot baroni de Barnchurche, procuratoribus Fratrum Minorum conuentus Kilkennie nomine Romane ecclesie.

IMED 236

1509 Franciscan Friary, Kilkenny *IMED 296*

1541 House of Franciscan Friars of Kylkenny. *IMP 199*

1617	Conventus Killkeniae [S. Francisci]	Jennings 82, 83
1629	In conventu Killenniensi (Franciscan friary).	<i>Lib.Lov.</i> 5.50
1648	Franciscanorum conventus	<i>Comm. Rinucc.</i> III 159

5.10 Philomena of (? Corfu)

154. St. Philomena's Well, *tld*: Rathcash West, *p*: Blanchvilleskill, *cp*: Gowran

Appendix XLI

List of names where the documented local hagiographical evidence predates the first documented entry of wells

3. St. Brandon's Well (1839), documented hagiographical evidence (*DHE*) – earliest reference (1669-93);
8. Trinity Well (1839), *DHE* (1669-93);
9. St. Brigid's Well (1969), *DHE* (1494);
12. Mickel's Well (1899), *DHE* (1669-93);
16. Trinity Well (1887-9), *DHE* (1178-1202);
- 19.* Toberbride (1838), *DHE* (1873);
21. St. Michael's Well (1838), *DHE* (1506);
- 25.* Toberpatrick (1812), *DHE* (2008);
- 26.* St. Margaret's Well (1838), *DHE* (2008);
29. St. Dallan's Well (1839), *DHE* (1669-93);
30. Thubbernamydan (1889-90), *DHE* (1669-93);
31. St. Augustine's Well (1838), *DHE* (1507);
- 33.* St. Michael's Well (1842), *DHE* (2008);
34. St. James's Holy Well (1839), *DHE* (1669-93);
38. Tobar Chiaráin (1841), *DHE* (1669-93);
39. St. David's Well (1880-3), *DHE* (1486);
40. Lady's Well (1839), *DHE* (1396);
- 41.* Tubber Kilkeerawn (1874-9), *DHE* (1938);
42. St. Colman's Well (1864), *DHE* (1669-93);
45. Tobermurry (1839), *DHE* (1669-93);
46. Tubber Broondhawin (1887-92), *DHE* (1669-93);
48. Toberaghcanice (1839), *DHE* (1669-93);
49. St. Fiachra's Well (Toberadrugh) (1892), *DHE* (1669-93);
51. St. Columbkille's Well (1802), *DHE* (1669-93);
53. St. Mary's Well (2006), *DHE* (1669-93);
55. St. Monchin's Well (1839), *DHE* (1669-93);
58. Thubber Phaudhrig (1900), *DHE* (1839);
64. St. Ronagh's / Leonard's Well (1838), *DHE* (1669-93);

65. St. Patrick's Well (1938), *DHE* (700c.);
66. Tobermogue (1837), *DHE* (1669-93);
- 70.* Thubberchooann (1900), *DHE* (2008);
- 71.* Tobermurry (1839), *DHE* (2008);
73. St. Scoheen's Well (1838), *DHE* (830c.);
74. St. Dominic's Well / Blackabbey Well / Angel's Well (1883), *DHE* (1406);
75. St. Canice's Well (1244-50), *DHE* (1202-89);
76. St. Francis Well (1617), *DHE* (1338);
- 77.* St. Kieran's Well (1260), *DHE* (1852-3);
78. St. Mary's Well (1883), *DHE* (1202);
80. Tobera Choinee (1874-9), *DHE* (1669-93);
- 82.* Tobermathulla (1839), *DHE* (2008);
86. Lady's Well (1842), *DHE* (1210c.);
88. St. Kyran's Well (1839), *DHE* (1476);
91. Columbkille's Well (1802), *DHE* (1210);
92. St. Rock's Well (1859), *DHE* (1669-93);
95. Toberbride (1839), *DHE* (1669-93);
96. Thubberniclaush (1839), *DHE* (1701);
- 97.* St. Broghan's Well (1874-9), *DHE* (2008);
98. Tubbervrachawin (1905), *DHE* (1875);
99. Thubbervzheedha (1874-9), *DHE* (1669-93);
103. St. John's Well (1893), *DHE* (1874-9);
- 108.* St. Kieran's Well (1838), *DHE* (1875-1903);
110. St. Nicholas Well (1839), *DHE* (1669-93);
116. Toberenan (1874-9), *DHE* (1669-93);
118. St. Andrew's Well (1890), *DHE* (1669-93);
131. Tobermolua (1839), *DHE* (1669-93);
- 132.* St. Bridget's Well (1905), *DHE* (2008);
133. TubbernaevMulleeng (1819), *DHE* (1819);
135. St. James's Well (1827), *DHE* (1669-93);
137. Toberlaghteen (1817), *DHE* (622);
- 140.* St. Mullin's Well (18th century), *DHE* (1819);
141. Lady's Well (1822), *DHE* (1669-93);
- 142.* St. Bridget's Well (1839), *DHE* (1864);

- 146. Lady's Well (1905), *DHE* (1440);
- 151. Toberaniddaun (1839-40), *DHE* (830c.);
- 153. St. Catherine's Well (1838), *DHE* (1494);
- 156. Toberkieran (1839), *DHE* (1669-93);
- 165. St. Fintan's Well (1874-9), *DHE* (1759);
- 166. St. Fiachra's Well (1837), *DHE* (1669-93);
- 167. Toberkieran (1838), *DHE* (1669-93);
- 168. St. Martin's Well (1838), *DHE* (1487);
- 170. St. Fiachra's Well / Toberelleen (1934), *DHE* (1934);
- 171. St. Finan's Well (1837), *DHE* (1669-93);
- 172. St. Bridget's Well (1837), *DHE* (1669-93);
- 175. St. Brendan's Well / Toberacrin (1430-1), *DHE* (1430-1);
- 177. Toberpatrick (1839), *DHE* (1669-93);
- 178. David's Well (1838), *DHE* (1669-93);
- 179. St. Cathrine's Well [*sic*] / Thubbervweenia (1938), *DHE* (1759);
- 180. Lady's Well (1838), *DHE* (1669-93);
- 181. St. Fiachra's Well (1838), *DHE* (1838);
- 182. Lady's Well (1874-9), *DHE* (1669-93).

The fourteen names above bearing an asterisk account for 16.8% of the names where the evidence of the well appears to predate the documented evidence of the saint in the locality (14/83). The opposite is the case for 83.1% of the names (69/83).

Contemporaneity is noticed in the case of the following:

- 133. TubbernaevMulleeng (1819), *DHE* (1819);
- 170. St. Fiachra's Well / Toberelleen (1934), *DHE* (1934), and
- 181. St. Fiachra's Well (1838), *DHE* (1838).

Appendix XLII

List of well names containing hagiographical and toponymical evidence of a saint's name

51. St. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: *Columbkille*;
73. St. Scoheen's Well, *tld*: *Freneystown / Tiscoffin / Tigh Scoithín*;
88. St. Kyran's Well, *tld*: *Grangefertagh / Boherkieran*;
97. St. Broghan's Well, *tld*: *Kilbraghan*;
98. Tubbervrachawin, *tld*: *Kilbraghan*;
99. Thubbervzheedha, *tld*: *Kilbride*;
108. St. Kieran's Well, *tld*: *Kilkieran*;
131. Tobermolua, *tld*: *Kylenaskeagh / Killaloe (Cill Dalua)*;
156. Toberkieran, *tld*: *Rathkieran*;
168. St. Martin's Well, *tld*: *Templemartin*;
172. St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: *Toberbreedia*.

Appendix XLIII

Frequency of saints' names pertaining to the holy wells of County Kilkenny
(50 different saints are represented in total)

Blessed Virgin Mary (19) (16.7%)
Brigid of Kildare (12) (10.6%)
Ciarán of Saighir (9) (7.9%)
Patrick, National Apostle (8) (7.07%)
Fiachra of south-east Kilkenny (4) (3.5%)
Cainneach of Aghaboe and Kilkenny (3) (2.6%)
Michael, Archangel (3) (2.6%)
Holy Trinity (3) (2.6%)
Bearchán of Drumlohan (2) (1.8%)
Catherine of Alexandria (2) (1.8%)
Colm Cille of Iona (2) (1.8%)
Cuán of Kilcoan and Weatherstown (2) (1.8%)
David of Wales (2) (1.8%)
James, Apostle (2) (1.8%)
John the Baptist (2) (1.8%)
Moling Luachra (2) (1.8%)
Munna of Taghmon (2) (1.8%)
Nicholas of Myra (2) (1.8%)
Andrew, Apostle (1) (0.88%)
Anne (1) (0.88%)
Augustine (1) (0.88%)
Brendan of Birr (1) (0.88%)
Brendan of Clonfert (1) (0.88%)
Colmán of Holdenstown (1) (0.88%)
Cranat (1) (0.88%)
Dallán Forghail (1) (0.88%)
Dominic of Caleruega (1) (0.88%)
Fachtna of Tibberaghny (1) (0.88%)
Féichín of Fore (1) (0.88%)

Finnian of Clonard (1) (0.88%)
Francis of Assisi (1) (0.88%)
John of Jerusalem (1) (0.88%)
Laichtín of Achadh Úr (1) (0.88%)
Lorcán of Christ Church and Glendalough (1) (0.88%)
Leonard of Noblac (1) (0.88%)
Lóchán of Rathloghan (1) (0.88%)
Luke, Evangelist (1) (0.88%)
Mainchín of Coolcashin (1) (0.88%)
Margaret of Antioch (1) (0.88%)
Mark, Evangelist (1) (0.88%)
Martin of Tours (1) (0.88%)
Mochuille of Dreasnaidh (1) (0.88%)
Modhomhnóg Oilithir (1) (0.88%)
Molua of Kyle (1) (0.88%)
Moninne of Killeavy (1) (0.88%)
Morióg of Inchbofin (1) (0.88%)
Nadál of Kilmanagh (1) (0.88%)
Philomena of Corfu (?) (1) (0.88%)
Scoithín of Tiscoffin (1) (0.88%)
Seanán of Laraghbryan (1) (0.88%)

Appendix XLIV

Tabular summary of categories 1–5, saints and holy wells

Category	Number of saints	Number of instances	% of total
Category 1 Biblical persons, rough contemporaries of Christ	11	35	$35/113 = 31\%$
Category 2 National patrons	3	22	$22/113 = 19.5\%$
Category 3 Diocesan patrons	3	13	$13/113 = 11.5\%$
Category 4 Saints additional to 2 and 3 who appear to have/have had a local cult	24	31	$31/113 = 27.4\%$
Category 5 Foreign/imported saints who were not rough contemporaries of Christ and who were revered by Anglo-Normans and later settlers in Medieval Gaelic Ireland	10	13	$13/113 = 11.5\%$

Appendix XLV

Tabular summary of named saints listed in categories 1–5

Category	Number of saints	Additional instances	Total
Category 1	11	Mary (20), Anne (0), James (6), Andrew (1), Luke (0), Mark (0), John the Baptist (0), John of Jerusalem (0), Michael (5), Holy Trinity (2)	34
Category 2	3	Patrick (16), Brigid (9), Colm Cille (0)	25
Category 3	3	Brendan of Clonfert (3), Cainneach (4), Ciarán of Saighir (6)	13
Category 4	24	Bearchán of Drumlohan (0), Brendan of Birr (0), Colmán of Holdenstown (1), Cranat (0), Cuán of Kilcoan (0), Dallán Forghaill (0), Fachtna of Tibberaghny (0), Féichín of Fore (0), Fiachra (0), Finnian of Clonard (0), Laichtín of Freshford (0), Laurence O’Toole (0), Lóchán of Rathlogan (0), Mainchín of Coolcashin (2), Mochuille of Dreasnaidh (0), Modhomhnóg Oilithir (1), Moling Luachra (3), Molua of Kyle (0), Moninne of Killeavy (0), Moríóg of Inchbofin (0), Munna of Taghmon (1), Nadál of Kilmanagh (0), Scoithín of Tiscoffin/Freneystown (0), Seanán of Laraghbryan (1)	9
Category 5	10	Martin of Tours (4), Nicholas of Myra (6), Catherine of Alexandria (2), Margaret of Antioch (0), David of Wales (4), Leonard of Noblac (0), Augustine of Hippo (0), Dominic of Caleruega (1), Francis of Assisi (0), Philomena of (?) Corfu (0)	17

Appendix XLVI

List of saints associated with the localities of certain wells which do not feature in the actual names of the wells

1. St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Afaddy or Silverspring, BLESSED VIRGIN, 8th September (Nativity) (*COD* V 112 (1559); *PP*: *Spic.Oss.* I 10 (1669-93); *de Burgo Reg.* 4 (1759); *Troy Reg.(de Burgo)* 37 (1777); *Carrigan* IV (1905), 154; *O'Kelly* 125).

References to the Blessed Virgin are given under Ballytarsney which adjoins the townland of Afaddy.

6. Aughkiletaun Well, *tld*: Aughkiletaun, BAIRRFHIONN (*Ó Riain Saints* 83), Barrind mac Aeda o Achud Chaillden (*FOeng.* 240 (c.830)), 8 November, year of death unknown.
29. St. Dallan's Well, *tld*: Burnchurch (Dallán Forghaill of Kildallon, 31 July), COLMÁN of Longfordpass, Co. Tipperary, also 31 July (*Ó Riain Saints* 195, 196, 656), Saint Colman, Burnchurch (*de Burgo Reg.* 2 (1759)).
34. St. James's Well, *tld*: Carrickcloney, MOCHAOMHÓG of Leigh, Co. Tipperary, 7th century abbot, Cill Mochaomhóg (*Liostaí Log.CC* 50) > Kilmakevoge, 13 March (*OSL(KK)* II 176, 177; *Farmer Saints* 341; *Ó Riain Saints* 460), *obit* 656 (*Ibid.* 460)).

Kilmakevoge and Carrickcloney are adjoining townlands and Graiguenakill Church ruins (*EI(6)*) in the townland of Kilmakevoge are situated very close to the 'Holy Well' (*EI(6)*).

36. Bostionfort Well, *tld*: Castle Ellis, BLESSED VIRGIN, 15 August (Assumption) mentioned under adjoining Gowran (*Carrigan* III (1313), 409; *COD* IV 187 (1539); *PP*:*Spic.Oss.* I 8 (1669-93); *de Burgo Reg.* 2 (1759); Hogan 1884, 238; *Carrigan* III 1905, 402; *Carrigan NB* 67.34 (1920); *Shell Guide Harb.* 198; Moss 2014, 200).

40. Lady's Well, *tld*: Castlemarket. DÍMMÁN of Araidh/DÍOMÁN of Clonkeen, Co. Limerick, 10 December, Kilmademoge < Cill Modhíomóg (*cp*: Muckalee, being an adjoining catholic parish of Ballyragget in which Castlemarket, *p*: Rosconnell is situated), d.811 (*Ó Riain Saints* 267; *AU* 266, 267), is mentioned in connection with Rosconnell during the period 1429-1506: *CPL* VIII 96 (1429); *Ann.Oss.* 310 (1429); *CPL* XIV 242 (1488); *CPL* XV 379 (1489); *Ann.Oss.* 24.75 (1489); *CPL* XVI 77 (1493); *Ann.Oss.* 26.83 (1493); *CPL* XVIII 608 (1506); *Ann.Oss.* 33.109 (1506).
52. Tobar Phóil, *tld*: Connahy, COLMÁN OF HOLDENSTOWN, 16 October (*de Burgo Reg.* 5 (1759); *Carrigan* II 1905, 193; *Ó Riain Saints* 186, 189; Colman ón Chill Rúaidhsin (Kilroot), *FOeng.* 216 (830c.)).

However, even though the saint appears to have missed out in the naming of the present well, he does appear in the case of St. Colman's Well, *tld*: Churchclara.

59. Derrynahinch Holy Well, *tld*: Derrynahinch, MOCHEALLÓG/KILLOCUS, 26 March, *PP*: *Spic.Oss.* I 9 (1669-93); *de Burgo Reg.* 4 (1759); *O'Hanlon Saints* III 953-8; *Carrigan* IV 1905, 17, 18; *Carrigan NB* 67.35 (1920); MacLeod 1946, 168; *Ó Riain Saints* 462.

MARTIN OF TOURS, 11 November, appears to have ousted Mocheallóg (7th century contemporary of Finian of Kinnitty and founder of Kilmallock monastery) in this instance: *Graves Patrons* 10 (1858-65); *Carrigan NB* 27.74 (1901); MacLeod 1946, 168; Dorgan & Dorgan (2008), 19.

However, neither of the saints appear in the naming of the well.

87. St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Grange, RUANUS/RUADHÁN, 15 April (*PP*: *Spic.Oss.* I 10 (1669-93); *de Burgo Reg.* 4 (1759); *Troy Reg.(de Burgo)* 37 (1777); *Carrigan NB* 67.36 (1920); *Ó Riain Saints* 543).

The saint in question is RUADHÁN OF LORRHA, Co. Tipperary (*Ó Riain Saints* 541-4), d.584 (*Ibid.* 543).

Grange and Pollrone are adjoining townlands.

93. Tubberathoggarth, *tld*: Jamestown, COLMÁN LOBHAR, 21 May, Colman Iobor (*FOeng.* 134 (830c.); *PP: Spic.Oss.* I 10 (1669-93), Ballygurrim; *de Burgo Reg.* 4 (1759); *de Burgo Reg.* 25 (1765); *Loc.Pat.* 309 (1882); *Carrigan IV* 89; *NFCS* 845.8 (1938); Bradley 2006, 20; *Ó Riain Saints* 206).

Ballygurrim Church ruins are situated in the townland of Jamestown.

96. Thubberniclaush, *tld*: Kilballykeefe, COLMÁN LAINN EALA, 26 September, d.611 (*Ó Riain Saints* 203); (*PP: Spic.Oss.* I 8 (1669-93); ‘St. Colman, Confessor, is made the patron by Bishop Phelan, in his *List of Patrons*. The explanation seems to be that St. Colman was the ancient patron; that St. Nicholas was substituted for him by the Anglo-Normans; and that, notwithstanding this substitution, the old Irish saint continued to hold his place, as patron, at least in the traditions of the period in which Bishop Phelan lived and wrote’, *Carrigan III* (1905), 385; *Carrigan NB* 67.32 (1920)).
105. Lady Well, *tld*: Kildrinagh, DORANUS, confused with Dronán of Cromwellstown, Co. Kildare (*Ó Riain Saints* 274; *de Burgo Reg.* 3 (1759); *de Burgo Reg.* 25 (1765); *de Burgo Reg.* 29 (1771); *Carrigan I* 162; *Carrigan NB* 167.53).

Doranus

On referring to ‘the church (St. Doranus or St. Dronnan’s) at Kildrinagh, (in Irish Cill Draighneach) – the church of the sloe bushes’ above, Margaret Hayes continues: ‘there is a reference in the Book of Leinster, compiled c.1160 AD in its lists of Irish Saints to “Feidlem agus Eps. Daurthech i Cill Achaidh Draignige’ (Hayes 2014, 10), perhaps inferring that Kildrinagh, the townland in question here, was formerly styled Cill Achaidh Draignige in the twelfth century. However, such a correlation may be wide of the mark as the twelfth-century Irish-language form refers to the townland and civil parish name of Killadreenan in County Wicklow according to *FSÁG* 3 (2008), 120.

106. Kilfane Holy Well, *tld*: Kilfane (Demesne), Pán was supposedly a brother of Moghóróg of Delgany (*Ó Riain Saints* 525) who may have administered the last rites to

Caoimhghin of Glendalough, d.618 or 622 (*Ibid.* 149, 479). PÁN appears to give way to the BLESSED VIRGIN, 8 December (Conception) who does not feature in the naming of the well: *PP: Spic.Oss.* I 8 (1669-93); *de Burgo Reg.* 4 (1759); *de Burgo Reg.* 24 (1764); *Carrigan III* (1905), 483; *Carrigan NB* 67.34 (1920); *Ó Riain Saints* 525, 526.

107. Kilkeasy Holy Well, *tld:* Kilkeasy, LUCHTIGHEARN OF TOMFINLOUGH, Co. Clare, 28 May, his mother Brígh was variously paternally associated with Aodh Damháin, d.633 (*Ó Riain Saints* 407): *PP: Spic.Oss.* I 9 (1669-93); *de Burgo Reg.* 4 (1759); Moran 1874-9, 14; *Carrigan IV* (1905), 5, *Carrigan NB* 67.35 (1920); *Ó Riain Saints* 406, 407.

110. St. Nicholas Well, *tld:* Killamery, GOBÁN FIONN, 6 December (the same feast day as St. Nicholas of Myra).

Gobán is mentioned in many early and modern sources in connection with Killamery:

Gobbain .i. o Chill Lamraige (*FOeng.* 256);

Gobban Chille Lamhraighe (*FGorm.* 232);

Gobban Chille Lamhraighe (*FNE* 424);

Gobanus de Kill-lamruidhe (*ASH* 750); *Mon.Hib.* 366 (1786); *OSL(KK)* II 103 (1839);

Hogan 1861, 360; Hogan 1864, 211; Keane 1867, 424; *O'Hanlon Saints* IV 213 (1875-

1907); Hogan (1876), 107; *Loc.Pat.* 287, 288 (1882); *Comerford Coll.* I 44 (1883);

Hogan 1884, 130; *Carrigan I* 16 (1905); *Carrigan IV* 311; Roe 1969, 43; 'The ancient

monastery founded by St. Gobaun Fionn in the early 7th century', *O'Kelly* 1969, 149;

Med.Rel.Ho. 392 (1970); Manning 1982, 37; Edwards 1990, 41; *Nat.Mon.Harb.* 203

(1992); Brennan 2000, 27; Feeley & Sheehan 2003, 9; Meehan 2008, 356; Ray 2014,

83.

Nicholas, 6 December, was presumably substituted here because of Anglo-Norman influence.

112. Thubber Murrha, *tld:* Kilmacar < Cill Mocheara (*Liostaí Log.CC* 78), *recte* Cill Mhic Earra (?), MAC EARA (*Ó Riain Saints* 417), a supposed contemporary of Moling Luachra, d.697 (*Ó Riain Saints* 489) and of St. Ruadhán, d.c.584 (Farmer 423; *Ó Riain Saints* 543), in which case he would not have died at a young age (!).

112. Thubber Murrha, *tld*: Kilmacar, APOSTLES PETER AND PAUL, 29 June (Peter d.c.64AD (*Farmer Saints* 388), Paul d.c.65AD (*Ibid.* 381), both having the same feast day): *PP: Spic.Oss.* I 8 (1669-93); *de Burgo Reg.* 5 (1759); *Carrigan* I 1905, 172; *Carrigan* II 1905, 200; *Carrigan NB* 67.32; *Ó Riain Saints* 417.

Carrigan's assertion that 'the patrons of the church [of Kilmacar], probably since the advent of the Anglo-Normans, are the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul (June 29th)' (*Carrigan* II 200) is worth noting here.

116. Tober(s)enan, *tld*: Kilmacow, CIARÁN OF SAIGHIR, 5 March (*de Burgo Reg.* 5 (1759); *de Burgo Reg.* 23 (1759); *de Burgo Reg.* 25 (1765); *Troy Reg.(de Burgo)* 35 (1777); *O'Hanlon Saints* III 144 (1875-1903); *Carrigan* IV 1905, 134; Laffan 2005, 30, the feastday of Seanán of Laraghbryan being 22 August (*Ó Riain Saints* 557)).

123. Tubberachreene, *tld*: Kilmogue, MOMHAODHÓG OF FIDDOWN, 13 August, d.c.603 (*Ó Riain Saints* 340): *FOeng.* 134 (830c.); *MTall.* 26, 44, 63 (830c.), *LL* VI 47956 (1160c.); *LB* 19b (1410c.); *FNÉ* 132 (1630); *ASH* 727.7 (1645); *LGen.* 461.10 (1650c.); *Ware's Antiq.* 263 (1764); *Lewis* I (1837), 629; *OSL(KK)* II 203 (1839); *O'Hanlon Saints* III 929 (1875-1903); *Loc.Pat.* 315 (1882); *Ó Riain Saints* 494.

The saint in question is linked to the name of the townland, Kilmogue, but not to the name of the well.

133. Tubbernaev Mulleeng, *tld*: Listerlin, DAVID OF WALES, 1 March, d.589 or 601 (*Farmer* 127): David Ecclesia de Listerling, *PP: Spic.Oss.* I 9 (1759); *de Burgo Reg.* 5, 21 (1759); Moore 1874-9, 28; *Carrigan* IV 1905, 190; Orpen 1909, 325; *O'Kelly* 1969, 117; Murphy 2000, 14.

Although David was clearly introduced by the Anglo-Normans, Moling Luachra, d.697 (*Ó Riain Saints* 489) held out in this instance as his local tradition was very strong (cf. St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill and nearby St. Mullin's, Co. Carlow).

140. St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill, BERNARD, Cistercian saint, 20 August (Farmer 52), d.1153 (*Ibid.* 51), *de Burgo Reg.* 5 (1759); *Carrigan* I (1759), 163; *Carrigan NB* 40.172 (1887-92); *Carrigan* IV 1905, 191). ('It was at first, most probably, dedicated to St. Mulling (June 9), but was afterwards transferred to the patronage of St. Bernard, the great Cistercian Saint, whose feast occurs on the 20th August').

As in the previous name, however, the strong local tradition of Moling appears to have held out, Moling featuring in the name of the well but not in the name of the townland as seemingly surmised by John O'Donovan (*OSL(KK)* II 168, 'Mullen's Church', *recte* Muileann na Cille (*Liostaí Log.CC* 83)).

145. Toberakin, *tld*: Ovenstown, Earlstown, ALL SAINTS, 1 NOVEMBER: *PP: Spic.Oss.* I 9 (1669-93); *de Burgo Reg.* 5 (1759); *de Burgo Reg.* 26 (1768); *OSL(KK)* II 58 (1839); *Carrigan* III (1905), 327; *Carrigan NB* 67.34 (1920); Brennan 1987, 406; Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 20.

169. St. Faghna's Well, *tld*: Tibberaghny, MODHOMHNÓG OILITHIR, 13 February, contemporary of St. David, d.589 or 601 (Farmer 127): *FOeng.* 74 (830c.); *MTall.* 44 (830c.); *LL* VI 49772 (1660c.); *FGorm.* 98 (1170c.); *ASH* 328.18 (1645); *PP: Spic.Oss.* I 10 (1669-93); *de Burgo Reg.* 4 (1759); *Mon.Hib.* 377 (1785); *Lanigan* II 319 (1822); *OSL(KK)* II 222 (1839); *O'Hanlon Saints* V 505 (1875-1903); Moore 1874-9, 31; *Loc.Pat.* 311 (1882); *Carrigan* IV 225; Baring-Gould II 291 (1914); *Carrigan NB* 67.36 (1920); *Med.Rel.Ho.* 407; Delaney 1982, 441; Ryan D'Arcy 1983, 19; Farmer 351; *Ó Riain Saints* (2011), 477, 478.

Although Modhomhóg is very comprehensively linked to Tibberaghny from an early period, he does not feature in the name of the well or in the related name of the townland, Tiobra Fhachna (*Liostaí Log.CC* 91).

Modhomhnóg is believed to have been a 6th century saint (Baring-Gould II 291; Farmer 351), dying 'around 566 A.D. (O'Shea 1999, 14) or 'around 560' (*Carrigan* IV 225). Revd. Carrigan also states that Fachtina may have died around 590 (*Ibid.*).

176. Tubbrid Holy Well, *tld*: Tubbrid, MOCHEALLÓG OF KILMALLOCK/KILLOCUS, 13 April, ‘died very old in some year between 639 and 656’ (*Lanigan* III 29) (cf. Derrynahinch Holy Well, No. 59, *supra*): *PP: Spic.Oss.* I 10 (1669-93); *de Burgo Reg.* 4 (1759); *Carrigan* IV 1905, 156; *Carrigan NB* 67.36 (1920); *O’Kelly* 1969, 38.
178. David’s Well, *tld*: Tullaherin, CIARÁN OF SAIGHIR, 5 March (*PP: Spic.Oss.* I 8 (1669-93); *de Burgo Reg.* 4 (1759); *de Burgo Reg.* 24 (1764); *OSL(KK)* I 262 (1839); Moore 1874-9, 25; *O’Hanlon Saints* III 144.56 (1875-1903); *Loc.Pat.* 379 (1882); *Carrigan* III 1905, 481; Sparks 1953, 49; Barrow 1979, 134; Bradley 2009, 5, 19; *Ó Riain Saints*, 173).
180. Lady’s Well, *tld*: Tullaroan, RUADHÁN OF LORRHA, 15 April, d.c.584 (Farmer 423; *Ó Riain Saints* 543), ‘Tullaroan (Tulach Ruadháin) which takes its name from the saint’ (*Ibid.* 543).

The issue was not so clear cut back in 1839 according to Eugene Curry, ‘The name of this Parish is Tulach Ruadhain, i.e. Ruadhan’s Hill, but whether the hill and Parish are called after the Ruadhan of Loradh we have not at present any means of ascertaining’ (*OSL(KK)* I 209, 210).

Owen O’Kelly interprets Kilmodalla, a precursor of Kildalton (Church) (No. 105), as a hypercoristic, ‘St. Modailbh’s church’ (*O’Kelly* 128) but no such saint appears to have existed. It may be a corrupted form of *Cill Mochuille* (Kildalton is in the catholic parish of Templeorum and in the adjoining catholic parish of Windgap one meets with Tobermathulla / *Tobar Mochuille*, *tld*: Glencommaun). However, a hypocoristic derivation in the case of Kilmodalla, although possible, is far from certain and at best it remains a (remote) possibility, as it may equally hail from C(o)il(l) Méadla, ‘church/wood of the paunch’, this latter possibility being also quite tentative.

Appendix XLVII

The distribution of hagiographically-based wells according to civil parish

Aghaviller (well number 3 (not 3 wells)), Aharney (9), Ballinamara (8), Ballycallan (96, 172), Ballytarsney (1, 2), Ballytobin (30), Blanchvilleskill (154), Borrismore (25), Burnchurch (28, 29), Callan (19, 31), Castlecomer (69), Castleinch (39), Clara (42, 119), Clomantagh (45), Clonamery (46), Clonmore (48), Columbkille (51), Coolaghmore (53), Coolcashin (55), Danesfort (11, 12), Donaghmore (61, 68, 171), Dunmore (16), Dunnamaggan (64), Dysart (50), Dysartmoon (97), Earlstown (142), Ennisnag (66), Fertagh (88), Fiddown (103), Freshford (137), Gowran (65), Graiguenamanagh (15, 27, 86, 170), Grangesilvia (90), Inistioge (32, 33, 91, 108, 109), Jerpointchurch (56), Jerpointwest (140), Kells (95), Kilbride (99), Kilcoan (70, 71), Kilcolumb (58), Kilfane (38), Kilferagh (166), Kilkeasy (127), Killaloe (131), Killamery (110), Kilmacar (112), Kilmacow (116), Kilmadum (118), Kilmakevoge (34), Kilmanagh (98, 151), Knocktopher (130), Listerlin (133), Mallardstown (135), Mothell (134), Muckalee (80 – barony of Iverk), Owing (146), Pollrone (87), Powerstown (6), Rathbeagh (153), Rathcoole (94, 138), Rathkieran (156), Rathlogan (158), Rathpatrick (124), Rosconnell (40), Shanbogh (165), Sheffin (49), St. Canice's (74, 75, 76, 92, 175), St. Martin's (168), St. Mary's (77, 78), Stonecarthy (167), Thomastown (141), Tibberaghny (169), Tiscoffin (73), Tubbridbritain (105, 177), Tullaghanbrogue (60), Tullaherin (178), Tullahought (81, 82, 113, 114, 132), Tullamaine (179), Tullaroan (22, 23, 26, 180), Ullard (181), Urlingford (182), Whitechurch (41, 183).

The wells are named as follows:

- p*: Aghaviller, St. Brandon's Well (well number 3), *tld*: Aghaviller
- p*: Aharney, St. Brigid's Well (9), *tld*: Ballyconra
- p*: Ballinamara, Trinity Well (8), *tld*: Ballycannon
- p*: Ballycallan, Thubberniclaush (96), *tld*: Kilballykeefe
- p*: Ballycallan, St. Bridget's Well (172), *tld*: Toberbreedia
- p*: Ballytarsney, St. Bridget's Well (1), *tld*: Afaddy or Silverspring
- p*: Ballytarsney, St. Patrick's Well (2), *tld*: Afaddy or Silverspring
- p*: Ballytobin, Thubberna Mydan (30), *tld*: Caherlesk
- p*: Blanchvilleskill, St. Philomena's Well (154), *tld*: Rathcash West
- p*: Borrismore, Toberpatrick (25), *tld*: Borrismore

p: Burnchurch, Lady's Well (28), *tld*: Burnchurch

p: Burnchurch, St. Dallan's Well (29), *tld*: Burnchurch

p: Callan, Toberbride (19), *tld*: Baunta Commons

p: Callan, St. Augustine's Well (31), *tld*: Callan North

p: Castlecomer, Nanny's Well or St. Anne's Well (69), *tld*: Firoda Lower

p: Castleinch or Inchyologhan, St. David's Well (39), *tld*: Castleinch or Inchyologhan

p: Clara, St. Colman's Well (42), *tld*: Churchclara

p: Clara, St. Mogarra's Well (119), *tld*: Kilmagar

p: Clomantagh, Tobermurry (45), *tld*: Clomantagh Lower

p: Clonamery, Tubber Broondhawin (46), *tld*: Clonamery

p: Clonmore, Toberaghcanice (48), *tld*: Clonmore

p: Columbkille, St. Columbkille's Well (51), *tld*: Columbkille

p: Coolaghmore, St. Mary's Well (53), *tld*: Coolaghmore

p: Coolcashin, St. Monchin's Well (55), *tld*: Coolcashin

p: Danesfort, Lady's Well (11), *tld*: Ballyda

p: Danesfort, Mickel's Well (12), *tld*: Ballyda

p: Donaghmore, Donaghmore Well / St. Patrick's Well (61), *tld*: Donaghmore

p: Donaghmore, Tubber Finnawn (68), *tld*: Finnan

p: Donaghmore, St. Finan's Well (171), *tld*: Tinnalintan

p: Dunmore, Trinity Well (16), *tld*: Ballyrafton

p: Dunnamaggan, St. Ronagh's Well (64), *tld*: Dunnamaggan East

p: Dysart, Tobar Mhuire (50), *tld*: Coan West

p: Dysartmoon, St. Broghan's Well (97), *tld*: Kilbraghan

p: Earlstown, St. Bridget's Well (142), *tld*: Newtown (Shea)

p: Ennisnag, Tobermogue (66), *tld*: Ennisnag

p: Erke, St. Michael's Well (21), *tld*: Bayswell

p: Fertagh, Toberaphuicin/St. Kyran's Well (88), *tld*: Grangefertagh

p: Fiddown, St. John's Well (103), *tld*: Kildalton

p: Freshford, Toberlaghteen (137), *tld*: Moat

p: Gowran, St. Patrick's Well (65), *tld*: Earlsbog Commons

p: Graiguenamanagh, St. Lawrence's Well (15), *tld*: Ballyogan

p: Graiguenamanagh, Tobar Bríde (27), *tld*: Brandondale

p: Graiguenamanagh, Lady's Well (86), *tld*: Graiguenamanagh

p: Graiguenamanagh, Toberelleen/St. Fiachra's Well (170), *tld*: Tikerlevan

p: Grangesilvia, Lady Well (90), *tld*: Grange Lower

p: Inistioge, St. Kieran's Well (32), *tld*: Cappagh
p: Inistioge, St. Michael's Well (33), *tld*: Cappagh
p: Inistioge, Columbkille's Well (91), *tld*: Inistioge
p: Inistioge, St. Kieran's Well (108), *tld*: Kilkieran
p: Inistioge, Tubberkilkierawn (109), *tld*: Kilkieran
p: Jerpointchurch, St. John's Well (56), *tld*: Cottrellsbooly
p: Jerpointwest, St. Mullin's Well (140), *tld*: Mulleenakill
p: Kells, Toberbride (95), *tld*: Kells
p: Kilbride, Thubbervezheedha (99), *tld*: Kilbride
p: Kilcoan, Thubberchooann (70), *tld*: Flemingstown
p: Kilcoan, Tobermurry (71), *tld*: Flemingstown
p: Kilcolumb, Thubber Phaudhrig (58), *tld*: Davidstown
p: Kilfane, Toberatoo/Tobar Chiaráin (38), *tld*: Castlegarden
p: Kilferagh, St. Fiachra's Well (166), *tld*: Sheastown
p: Kilkeasy, St. Luke's Well (127), *tld*: Knockmoylan
p: Killaloe, Tobermolua (131), *tld*: Kyleneaskeagh
p: Killamery, St. Nicholas Well (110), *tld*: Killamery
p: Kilmacar, Thubber Murrha (112), *tld*: Kilmacar
p: Kilmacow, Toberenan (116), *tld*: Kilmacow
p: Kilmadum, St. Andrew's Well (118), *tld*: Kilmadum
p: Kilmakevoge, St. James's Holy Well (34), *tld*: Carrickcloney
p: Kilmanagh, Tubbervrachawin (98), *tld*: Kilbraghan
p: Kilmanagh, Toberaniddaun (151), *tld*: Pottlerath
p: Knocktopher, Trinity Well (130), *tld*: Knocktopherabbey
p: Listerlin, Tubbernaev Mulleeng (133), *tld*: Listerlin
p: Mallardstown, St. James's Well (135), *tld*: Mill Island
p: Mothell (perhaps), Maudlin Holy Well (134), *tld*: Maudlin
p: Muckalee (barony of Iverk), ToberaChoinee (80), *tld*: Garrygaug
p: Owing, Garryduff Holy Well/St. Mark's Well (79), *tld*: Garryduff
p: Owing, Lady's Well (146), *tld*: Owing
p: Pollrone, St. Bridget's Well (87), *tld*: Grange
p: Powerstown, Aughkiletaun Holy Well/St. Fiachra's Well (6), *tld*: Aughkiletaun
p: Rathbeagh, St. Catherine's Well (153), *tld*: Rathbeagh
p: Rathcoole, St. John's Well (94), *tld*: Johnswell
p: Rathcoole, Toberpatrick (138), *tld*: Mountnugent Lower

p: Rathkieran, Toberkieran (156), *tld*: Rathkieran
p: Rathlogan, Tubber Ullacawn (158), *tld*: Rathlogan
p: Rathpatrick, Tobermurry (124), *tld*: Kilmurry
p: Rosconnell, Lady's Well (40), *tld*: Castlemarket
p: St. Canice's, Angel's Well/St. Dominic's Well (74), *tld*: Gardens
p: St. Canice's, St. Canice's Well (75), *tld*: Gardens
p: St. Canice's, St. Francis Well (76), *tld*: Gardens
p: St. Canice's, St. Rock's Well (92), *tld*: Jamesgreen
p: St. Canice's, Toberacrin/St. Brendan's Well (175), *tld*: Troyswood
p: St. Martin's, St. Martin's Well (168), *tld*: Templemartin
p: St. Mary's, St. Kieran's Well (77), *tld*: Gardens
p: St. Mary's, St. Mary's Well (78), *tld*: Gardens
p: Shanbogh, St. Fintan's Well (165), *tld*: Shanbogh Upper
p: Sheffin, Toberadrugh/St. Fiakra's Well (49), *tld*: Clontubbrid
p: Stonecarthy, Toberkieran (167), *tld*: Stonecarthy West
p: Thomastown, Lady's Well (141), *tld*: Newtown
p: Tibberaghny, St. Faghtna's Well (169), *tld*: Tibberaghny
p: Tiscoffin, St. Scoheen's Well (73), *tld*: Freneystown
p: Tubbridbritain, Lady Well (105), *tld*: Kildrinagh
p: Tubbridbritain, Toberpatrick (177), *tld*: Tubbrid Upper
p: Tullaghanbrogue, Thubber Eheen (60), *tld*: Desart Demesne
p: Tullaherin, David's Well (178), *tld*: Tullaherin
p: Tullahought, Tobermamone (81), *tld*: Glencommaun
p: Tullahought, Tobermathulla (82), *tld*: Glencommaun
p: Tullahought, Lady's Well (113), *tld*: Kilmacoliver
p: Tullahought, Tobar Brigid (114), *tld*: Kilmacoliver
p: Tullahought, St. Bridget's Well (132), *tld*: Lamoge
p: Tullamaine, Thubbervweenia/St. Cathrine's [*sic*] Well, Coughlan's Well (179), *tld*:
Tullamaine (Ashbrook)
p: Tullaroan, St. Cranagh's Well (22), *tld*: Boggan
p: Tullaroan, St. Patrick's Well (23), *tld*: Boggan
p: Tullaroan, St. Margaret's Well (26), *tld*: Brabstown
p: Tullaroan, Lady's Well (180), *tld*: Tullaroan
p: Ullard, St. Fiachra's Well (181), *tld*: Ullard
p: Urlingford, Lady's Well (182), *tld*: Urlingford

p: Whitechurch, Tubber Kilkeerawn (41), *tld*: Castletown

p: Whitechurch, Tobar Muire (183), *tld*: Whitechurch

Appendix XLVIII

Frequency of wells of hagiographical origin according to the catholic parishes (*cp*) in which they are situated

cp: Templeorum (7 instances, 6 saints, 7/113 = 6.19%):

- 41. Tubber-Kilkeerawn, *tld*: Castletown
- 79. St. Mark's Well, *tld*: Garryduff
- 80. ToberaChoinee, *tld*: Garrygaug
- 103. St. John's Well, *tld*: Kildalton
- 146. Lady's Well, *tld*: Owing
- 169. St. Faghtna's Well, *tld*: Tibberaghny
- 183. Tobar Muire, *tld*: Whitechurch

cp: Windgap (7 instances, 6 saints, 7/113 = 6.19%):

- 73. St. Scoheen's Well, *tld*: Freneystown
- 81. Tobermamonine, *tld*: Glencommaun
- 82. Tobermathulla, *tld*: Glencommaun
- 110. St. Nicholas Well, *tld*: Killamery
- 113. Lady's Well, *tld*: Kilmacoliver
- 114. Tobar Brigid, *tld*: Kilmacoliver
- 132. St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Lamoge

cp: Callan (6 instances, 5 saints, 6/113 = 5.3%):

- 19. Toberbride, *tld*: Baunta Commons
- 31. St. Augustine's Well, *tld*: Callan North
- 51. St. Mary's Well, *tld*: Coolaghmore
- 135. St. James's Well, *tld*: Mill Island
- 142. St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Newtown (Shea)
- 179. St. Cathrine's Well, *tld*: Tullamaine (Ashbrook)

cp: Danesfort (6 instances, 5 saints, 6/113 = 5.3%):

- 11. Lady's Well, *tld*: Ballyda
- 12. Mickel's Well, *tld*: Ballyda
- 28. Lady's Well, *tld*: Burnchurch

- 29. St. Dallan's Church, *tld*: Burnchurch
- 60. Thubber Eheen, *tld*: Desart Demesne
- 66. Tobermogue, *tld*: Ennisnag

cp: Graiguenamanagh (6 instances, 4 saints, 6/113 = 5.3%)

- 6. St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Aughkiletaun
- 15. St. Lawrence's Well, *tld*: Ballyogan
- 27. Tobar Bríde, *tld*: Brandondale
- 86. Lady's Well, *tld*: Graiguenamanagh
- 170. St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Tikerlevan
- 181. St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard

cp: Inistioge (6 instances, 4 saints, 6/113 = 5.3%):

- 32. St. Kieran's Well, *tld*: Cappagh
- 33. St. Michael's Well, *tld*: Cappagh
- 46. Tubber Broondhawin, *tld*: Clonamery
- 91. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Inistioge
- 108. St. Kieran's Well, *tld*: Kilkieran
- 109. Tubberkilkieran, *tld*: Kilkieran

cp: Glenmore (5 instances, 5 saints, 5/113 = 4.4%):

- 34. St. James's Holy Well, *tld*: Carrickcloney
- 58. Thubber Phaudhrig, *tld*: Davidstown
- 70. Thubberchooann, *tld*: Flemingstown
- 71. Tobermurry, *tld*: Flemingstown
- 99. Thubbervzheedha, *tld*: Kilbride

cp: Kilmanagh (5 instances, 5 saints, 5/113 = 4.4%):

- 96. Thubberniclaush, *tld*: Kilballykeefe
- 98. Tubbervrachawin, *tld*: Kilbraghan
- 131. Tobermolua, *tld*: Kylesaskeagh
- 151. Toberaniddaun, *tld*: Pottlerath
- 172. St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Toberbreedia

cp: Mooncoin (5 instances, 4 saints, 5/113 = 4.4%):

1. St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Afaddy or Silverspring
2. St. Patrick's Well, *tld*: Afaddy or Silverspring
48. Toberaghcanice, *tld*: Clonmore
87. St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Grange
156. Toberkieran, *tld*: Rathkieran

cp: Tullaroan (5 instances, 5 saints, 5/113 = 4.4%):

8. Trinity Well, *tld*: Ballycannon
22. St. Cranagh's Well, *tld*: Boggan
23. St. Patrick's Well, *tld*: Boggan
26. St. Margaret's Well, *tld*: Brabstown
180. Lady's Well, *tld*: Tullaroan

cp: Urlingford (5 instances, 2 saints, 5/113 = 4.4%):

25. Toberpatrick, *tld*: Borrismore
45. Tobermurry, *tld*: Clomantagh Lower
105. Lady Well, *tld*: Kildrinagh
177. Toberpatrick, *tld*: Tubbrid Upper
182. Lady's Well, *tld*: Urlingford

cp: Aghaviller (4 instances, 4 saints, 4/113 = 3.5%):

3. St. Brandon's Well, *tld*: Aghaviller
56. St. John's Well, *tld*: Cottrellsbooly
127. St. Luke's Well, *tld*: Knockmoylan
167. Toberkieran, *tld*: Stonecarthy West

cp: Lisdowney (4 instances, 4 saints, 4/113 = 3.5%):

9. St. Brigid's Well, *tld*: Ballyconra
49. St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Clontubbrid
55. St. Monchin's Well, *tld*: Coolcashin
153. St. Catherine's Well, *tld*: Rathbeagh

cp: Rosbercon (4 instances, 3 saints, 4/113 = 3.5%):

- 97. St. Broghan's Well, *tld*: Kilbraghan
- 133. Tubbernaev Mulleeng, *tld*: Listerlin
- 140. St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill
- 165. St. Fintan's Well, *tld*: Shanbogh Upper

cp: St. Canice's (4 instances, 4 saints, $4/113 = 3.5\%$):

- 74. St. Dominic's Well, *tld*: Gardens
- 75. St. Canice's Well, *tld*: Gardens
- 76. St. Francis Well, *tld*: Gardens
- 175. St. Brendan's Well, *tld*: Troyswood

cp: Ballyragget (3 instances, 2 saints, $3/113 = 2.65\%$):

- 40. Lady's Well, *tld*: Castlemarket
- 68. Tubber Finnawn, *tld*: Finnan
- 171. St. Finan's Well, *tld*: Tinnalintan

cp: Clara (3 instances, 3 saints, $3/113 = 2.65\%$):

- 42. St. Colman's Well, *tld*: Churchclara
- 119. St. Mogarra's Well, *tld*: Kilmagar
- 168. St. Martin's Well, *tld*: Templemartin

cp: Dunnamaggan (3 instances, 3 saints, $3/113 = 2.65\%$):

- 30. Thubberna Mydan, *tld*: Caherlesk
- 64. St. Ronagh's Well, *tld*: Dunnamaggan
- 95. Toberbride, *tld*: Kells

cp: St. John's (3 instances, 3 saints, $3/113 = 2.65\%$):

- 16. Trinity Well, *tld*: Ballyrafton
- 94. St. John's Well, *tld*: Johnswell
- 138. Toberpatrick, *tld*: Mountnugent Lower

cp: St. Mary's (3 instances, 3 saints, $3/113 = 2.65\%$):

- 77. St. Kieran's Well, *tld*: Gardens

78. St. Mary's Well, *tld*: Gardens
92. St. Rock's Well, *tld*: Jamesgreen

cp: Gowran (2 instances, 2 saints, 2/113 = 1.8%):

65. St. Patrick's Well, *tld*: Earlsbog
154. St. Philomena's Well, *tld*: Rathcash West

cp: Johnstown (2 instances, 2 saints, 2/113 = 1.8%):

88. St. Kyran's Well, *tld*: Grangefertagh
158. Tubber Ullacawn, *tld*: Rathlogan

cp: Muckalee (2 instances, 2 saints, 2/113 = 1.8%):

50. Tobar Mhuire, *tld*: Coan West
118. St. Andrew's Well, *tld*: Kilmadum

cp: St. Patrick's (2 instances, 2 saints, 2/113 = 1.8%):

39. St. David's Well, *tld*: Castleinch
166. St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Sheastown

cp: Thomastown (2 instances, 2 saints, 2/113 = 1.8%):

51. St. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Columbkille
141. Lady's Well, *tld*: Newtown

cp: Tullaherin (2 instances, 2 saints, 2/113 = 1.8%):

38. Tobar Chiaráin, *tld*: Castlegarden
178. David's Well, *tld*: Tullaherin

cp: Ballyhale (1)

130. Trinity Well, *tld*: Knocktopherabbey

cp: Castlecomer (1) (1/113 = .88%):

69. Nanny's Well or St. Anne's, *tld*: Firoda Upper

cp: Connahy (1) (1/113 = .88%):

112. Thubber Murrha, *tld*: Kilmacar

cp: Freshford (1) (1/113 = .88%):

137. St. Laghteen's Well, *tld*: Moat

cp: Galmoy (1) (1/113 = .88%):

21. St. Michael's Well, *tld*: Bayswell

cp: Kilmacow (1) (1/113 = .88%):

115. Tober(s)enan, *tld*: Kilmacow

cp: Paulstown (1) (1/113 = .88%):

90. Lady Well, *tld*: Grange Lower

cp: Slieverue (1) (1/113 = .88%):

124. Tobermurry, *tld*: Kilmurry

Appendix XLIX

De-onomised well-names of hagiographical origin (38/113, 33.6%)

- St. Bridget's Well (well number 1) → The Spring
St. Patrick's Well (2) → The Land Drain
St. Lawrence's Well (15) → The Well
Toberbride (19) → The Well Field
Tobar Bríde (27) → The Well
St. Dallan's Well (29) → The Well
St. Augustine's Well (31) → The Old Abbey Well
St. Kieran's Well (32) → The Hole in the Ground
St. David's Well (39) → The Well
Tobermurry (45) → The Pump
Tubber Broondhawin (46) → The Well
Toberaghcanice (48) → The Holy Well
Tobar Mhuire (50) → The Rosary Well
St. Columbkille's Well (51) → The Well
St. Monchin's Well (55) → The Well
Thubber Eheen (60) → The Pump
Tobermurry (71) → The Well
St. Kieran's Well (77) → The Flagstones
ToberaChoinee (80) → The Well Field
St. Broghan's Well (97) → The Spring
St. John's Well (103) → The Spring
Lady Well (105) → The Pump
- St. Kieran's Well (108) → The Well
Tobermurry (112) → Tobermurry Bridge → The Bridge
Tobar Brigid (114) → The Spring
St. Andrew's Well (118) → The Well
St. Mogarra's Well (119) → The Well
Tobermurry (124) → The Well
St. Luke's Well (127) → The Well

St. Bridget's Well (132) → The Well
Tubbernaev Mulleeng (133) → The Well
Lady's Well (146) → The Spring
St. Catherine's Well (153) → The Well
St. Philomena's Well (154) → The Spring
Toberkieran (156) → The Spring Well
St. Martin's Well (168) → The Well
Lady's Well (182) → Connie's Well
Tobar Muire (183) → Cregg Well

Appendix L

List of wells where rounding practices were performed

1.1 Lady's Well, tld: Ballyda

1938 People visit it on the fifteenth of August every year. They go around it three times and bow their knees each time.

NFCS 849.80

1938 Anybody with an ailment goes around it three times.

NFCS 849.81

1.2 Tobernakill, tld: Ballygorey

1939 Nine rounds, on nine successive Sunday mornings or nine successive Mondays (or any day) are paid.

NFCS 840.176

1.3 Lady's Well, tld: Castlemarket

1938 Those who go recite the full Rosary on their knees while doing a journey around the Well.

NFCS 866.183

1938 People go around the well and pray.

NFCS 866.28

1.4 St. Colman's Well, tld: Churchclara

1938 The pattern used to be held at this well annually in those days and Rounds were performed and prayers recited.

NFCS 859.401

1.5 Thibberawling, tld: Graigavine

1934 The pilgrim had to walk around the well each morning and drink the water.

NFCS 468.115

1938 The pilgrim had to walk around the well each morning and drink the water.

NFCS 840.173

1.6 St. John's Well, tld: Johnswell

2005 The devout Christians who visited the well said rosaries, did "rounds", or sought miraculous cures from the waters believed to be truly blessed.

Fitzgerald 383

1.7 St. James's Well, tld: Mill Island

23/7/1829 [Tobar Sanct Seam]. Bhí daoine crábach[a] ag tabhairt turais timcioll an tobair.

Cinnlae Amhl. II 182

pious pilgrims making their stations [rounds] around the well

Ibid. 183

1.8 St. Martin's Well, tld: Templemartin

1938 A Pattern was held there annually and on the eve of the Feast of St. Martin people kept vigil there and performed "Rounds" during the night.

NFCS 859.403

1.9 St. Fiachra's Well, tld: Ullard

1970 He drinks from the well and blesses with the water and then goes to the big stone in which are two hollows and where a further decade is recited. From there he returns to a tree at the well and there repeats a further decade. Then continuing on to encircle the well saying another decade whilst doing so.

These encircling exercises at and around the well are repeated twice, making three times in all.

Hughes 60

Appendix LI

List of wells where specific prayers were recited

- 2.1 St. Brandon's Well, *tld*: Aghaviller
- 1938 On that occasion [1918] the rosary was recited and hymns were sung.
NFCS 849.149
- 2.2 Lady's Well, *tld*: Ballyda
- 1938 The Rosary is said by all the people there. *NFCS 849.81*
- 1938 The Rosary is recited by the pilgrims around the well.
NFCS 854.193
- 1938 On the 15th Aug[ust] each year the people come to this well to recite the
Rosary.
NFCS 854.230
- 1938 The Rosary is recited at five different bushes which surround the well.
NFCS 855.372
- 2005 As part of a traditional pilgrimage that persists to
the present day, the Rosary is said at five specified
points around the well, each marked by skeaugh
bushes.
Fitzgerald 391
- 2.3 Tobernakill, *tld*: Ballygorey
- 1939 Nine rounds, on nine successive Sunday mornings or nine successive Mondays
(or any day) are said. Nine Our Fathers and hail Marys are the usual prayers.
NFCS 840.176

2.4 Lady's Well, tld: Castlemarket

1938 People visit the well on the fifteenth of August and say the Rosary going around it on their knees.

NFCS 831.43

1938 This well is visited by pilgrims from August 15th to 8th September. People go to the well and recite the Rosary.

NFCS 865.105

1938 Those who go recite the full Rosary on their knees while doing a journey around.

NFCS 866.183

1996 From this time [1940] onward the Rosary was said in public every 15th August. People did 'the round of the well' saying a decade of the beads in one spot, then moving to another to say the next, and so on.

Dorgan 176

2.5 St. Columbkille's Well, tld: Columbkille

1938 The Rosary is said by the Parish Priest and he blesses the well.

NFCS 858.42

1938 In the afternoon the Parish Priest recites the Rosary.

NFCS 858.43

2.6 St. Ronagh's Well, tld: Dunnamaggan East

1934 People visit it and perform rounds. They say the Rosary and the Litany of the Irish Saints.

NFCS 852.293

2.7 Tobernasool, tld: Gorteennamuck

- 1934 Five Our Fathers, Hail Marys and Glorias are said.
NFC 468.93
- 1938 The prayers which are said at the well are Five Paters, Aves and Glorias.
NFCS 868.141
- 2.8 St. John's Well, *tld*: Johnswell
- 2005 Pious Catholics prayed at the well, did the rounds, Novenas and sought cures.
Fitzgerald 386
- 2.9 Tobersenan, *tld*: Kilmacow
- 1938 It is said it was the Rosary was said and everyone present took a drink of water from the well.
NFCS 843.229
- 2.10 Lady's Well, *tld*: Newtown
- 1938 In the afternoon the Parish Priest recites the Rosary.
NFCS 858.43
- 2.11 St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Sheastown
- 1938 The Rosary is recited and water from the well is distributed to the congregation.
NFCS 854.19
- 1938 In years gone by the priest of the parish held Benediction there.
NFCS 855.347
- 2008 Every year, during the month of August, the rosary is said.
Cooke 145

2.12 Toberelleen, *tld*: Tikerlevan

1934 The rosary people generally say. *NFC* 468.107

2.13 St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard

1970 These prayers commence at the door of the church, where a decade of the
Rosary is recited.

Hughes 60

Appendix LII

List of wells where unspecified prayers were recited

- 2A.1 Lady's Well, *tld*: Ballyda
1938 They [the pilgrims] knelt down. They said there [*sic*] prayers.
NFCS 854.175
- 2A.2 Trinity Well, *tld*: Ballyrafton
1938 The people used to go there and pray. *NFCS 863.272*
- 2A.3 Toberbride, *tld*: Baunta Commons
1905 The pilgrimage and prayers at St. Bridget's holy well.
Carrigan III 321
- 2A.4 St. Michael's Well, *tld*: Bayswell
1905 The pilgrims always wound their devotions with prayers before the effigy of the Crucifixion.
Carrigan II 303
- 2A.5 St. James's Well, *tld*: Carrickcloney
1874-9 They erect temporary stations, they strip off shoes and stockings and walk through the stream that flows from it for about fifty yards, and return the same way saying a certain amount of prayers.
Farrell 203
1938 People make pilgrimages round the blessed well – called St. James's Well. They walk barefoot around it, say prayers and drink of the water.
NFCS 845.63, 64

2A.6 Lady's Well, tld: Castlemarket

1874-9 While a great many were praying and pilgriming about the church and holy well others were singing, and dancing, and drinking in the tents.

Neary 81

1938 People say prayers there.

NFCS 864.398

1966 Large crowds of people from all over Laois and North Kilkenny visited Ladywell on August 15. The day was beautiful and the prayers were fervent.

Deenside (Iúil, Lúnasa)

page 16

2A.7 St. Colman's Well, tld: Churchclara

1938 A pattern used to be held at this well annually in those days and "rounds" were performed and prayers recited.

NFCS 859.40

2A.8 Tubber Broondhawin, tld: Clonamery

1920 Pilgrimages and praying here.

Carrigan NB 94.63

2A.9 St. Columbkille's Well, tld: Columbkille

1905 Crowds of people still assemble here, on each recurring 9th of June, to drink of the well and beseech the patron's intercession.

Carrigan IV 272

1926 Every 9th of June, the people of the surrounding districts assemble at the Well and recite prayers in honour of the Saint.

Sparks & Bligh 88

1938 The priest also goes there and prayers are said where St. Columcille's church was built.

NFCS 858.39

1938 The people of the surrounding districts assemble at the well and recite prayers in honour of the saint.

NFCS 858.41

1938 Prayers are recited by the priest and the people join in the responses.

NFCS 858.44

2A.10 Cruckny Well, *tld*: Drumgoole

1905 Old people still come to pray here.

Carrigan II 160

2A.11 Tubber Finnawn, *tld*: Finnan

1890-1 It was, he [Jemmy Downey] said, St. Finnan's Well and was a holy well in olden times, people praying around it.

Carrigan NB 27.52

2A.12 St. Canice's Well, *tld*: Gardens

1900c. People used to pray at St. Kenny's well in living memory.

Carrigan NB 45.85

1960 Those who were labouring under any infirmity, came to the well to implore the intercession of St. Kenny.

Sparks 32

2A.13 Tobernasool, *tld*: Gorteennamuck

1873 The custom is to bathe or wash the eyes and recite prayers during the lavation.

Hogan 280

- 2A.14 St. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Inistioge
 1938 People visited it on St. Colm Cille's [day] the 9th of June and say prayers.
NFCS 859.236
- 2A.15 St. John's Well, *tld*: Johnswell
 1848-51 Praying in the cold water is considered as part of the austerity of the penance.
Hogan 479
 1905 They had travelled all the way to pray at the shrine of St. John.
Carrigan III 280
- 2A.16 Thubber Murrha, *tld*: Kilmacar
 1938 On the 29th July every year people visited, performed rounds and said prayers
 in honour of Our Blessed Lady.
NFCS 868.14
- 2A.17 St. Luke's Well, *tld*: Knockmoylan
 1937 In olden times pilgrims used to pray at the well. *NFCS 848.193*
- 2A.18 Toberacluggeen, *tld*: Milltown
 1938 Take three sips of water from the well and say a prayer to the saint who
 blessed it.
NFCS 842.122
- 2A.19 Toberaniddaun, *tld*: Pottlerath
 1875 She [John Navin's mother] prayed at four points at which people usually

prayed.

Holahan 33

2A.20 Toberkieran, tld: Stonecarthy West

1848-51 St. Kieran's Well near Kells. Praying in the cold well is considered as part of the austerity of the penance.

Cambr.Evers. 133

2A.21 St. Martin's Well, tld: Templemartin

1938 Besides prayers and Rounds there were attractions in the way of games and sports.

NFCS 859.403

2A.22 St. Fiachra's Well, tld: Ullard

1970 Each year the memory of Fiacre is perpetuated when pilgrims from far and near converge on Ullard and silently repeat the exercise and prayers as their forefathers did through the centuries.

Hughes 60

2A.23 Lady's Well, tld: Urlingford

1874-9 The pilgrim of affliction here prayed and forgot his sorrows in the hope of happier days.

Healy 42

Appendix LIII

List of wells where pilgrims follow a direct prescribed route in the vicinity of the wells

4.1 St. Michael's Well, tld: Bayswell

1874-9 The pilgrimage began at two miles south of the church of Rath. The next station was at Bayswell, about midway between Erke and Rath.

Moore 38

4.2 St. Kieran's Well, tld: Cappagh

1905 Beside the churchyard is a holy well called Tubberkilkierawin, or Kilkieran well. Some distance to the north, on the roadside, is another holy well, bearing the same name [St. Kieran's Well, tld: Kilkieran]. Of old the pilgrimages began at the former and ended at the latter.

Carrigan IV 116

4.3 St. Ronagh's Well, tld: Dunnamaggan East

1905 St. Leonard's Well is midway between the old church and the present chapel of Dunnamaggan. It is within a circular enclosure, the rampart of which is almost levelled. The pilgrimage used to begin within the enclosure, at the well; was continued thence to the road, and then along the road, to the present chapel, where it ended.

Carrigan IV 38

4.4 Tobermamonine, tld: Glencommaun

1905 The pilgrimage began at Tobermoninne, was continued along the stream leading from it, down to the glen below, where it met the stream to Tobermocuille [holy well] itself, where it ended.

Carrigan IV 328

4.5 Columbkille Well, tld: Inistioge

1850c.-
1914 The devotees commenced their station at the town and crawling on their knees up the course of the stream [Mill Stream] through the sharp and shingly stones, they at length painfully reached the little streamlet which conveys the holy water to the larger brook; up the steep hill-side through the bed of this smaller water-course they also laboured, and when they reached the blessed well their self-imposed pilgrimage had ended.

Prim Anders. Nooks 134

4.6 St. Fintan's Well, tld: Shanbogh Upper

1874-9 The pilgrimage began at "Clogh Fintan", continued on to the church, and ended at the holy well.

Moore 28

2000 The route of the Pilgrimage was from Clogh Fintan to the church.

Murphy 17

4.7 St. Fiachra's Well, tld: Sheastown

2002 The "Pilgrim Walk" to the Holy Well by the lovely banks of the Nore, a distance af [*sic*] two miles, by which many devout people have gone to the Holy Well every year, will start, weather permitting, from the Canal Walk at 2 o'clock.

This is the route followed by the pilgrims in ancient times, centuries before the road was made.

O'Dwyer 57

4.8 St. Finan's Well, tld: Tinnalintan

1890-1 Kitty Hennessy says that Kilmenan holy well was called Tubber-Finnawn and

that on St. Peter and Paul's day pilgrimages used to be made for headaches from the church ruins down along to the well.

Carrigan NB 27.52

Saints Peter and Paul appear to have been associated with some Irish Augustinian houses (*Med.Rel.Ho.* 149, 153). They are mentioned in relation to Tinnalintan, *OS* 5, and to Kilmacar, *OS* 10 (*Carrigan* II 200), which lies a short distance to the south of it, although neither are adjacent to Augustinian priories/abbies at Kells (where the holy well is dedicated to St. Bridget), at Callan (where the devotee at the holy well is St. Augustine), at Inistioge (where the dedicatee is St. Colmcille) or at Grangefertagh (where Ciarán of Saighir is honoured at the well).

- 4.9 The route followed by pilgrims at St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard, would appear to have been the most specific of all and involved a series of elaborate, intricate and precisely-conducted exercises or penitential rituals whereby prayers were recited at a holy cross, at the holy well, at a big stone bearing hollows and at a tree near the well. In addition, the pilgrim drank the well-water, encircled the well and took with him a bottle of the water before leaving and made his way laboriously to the altar on his knees bearing a cross of two twigs tied together

(Hughes 1970, 60).

Appendix LIV

List of wells where the ritual of Mass included part of the overall holy well experience

5.1 Trinity Well, tld: Ballycannon

2015 Peter Maher (aged 75-80) of Ballycannon recalls that Mass used to be celebrated at Ballycannon old church near the well many years ago.

5.2 Toberatoo/Tobar Chiaráin, tld: Castlegarden

2015 Mary Cassin (aged 80-85) of nearby Bishopslough and a member of Tullaherin Historical Society remembers that Mass was said at the well by a Fr. Bergin (former parish priest, now deceased) and by a Fr. Joyce (former curate, now deceased) on the occasion of the christening of Maeve Galway, Castlegarden (2/6/1982) (child of Maeve Galway and her husband, Thomas (now deceased)) at which time Mass had not been celebrated here for a century – the 1982 Mass and baptism being the only one performed here since. This centenary-gap celebration (1882 – 1982) prompted the local Historical Society/Dúchas group to clean the well and to put a barrier around it.

5.3 Lady's Well, tld: Castlemarket

2000 On June 3rd about a hundred people from the four parishes [Castlecomer, Clogh, Ballyragget, Conahy] walked from Ballymartin Cross to Ballyouskill church for a penitential service, where they were joined by another four hundred people who walked with them to Ladywell for evening Mass.

Deenside (Nollaig), page 20

5.4 Holy Cross Well, tld: Church Hill

10/8/1935 The people used to go to hear Mass at the well of the Holy Well. A lot of people used to go to Mass there in olden times.

Ireland's Own 66.1705.29.4

5.5 St. John's Well, *tld*: Johnswell

2005 Masses and processions became all the rage as pious pilgrims prayed at the well.

Fitzgerald 386

5.6 Tobersenan, *tld*: Kilmacow

2005 Mass was an integral part of the celebrations.

Laffan 86

5.7 Tobermurry, *tld*: Kilmurry

1839 Revd. Richard Coady and Dr. Stephen Lower were accustomed to say Mass near this well on Lady Day in August.

OSL(KK) II 292 (OD)

5.8 St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill

2015 John Kennedy (aged 82) who serves on the well committee informs me that 300–400 devotees attend a Mass here which is annually celebrated on the first Sunday after the 20th of August.

5.9 Tubbernacruchnhee, *tld*: Redacres North

2015 Andy Frisby of Redacres remembers that Mass used to be celebrated in the old graveyard of Killahy near the old church ruins and Holy Cross Well many years ago.

5.10 St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Sheastown

1976 (2002) Several hundred pilgrims turned up for the open air Mass at St. Fiacre's well

celebrated by Bishop Birch on the last Sunday of August, 1976.

O'Dwyer 64

5.11 St. Martin's Well, *tld*: Templemartin

1839 A well dedicated to St. Martin is situated about two hundred yards to the north east of the Church. The Priest used to say Mass in this ruin on every St. Martin's Day till about 30 years ago.

OSL(KK) I 247

Appendix LV

List of wells where pilgrims drink the well water

- 12.1 Lady's Well, tld: Ballyda
1938 Hundreds come there to drink the water of the well
NFCS 855.372
- 12.2 Tobernakill, tld: Ballygorey
1934 Water is applied, drunk and taken away
NFCS 468.118
1939 Water is applied, drunk and taken away
NFCS 840.176
1939 If anyone should drink the water in it they would be cured of any cuts or sores
NFCS 843.58
- 12.3 Trinity Well, tld: Ballyrafton
1938 They would come two or three times a day and drink three mouthfuls of the water.
NFCS 863.272
- 12.4 St. Michael's Well, tld: Bayswell
1935 It [the water] is drunk.
NFCS 869.145
- 12.5 St. Patrick's Well, tld: Boggan
1939 She [Mrs Gleeson] went to the well and drank a little water and prayed. She

paid two more visits and was cured.

NFCS 867.184

12.6 St. James's Holy Well, *tld*: Carrickloney

1874-9 They erect temporary stations; they strip off shoes and stockings and walk through the stream that flows from it for about fifty yards and return the same way, saying a certain amount of prayers, lastly, they drink of the waters.

Farrell 202

1938 They erect temporary stations, walk barefoot around it, say prayers and drink of the water.

NFCS 845.63, 64

12.7 Lady's Well, *tld*: Castlemarket

1938 Invalids often visit and drink the water out of it.

NFCS 864.398

1938 People seeking a cure make three visits reciting the Rosary each time. They drink the water.

NFCS 865.105

1938 People drink its water and go there to pray.

NFCS 866.183

1938 Those who go recite the full Rosary on their knees while doing a journey around the Well. They then drink the water.

NFCS 866.183

1938 People go around the well and pray then the[y] drink the water.

NFCS 866.28

12.8 St. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Columbkille

1905 Crowds of people still assemble here, on each recurring 9th of June, to drink of the well and beseech the saint's intercession.

Carrigan IV 272

1938 It is the custom to drink the water in the well.

NFCS 858.43

12.9 St. Ronagh's Well, *tld*: Dunnamaggan East

1934 People visited it during the month of July and took a drink of the water.

NFCS 852.294

12.10 St. Patrick's Well, *tld*: Earlsbog Commons

1938 Long ago a woman lived in Gowran and she had a bad tooth. She went to a holy well fasting and every morning she drank a drop of the water and at the third morning she was cured.

NFCS 860.72

12.11 St. Canice's Well, *tld*: Gardens

1670 Hic positi vel febri vel alio detenti languor S[anctum] Canicum invocant, et latice salubri degustato opaque divina implorata, sanitati multoties restituti sunt.

De Praesul.Hib. I 368

Those who are labouring under any infirmity, come here to implore the intercession of St. Kenny, having drunk of the health-giving water of the well, and invoked the divine help, have been frequently restored to perfect health.

Carrigan III 190

See also *NFCS 855.156*; Sparks 1960, 32 and Fitzgerald 2005, 379.

12.12 St. Francis Well, tld: Gardens

1617 ex multis locis, longinquis etiam, mittantur expresse qui ex illa ad febricitantes et alios aegros bibendam ferant, et sumpta ea, sanitatem nonnunquam se recuperare persentiunt.

Anal.Hib. 6.83

Numbers come from distant places to drink of the water, or to carry it to others, who, through illness, are unable to make the journey – many of whom have been restored to health.

The Franciscan Tertiary, Vol. 6 (1895), No. 7, 194

2012 The return to good health by imbibing what was regarded as miraculous water from the well of St. Francis.

Mac Mahon 34

12.13 Tobernasool, tld: Gorteennamuck

1934 Water is applied to the affected part. It is drunk (3 sips)

NFC 468.93

12.14 Thibberawling, tld: Graigavine

1850c. Old persons when dying rave about it and ask for a drink of it.

Bowers Transcripts 7, 8

1934 The pilgrim had to walk around the well each morning and drink the water.

NFC 468.115 (also cited in *NFCS* 840.173)

12.15 St. John's Well, tld: Johnswell

1934 Water is now used for all purposes.

NFC 468.115

12.16 Tobersenan, tld: Kilmacow

- 1938 Everyone present took a drink of water from the well.
NFCS 843.229
- 12.17 St. Luke's Well, *tld*: Knockmoylan
- 1937 In olden times pilgrims used to pray at the well and drink the water.
NFCS 848.194
- 12.18 Toberacluggeen, *tld*: Milltown
- 1938 Take three sups of water from the well and say a prayer to the saint who
blessed it.
NFCS 842.122
- 12.19 St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill
- 1938 The sick, the lame and the cripples are brought to drink the water from the
holy well.
NFCS 846.252
- 1938 Even during the year they make pilgrimages [*sic*] for 9 consecutive days or
drink water from the well.
NFCS 848.303
- 1944 People do an 8 day pilgrimage and partake of the water from the well.
ITAS(KK) Rosbercon, Form A, page 6
- 12.20 Lady's Well, *tld*: Newtown
- 1938 It is the custom to drink the water in the well.
NFCS 858.43

12.21 Tobernacask, *tld*: Redacres North

Drinking at the holy well is implied here given the origin of the name, Tobar an Ghaisc, ‘well of the cask or (drinking) vessel’.

12.22 St. Fiachra’s Well, *tld*: Ullard

1970 On the 8th February, pilgrims drink the water as part of the penitential exercise which for hundreds of years has been known as the Ullard Pilgrimage.

Hughes 60

Appendix LVI

List of wells where pilgrims bathe in the water and rub the affected body part

- 13.1 Broochgarrig, tld: Aughatubbrid or Chatsworth
- 1938 There is a bush growing over the well and after drinking the water and rubbing it to the affected part people used to tie strings or pieces of coloured material to the bush over the well.
- NFCS 865.141*
-
- 13.2 Lady's Well, tld: Ballyda
- 1938 A lot of people go there with sore eyes. They wash them with the water.
- NFCS 849.35*
- 1938 Invalids drink the water and rub it to the affected part.
- NFCS 849.81*
- 1938 On the 15th Aug[ust] each year the people come to this well to recite the Rosary and to wash their eyes in the water.
- NFCS 854.230*
- 1938 Hundreds come to drink the water and also to bathe in it.
- NFCS 855.372*
-
- 13.3 Tobernakill, tld: Ballygorey
- 1934 Water is applied, drunk and taken away.
- NFC 468.176*
- 1939 Water is applied, drunk and taken away.
- NFCS 840.176*

13.4 Lady's Well, tld: Castlemarket

1938 They drink the water and bathe the affected part in the well.

NFCS 865.105

1938 When people have sore eyes they wash their eyes in the water with a rag.

NFCS 866.281

13.5 Tubber-Kilkeerawn, tld: Castletown

1938 If you wash your hands three times in the water it is supposed to keep all sores away.

NFCS 844.119

13.6 St. Columbkille's Well, tld: Columbkille

1945 St. Columbkille's [*sic*] Well, the water of which when applied to the affected parts, cures swellings, strains and sprains.

ITAS(KK) Thomastown, Form A, page 4

13.7 St. Ronagh's Well, tld: Dunnamaggan East

1934 The water would cure sore eyes when washed three times on different days.

NFCS 852.295

13.8 Tobernasool, tld: Gorteennamuck

1934 Water is applied to the affected part.

NFC 468.93

13.9 Thibberawling, tld: Graigavine

1934 The water was applied, drunk and taken away.

NFC 468.115

1938 The water was applied, drank and taken away.

NFCS 840.173

13.10 Columbkille's Well, tld: Inistioge

1938 A woman who had a sore throath [sic] rubbed the water on it and she was cured in two days.

NFCS 859.187

13.11 St. John's Well, tld: Johnswell

1905 The girl was of a tall and noble figure, and strikingly beautiful but stone blind.
(1832) I [John Keegan] learned that they [the girl and her mother] were natives of Co. Wexford, that the girl had lost her sight in brain fever in her childhood ... they had travelled all the way to pray at the shrine of St. John and bathe her sightless orbs in the healing waters of the well.

Carrigan III 280

13.12 Thubbervzheedha, tld: Kilbride

1938 If a person suffered from headache he bathed his head in the water out of the hole and was cured.

NFCS 845.49

13.13 Toberlaghteen, tld: Moat

1938 A man of this district who had sore eyes washed them in it and they were cured.

NFCS 866.361

1938 It was supposed long ago that the well would cure any cut or injury if the part

afflicted were dipped into the water.

NFCS 866.351

13.14 St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill

1938 Even during the year they make pilgrimages [*sic*] for 9 consecutive days or drink water from the well or apply same for ailment of body.

NFCS 848.303

13.15 Toberelleen, *tld*: Tikerlevan

1934 It is applied to the parts of washing three times.

NFC 468.107

Appendix LVII

List of wells where pilgrims bring water home in bottles

17.1 Lady's Well, tld: Ballyda

1938 There is a well in Lady's Well and the people go there to the pattern on the 15th of August. They bring home a bottle of that water.

NFCS 849.36

1938 The people bring home bottles of the water and drink it when they are sick.

NFCS 849.80

1938 When people are leaving they carry away some of the water with them.

NFCS 854.193

17.2 Tobernakill, tld: Ballygorey

1934 Water is applied, drunk and taken away

NFC 468.118

1939 Water is applied, drunk and taken away

NFCS 840.176

17.3 St. Michael's Well, tld: Bayswell

1935 It is drunk. It is also carried away.

NFCS 869.145

17.4 St. James's Holy Well, tld: Carrickcloney

1945 They also take away water from St. James's Well about two hundred yards east of the church which is reported to have curative properties.

ITAS(KK) Glenmore, Form A

17.5 Lady's Well, tld: Castlemarket

1938 The people often bring bottles of water home and give to the people that get sick.

NFCS 864.398

1938 A lot of people are cured at the well. Some people take it home in bottles.

NFCS 866.281

17.6 St. Ronagh's Well, tld: Dunnamaggan East

1934 They used to take home some of it on pattern day.

NFC 468.101

17.7 St. Canice's Well, tld: Gardens

2014 The water from this well is said to be very good to take with you if you are journeying by sea.

Farrell 171

17.8 St. Francis Well, tld: Gardens

1617 ex multis locis, longinquis etiam, mittantur expresse qui ex illa ad febricitantes et alios aegros bibendam ferant.

Anal.Hib. 6.83

'Numbers come from distant places to drink of the water, or to carry it to others who, through illness, are unable to make the journey'.

The Franciscan Tertiary Vol. 6 (1895), No. 7, 194

17.9 Garryduff Holy Well/St. Mark's Well, tld: Garryduff

1938 In former days people bore large quantities of the water away.

17.10 Tobermamonine, tld: Glencommaun

1905 There was an old custom of taking away the water of Tobermamonine.

Carrigan IV 328

17.11 Tobernasool, tld: Gorteennamuck

1934 Water is applied to the affected part. A bottle is also carried away.

NFC 468.93

17.12 Thibberawling, tld: Graigavine

1934 The water was applied, drunk and carried away.

NFC 468.115

1938 The water was applied, drunk and carried away.

NFCS 840.173

17.13 St. John's Well, tld: Johnswell

1772 She [Old Mary Neal] fancied herself obligated to go on a pilgrimage for the good of her soul to St. John's Well. She returned after a long absence with a Bottle of Sanctified water, two pairs of New Padreens (or Beads), a holy cross, a dispensation and the Priest's Blessing.

Herbert Retrosp. 17

1934 I [Denis Hegarty] have seen a few bring the water away for drinking purposes.

NFC 468.105

17.14 Tobersenan, tld: Kilmacow

1938 It is said that it was the Rosary was said and everyone present took a drink of water from the well and some took bottles of water away to use them as cures for pains such as headaches or toothaches.

NFCS 843.229

2005 Those who had containers filled them with the water from the Holy Well.

Laffan 87

17.15 Toberuna, *tld*: Owing

1938 In former days many people visited this well, whose water was used for ailments or diseases and brought large quantities away.

NFCS 844.8

17.16 St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Sheastown

1938 On his feast day many invalids visit this well hoping to be healed. People bring bottles to take home the water from this well to give to patients who are unable to come.

NFCS 855.135

17.17 Toberelleen, *tld*: Tikerlevan

1934 Some people take bottles of the water home with them.

NFC 468.107

17.18 St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard

It is learned that the water of this well was commonly taken home as a preservative or preventative against shipwreck:

1886 No one from the district would think of emigrating without a bottle of water from St. Fiachra's Well as a preservative against shipwreck.

1911 It is curious to note that no one from the locality would think of going to America without a bottle of water from St. Fiachra's Well as a preservative against shipwreck.

O'Leary 20

1938 Even still when people are going to America a bottle of this water is brought with them as a preventative against shipwreck.

NFCS 857.55

1938 St. Fiachra's well is in Ullard and its waters are venerated as a preservative [*sic*] against shipwreck, hence natives intending to travel by sea bring a bottle of the Holy Water with them.

NFCS 904.471

The reason was taking the water home is not specified in the following reference:

1970 When leaving, the pilgrim takes with him a bottle filled with the water from the well.

Hughes 60

Appendix LVIII

List of wells where offerings are placed

- 18.1 St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Afaddy or Silverspring
1893-4 The holy well, Toberavreedha or St. Bridget's well – votive offerings, rags, hair etc hung up at Thobaravreedha.
Carrigan NB 6.7
- 18.2 Broochgarrig, *tld*: Aughatubbrid or Chatsworth
1887 Broochgarrig or Brooghgearrig well, on a tree over it votive offerings of rags used to be hung.
Carrigan NB 73.165
- 18.3 Tobernakill, *tld*: Ballygorey
1939 There are many prayer books, rosary beads and crosses around the well.
NFCS 843.58
- 18.4 Tobernagibboge, *tld*: Castle Eve
1839 Tobar na nGiobog [sic], i.e. the Well of the Rags, from the quantity of rags left there formerly and still by its votaries.
OSL(KK) II 58; OSM(KK) 26, 27
- 1889-90 Tober-na-gibboge or the Well of the Rags from the votive offerings, rags hung on the tree at the well.
Carrigan NB 33.50
- 1890-2 Tubbernagibboge. People used to hang rags over the well and pilgrim at it.
Carrigan NB 85.40
- 1905 Thubbernagibbogue (Tobar-na-giobóg) or Well of the Rags, from the ex-votos

of linen and cloth &c. which used formerly to be hung on a tree growing over it.

Carrigan III 330

1938 Thubbernagibogue (Tobar-na-giobóg) or the Well of the Rags. It derives its name from a cloth which long ago used to be hung over the well.

NFCS 853.249

1969 Tobar na nGiobóg, well of the rags, votive offerings left by pilgrims.

O'Kelly 171

18.5 Lady's Well, *tld*: Castlemarket

1938 People go to the well and recite the Rosary. They leave some token on the bush.

NFCS 865.105

1938 Those who go recite the full Rosary on their knees while doing a journey around the Well. They then drink the water and when going home leave some [thing] on a bush near the well.

NFCS 866.183

1942 The bush adorned with rags to indicate cures.

(1996)

Dorgan 182

1996 The ancient hawthorn 'skeogh' or bush bedecked with scraps of cloth which bent over the well.

Dorgan 175

18.6 Cruckny Well, *tld*: Drumgoole

1887 The "wood well" als "the crucknee" is just opposite the churchyard. Votive offerings of rags hang on a little ash sapling growing over it.

Carrigan NB 73.191

1983 Cruckny well was crowded with votive crutches and religious bric-a-brac up to 1900.

Lyng 35

18.7 Tobernasool, tld: Gorteennamuck

1934 A piece of cloth is attached to the elder tree near before person leaves.

NFC 468.93

1938 There is a little bush growing in the well and people who visited it placed ribbons on the bush as mementoes.

NFCS 869.227, 228

1983 TubbernaSoon [*sic*] has a “ragety bush” (bush decorated with votive token rags).

Lyng 36

18.8 Thibberawling, tld: Graigavine

1850c. There is an old oak tree overshadowing the well with pieces of cloth hair left as Offerings, as those that pray there have to leave offerings after them.

Bowers Transcripts 7

2001 Ascension day was reserved for special devotion when people usually took religious tokens and attached them to the branches of some overhanging tree.

Murphy & Fripps 13

18.9 Toberacluggeen, tld: Milltown

1874-9 On a hawthorn are usually seen votive offerings of rags, &c., a thing usual in Ireland.

Moore 34

1893 Tober-a-chligeen – votives of rags used to be hung on bush over it.

18.10 St. Mullin's Well, *tld*: Mullennakill

1938 The sick, the lame and the cripples are brought to drink the water from the holy well over which an ash tree growing. People leave bits of stick or cloth hanging on the tree.

NFCS 846.252

2005 Small statues, rosary beads, crucifixes and cameos have accumulated here over the decades.

Fitzgerald 393

2008 Beneath the tree is the Altóir, a stone altar where people have placed offerings and statues.

Meehan 352

18.11 Toberaniddaun, *tld*: Pottlerath

1858 A bush over it is hung with votive rags.

Graves Patrons 2

18.12 Rossdama Holy Well, *tld*: Rossdama

1875 The visitors to the well usually left on the tree pieces of cloth as votive offerings.

Holahan 7

18.13 St. Faghtna's Well, *tld*: Tibberaghny

1893-4 People used to pilgrim at this well and hang votive offerings on the tree-branches over it.

Carrigan NB 6.81

1905 People used to pilgrim here formerly, and make the usual votive offerings of pieces of cloth, &c.

Carrigan IV 228

18.14 Toberelleen, tld: Tikerlevan

1934 The offerings made are in the nature of money, holy medals, statues and holy pictures. They are placed on a tiny altar which is attached to an elder tree adjoining the well.

NFC 468.108

1938 When people go to visit the well they leave behind some pious objects. Several medals, now rusty, are now beside it, also hairpins, old rosary beads, etc.

NFCS 857.55

18.15 St. Fiachra's Well, tld: Ullard

1938 Fadó do théigeadh daoine tinne ann chun iad a leigheas, agus nuair a deintí iad a leigheas, d'fhágaidís na maidí croise agus na ceirteacha na ndiaidh [*sic*] mar bhuidheachas.

NFCS 857.425

Appendix LIX

List of wells in which the number '3' features in rituals
(prayers recited three times, wells being rounded three times)

20.1 Lady's Well, tld: Ballyda

1938 People visit it on the fifteenth of August every year. They go around it three times and bow their knees each time.

NFCS 849.80

1938 Anybody with an ailment goes around it three times.

NFCS 849.81

1938 On the fifteenth of August the pattern is held there yet. It continued for nine days.

NFCS 854.176

2005 The pilgrimage begins on August 15th and runs to nine days.

Fitzgerald 391

20.2 Tobernakill, tld: Ballygorey

1934 Nine rounds on nine successive Sunday mornings or 9 [*sic*] successive Mondays (or any day). Prayers are said. Nine Our Fathers and 9 Hail Marys.

NFC 468.118

1939 Nine rounds, on nine successive Sunday mornings or nine successive Monday's [*sic*] (or any day) are paid. Nine Our Fathers and hail [*sic*] Marys are the usual prayers.

NFCS 840.176

20.3 Trinity Well, tld: Ballyrafton

1938 The people used to go there and pray. They would come two or three times a

day and drink three mouthfuls of water.

NFCS 863.272

20.4 St. Patrick's Well, *tld*: Boggan

1939 She [Mrs. Gleeson] went to the well and drank a little water and prayed. She paid two more visits and was cured.

NFCS 867.184

20.5 Lady's Well, *tld*: Castlemarket

1938 People seeking a cure make three visits reciting the Rosary each time

NFCS 865.105

20.6 Tubber-Kilkeerawn, *tld*: Castletown

1938 If you wash your hands three times in the water it is supposed to keep all sores away.

NFCS 844.119

20.7 Tobernasool, *tld*: Gorteennamuck

1873 The custom is to bathe or wash the eyes three times in the water of the fountain and to recite prayers during the lavation.

Hogan 280

1934 Water is applied to the affected part. It is drunk (3 sips).

NFC 468.93

1938 The water is drunk in three sips.

NFCS 868.141

Pat Loughlin (aged 75-80) recalls that people with sore eyes used to dip their

fingers in the water three times, make the sign of the cross three times and rub their eyes three times in search of a cure.

20.8 Thibberawling, tld: Graigavine

1934 The well was visited nine successive mornings before sunrise.

NFC 468.115

1938 The well was visited nine successive times before sunrise.

NFCS 840.173

20.9 Toberacluggeen, tld: Milltown

1938 When going to the well take with you a piece of cloth. Make three visits to the well, before sunrise and after sunset.

NFCS 842.121

20.10 Tubber Ullacawn, tld: Rathlogan

1959 You may cure a sore eye if you visit the well, before breakfast, on three consecutive mornings.

Lyng 25

20.11 St. Fiachra's Well, tld: Sheastown

1938 A boy from Kilkenny by the name of O'Mara was told by the doctor he would loose [*sic*] his eye sight. He did the pilgrimage by going out to St. Fiacre's well for nine nights and on the 9th night he got his request and his sight never more troubled him.

NFCS 855.347

20.12 Toberelleen, tld: Tikerlevan

1934 The water of this well is considered efficacious for the relief of teethaches [*sic*], headaches and rheumatic pains. It is applied to the parts by washing three times.

NFC 468.107

20.13 St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard

1970 Prayers commence at the door of the church, where a decade of the Rosary is recited. The pilgrim then proceeds outside to the slit window on the left of the church and there recites a further decade of the Rosary. Then to the following places, where a decade is recited at each place: at the cross, around to the slit window on the south side of the church and back to the entrance door again. This is all repeated twice more after which the pilgrim proceeds to the Holy Well, where a decade of the Rosary is recited. From there he returns to a tree at the well and there repeats a further decade. Then continuing on to encircle the well saying another decade whilst doing so. These encircling exercises at and around the well are repeated twice, making three times in all.

Hughes 60

Appendix LX

The frequency and distribution of rituals

Number of rituals	Numbered wells	% of total
One ritual only	1 (18.1), 8 (5.1), 19 (2A3), 32 (4.2), 36 (16.1), 37 (18.4), 43 (5.4), 46 (2A8), 48 (8.1), 65 (12.10), 68 (2A11), 79 (17.9), 99 (13.12), 124 (5.7), 127 (12.17), 147 (17.15), 154 (25.1), 158 (20.10), 159 (12.21), 160 (5.9), 163 (18.12), 169 (18.13), 171 (4.8), 174 (26.1), 175 (16.3), 182 (2A23)	26/62 = 41.9%
Two rituals	3 (2.1, 6.1), 4 (13.1, 18.2), 23 (12.5, 20.4), 38 (5.2, 16.2), 41 (13.5, 20.6), 42 (1.4, 2A7), 63 (2A10, 18.6), 76 (12.12, 17.8), 81 (4.4, 17.10), 112 (2A16, 24A1), 135 (1.7, 15.2), 137 (8.2, 13.13), 165 (4.6, 24.1), 167 (2A20, 14.4)	14/62 = 22.6%
Three rituals	16 (2A2, 12.3, 20.3), 75 (2A12, 12.11, 17.7), 141 (2.10, 12.20, 23.4), 151 (2A19, 15.3, 18.11)	4/62 = 6.4%
Four rituals	21 (2A4, 4.1, 12.4, 17.3), 116 (2.9, 5.6, 12.6, 17.14), 168 (1.8, 2A21, 5.11, 7.2)	3/62 = 4.8%
Five rituals	91 (2A14, 4.5, 9.3, 13.10, 21.1), 136 (2A18, 12.18, 18.9, 19.3, 20.9), 140 (5.8, 12.9, 13.14, 18.10, 24B1)	3/62 = 4.8%
Six rituals	34 (2A5, 10.1, 12.6, 14.1, 17.4, 23.2), 51 (2.5, 2A9, 6.2, 12.8, 13.6, 23.3), 166 (2.11, 4.7, 5.10, 6.3, 17.16, 20.11), 170 (2.12, 9.4, 13.15, 17.17, 18.14, 20.12)	4/62 = 6.4%
Seven rituals	13 (1.2, 2.3, 12.2, 13.3, 17.2, 18.3, 20.2), 64 (2.6, 3.2, 4.3, 12.9, 13.7, 14.2, 17.6), 85 (1.5, 12.14, 13.9, 15.1, 17.12,	3/62 = 4.8%

	18.8, 20.8)	
Eight rituals	84 (2.7, 2A13, 12.13, 13.8, 17.11, 18.7, 19.2, 20.7)	1/62 = 1.6%
Eleven rituals	11 (1.1, 2.1, 2A1, 9.1, 12.1, 13.2, 17.1, 20.1, 22.1, 23.1), 94 (1.6, 2.8, 2A15, 3.3, 5.5, 10.2, 11, 12.15, 13.11, 14.3, 17.13), 181 (1.9, 2.13, 2A22, 4.9, 12.22, 16.4, 17.18, 18.15, 20.13, 24.2, 27)	3/62 = 4.8%
Thirteen rituals	40 (1.3, 2.4, 2A6, 3.1, 5.3, 7.1, 9.2, 12.7, 13.4, 17.5, 18.5, 19.1, 20.5)	1/62 = 1.6%

No rituals are evidenced in the case of the following numbered wells:

2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 39, 44, 45, 47, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 126, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 138, 139, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 155, 156, 157, 161, 162, 164, 172, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181 (121/183 = 66.1%)

Appendix LXI

List of wells where hollows of a saint's hands, knees or feet are in evidence

12.1 Tobernakill, tld: Ballygorey

1905 Some connect St. Patrick with this well and say that certain marks on a stone beside it are the imprint of his knees.

Carrigan IV 161

1939 It is said that St. Patrick crossed the Suir and drank at this well, the impression of his two knees were left on flag by the side of the well.

NFCS 840.176

(also cited in *NFC 468.118*)

1939 The marks or prints of the saint's knees and elbows can be seen in the ground near the well.

NFCS 843.58

12.2 St. Patrick's Well, tld: Boggan

1910 St. Patrick here and the marks of his knees are here on the rocks.

Carrigan NB 54.16

1920 Tubberadhrynee in Boggan – St. Patrick there and the marks of his knees are there on the rocks.

Carrigan NB 149.151

1938 Patrick was passing, he knelt down on the flag to get a drink. The mark of his knee can be seen plainly on the flag.

NFCS 867.185

12.3 St. James's Well, tld: Carrickcloney

1874-9 A stone of reddish colour remained there till about seven years ago, having, it

is said, the impression of the palm and fingers of the saint's hand.

(Farrell 203)

12.4 Tubber-Kilkeerawn, tld: Castletown

1938 The well was blessed by Saint Kieran and the mark of his knee can be seen imprinted on the stone.

NFCS 844.119

1999 St. Ciaran's well within the graveyard. A stone near the well is said to bear the imprint of his knee.

O'Shea 19

12.5 Thubber Phaudhrig, tld: Davidstown

1839 A monument of great antiquity called Gluin Phadruig. It consists of a blind well and heap of stones on which is placed a larger stone with two remarkable hollows said to be the impressions of St. Patrick's knees.

OSL(KK) II 181;

OSM(KK) 128

1882 Glun Padraig, i.e. St. Patrick's knee-marks, in the parish of Kilcolumb.

Loc.Pat. 283

12.6 Columbkille's Well, tld: Inistioge

1938 Saint Colmcille's head and an Angel is carved on a stone.

NFCS 859.187

12.7 Toberbride, tld: Kells

1839 Between the well and the Church there is a stone called Glun Bhrighde (Gloon Bride) in which St. Bridget is said to have left the impression of her two knees

and hands while praying.

OSL(KK) II 62;

OSM(KK) 33

1893-4 Glun Vsheedha or St. Bridget's knees and hands.

Carrigan NB 6.53

1948 Gloonbride. An ancient rock supposed to bear the imprint of St. Bridget's knee.

OSFM(KK) 9704

1989 Gloonbride (Glún Brighde, St. Bridget's knee), a stone with the "imprint" of the saint's knees.

Shell Guide Harb. 209

12.8 Friar's Well, tld: Killonerry

1874-9 The old church and burial-ground have totally disappeared. There are, however, a holy well and a stone hallowed like a dish, which hollow is popularly believed to be the print of St. Patrick's knees. There is also (according to the same popular belief) the print of one of the saint's hands.

Moore 31

12.9 St. Mullin's Well, tld: Mullennakill

1938 It is said that beside the holy well there is a stone where St. Mullins sat when he washed his feet.

NFCS 851.47

1938 There is a big stone on the top of the well on which the saint sat when he was about to wash his feet.

NFCS 851.49

12.10 Tobernagolumb, tld: Rathinure

1839 A short distance to the north of the Church [near the well] are stones in which Saint Columbkille left the impress of his head and two knees.

OSL(KK) II 180 (OD)

(omitted from *OSM(KK) 128*)

2.11 St. Fintan's Well, *tld*: Shanbogh Upper

1874-9 The legend has it that St. Fintan, leading a child across the river, stepped on this stone, hence its name, "Clogh Fintan".

Moore 27

1887-92 It is said St. Fintan stepped across the river and stood there. He had a child with him whose tracks are also seen – this stone is called "Clogh Fintan".

Carrigan NB 40.172

1900 Kishkaemfiúnthan

Carrigan NB 61.55

1905 In a field west of the church, on the roadside, is a large rock with a depression, resembling a footprint, on the top surface. This rock is called Cluch-Founthan, and Kishkean-Fiunethan, i.e. St. Fintan's rock, and St. Fintan's footstep.

Carrigan IV 194

1969 West of the church on the roadside is a rock called Cloch Fhionntain and Coiscéim Fhionntain.

O'Kelly 123

2000 At the roadside is a large rock with a depression, resembling a footprint, on the top surface.

Murphy 18

12.12 St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Sheestown

2004 Indentations on a partly broken-up rock within Sheestown [*sic*] Demesne were

believed to have been marks of St. Patrick's footsteps and the rock was consequently called 'Ciscaem Padruig'.

FitzPatrick 237 per *Loc.Pat.* 199

12.13 St. Faghtna's Well, *tld*: Tibberaghny

1874-9 A stone having what is popularly believed to be the print of the saint's knees impressed upon it.

Moore 31

12.14 St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard

1938 About two yards from the well there is a large stone with a hole in it. Old people say that St. Fiacre knelt on this stone when saying his prayers.

NFCS 857.145

1938 Ar bhullán cloiche i n-aice an tobair tá poll mór le feiscint, áit a gcuireadh an naomh a cheann nuair a théigheadh sé chun suain.

NFCS 857.424

1980 One [stone] bears the imprint of St. Fiachra's knees.

Logan 87

1993 the hollows said to have been made by the imprint of St. Fiacre's knees in a nearby stone.

Joyce 192

Appendix LXII

List of headache cures being sought at wells

- 16.15.1 Tubber-Kilkeerawn, tld: Castletown
- 1983 The water in the well is supposed to cure headaches and sores.
NFCS 844.119
- 1999 St. Kieran's well is said to have a cure for headaches.
O'Shea 19; Meehan 354
- 2014 St. Ciaran's Holy Well – it is said to cure headaches
O'Shea 52
- 16.15.2 Thubber Eheen, tld: Desart Demesne
- 1893 Tobareheen was good for head complaints *Carrigan NB 6.127*
- 16.15.3 Tubber Finnawn, tld: Finnan
- 1969 Tobar Fhionnáin now known as Monastery well to which pilgrimages were made for headache cures up to 1800 was near the old church.
O'Kelly 39
- 1983 Tubber Finawn (Finnan, Ballyragget) that cured headache.
Lyng, *Deenside* (Nollaig), page 36
- 16.15.4 St. John's Well, tld: Johnswell
- 1934 Some put their heads under spout as it is thought it will prevent headaches and toothaches for the following year.
NFC 468.105
- 16.15.5 Thubbervzheedha, tld: Kilbride
- 1938 If a person suffered from headache he bathed his head in the water out of the hole and was cured.
NFCS 845.49

- 16.15.6 Kilcross Well, tld: Kilcross
- 1938 When they used to have sore eyes or ears or a headache, they used to go to the blessed well in Kilcross to get cured.
- NFCS 847.517*
- 16.15.7 Tobersenan, tld: Kilmacow
- 1938 Everyone present took a drink of water from the well and some took bottles of water away to use them as cures for pains such as headaches and toothaches.
- NFCS 843.229*
- 16.15.8 Tubbernaev Mulleeng, tld: Listerlin
- 1819 Headaches are said to be cured. *Par.Sur. III 245;*
- OSL(KK) II 167*
- 1938 If you had a headache you could dip your head in the hole in the stone and the pain would leave it.
- NFCS 846.1*
- 1938 St. Mullin's Well. Near it are three stones, one for your head, and one for each knee.
- NFCS 846.264*
- 1938 Inhabitants of 60 years or so remember people suffering from headache or pain in the knee going to St. Moling's well in Listerlin.
- NFCS 846.314*
- 1944 Two rough stones at a well called St. Mulling's well. One is channelled in the centre and people with foot ailments put the injured leg into the opening; the other has a round bowl, always containing water, into which people subject to headaches dip their foreheads.
- ITAS(KK) Rosbercon, Form A, page 6*
- 16.15.9 St. Mullin's Well, tld: Mullennakill
- 2005 People have reported other ailments being cured too [as well as sore feet]

such as migraine, bunions, heartburn and backaches.

Fitzgerald 393

16.15.10 Toberakin, *tld*: Ovenstown

1969 Tobar a chin probably refers to the curative properties of the water for headaches.

O'Kelly 177

1969 Carrigan states that there is a holy well in the townland called Tobar an chinn, well of the head, probably from local belief of the curative properties of its waters for headaches.

O'Kelly 181

16.15.11 Toberelleen, *tld*: Tikerlevan

1934 It is frequented by people for the cure of ailments such as headache and rheumatic pains. The water of this well is considered efficacious for the relief of teethaches [*sic*], headaches and rheumatic pains.

NFC 468.107

1938 Its water was supposed to be a cure for violent headaches, teethaches.

NFCS 857.54

16.15.12 St. Finan's Well, *tld*: Tinnalintan

1890-1 Pilgrimages used to be made for headaches from the church ruins down along to the well.

Carrigan NB 27.52

1905 Pilgrimages were made at the well, especially by persons afflicted with head-ache till about 1835.

Carrigan II 106

2008 The well was used as a cure for headaches

Dorgan, Dorgan 17

16.15.13 Thubbervweenia, *tld*: Tullamaine (Ashbrook)

2003 The water is reputed to have healed skin ailments, cured headaches and stomach cramps.

Fitzgerald 103

16.15.14 St. Fiachra's Well, *tld*: Ullard

1938 St. Fiachra's well was always considered a cure for violent headaches and toothaches.

NFCS 857.31

Appendix LXIII

List of eye cures being sought at wells

- 16.25.1 Broochgarrig, tld: Aughatubbrid or Chatsworth
1938 The water which was supposed to be a cure for sore eyes and other diseases.
NFCS 865.141
- 16.25.2 Lady's Well, tld: Ballyda
1938 There was a woman in Kilkenny and she had very sore eyes for about six months and she sent her daughter for a bottle of the water. When she came home she washed her eyes in the water and the day after her eyes were alright.
NFCS 849.36
- 1938 A great number of people go there to bathe their eyes on the fifteenth of August.
NFCS 849.37
- 1938 A man with sore eyes went to the well. He bathed them in the water and came home cured.
NFCS 849.81
- 1938 The water is supposed to cure sore eyes. *NFCS 854.230*
- 16.25.3 Thubberna Mydan, tld: Caherlesk
1938 Sore eyes and deafness. *NFCS 869.145*
- 16.25.4 Lady's Well, tld: Castlemarket
1839 Lady's Well is still resorted to for the cure of sore eyes, etc.
OSL(KK) I 82

- 16.25.5 Tubberkilkeerawn, *tld*: Castletown
 2014 St. Ciaran's Holy Well is said to [have] a cure for eye ailments.
O'Shea 52
- 16.25.6 Donaguile Holy Well, *tld*: Donaguile
 1938 When a person has sore eyes, the person who washes his eyes in it is cured.
NFCS 865.51
- 16.25.7 St. Ronagh's Well, *tld*: Dunnamaggan East
 1934 In former times people used the water as a cure for sore eyes.
NFC 468.101
- 16.25.8 Tobernasool, *tld*: Gorteennamuck
 1839 This well, as may be inferred from the name, was in great repute formerly
 for the cure of sore eyes.
OSL(KK) I 156
- 1873 A well called Tober-na-Suil [*sic*] at which innumerable cures of sore eyes
 are said to have been effected – the custom is to bathe or wash the eyes
 three times in the water of the fountain, and to recite certain prayers during
 the lavation.
Healy 280
- 1874-9 It is frequented for the cure of sore eyes. Moore 37
- 1905 famous for curing sore eyes. *Carrigan* II 334
- 1937-8 People are cured of sore and bad eyes. *NFCS* 829.36
- 1938 Sore eyes were cured. *NFCS* 830.159
- 1938 Sore eyes were cured there long ago, by bathing them in water.

NFCS 830.269

1938 For years the water of the well has been known as a remarkable cure for diseases of the eyes.

NFCS 868.141

1959 You may cure a sore eye if you visit the well, before breakfast, on three consecutive mornings.

Lyng 25

1978 This well was in great repute at one time for the cure of sore eyes.

Dowling 9

16.25.9 St. Bridget's Well, tld: Grange

2001 St. Bridget's Well was credited for curing eye ailments.

Murphy & Fripps 13

16.25.10 Columbkille's Well, tld: Inistioge

1969 The smaller basin built into the wall was for bathing the eyes and the larger one on the ground for the feet.

Birthistle 42

16.25.11 Kilcross Well, tld: Kilcross

1938 When they used to have sore eyes or ears or a headache, they used to go to the blessed well in Kilcross to get cured.

NFCS 847.517

16.25.12 Kilkeasy Holy Well, tld: Kilkeasy

1944 At Kilkeasy old churchyard is a tall tree in which a hole is situated in the trunk. This aperture always contains water which is taken away by people

afflicted with eye troubles.

ITAS(KK) Aghaviller, Form A, page 4

- 16.25.13 Thubber Murrha, *tld*: Kilmacar
- 1938 In olden times many cures for diseases of the eye were said to have been effected at this well. *NFCS* 865.371
-
- 16.25.14 Tobar Brigid, *tld*: Kilmacoliver
- 1938 It cured sore eyes. *NFCS* 852.214
-
- 16.25.15 Toberacluggeen, *tld*: Milltown
- 1839 The water has lost its repute among the people, who formerly visited it for the cure of sore eyes. *OSL(KK)* II 201; *OSM(KK)* 119
- 1874-9 It is famous for curing sore eyes. Moore 34
- 1893 remarkable for curing sore eyes. *Carrigan NB* 6.169
- 1938 This well cures sore eyes and pains. *NFCS* 842.121
- 1938 The water in this well cures sore eyes. *NFCS* 842.171
- 1969 a cure in its waters for sore eyes. *O'Kelly* 131
- 1999 The well is known to have a cure for eye ailments. O'Shea 39
- 2014 This well has a cure for eye ailments. O'Shea 44, 77
-
- 16.25.16 Toberlaghteen, *tld*: Moat
- 1938 A man of this district who had sore eyes washed them in it and they were cured.

2003 Local tradition has it that the water from the well cures eye infections.

Freshford Sketches 48

16.25.17 St. Mullin's Well, tld: Mullennakill

1944 Several remarkable cures have been instanced from time to time. There is one man in particular, Thomas Roche, Tullogher, still in the locality, who was cured of severe pain in the eye after medical skill had failed.

ITAS(KK) Rosbercon, Form A, page 6

16.25.18 St. Fiachra's Well, tld: Sheastown

1938 This holy well is famous for its water which is very good for curing sore eyes.

NFCS 855.9

16.25.19 St. Finan's Well, tld: Tinnalintan

1937 Old people say that there is an eye cure in this well.

NFCS 868.4a

16.25.20 Thibberachollikeen, tld: Tobernabrone

1874-9 Tubbercailleheen, famous for curing sore eyes.

Moore 33

1893 the waters being famous for curing sore eyes and being very much mused for this purpose formerly.

Carrigan NB 6.132

1905 the efficacy of its waters in curing a scorbutic infection of the eyes.

Carrigan IV 236

1944 The water is much sought after by people with eye troubles and old people still mention a number of remarkable cures of persons who used the water.

ITAS(KK) Piltown, Form A, page 4

1969 well of the eye-disorder, formerly frequented for cures.

O'Kelly 129

During the course of fieldwork Pat Loughlin (aged 75-80) attaches the cure of sore eyes to the well-water of Tubber Ullacawn, *tld*: Rathlogan, while James Walsh (aged 80-85) ascribes a similar boon to St. Catherine's Well, *tld*: Rathbeagh, both informants being interviewed in the early summer of 2016.

Appendix LXIV

Examples of ill-luck or misfortune attending profaners of holy wells

20.1 St. Brandon's Well, tld: Aghaviller

1938 In the house now known as Castlemorris there lived a tyrannical and bigoted landlord name Pratt.

When Pratt heard about the well and that it was known as St. Brendan's Well he said he would fill it in and he had his workmen draw a large cartload of stones to the well and fill it up. Next morning when Pratt arose he found he could not leave the house. All the wells on the estate overflowed their banks and formed an ocean around the house and flooded the lower rooms.

NFCS 849.137

20.2 Tobernakill, tld: Ballygorey

1939 Long ago a man named Walsh of Ballygorey (on whose land the well is situated) closed in the well for cultivation. He lost all his cattle and consequently he opened the well again. Some people say they were drown[ed] in the same field overnight.

NFCS 840.176

1939 Once a man closed it in and the next morning he found that two of his cows were dead.

NFCS 843.58

20.3 Tobernaskeagh, tld: Baunta Commons

1938 In 1826 they constructed a new road. The engineers were not Catholics and they scoffed at the idea of the people treating with such reverence such an old dilapidated place. The people told them that the place was sacred and that the well was a blessed well. This they only laughed at. So one day they cut what they intended to be the road through the churchyard and the following morning

when they arrived at the scene of their labours, it was 7 feet under water.

NFCS 848.281, 282

20.4 Lady's Well, *tld*: Castlemarket

1938 They went to Lady well for water to churn but the milk turned into blood when churned.

NFCS 831.126

1938 Some people took water out of it to make butter but all the milk turned into blood.

NFCS 831.128

20.5 St. Columbkille's Well, *tld*: Columbkille

1938 A story is told as to how a man tried to use the water for household purposes, and was instantly struck with a horrible disease.

NFCS 858.44

20.6 Tober-Killkeerawn, *tld*: Kilkieran

1938 When St. Kieran blessed the well he said that no one should try to drain or pollute it. As a stranger was passing by he went in to the well for a drink. As he was drinking the water he heard a strange noise. He looked and saw a bull coming towards him.

NFCS 859.204

1938 The story goes that the man who owned the field in which the well was tried to drain the well because it was making a bog of the field. In order to drain the well he dug a deep channel leading from it. There was cattle, sheep and other animals in the field. When he came out in the morning to look at the animals, the channel was full of the most curious birds ever seen. The cattle, sheep, horses and the other animals had disappeared [*sic*] out of the field.

20.7 St. Mullin's Well, tld: Mullennakill

1938 Demsey [*sic*] tried to drain the well because it was in his land, but failed to do so. Then he tried to use the water. When the people of the parish heard what Demsey was trying to do with the well they told the parish priest. The priest went to the farmer, but the farmer got vexed and tried to strike the priest. The priest told him that he would want the use of his hand yet. About five years after, the farmer was ploughing in the field, and the reins fell from his hand.

From that day till his death the man was without the use of his left hand.

NFCS 846.251

1938 One day the saint [Moling] washed his feet in it and a cow owned by that farmer [Casey] and licked his sore feet and the man saw her and accused the saint of trying to poison his cow, and that night she milked four buckets of milk and the farmer saw the same thing happening the next day and was very angry and he cursed the saint. As sure as he did his cow milked blood and his cow died.

NFCS 851.48, 49

20.8 Templeorum Well, tld: Oldcourt

1874-9 There is a holy well somewhat changed out of its original position by a man who was named McGrath and who was marked by ill-luck, therefore, it is said.

Moore 34

Appendix LXV

Examples of misfortune attending profaners of holy trees or sacred bushes near the wells

28.1 Broochgarrig, tld: Aughatubbrid or Chatsworth

1887 On a tree over it votive offerings of rags used to be hung, a neighbour interfered with the tree at one time and he got reason to regret his interference.

Carrigan NB 73.165

28.2 St. Cranagh's Well, tld: Boggan

1937-8 They returned without felling the tree but when he found that his eyes had again deceived him, he now resolved that the tree would come down at all hazards. The tree was felled and the men returned home to find the house with all it contained burned to the ground.

NFCS 830.221, 222

28.3 Lady's Well, tld: Castlemarket

1938 They decided to go the third night and would not be disturbed by anything, so they went and cut down the tree and went home to find their house in ruins.

NFCS 831.129

28.4 Thibberawling, tld: Graigavine

1938 He proceeded to the well a third time and again thought he saw his house on fire. This time he cut the branch and on his arrival home he found his house burned to the ground.

NFCS 840.174

(Bowers Transcripts 7)

28.5 Tubbernaev Mulleeng, tld: Listerlin

1938 The third time he caught hold of the hatchet he saw the fire again, but didn't mind the fire, and cut the sceach. When he went home afterwards he found his place burned to the ground.

NFCS 846.414

28.6 St. Mullin's Well, tld: Mullennakill

1874-9 He returned and commenced to cut the tree, but when he raised his eyes again he saw his house this [third] time actually in a blaze. The field where the house stood is called "Gurtatigh [*sic*] lushkiha", or the field of the burned house.

Moore 30

(also related in *Carrigan NB 40.172* and in *NFCS 848.302, 303*)

28.7 Rossdama Holy Well, tld: Rossdama

1875 My informant said he knew a man named Holden who set fire to the tree. The tree burned until the upper part of it fell down. Holden and all his children died immediately after.

Holahan 7

28.8 St. Bridget's Well, tld: Toberbreedia

1938 There was a family living in Mulrooney's house then and one of the members of that family cut down the tree and in the morning the well was gone and one of the horses was dead in the stable. The well sprung up in Brigidswell where it is to the present day. Shortly afterwards the oak tree was burned and the man that burned it died a month after that.

NFCS 867.45, 46

Appendix LXVI

Frequency and distribution of folk-beliefs at the Kilkenny wells

Number of folk-beliefs	Numbered wells	% of total
1	3 (20.1), 5 (16A1), 7 (4.1), 12 (16.20.1), 15 (4.2), 20 (20.3), 31 (16.34.1), 42 (16A7), 49 (17.3), 62 (16.25.6), 76 (16A11), 78 (16A13), 79 (23.3), 87 (16.25.9), 88 (6), 95 (12.7), 99 (16.15.5), 103 (16A17), 113 (16.19.2), 121 (29.1), 124 (16A19), 131 (11.1), 136 (16.25.15), 144 (20.8), 145 (16.15.10), 147 (16A20), 154 (16A2), 159 (17.6), 162 (16A22), 168 (16A23), 176 (16A24), 177 (3.4)	$32/81 = 39.5\%$
2	4 (16.25.1, 28.1), 21 (16.11.1), 17.2), 22 (16A4, 28.2), 34 (12.3, 16A5), 60 (16.15.2, 19.1), 68 (16.15.3, 22.2), 77 (16A12, 23.2), 90 (16.4.4, 16A15), 114 (16.22.1, 16.25.14), 137 (16.19.3, 16.25.16), 151 (16.1.1, 16.26.5), 155 (11.2, 12.10), 163 (28.7, 29.3), 169 (12.13, 19.2), 172 (18.1, 28.8), 173 (16.25.20, 17.8), 174 (3.3, 14.1), 180 (2.4, 16A25)	$18/81 = 22.2\%$
3	23 (2.2, 12.2, 16.13.1), 36 (7.1, 16.26.1, 16.27.1), 58 (12.5, 13, 16.37.1), 65 (10.1, 16.35.1, 16A9), 75 (16.36.1, 16A10, 23.1), 107 (16.25.12, 16.35.3, 22.4), 108 (4.4, 17.4, 20.6), 111 (12.8, 16.14.1, 25.3), 116 (16.15.7, 16.35.4, 16A18)	$9/81 = 11.1\%$
4	30 (16.24.1, 16.25.3, 16.31.1, 16.32.1), 41 (12.4, 16.15.1, 16.25.5, 22.1), 51 (3.2, 16.17.1, 16.34.2, 20.5), 80 (16.7.1, 16.8.1, 16.9.1, 16.30.1), 101 (16.15.6, 16.24.2, 16.25.11, 24.4), 112 (15.3, 16.17.3, 16.25.13, 17.5), 165 (12.11, 17.7, 21.5, 24.5), 171 (2.3, 16.15.12, 16.25.19, 16.26.6)	$8/81 = 9.8\%$

5	84 (9.1, 16.4.3, 16.21.1, 16.25.8, 21.4), 94 (16.15.4, 16.17.2, 16.35.2, 16A16, 27.1), 170 (1.4, 16.15.11, 16.20.3, 16.35.5, 21.6)	$3/81 = 3.7\%$
6	11 (15.1, 16.25.2, 16A2, 17.1, 25.1, 26.1), 85 (16.1.2, 16.8.2, 16A14, 23.4, 25.2, 28.4), 166 (1.3, 8.1, 11.3, 12.12, 16.4.5, 16.25.18)	$3/81 = 3.7\%$
7	13 (2.1, 12.1, 16.10.1, 16.12.1, 16A3, 20.2, 21.1), 64 (16.4.2, 16.10.2, 16.25.7, 16.29.1, 16A8, 21.3, 24.2), 133 (1.1, 4.5, 5.1, 16.15.8, 16.26.3, 16.28.1, 20.5)	$3/81 = 3.7\%$
8	91 (4.3, 12.6, 16.20.2, 16.25.10, 16.26.2, 16.30.2, 22.3, 24.3), 179 (16.5.1, 16.6.2, 16.4.2, 16.15.13, 16.18.1, 16.23.1, 16.33.1, 25.4), 181 (1.5, 3.5, 7.2, 12.14, 16.2.1, 16.15.14, 16.20.4, 16.35.6)	$3/81 = 3.7\%$
9	40 (15.2, 16.4.1, 16.19.1, 16.25.4, 16A6, 20.4, 21.2, 24.1, 28.3)	$1/81 = 1.2\%$
16	140 (1.2, 5.2, 12.9, 16.3.1, 16.6.1, 16.15.9, 16.16.1, 16.25.17, 16.26.4, 16.30.3, 16.36.2, 16.37.2, 20.7, 22.5, 28.6, 29.2)	$1/81 = 1.2\%$

No legends are evidenced in the case of the following numbered wells:

1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 63, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 81, 82, 83, 86, 89, 92, 93, 96, 97, 98, 100, 102, 104, 105, 106, 109, 110, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 134, 135, 138, 139, 141, 142, 143, 146, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 156, 157, 158, 160, 161, 164, 167, 175, 178, 182, 183 (102/183 = 55.7%)

List of informants

Joseph Nolan, Aghaviller, Hugginstown
Carmel Raggett, Aghaviller, Hugginstown
Dermot Dorgan, Attanagh, Portlaoise
Julie Dorgan, Attanagh, Portlaoise
Ernest Bradley, Aughatubbrid, Castlecomer
P.J. McGrath, Aughatubbrid, Castlecomer
Pat Ryan, Aughkiletaun, Skeaghvasteen
Pat Conway, Ballinakill, Graiguenamanagh
John Mahon, Ballinvarry (English), Graiguenamanagh
Billy Butler, Ballycallan, Kilkenny
Sean Fitzpatrick, Ballycannon, Rathmoyle
Peter Maher, Ballycannon, Rathmoyle
May Maher, Ballyconra, Ballyragget
Tim Murphy, Ballyda, Danesfort
John Dunphy, Ballygorey, Mooncoin
Stephen Hoyne, Ballymack, Burnchurch
Paddy Heffernan, Ballyneale, New Ross, Kilkenny
Martin Brennan, Ballyrafton, Ballyfoyle
James Dowling, Ballyrafton, Ballyfoyle
Luke Grennan, Ballyreddy, New Ross, Kilkenny
Paddy Grennan, Ballyreddy, New Ross, Kilkenny
John Grace, Baunta, Callan
Carmel Delaney, Bayswell, Johnstown
Stephen Delaney, Bayswell, Johnstown
Mary Cassin, Bishopsloough, Bennettsbridge
Joseph Kavanagh, O.P., Black Abbey, Kilkenny
Margaret Tynan, Borrismore, Urlingford
Pat Tynan, Borrismore, Urlingford
Theresa Feehan, Brabstown, Kilmanagh
Margaret Hennessy, Brabstown, Kilmanagh
Emma Hamilton, Brandondale, Graiguenamanagh

Keith O'Dwyer, Brewery Information Centre, Kilkenny
Laurence Stapleton, Brownsbarn, Thomastown
Tom Mullally, Busherstown, Glenmore
Joe Kennedy, Callan
John Somers, Callan
Jimmy O'Brien, Cannafahy, Callan
John Bryan, Cappagh, Inistioge
Andrew Doyle, Cappagh, Inistioge
John Doyle, Cappagh, Inistioge
Robbie Hennessy, Cappagh, Inistioge
Philip Knox, Cappagh, Inistioge
Michael Long, Cashel, Piltown
Mary Phelan, Castle Ellis, Gowran
Pat Phelan, Castle Ellis, Gowran
Stephen Hoyne, Castle Eve, Earlstown
Gerard O'Brien, Castle Eve, Earlstown
Breda Galway, Castlegarden, Thomastown
Eamon Hanrahan, Castlegarden, Thomastown
William Murphy, Castlegarden, Thomastown
Liam Delahunty, Castleinch, Callan
Luke Roche, Castleinch, Callan
Margaret O'Keeffe, Churchclara, Clifden, Kilkenny
Philip O'Keeffe, Churchclara, Clifden, Kilkenny
Anthony Dillon, Church Hill, Cuffesgrange
Bernie Martin, Church Hill, Cuffesgrange
Tom Brennan, Clarabricken, Clara
Milo Maher, Clintstown, Lismaine
Billy Murphy, Cloghrinka, Ballyfoyle
Liam Comerford, Clomantagh, Barna, Freshford
Edward Holohan, Clomantagh, Barna, Freshford
Brendan Cummins, Clonamery, Inistioge
Carmel Cummins, Clonamery, Inistioge
Anne Doyle, Clonmore, Mooncoin
Eddie Doyle, Clonmore, Mooncoin

Paul Kinsella, Coan, Kilkenny
John Maher, Columbkille, Thomastown
Pat O'Keeffe, Columbkille, Thomastown
Anne Downey, Connahy, Ballyragget
Pat Downey, Connahy, Ballyragget
Dick Grace, Coolaghmore, Callan
Eamon Saunders, Coolaghmore, Callan
John Fitzgerald, Coolcashin, Gathabawn
Jim Fitzpatrick, Coolcashin, Gathabawn
T.J. Cullinane, Coolnaleen, Castlecomer
John Hennessy, Coolraheen, Coolcullen
James Cassin, Coolroebeag, Thomastown
Vincent Daly, Cottrellsbooly, Stoneyford
Seamus Cody, Croghtenclogh, Castlecomer
Anne Healy, Croghtenclogh, Castlecomer
Margaret McGuire, Crutt, Castlecomer
Gerard Doyle, Curraghnadimpaun, Piltown
Con Barry, Danesfort
Con Walsh, Danesfort
Dick Claridge, Davidstown, Slieverue
Liam Murphy, Davidstown, Slieverue
Jim Kelly, Desart, Cuffesgrange
David O'Connor, Desart, Cuffesgrange
Breda Walsh, Desart, Cuffesgrange
Barry O'Reilly, Donaghmore, Ballyragget
John Walsh, Donaghmore, Ballyragget
Eamon Kirwan, Dunnamaggan
Kathleen Kirwan, Dunnamaggan
Donal Sheridan, Ennisnag, Stoneyford
Billy Brophy, Finnan, Ballyragget
Pat Fitzgerald, Finnan, Ballyragget
David Thorpe, Finnan, Ballyragget
Michael Walsh, Firoda Lower, Castlecomer
Dick Duggan, Flemingstown, Glenmore

Thomas Mullins, Flemingstown, Glenmore
Pat Fitzgerald, Freneystown, Clifden, Kilkenny
John Nolan, Freneystown, Clifden, Kilkenny
James Power, Garryduff, Piltown
Pádraig Hunt, Gaulstown, Ballyfoyle
Michael Maloney, Gorteen, Skeaghvasteen
Joan O'Loughlin, Gorteennamuck, Gathabawn
Pat O'Loughlin, Gorteennamuck, Gathabawn
Hew Bowers, Graigavine, Piltown
Nicola Bowers, Graigavine, Piltown
Willie Barron, Graiguenamanagh
John Cushen, Graiguenamanagh
Colm Walsh, Graiguenamanagh
Edward Murphy, Grange, Mooncoin
Richard Nicholson, Grangefertagh, Johnstown
William Nicholson, Grangefertagh, Johnstown
Matthew Corr, Grangehill, Clifden, Kilkenny
Pat Curran, Grange Lower, Goresbridge
Margaret Holohan, Grange Lower, Goresbridge
Danny McDonald, Inistioge
David O'Dwyer, Inistioge
John Walsh, Jamestown, Glenmore
Mary Brophy, Johnswell
Alan Sheridan, Kells, Kilkenny
Robert Whitford, Kells, Kilkenny
John Hackett, Kennyswell Road, Kilkenny
Tom Fitzpatrick, Kilballykeeffe, Cuffesgrange
James Nugent, Kilballykeeffe, Cuffesgrange
John Joe Gahan, Kilbraghan, New Ross, Kilkenny
Pat Marnell, Kilbraghan, Kilmanagh
Richard Merrigan, Kilbraghan, New Ross, Kilkenny
Mary O'Doherty, Kilbride, Glenmore
Pat Galvin, Kilconnelly, The Rower
Pat Grace, Kilcross, Inistioge

John Knox, Kilcross, Inistioge
Finbar Hodge, Kildalton College, Piltown
Billy Phelan, Kildrinagh, Tubbrid
Joseph Wallace, Kilferagh, Kilkenny
Thomas Holden, Kilkeasy, Knocktopher
James Cahill, Killaloe, Callan
Gerry O'Meara, Killamery, Nine Mile House, Kilkenny
Paul Ryan, Killamery, Callan
Peter O'Dwyer, Killonerry, Carrick On Suir, Kilkenny
Colm Healy, Kilmacar, Ballyragget
Nellie Healy, Kilmacar, Ballyragget
Brian Hennessy, Kilmacoliver, Tullahought
Eamon Drea, Kilmacshane, Inistioge
Matt Drea, Kilmacshane, Inistioge
Mairéad Phelan, Kilmacow Lower, Kilkenny
Ned Reddy, Kilmacow, Kilkenny
Ray Brophy, Kilmadum, Ballyfoyle
Mary O'Driscoll, Kilmanahin, Kilkenny
Mick O'Driscoll, Kilmanahin, Kilkenny
Dermot Kearney, Kilmog, Cuffesgrange
Angela Donovan, Kilmogue, Piltown
Lilly Hennessy, Kilmogue, Piltown
Gerard Mullally, Kilree, Kells
Tom Corcoran, Kiltorcan, Ballyhale
Dr. Margaret Downey, Kiltown, Castlecomer
Grace Rothwell, Kiltown, The Rower
Tom Meagher, Kiltrassy, Windgap
Jim O'Connell, Knockanore, Thomastown
Martin O'Shea, Knockroe, Windgap
Pat O'Halloran, Kylesnaskeagh, Callan
Richard Condren, Kytler's Inn, Kilkenny
Nicola Flynn, Kytler's Inn, Kilkenny
Chris Kavanagh, Ladywell, Thomastown
Ellen Maher, Ladywell, Thomastown

John Comerford, Lamoge, Windgap
Darren Atkins, Listerlin, Tullogher
Eddie Long, Listerlin, Tullogher
Owen Darmody, Lukeswell, Mullinavat
Mícheál Ó Diarmada, Lukeswell, Mullinavat
Philip Lynch, Mallardstown, Callan
May Fennelly, Mill Island, Callan
Mary Reid, Milltown, Mullinavat
Tom Reid, Milltown, Mullinavat
John Cahill, Moat, Freshford
Olive Ryan, Moat, Freshford
Sean Ryan, Moat, Freshford
Mary Brophy, Mountnugent, Johnswell
Seamus Dowling, Mountnugent, Johnswell
John Kennedy, Mullennakill, Tullogher
John Mackey, Mullennakill, Tullogher
Robbie Murphy, Newtown, Graiguenamanagh
Dick Walsh, Newtown, Kells
Liam Meagher, Oldcastle, Windgap
Tom Meagher, Oldcastle, Windgap
Noreen Kenneally, Owing, Piltown
Tom Kenneally, Owing, Piltown
John Foley, Pollagh, Skeaghvasteen
Shay Foley, Pollagh, Skeaghvasteen
Brian Harris, Pottlerath, Kilmanagh
Violet Harris, Pottlerath, Kilmanagh
Eamon Dempsey, Powerswood, Thomastown
Mary O'Shea, Raheen
James Walsh, Rathbeagh, Ballyragget
Eddie Phelan, Rathcash, Freneystown
Áine Irish, Rathinure, Glenmore
Tom Doody, Rathkieran, Mooncoin
Eddie Sullivan, Rathkieran, Mooncoin
Joan Loughlin, Rathlogan, Johnstown

Pat Loughlin, Rathlogan, Johnstown
Andy Frisby, Redacres, Mullinavat
Pat Frisby, Redacres, Mullinavat
Mary Alice Holden, Redacres, Mullinavat
Hugh Breen, Renaghmore, Grange, Thurles
John Breen, Renaghmore, Grange, Thurles
Joseph Breen, Renaghmore, Grange, Thurles
Bridie Brennan, Riesk, Kilmanagh
John Brennan, Riesk, Kilmanagh
Ned Brennan, Riesk, Kilmanagh
Kitty Kelly, Riesk, Kilmanagh
Ann Walsh, Rioch Court, Kilkenny
Vera Larkin, Rioch Street, Kilkenny
Ian Kelly, Rioch Terrace, Kilkenny
Elizabeth Lanigan, Rossaneany, Windgap
John Lanigan, Rossaneany, Windgap
Tom Doheny, Rossdama
Matt Crotty, The Rower
Jim Power, The Rower
Thomas Green, Shanbogh, Kilkenny
Pat Hennessy, Shanbogh, Kilkenny
Tom Hoyne, Sheastown, Kilkenny
Christopher Spencer, Silverspring, Pollrone
Ned Moran, Skeaghavasteen, Kilkenny
Michael Condren, Slatt Lawn, The Swan
Aidan Brennan, St. Canice's Steps, Kilkenny
Seamus Fahy, St. Francis Terrace, Kilkenny
John Phelan, Stonecarthy, Stoneyford
Pat Carroll, Templemartin, Kilkenny
Nicholas Long, Templemartin, Kilkenny
Daphne Dowley, Tibberaghny, Piltown
Louis Dowley, Tibberaghny, Piltown
Richard O'Keefe, Tikerlevan, Graiguenamanagh
Margaret Wade, Tikerlevan, Graiguenamanagh

Michael Staunton, Tinnalintan, Castlecomer
Paul Harrison, Toberbreedia, Ballycallan
Jack Kearns, Tobernabrone, Piltown
Thomas Doheny, Tobernapeastia, Freshford
Pat Walsh, Tobernapeastia, Freshford
Helen Dowling, Troyswood, Kilkenny
Seamus Neary, Troyswood, Kilkenny
James Dunphy, Tubbrid, Mooncoin
Leo Dunphy, Tubbrid, Mooncoin
John Campion, Tubbrid Upper, Barna
William Maher, Tullamaine, Callan
Anthony Dillon, Tullaroan, Kilkenny
Revd. Patrick Guilfoyle, P.P. Tullaroan
Myles Doyle, Ullard, Borris, Kilkenny
Des Fitzgerald, Urlingford
John Queally, Urlingford (Togher Road)
Pat Murphy, Well View, Johnswell
Betty Hanrahan, Whitechurch (Sue Ryder Home, Owing)
Paddy Neary, Wolfe Tone Street, Kilkenny

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Guide to popularity or otherwise of well-names in County Kilkenny (0–3)

- 0 Names for which no spoken form (not even a de-onomised one) was secured
- 1 Names known to very few informants only which are heard only very occasionally (if at all)
- 2 Names which are known to a number of local informants and which are heard (presumably) occasionally
- 3 Names which are known to very many informants in the locality and beyond and which are often heard

Dates of commonly-mentioned sources

Dates are always supplied in the case of references to journals in the following **Documented reference(s)** section for each name. Dates of many other often-quoted sources are provided here as a guide:

Carrigan I–IV (1905)

Carrigan NB (1880c.–1920)

Comerford Coll. (1883)

Discov. Ser. (1995–7)

E1(6) (1842)

E2(6) (1903)

E1(25) (1899–1902)

E2(25) (1947–8)

Fest. Lugh. (1962)

Freshford Sketches (2003)

Graves Patrons (1858)

ITAS (KK) (1945)

Lewis I, II (1837)

Loc. Pat. (1882)

NFC (1934)

NFCS (1938)

NMS, ASI (2016)

O'Kelly (1969)

OSFP (1839–40)

OSL (KK) (1839)

OSM (KK) (1839–40)

OSNB (1837–40)

RMPKK (1996)

Shell Guide Harb. (1989)

Shell Guide Killanin (1967)

Presentation of material in the database

Each of the 183 wells is numbered according to the alphabetical townland order in which each well is situated. Firstly, a selected name-form is presented for each name which is sourced from the Ordnance Survey material, mainly the engraved version appearing on the first edition Ordnance Survey maps on the scale of 6" : 1 mile. When this or other Ordnance Survey sources are wanting, the name-form is selected from the works of Revd. William Carrigan, when a form from Carrigan's work is wanting, a spelling from the Folklore Collections is selected and when a name-form from these collections is wanting, a form is taken from the work of Owen O'Kelly, and so on, whereby, in the majority of instances, a selected name-form for labelling purposes is chosen from one or other of the 'four surveys' in the present work.

Whenever a name-form bearing an anglicised or transliterated spelling is employed, an Irish language name-form is presented, revealing the origin of the name, while the meaning of the name is given in brackets.

After introductory details concerning townland location are presented, details concerning the civil parish, the catholic parish, the barony and Ordnance Survey map sheet numbers are supplied (6" : 1 mile). Ordnance Survey map sheet numbers are given in square brackets whenever a well does not appear on the map but at least an indication is thus given of the location of the actual townland on the map.

National Grid co-ordinates and Sites and Monuments references follow and generated co-ordinates are given whenever National Grid references are wanting. A map reference taken from four different computer-generated maps containing most of the wells is then supplied, following which a reference guide as to the popularity of each well is given, as well as the feastday of a patron saint where relevant, the date of a (former) pattern day where known, a photograph number or numbers, the date of well-visitation (where applicable), a local form or forms of each well where known (it will be noted that many of the local/spoken forms of wells currently have a de-onomised form only) as well as names and addresses of the informants.

Next follows a section entitled **Documented references**, where bare abbreviated sources only, mainly from Ordnance Survey material (the Ordnance Survey Namebooks alone often contain many references per name) and from the works of Carrigan, the Folklore Collections

and O’Kelly, are supplied, as well as many more sources from local parish histories and numerous journals.

A section on **Additional locational details and well description** follows, where references to church ruins and graveyards beside or near the wells are given as well as physical descriptions of the wells.

Apart from the wells visited, descriptions of other wells have been sourced via numerous phone calls, emails and written correspondence over time.

I have described the shape of fields in which wells are shown on the large scale 25” Ordnance Survey maps and I have also supplied the acreages as they appear on these maps, but it must be remembered, especially in the case of well-sites which I was unable to visit, that the shape and acreage of certain fields may have changed since these maps were produced during the period 1899–1902.

Changes to the original database

The original typed database gave quotations of references in full in the body of the work as well as a discussion on source-related material, on onomastics, on hagiography and on many other topics. Almost all such discussions have now been omitted and the result of the scaled-down database is that it has been reduced from 707 typed pages to a new, much shorter database of around 300 pages. In nearly all cases around half a dozen references only concerning the **Local hagiographical evidence of the patron saint** and also **Associated hagiographical evidence** have now been transferred from the original lengthy database to Appendix XL (which section in the original database often contained many pages per saint).

Summary details are then given which contain cross-references to the chapters on locational characteristics (church ruins and other ecclesiastical structures 1.1–1.11, well houses 2.1–2.5, sacred trees 3.1–3.12.16, sacred stones 4.1–4.17, holy crosses 5.1–5.17, statues 6.1–6.9, raths and moats 7.1–7.24), on rituals (1.1–27), on folk-beliefs and legends (1.1–29.3), on the saints (1.1–5.10 and Appendix XL), and on onomastics which refer to wells which bore more than one name and also to de-onomised name-forms.

Finally, 75 photographs issuing from a representative sample of the wells visited as well as photographs kindly supplied by certain informants, appear in the database under the relevant wells.

A list of some 66 appendices is also supplied.

Database of wells

1. St. Bridget's Well (*Carrigan IV 154*)

tld: Afaddy or Silverspring, *p*: Ballytarsney, *cp*: Mooncoin, *bar*: Iverk, [*OS 42*], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 042-029, generated co-ordinates: 250485, 118655, Map 3.1, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 1 February, Local form: The Spring (Christopher Spencer, Silverspring).

Documented references

OSFP, *Carrigan NB 6.6, 7, 96*, *Carrigan IV 154*, *Carrigan NB 29.184*, *Carrigan NB 47.40*, *Carrigan NB 66.66, 67*, *Carrigan NB 67.73*, *Carrigan NB 97.35*, McDonald 1959, 75, *O'Kelly 124*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The location of the well is 'in a field to the left of the road from Mooncoin to Nicholastown (*Carrigan IV 154*), 'by the side of the avenue to Springfield House' (*O'Kelly 124*, *Leet II 206*, *OSFP*), near the western boundary of the townland, a short distance to the north-east of Killaspick Church (*Nat.Grid*: 249933, 118941, *SMR*: KK042-00201, *Carrigan NB 6.96*, *Carrigan IV 153* and to the south-east of Ballytarsney Church (*Nat.Grid*: 251102, 116720, *SMR*: KK042-00101, *EI(6)*, *Carrigan IV 154*, *O'Kelly 125*). It is simply marked 'Spring' on *EI(25)* and is, according to Christopher Spencer of The Coachman's Cottage, Silverspring, in 'The Foil Field', which is now 'no longer part of Silverspring farm'. The Foil Field measures 7.285 acres (*EI(25)*) and the well is near its eastern boundary to the west of the public road. Major drainage works were carried out here in the 1980s and a large surface spring appeared in the deepened canal. There are also smaller springs in the same field and their flow was reduced somewhat when the large spring surfaced.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it does not appear to be located in an immediate ecclesiastical milieu, it has a ritual attaching to it (Ritual 18.1), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.2) and it has a de-onomised spoken form (Onom.4B1).

2. St. Patrick's Well (Carrigan IV 154)

tld: Afaddy or Silverspring, *p*: Ballytarsney, *cp*: Mooncoin, *bar*: Iverk, [OS 42], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 042-030, generated co-ordinates: 250674, 118342, Map 3.2, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 17 March, Local form: The Land Drain (Christopher Spencer, Silverspring).

Documented references

Carrigan IV 154, Carrigan NB 47.40, Carrigan NB 66.67, Carrigan NB 67.73, Carrigan NB 97.351, McDonald 1959, 75, 76, O'Kelly 124, NMS, ASI

Well description

Christopher Spencer, Silverspring, states that 'the well beside St. Patrick's field is only a land drain and that it dries up during the summer'. St. Patrick's Field is situated to the east of the avenue and measures 13.680 acres (*EI(25)*). The well itself is not marked on any of the Ordnance Survey maps but it is located to the west of the aforementioned field near the public road as one travels from Nicholastown to Grange.

In summary

The well has a *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it does not appear to be located in an immediate ecclesiastical milieu, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (*Hag.2.1*) and it has a de-onomised spoken form (*Onom.4B1*).

3. St. Brandon's Well (EI(6))

tld: Aghaviller, *p*: Aghaviller, *cp*: Aghaviller, *bar*: Knocktopher, *OS* 31, *Nat. Grid*: 249607, 135248, *SMR*: KK 031-029, Map 1.3, Popularity: 2, Feastday: 29 November, possible former pattern day: 12 August, Fig.1, 2, Date of visit: 8/10/2015, Local form: St. Brendan's Well (Carmel Raggatt, Joseph Nolan, Aghaviller).

Documented references

OSNB (24), *OSL(KK)* II 129, *OSM(KK)* 172, *OSFP*, *EI* (6), Hogan 1859, 474, *Carrigan NB* 6.133, 155, *Carrigan NB* 47.48, *Carrigan NB* 67.68, 69, *Carrigan NB* 149.81, *Carrigan IV* 4, 432, *NFCS* 849.137, 149, *NFCS* 852.275, 295, *ITAS(KK)*, Aghaviller, Form A, page 4, *O'Kelly* 158, Carville 1977, 42, *Shell Guide Harb.* 229, *Discov.Ser.* S 498354, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-western part of a 16.628 acre field in the vicinity of 'The Church Meadow' (*Nat.Grid*: 249737, 135077, *SMR*: KK 031-03003, *Tenison Vis.* 20, Vallengy, *OSFP*, *Carrigan NB* 6.155, *Nat.Mon.Harb.* 193), the ruins of a round tower therein (*Nat.Grid*: 249720, 135063, *SMR*: KK 031-03001 *Stat.Sur.(KK)* 632, *Lewis* I 95, *OSM(KK)* 171, *OSL(KK)* II 129, *Carrigan IV* 2, *Nat.Mon.Harb.*193) and an old burying ground (*Nat.Grid*: 249741, 135068, *SMR*: KK 031-03002, *Longfield (KK)* 24, *OSL(KK)* II 129, *JRSAI* 2.352, *Carrigan NB* 6.155, *Carrigan IV* 2, *NFCS* 852.358, Barrow 1979, 126).

It is a square-shaped well situated in The Well Field on the land of Joseph Nolan. The words 'St. Brendan's Well' are inscribed on its concrete lid. It is 27 inches deep and the length across its top is 45 inches. It is somewhat overgrown now with moss and grass on its covering but it contains fresh running water and has a stream beside it. There are six steps at the side of this limestone well and Carmel Raggett (aged 60-65) and other members of her family used to draw water from it for domestic purposes until the period 1955-1960.

In summary

The well has a *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (Church Meadow + gr.), it has rituals (Rituals 2.1, 6.1) and a legend (Legend 20.1) attaching to it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.2) and it has a spoken form still in use.

4. Broochgarrig (*Carrigan* II 190), An Bruach Dearg (the red brink)

tld: Aughtatubbrid or Chatsworth, *p*: Castlecomer, *cp*: Clogh, *bar*: Fassadinan, [*OS* 2], *Nat. Grid*: / -, *SMR*: / -, generated co-ordinates: 253164, 181387, Map 3.4, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Brook Darig (Michael Condren, Slatt Lawn, The Swan; P.J. McGrath, Aughtatubbrid).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 73.165, *Carrigan NB* 73.209, *Carrigan* II 190, *Carrigan NB* 84.85, *NFCS* 864.168, 173, 174, *NFCS* 865.141, *O'Kelly* 33, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 20, *NMS*, *ASI*

Topographical observation

Given that the Clogh River forms the eastern boundary of the field in which the well was situated, it is quite understandable how the well, Bruach Dearg, 'red bank', was so named.

Additional locational details and well description

The well was located in the north-western vicinity of Clogh village, around a hundred yards to the south of the ruins of Killaspick Church (*Nat.Grid*: 255129, 180558, *SMR*: KK 002-00101, *Carrigan NB* 87.157, *Carrigan NB* 73.209, *Carrigan* II 190, *NFCS* 864.167, *NFCS* 864.183, *NFCS* 865.113, *NFCS* 836.220, *O'Kelly* 33) and adjoining graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 255727, 180586, *SMR*: KK 002-00102, *Carrigan* II 190, *NFCS* 836.220, *NFCS* 865.113) near Chatsworth House (*E2(6)*).

Ernest Bradley, son of John Bradley (*NFCS* 864.174, 1938) informs me that the well was not situated on his father's land but some fifty yards away in the adjoining townland of Aughtatubbrid, formerly on the land of the Harding family, which was subsequently owned by the McGrath family, P.J. McGrath being the current owner. To locate the well would now prove an impossible task as the shape of the field, now under sileage, and previously levelled, has changed hugely in the last forty years.

The field is located close to where the townlands of Aughtatubbrid, Kill, Coolnaleen and Toortane meet, and its northern boundary adjoins County Laois.

Michael Condren has marked its one-time location on the Ordnance Map. It is marked 'Spring' on *E2(6)*. He states that 'the landscape has changed due to open mining in the 1960s

and early 1970s resulting in the river changing course'. The nearby Church Well is situated just outside the bounds of his land, while the nearby old church ruins are actually located on his land.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, a description of it is based on memory, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch.ruins + gr.), it had an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.12.1, it had rituals (Ritual 13.1, 18.2) and legends (Legends 16.25.1, 28.1) attaching to it, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and it has a spoken form based on memory.

5. The Church Well (*Carrigan* II 190)

tld: Aughatubbrid or Chatsworth, *p*: Castlecomer, *cp*: Clogh, *bar*: Fassadinan, [OS 2], *Nat. Grid*: 255110, 180511, *SMR*: KK 002-001003, Map 1.5, Popularity: 2, no former pattern day recorded, Fig. 21, 22, 23, Date of visit: 19/3/2016, Local form: The Well Field (Michael Condren, Slatt Lawn, The Swan; T.J. Cullinane, Coolnaleen).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 29.143, *Carrigan* II 190, *Carrigan* IV 432, *Carrigan* NB 73.165, 209, *Carrigan* NB 87.157, *Carrigan* NB 96.81, *Carrigan* NB 97.193, *Carrigan* NB 143.122, *NFCS* 864.167, 168, 183, *NFCS* 865.113, Lyng 1984, 375, *RMPKK*, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 20, *Clogh Writers* 61 (2014), *NMS*, *ASI*

Probable toponymical evidence of the original name of the well

1594	Aghetobbir	<i>COD</i> VI 71
1596	Aghtober	<i>COD</i> VI 87
1602	Aghtobber	<i>COD</i> VI 186
1602	Aghtobber	<i>CPR</i> 254 b
1603	Aghetobbir	<i>COD</i> VI 165
1635	Aghtubred; Aghetobbered	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK)</i> 64 C1
1660c.	Aghtobrid	<i>BSD(KK)</i> 194
1711	Aghatubride	<i>CGn.</i> 6.280.2157
5/9/1813	Aghtabrid	<i>Clogh Ccomer Bapt.</i> (s.n. Nancy Malone)
28/3/1814	Auhatubut [<i>sic</i>]	<i>Clogh Ccomer Bapt.</i> (s.n. Catherine Connors)

Additional locational details and well description

Michael Condren of Slatt Lawn, The Swan, informs me that the actual church ruins are situated on his land in Aughatubbrid but that the well (owing to a change of land boundary changes introduced by The Land Commission in the 1930s) is now situated just outside the ditch of The Well Field in the north-eastern extremity of a 9 acre field to its south west,

owned by T.J. Cullinane of Coolnaleen, the well being about 500 yards from the Cullinane residence but still in the townland of Aughatubbrid.

The well has a flag over it but there is no tree near it. It is a small, shallow, square-shaped well with stones, one piled on the other (with no concrete) around it and it contains a strong supply of pure, crystal-clear, ice-cold water, with a gravity flow issuing from it.

Mass is said at the well by the parish priest of Clogh, Fr. Martin Tobin, annually, sometime during the month of September, a practice which was also carried out by his predecessor, Fr. Joyce.

A small wall in the shape of a horseshoe has been erected around the well in recent years as a safeguard against neighbouring farm animals.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.12.2, it has a legend attaching to it (Legend 16A1), the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and it has a de-onomised spoken form (Onom.4B1).

6. Aughkiletaun Holy Well (*Loc.Pat.* 200) alias **St. Fiachra's Well** (2015, *infra*)

tld: Aughkiletaun, *p*: Powerstown, *cp*: Graiguenamanagh, *bar*: Gowran, [*OS* 25], *Nat. Grid*: 268762, 147931, *SMR*: KK 025-035002, Map 1.6, Popularity: 2, Feastday: 8 February, possible former pattern day: sometime in March, Local Form: St. Fiachra's Well (Pat Ryan, Aughkiletaun).

Documented references

OSFP, *Loc.Pat.* 200, *Comerford Coll.* III 226, O'Leary 1924, 25, O'Kelly 87, *KP* 25/8/1989, p17, *KP* 16/8/1991, p12, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in a field to the north of the ancient church of Aughkiletaun beside the road from Skeaghavasteen to Moneen (*Nat.Grid*: 268762, 147931, *SMR*: KK 025-03501, *OSL(KK)* II 16, *OSM(KK)* 144, E1(6), *Comerford Coll.* III 1886, 218, O'Leary 1924, 25, O'Kelly 87, Keane 2013, 173) in the south-eastern part of the townland, to the west of the upper portion of the adjoining townland of Stackally, near which Aughkiletaun carved stone cross (*SMR*: KK 025-03504, *Loc.Pat.* 200, *Comerford Coll.* III 217, 218, O'Leary 1924, 25, O'Kelly 87) was previously located. The landowner, Patrick Ryan, informs me that a Fr. Swayne, now deceased, had it renovated in the 1990s. It is a concrete well which has a big flag on top, never goes dry and is now somewhat overgrown. It is only around 10 yards distant from the aforementioned road and is located under a bank. It is square-shaped, being about 2 feet square in diameter and 2 feet deep. Patrick relates that it is in The Church Field, that the church ruins are within 100 yards of it and that it is referred to locally as St. Fiachra's Well.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Crosses 5.1, it has more than one name-form (*Onom.*2), one of which is of hagiographical origin (*Hag.*4.9) and it has a spoken form still in use.

7. Ballinvarry Holy Well (NFCS 847.128)

tld: Ballinvarry English, *p*: The Rower, *cp*: Inistioge, *bar*: Ida, [OS 33], *Nat. Grid*: / -, *SMR*: / -, generated co-ordinates: 271323, 136921, Map 3.7, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Well Field (John Mahon, Ballavarra).

Documented reference

NFCS 847.128

Additional locational details and well description

Situated to the south-west of St. Mullins and on the western bank of the River Barrow, the portion of the townland formerly owned by the Doyle family included a holding both to the north-east and to the south-east of Ballinvarry Bridge (*E2(6)*) as well as a section of land to the south-west of it.

John Mahon of Ballinvarry (English) informs me that his father, named Richard, who died in 1984 aged 82, remembered a Johnny Doyle who formerly occupied a portion of land now owned by John Mahon (65-70): John's grandfather, also John Mahon, married a Bridget Doyle, daughter of Johnny Doyle. He speaks of Doyle's Lane, Doyle's Kiln, The Kill Field and The Well Field which adjoins it. The well, 'now neglected', is located 'in the south-eastern part of a 3 acre field which is now only a grass field in which cattle graze'. The field is actually higher than where the well is, the well itself being half-moon shaped with a step down into it and water flows down the hill from it along by a ditch into the Kill Field and indeed other nearby fields.

The well field, as stated above, contains 3.661 acres (*E1(25)*), the well being located at its north-eastern extremity, where the Well Field, the Kiln Field to its east (1.951 acres) and a long rectangular 3.289 acre field to the north of the Kiln Field and to the north east of the Well Field, come together.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it has a legend attaching to it (Legend 4.1), the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and it has a de-onomised spoken form (Onom.4B1).

8. Trinity Well (NFCS 847.128)

tld: Ballycannon, *p*: Ballinamara, *cp*: Tullaroan, *bar*: Crannagh, *OS* 13, *Nat. Grid*: 242262, 159583, *SMR*: KK 013-085, Map 1.8, Popularity: 2, former pattern day: second Sunday in July, Local forms: Trinity Well, The Well Field (Sean Fitzpatrick, Ballycannon).

Documented references

OSL(KK) I 207, 208, *OSM(KK)* 19, 20, *OSFP*, *EI(6)*, *Graves Patrons* 1, *Carrigan NB* 158.24, 110, *EI(6)*, *EI(25)*, *Carrigan II* 266, *Carrigan IV* 432, *ITAS(KK)*, Freshford, Form A, page 4, *O'Kelly* 4, Smyth 1990, 136, *Discov.Ser.* S 423596, *RMPKK*, Cantwell 2000, 22, Kennedy 2001, 11, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 21, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-western part of a 2.005 acre triangular-shaped field (*EI(25)*) in the north-eastern portion of the townland, to the south-east of Ballinamara Church (*Nat.Grid*: 241736, 159781, *SMR*: KK 013-08401, *Stat.Sur.(KK)* 609, *OSNB* (19), *OSL(KK)* I 208, *OSM(KK)* 19, *Carrigan II* 265, *O'Kelly* 4) and graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 241746, 159767, *SMR*: KK 013-08402, *Tension Vis.* 28, *OSNB* (11), *OSL(KK)* I 208, *OSM(KK)* 19, *Carrigan II* 266, *O'Kelly* 4).

As one goes from the road and across one field, the next field is The Well Field which is on Seán Fitzpatrick's land. It is a round surface spring lined with green stone and is in the middle of the field. It is around 4 feet wide and 4 feet deep. Peter Maher (aged 75-80) of Ballycannon relates that 'Trinity Well' is an ordinary-looking well which is not well known locally. Locals used to draw water from it during Peter's young days and there used to be a stile into it. Mass used to be said at the church ruins and people attending used to visit the well afterwards. It never goes dry.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.8.1, it has a ritual attaching to it (Ritual 5.1), the name-form is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.9), and it has a spoken form still in use which reflects the hagiographical name.

9. St. Brigid's Well (*O'Kelly* 54)

tld: Ballyconra, *p*: Aharney, *cp*: Lisdowney, *bar*: Galmoy, [*OS* 9], *Nat. Grid*: 242989, 171195, *SMR*: KK 009-013004, Map 1.9, Popularity: 0, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 1 February, No local form.

Documented references

O'Kelly 54, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and possible well description

The well was supposedly located 'south of the church' (*O'Kelly* 54), Barney Church (*Nat.Grid*: 243430, 173670, *SMR*: 004-008001) and graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 243430, 173000, *SMR*: 004-008002, Keane 2013, 175), both of which are located the south west of Ballyconra House (*OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *O'Kelly* 54, Dorgan 1996, 153).

Neither John Kennedy (aged 50-55) nor his wife Breeda on whose land Barney Church ruins are located have ever heard of a well here nor has their next-door neighbour, Nicky Kenny (aged 80-85). Breeda, however, refers to a 'wet patch in the Church Field' which may be a remnant of a former water-source.

Neither May Maher (aged 75-80) also of Ballyconra, nor her brother, Laurence Hamilton (aged 80-85), who began his teaching career in nearby Lisdowney School, have ever heard of the well either although they are aware that Barney church ruins are on John Kennedy's land, about a mile in from the road. Both, however, refer rather to St. Bridget's Well in Booliaduff field beside the nearby Aharney Church ruins and disused graveyard, (a shallow well with a tree beside it which was filled in around forty years ago when the field was levelled. This 'hole in the ground was', according to Laurence, on John Grogan's land and traces of it still remained when he started teaching in the area in 1954. It did not, however, contain any water during his lifetime).

Although both informants did their utmost to assist with my enquiries, I am of the opinion that two wells are being confused here and that this latterly mentioned well is actually St. Bridget's Well just over the border in County Laois, both wells being in the civil parish of Aharney. The County Laois well is obviously still known locally and is more richly documented than the well under scrutiny (*Nat.Grid*: 240046, 172121, *SMR*: LA 035-048; *OSNB(16)*, *OSL(KK)* I 96; *OSM(KK)* 107; *OSFP*; *E1(6)*; *Carrigan NB* 33.62; *Carrigan NB*

74.230; *Carrigan NB* 62.19; *Carrigan II* 309; *Carrigan NB* 29.112; *Carrigan NB* 48.12; *Carrigan NB* 120.5, 6; *Carrigan NB* 97.154; *NFCS* 868.88; *NFCS* 868.96; Kenealy 1976, 170; Feehan 1983, 434; Kavanagh & Guilfoyle 1998, 14; Kennedy 2003, 19; Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 22).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is not in existence even in the form of memory or tradition, it would appear to have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), the name form is of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.2) and there is no spoken form in existence.

10. Ballyda Holy Well (NFCS, ASI)

tld: Ballyda *p*: Danesfort, *cp*: Danesfort, *bar*: Shillelogher, [OS 23], *Nat. Grid*: / -,

SMR: KK 023-103, Popularity: 0, no former pattern day recorded, No local form.

Documented reference

NMS, ASI (18/1/2016)

It is assigned a different *SMR* reference number to Lady's Well in the same townland and would appear to have been located near it.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it has not been located, there is no evidence to suggest that the name-form was of hagiographical origin or that the well was located in an ecclesiastical milieu and there is no spoken form in existence.

11. Lady's Well (EI(6))

tld: Ballyda, *p*: Danesfort, *cp*: Danesfort, *bar*: Shillelogher, *OS* 23, *Nat. Grid*: 251006, 146321, *SMR*: KK 023-075, Map 1.11, Popularity: 3, Feastday and pattern day: 15 August, Fig.3, Local form: Lady Well (Tim Murphy, Ballyda; Con Walsh, Danesfort).

Documented references

Danesfort Bapt. (s.n. Laurence Walsh, 11/8/1824), *OSNB* (9), (10), *OSL(KK)* I 274, *OSM(KK)* 54, 55, *OSFP*, *Danesfort Bapt.* (s.n. Anne Purcell, 21/1/1847), Hogan 1884, 50, *Carrigan NB* 6.181, *EI(25)*, *Carrigan NB* 33.55, *Carrigan NB* 55.90, *Carrigan NB* 61.43, 125, *Carrigan NB* 71.196, *Carrigan III* 395, *Carrigan NB* 97.248, *KP* 26/8/1916, p9, *NFCS* 849.35, 36, 37, 80, 81, *NFCS* 853.152, *NFCS* 854.174, 175, 176, 177, 193, 194, 230, *NFCS* 855.214, 372, 373, *NFCS* 856.200, *E2(25)*, *E2(6)*, *OSFM(KK)* 8952, *O'Kelly* 180, *Discov.Ser.* S 511464, *RMPKK*, Fitzgerald 2005, 390, 391, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 21, *KP* 12/8/2011, p26, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the eastern part of a long, narrow 2.589 acre field (*EI(25)*) in the south-western portion of the townland, to the south-west of the old village of Ballyda and to the north-east of Ladyswell School (*EI(25)*) near which is a R.C. Chapel (*Nat.Grid*: /-, *OSNB(9)*, *Carrigan NB* 6.181, *Carrigan NB* 55.90, *Carrigan III* 395, *Carrigan NB* 97.248, *NFCS* 854.176, *O'Kelly* 180).

The landowner, Tim Murphy (65-70), informs me that the well is situated two fields in from the Ladywell road and that it is a big triangular-shaped well, being two feet wide at its narrowest and twenty feet at its widest. It is fed by an underground stream entering from the north side and at this north side are two steps and a large rock traditionally known as a Mass rock. The well is situated close to a tributary of the King's river (the well). The pilgrimage takes place on the 15th of August when pilgrims drink water from the main part of the well in addition to bathing their hands, face and feet in the main bathing area.

In summary

The well had an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it has locational characteristics in the form of Trees 3.1.1, 3.4.1, 3.8.2 and Raths/Moats 7.1, it has many rituals (Rituals 1.1, 2.1, 2A1, 9.1, 12.1, 13.2, 17.1, 20.1, 22.1, 23.1) and legends (Legends 15.1, 16.25.2, 16A2, 17.7, 25.1, 26.1) attaching to it, the name-form is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1), and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

12. Mickel's Well (*Carrigan NB 55.90* (1899))

tld: Ballyda, *p*: Danesfort, *cp*: Danesfort, *bar*: Shillelogher, [*OS 23*], *Nat. Grid*: / -, *SMR*: KK 023-103, generated co-ordinates: 251254, 146318, Map 3.12, Popularity: 2, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 29 September, Fig. 4, Date of visit: 4/4/2016, Local form: Mickil's Well (Tim Murphy, Ballyda; Con Walsh, Danesfort).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 47.73, *Carrigan NB 55.90*, *Carrigan NB 66.58*, 59, *Carrigan NB 67.69*, *Carrigan NB 97.248*, *NFCS 854.177*, *O'Kelly 180*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The location of the well is marked on *EI(6)* but not on the later *EI(25)*. Tim Murphy of Ballyda informs me that Mickel's Well is situated near the south-eastern corner of a rectangular-shaped 7.108 acre field (*EI(25)*) to the north-east of Lady's Well. The Maher family originally owned the land, a Mullins family used to draw water from it up to around fifty years ago, and what was originally a big spring eventually stopped as a result of cattle trampling on it. A heap of briars and bushes now grows over the well and two flagstones were in existence there up to around fifteen years ago around which time Pat Barry took possession of the land.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it has a legend attaching to it (Legend 16.20.1), the name-form is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.8), and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

13. Tobernakill (E1(6)), Tobar na Cille (well of the church)

tld: Ballygorey, *p*: Portnascully, *cp*: Mooncoin, *bar*: Iverk, *OS* 45, *Nat. Grid*: 251581, 113321, *SMR*: KK 045-003, Map 1.13, Popularity: 2, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: Tobernakilla (John Dunphy, Ballygorey).

Documented references

OSL(KK) II 239, *OSM(KK)* 80, *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 6.154, 155, *E1(25)*, *E2(6)*, *Carrigan IV* 161, 163, *Carrigan NB* 32.77, *Carrigan NB* 34.73, 74, *Carrigan NB* 66.66, *Carrigan NB* 67.72, *Carrigan NB* 97.352, *NFC* 468.118, *NFCS* 840.175, 176, *NFCS* 843.58, McDonald 1959, 76, *O'Kelly* 134, Burtchaell 1988, 12, *Discov.Ser.* S 516133, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 22, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-western part of a 3.414 acre field (*E1(25)*) in the north-western portion of the townland, to the north of the old village of Portnascully, 'about 600 yards east of the river Suir' (*NFCS* 840.175) and 'about 500 yards east of the well' on the Portnascully village side lie Portnascully old church ruins (*NFCS* 840.175) (*Nat.Grid*: 251955, 113934, *SMR*: KK 045-00201, *Otway Vis.* 11 (1679), *Oss.Vis.* 39 (1795), *OSL(KK)* II 239, *OSM(KK)* 80, *Carrigan IV* 161, *NFCS* 840.175) and adjoining graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 251948, 113932, *SMR*: KK 045-00202, *OSL(KK)* II 239, *Carrigan IV* 161, *NFC* 468.118, *NFCS* 840.175).

It is a circular well which measures 3-4 feet deep (it rises a little during the winter) and 3 feet wide. There is a big red sandstone flag at the side of it where pilgrims used to kneel. Beads, medals and coins used to be commonly seen at the well during John Dunphy's youth (aged 70-75). There is a boreen down into it and it is situated in the middle of a field owned by Ned McGrath. A spring bubbles up from it which flows down into a drain and thereafter into the Suir. Water used to be carried away as a cure for warts and ringworm many years ago and the well-water had the reputation of being ice-cold even in mid-summer. John Dunphy frankly admits that his visits to the well as a youth were based more on monetary rather than spiritual interests as visitors to it used to leave English coins as propitiary gifts which John and his comrades used to promptly pocket.

In her discussion on ‘Holy Wells and Other Sites of Pilgrimage within a portion of East Kerry’, Patricia O’Hare relates concerning a holy well, Toberreendoney, in the townland of Boolasallagh, that a female pub owner from a nearby area visited the well and made an offering of a coin with a distinctive marking, only to subsequently receive it back in payment for drink’ (O’Hare 1996, 61; Ray 2014, 50).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in use, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Stones 4.1, it has many rituals (Rituals 1.2, 2.3, 12.1, 13.3, 17.2, 18.3, 20.2) and legends (Legends 2.1, 12.1, 16.10.1, 16.12.1, 16A3, 20.2, 21.1) attaching to it, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and it has a spoken form still in use.

14. Ballyneale Holy Well (NMS, ASI)

tld: Ballyneale, *p*: Dysartmoon, *cp*: Rosbercon, *bar*: Ida, [*OS* 37], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 037-033, co-ordinates of Dysartmoon Church: 267201, 130900, Map 2.14, Popularity: 1, former pattern day 21 January, Local form: The Hollow in the Graveyard (Paddy Heffernan, Ballyneale).

Documented references

Moore 1874-9, 29, *NMS, ASI*

Probable patron saint

The ruins of Dysartmoon church are located in this townland, Ballyneale, the probable patron saint being Maodhóg/Maedhán of Ferns, January 31st (January 22nd is given above) who died around 620-625 (*Ó Riain Saints* 435). The form Aidan also appears in *Carrigan IV* 185, *Ó Riain Saints* 432, *GPN* 128, 129, while Aidus and Edanus (January 31) appear in Sharpe (1991), 395. A suitable home could not be found in the hagiographical chapter for this saint.

Additional locational details and possible well description

The well may have been located to the south-east of Ballyneale House (*OSFP, E1(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 40.176, *E2(6)*) in the vicinity of (i) Dysartmoon old church in ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 267201, 130900, *SMR*: KK 037-003001, *Stat.Sur.(KK)* 612, *OSNB(22)*, *OSL(KK)* II 162, *OSM(KK)* 124, *Carrigan NB* 40.176, 180, *Carrigan IV* 185, *NFCS* 846.39, 263, *O'Kelly* 116) and (ii) graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 267205, 130894, *SMR*: KK 037-003002, *Carrigan IV* 186, *NFCS* 846.227, 263, *O'Kelly* 106) in the southern part of the townland near Ballyneale old village.

It is hardly surprising that Paddy Heffernan (aged 50-55), who lives within 400 yards of the cemetery (the church ruins being situated in the middle of the overgrown cemetery) never heard of a holy well here given that as far back as 1874-9 it was then 'little noticed' (Moore 1874-9, 29). A Mass used to be celebrated at the cemetery on June 20th. A possible location for the well may be a hollow on the left hand side of the graveyard near the gate which is at times subjected to flooding.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, there is a tradition only of the well's former existence, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.) the name-form does not appear to have been of hagiographical origin and it has a de-onomised spoken form (Onom.4C).

15. St. Lawrence's Well (NFCS 857.471)

tld: Ballyogan, *p*: Graiguenamanagh, *cp*: Graiguenamanagh, *bar*: Gowran, [OS 29],
Nat. Grid: /-, *SMR*: /-, generated co-ordinates: 272398, 141395, Map 3.15, Popularity: 1,
Feastday: 14 November, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Well (Willy
Barron, Graiguenamanagh, formerly of Ballyogan).

Documented references

NFCS 857.471, Ireland's Own 74.1862.30.1 (1/7/1939)

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-eastern part of the townland 'near the Barrow' (*NFCS 857.471*) and 'near the Castle' (*Nat.Grid*: 272112, 141327, *SMR*: KK 029-021, Galmoy Castle (in ruins) (*E1(6)*), *E2(6)*), 'the castle in Ballyogan' (*Ireland's Own 74.1862.30.1 (1/7/1939)*, *O'Kelly 74*). The 'Chapel Field' is shown in the western vicinity of the castle ruins (*E1(6)*), near which was an ancient church site (*Nat.Grid*: 271538, 140750, *SMR*: 029-038001, 'Ballyogan ancient Church' (*Ireland's Own 74.1862.30.1*), 'there is an ancient church site in a field called Páirc an teampaill marked by a small cross' (*O'Kelly 74*, Keane 2013, 173).

Regarding 'St. Lawrence's well in Mr. Barron's field' (*NFCS 857.471*) above, Willie Barron, son of the 1938 informant, states that the well is located in a wood or overgrowth section of the farm to the east of the castle. It is now no more than a trickle in the ground with shiny shaly gold-like stones covered by briars. The Barrons, who left Ballyogan in 1975, always referred to St. Lawrence's Well in their youth. The well is not marked on any of the Ordnance Survey maps but the wood in which it is located is shown (*E1(6)*, *E2(6)*, *E1(25)*).

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site), it has a legend (Legend 4.2) attaching to it, the name-form is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.12) and it has a de-onomised spoken form (Onom.4B1).

16. Trinity Well (*Carrigan NB 74.342*)

tld: Ballyraughton, *p*: Dunmore, *cp*: St. John's, *bar*: Fassadinan, [*OS 14*], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, generated co-ordinates: 249304, 164097, Map 3.16, Popularity: 2, former pattern day: the last Sunday of July, Local form: Trinity Well (Martin Brennan, James Dowling, Ballyraughton).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 74.342, *Carrigan NB 97.301*, *Carrigan NB 109.42*, *Carrigan IV 432*, *NFCS 863.212*, 272, *O'Kelly 40*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located to the south-east of Jenkinstown Bridge (*E1(6)*) in the northern part of Jenkinstown Wood, between the River Dinan and the road to Castlecomer, 'between the Comer road and the river Dinan' [*sic*] (*Carrigan NB 109.42*), 'on the east bank of the Dinin' (*Carrigan NB 74.342*), 'slightly off the main road to Castlecomer...at the north-end of Jenkinstown wood' (*NFCS 863.212*).

Martin Brennan of Ballyraughton states that where the well is located is not actually a field but a rough piece of ground leading down to the Dinin river. The well, which is now somewhat overgrown, always produced water which even in the summer was very cold and clear. He has kindly confirmed the location of the well and informed me that James Dowling is the landowner in question, the land on which the well is having been recently sold. It is situated in from the main road on the way down to the river. It is a circular open well being about 2 feet deep and 7-8 feet wide. The shallow spring has become neglected over time because of roaming cattle in its hilly environs but the water from it flows to the river. Martin Dowling explains that the water is ice-cold as little or no sunlight reaches it because of shrubs, bushes and trees.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.12.3, it has rituals attaching to it (Rituals 16 (2A2, 12.3, 20.3), the name-form is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.9) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

17. Ballyreddy Holy Well (RMPKK)

tld: Ballyreddy, *p*: Dysartmoon, *cp*: Rosbercon, *bar*: Ida, [*OS* 37], *Nat. Grid*: 266715, 129290, *SMR*: KK 037-010004, Map 1.17, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Well Field (Paddy Grennan, Luke Grennan, Ballyreddy).

Documented references

Moore 1874-9, 29, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and possible well description

The well would appear to have been located in the north-western part of the townland in the vicinity of (i) Ballyreddy Church/Rathclea Church site (*Nat.Grid*: 266715, 129277, *SMR*: KK 037-01001, *OSNB* (23), Moore 1874-9, 29, *Carrigan NB* 40.179, *Carrigan NB* 61.51, *Carrigan IV* 189, *NFCS* 846.263, *O’Kelly* 107) and (ii) a graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 266715, 129290, *SMR*: KK 037-01002, *OSNB* (23), Moore 1874-9, 29, 30, *Carrigan NB* 61.51, 52, 55, *Carrigan IV* 190), both of which were located in a small 1.109 acre field (*EI*(25)), Paddy Grennan being the present landowner.

Both Paddy and his brother, Luke, speak of a well which is situated one field (100 yards) north of where the graveyard used to be. The well in The Well Field is 3 feet deep and 3-4 feet wide. It is a surface well which has concrete at the side of it and at which an electric pump with a shed over it was erected many decades ago ‘for pumping to the house’. If this is indeed the well in question, it is somewhat surprising that it survived at all given that as far back as 1874-9 it was ‘choked up with the trampling of cattle, cresses, weeds, etc.’ (Moore 1874-9, 29).

It is to be distinguished from ‘Thubber-Chauth-Rydher, or Catty Ryder’s Well’ (*Carrigan NB* 61.51; *Carrigan IV* 189; *O’Kelly* 107) in the same townland.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + gr.) the name-form does not appear to be of hagiographical origin and it has a de-nomised spoken form (Onom.4B1).

18. Thubberathoggarth (*Carrigan NB 97.131*), Tobar an tSagairt (well of the priest)

tld: Baunballinlough, *p*: Erke, *cp*: Galmoy, *bar*: Galmoy, [*OS 8*], *Nat. Grid*: 227860, 170829, *SMR*: KK 008-013, Map 1.18, Popularity: 0, no former pattern day recorded, No local form.

Documented references

OSFP, *E1(6)*, *E1(25)*, *Carrigan NB 28.44*, *Carrigan NB 29.103*, *Carrigan NB 97.131*, *O'Kelly 57*, *RMPKK*, *NMI*, *ASI*

Holy wells and ecclesiastical/clerical persons

Other holy wells in the county which are named after ecclesiastical or clerical personages include (i) Tubberathoggarth (*tld*: Jamestown) and (ii) Friar's Well (*tld*: Killonerry).

Concerning such wells Dr. Seán Ó Súilleabháin remarks that while 'holy wells were usually situated near the ruin of an old church or monastic site' and that 'they may have been, in some cases, centres of some kind of pre-Christian ceremonies, later taken over by the early Church'; yet, 'in others, it is probable that they were domestic wells used by the monks and other clergy, thus acquiring special qualities in the eyes of the local population' (Ó Súilleabháin 1967, 74).

The seven sons of Scoithín of Tiscoffin/Tigh Scoithín are commemorated at *Tobernanaspog* (*tld*: Grangehill) < *Tobar na nEaspag*, 'well of the bishops'. These seven bishops were destined from an early age to become saints eventually, 'These boys shall be seven saints and they shall illumine Ireland with their virtues and preaching' (*OSL(KK) I 226*).

J.M. MacKinlay comments on the existence of saints' wells and wells named after personages of clerical rank in Scotland who do not appear to have reached the status of sainthood:

In addition to springs named after particular saints, there are some bearing the general appellation of Saints' Wells or Holy Wells. There are Holy Rood and Holy Wood Wells also Holy Trinity and Chapel Wells. There are likewise Priors', Monks', Cardinals', Bishops', Priests', Abbots' and Friars' Wells.

(MacKinlay 1893, 32)

Additional locational details but no well site

The well was located (per/www.archaeology.ie/) in a wet portion of ground in the north-western part of the townland, to the south-west of an old Constabulary Barracks, to the north-west of the Horse and Jockey Cross Roads (in the second field to the left of it). It appears to be shown but not named in a big field on *EI(6)* and this location corresponds to the south-eastern part of a smaller 4.556 acre field on the later *EI(25)*, on which it is neither shown nor named.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, there is no local memory or tradition of its location or description, it does not appear to have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu, the name-form was not of hagiographical origin and no spoken form has been obtained.

19. Toberbride (E1(6)), Tobar Bhríde (well of St. Bridget)

tld: Baunta Commons, *p*: Callan, *cp*: Callan, *bar*: Callan, *OS* 26, *Nat. Grid*: 239934, 142148, *SMR*: KK 026-014, Map 1.19, Popularity: 1, Feastday and former pattern day: 1 February, Fig.5.6, Date of visit: 18/4/2016, Local form: The Well Field (Jimmy O'Brien, Cannafahy; Joe Kennedy, Callan, historian).

Documented references

OSNB(1:30), *OSNB*(3:45), *OSL*(KK) III 47, *OSM*(KK) 24, *OSFP*, Hogan 1884, 29, *Carrigan NB* 33.40, *Carrigan* III 321, *Carrigan NB* 66.53, *Carrigan NB* 67.61, 62, *Carrigan NB* 74.208, *Carrigan NB* 85.47, *Carrigan NB* 97.258, *NFCS* 854.8, 10, *E2*(6), *E2*(25), *OSFM*(KK) 8962, *O'Kelly* 142, *Discov.Ser.* S 399422, *RMPKK*, Brennan 2006, 137, Lynch 2010, 12, *NMS*, *ASI*

It is probable that J.F. Shearman was in error in naming the little-known Brige, daughter of Cucraidh in Ossory, over Bríd of Kildare here and at St. Bridget's Well, *tld*: Newtown (Shea) / Killinny and Toberbride: *tld*: Kells:

1882 Kilree near Kells has an old church dedicated to St. Bridget, the patron of Kildare, but it is more likely that the patron of Kilree [Kells] is Bridget of Cluan Infiide, daughter of Cucraidh, the Munster usurper in Ossory.

Loc.Pat.300

1882 Killinney [Killinny] – St. Bridget is set down as the patron and is supposed to be the saint of Kildare, but it is more likely that the patron of this church and of Cill Fraoich (Kilree), Callan, and other neighbouring churches, was Brige, daughter of Cucraidh.

Loc.Pat.306

1882 This Brige is more likely to have been the titular of the churches of Callan, Kilbride, and Kilree, in Magh Roighne, than her namesake St. Briget, patroness of Kildare.

Loc.Pat.338

Additional locational details and well description

The well was situated in the eastern part of a 0.720 acre field (*E1*(25)) to the south-east of Callan town, near where the townlands of Kilbride Glebe, Kilbride, Riversfield and Kilminick West meet, to the south-west of Kilbride Cross Roads (*E2*(6)) in the immediate

vicinity of the ancient church site of Kilbride (*Nat.Grid*: 239900, 142207, *SMR*: KK 026-014, *Loc.Pat.* 338, *Carrigan III* 297, 319, *NFCS* 854.8, *O’Kelly* 142) and nearby graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 239900, 142206, *SMR*: 026-013002, *OSNB* (3:35), *OSL(KK)* II 47, *OSM(KK)* 24, *OSFP*, *Carrigan NB* 1.131, *Carrigan III* 319, *NFCS* 845.591, 592, 593, *O’Kelly* 142).

The Well Field is located on the land of Jimmy O’Brien. It is a small field in from the main Kilkenny – Clonmel road ‘just down from the graveyard’. The well maintained its roundish shape up to around 1960 and was shallow and around 5 feet wide. It was situated around 200 yards from Jimmy’s household and he remembers that in his youth, both his family and six other households used to use the water before the Kilbride Water Scheme was introduced. It was ‘like a small pond walked on by cattle’ soon after and was piped to a culvert which flows to the river. There used to be a stile into it from the road and part of where the well/pond used to be was level, in the middle of the field. The pond which he used to call St. Bridget’s Well and Toberbride was always in view during his youth but is now long gone.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + gr.), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.2.1, it has a ritual attaching to it (Ritual 2A3), the name-form is of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.2) and it has a de-onomised spoken form (Onom.4B1).

20. Tobernaskeagh (EI(6)), Tobar na Sceiche (well of the hawthorn)

tld: Baunta Commons, *p*: Callan, *cp*: Callan, *bar*: Callan, *OS* 26, *Nat. Grid*: (?) 240560, 141910, *SMR*: KK 026-032, Map 1.20, Popularity: 1, former pattern day unknown (sometime ‘about harvest’), Local form: The Well (John Grace, Baunta; Joe Kennedy, Callan, historian).

Documented references

OSNB(1:30), *EI*(6), *Carrigan NB* 33.41, *Carrigan NB* 74.208, *Carrigan NB* 85.47, *Carrigan NB* 97.258, *Carrigan NB* 137.118, *Carrigan III* 321, *NFCS* 848.281, 282, 304, *NFCS* 853.249, 250, *E2*(6), *E2*(25), *OSFM*(KK) 8974, *O’Kelly* 142, Brennan 2006, 137, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 20

Additional locational details and well description

The well was located in the south-western part of long, narrow 1.855 acre field (*EI*(25)) to the south west of Callan town, near the north-eastern part of Kilminick West townland where are seen the confluence of the Owbeg and Kilbride rivers, a church in ruins (*Nat.Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 026-029001, *Carrigan NB* 137.118, *Carrigan NB* 33.41, *Carrigan III* 321, *NFCS* 848.280, 281, *NFCS* 848.281, *O’Kelly* 142) and an adjoining graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 026-029002, *Carrigan III* 321, *NFCS* 848.281, 282, 304, *O’Kelly* 142).

It was situated on land now owned by John Grace of Riversfield. Local historian Joe Kennedy recalls that ‘The Well was in the Kill Field’, that it was a shallow well being only 1½ - 2 feet deep, that it was 8-9 feet wide, that it was circular, that it had steps down into it, that there used to be blue stones around it, that he used to occasionally get a gallon of water from it during his younger days and that it was piped to the river some forty years ago. There is now no trace of the well except for a nearby little drain leading to the river. There was no evidence of the name-giving tree or sceach (Tobar na Sceiche) during his lifetime.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its former existence is remembered locally, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + gr.), it had an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.1.2, it had a legend pertaining to it (Legend 20.3), the well-name was not of hagiographical origin and it has a de-onomised spoken form (Onom.4B2).

21. St. Michael's Well (NFCS 869.145) alias Lady's Well (EI(6))

tld: Bayswell, *p*: Erke, *cp*: Galmoy, *bar*: Galmoy, *OS* 8, *Nat. Grid*: 225836, 169743, *SMR*: KK 008-037, Map 1.21, Popularity: 2, Feastday and former pattern day: 29 September, Fig. 7, Local form: St. Michael's Well (Stephen Delaney, Carmel Delaney, Bayswell).

Documented references

OSNB(39), *OSL*(KK) I 115, *OSFP*, *EI*(6), Moore 1874-9, 38, Healy 1893, 295, *EI*(25), *E2*(6), *Carrigan NB* 27.66, *Carrigan NB* 28.22, 23, *Carrigan NB* 33.29, *Carrigan NB* 43.178, *Carrigan NB* 137.79, *Carrigan II* 303, *NFCS* 869.145, 146, 209, 227, *ITAS*(KK), Johnston, Form A, page 4, Lyng 1959, 25, *O'Kelly* 58, Dowling 1978, 13, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser.* S 258697, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is situated in a 1.521 acre field (*EI*(25)) on the land of Bayswell House (*OSNB*(38), *OSFP*, *OSM*(KK) 260, *O'Kelly* 58), a short distance to the north-east of Templenaraha (*Nat.Grid*: 225629, 168183, *SMR*: KK 008-06601, *OSM*(KK) 403, *OSFP*, *Carrigan II* 300, *O'Kelly* 58) and a graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 225636, 168172, *SMR*: 008-06602, *OSFP*, *EI*(6)).

It was described in 1978 as being 'in Mr. Bob Delaney's back garden' (Dowling 13). The present owner, Stephen Delaney (aged 65-70), refers to St. Michael's Well, a surface well which is in the shape of a coffin, is enclosed in a little house with a semi-circular roof and has an effigy of St. Michael the Archangel at it. It is 3-4 feet deep and is about 10 feet long and 4 feet wide. It is situated to the right hand side of the opening and the outside wall of the house to the left of the opening is covered with ivy, there being no trace of ivy over the opening or to its right hand side. A large tree overshadows the well-house.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Well House 2.1, Trees 3.10.1, Effigies and Statues 6.1, Rathes and Moats 7.2, it has legends attaching to it (Legends 16.11.1, 17.2), it has rituals attached to it (Rituals 2A4, 4.1, 12.4, 17.3), the well

had more than one name (Onom.2), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.8), and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

22. St. Cranagh's Well (NFCS 869.145)

tld: Boggan, *p*: Tullaroan, *cp*: Tullaroan, *bar*: Crannagh, [*OS* 17], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, generated co-ordinates: 232771, 156229, Map 3.22, Popularity: 0, Feastday: 9 March, no former pattern day recorded, No local form.

Documented references

NFCS 830.221, 222, *O'Kelly* 29, Kennedy 2001, 7

Additional locational details but no well site

Although formerly described as having been located 'in the middle of Mr. Stephen Breen's field' (*NFCS* 830.221), Hugh Breen (Stephen's grandson and current owner of his grandfather's and father's land) informs me that the well/water-storing tree-trunk has not survived locally, either in name or location nor does he recall either his father (now deceased) or his uncle, Joseph Breen (aged 80-85), Boggan, having ever referred to such a place. It would not appear to have been formerly located on the banks of the Munster River, however, (as is St. Patrick's Well), given the locational cue 'in the middle of Stephen Breen's field'. Hugh has kindly marked the fields of his (and formerly Stephen's) farm on the Ordnance map, there being no fewer than nineteen fields in question, a fact which renders the task of locating the long-since unknown water-holding tree-stump quite impossible.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it has not been located, it does not appear to have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it had legends pertaining to it (Legends 16A4, 28.2), it appears to have been of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.4) and no spoken form (even a de-onomised one) has been obtained.

23. St. Patrick's Well (NFCS 867.184)

tld: Boggan, *p*: Tullaroan, *cp*: Tullaroan, *bar*: Crannagh, [*OS* 17], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, generated co-ordinates: 232465, 156098, Map 3.23, Popularity: 2, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 17 March, Local form: St. Patrick's Well (Hugh Breen, John Breen, Renaghmore).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 42.107, *Carrigan NB* 54.16, *Carrigan NB* 147.97, 114, *Carrigan NB* 149.151, *NFCS* 867.184, 185

Additional locational details and well description

Although the well is neither shown or named on the Ordnance Survey maps, it has survived locally as St. Patrick's Well and is located in the northern extremity of a large 6.301 acre field on the land of Hugh Breen who has marked its location for me on the map. It is situated beside the Munster River on the border of Boggan, County Kilkenny, and Renaghmore, County Tipperary, in a rock on a stream of the river. It is still visited occasionally and is no deeper than 'a two pint glass' (according to Hugh) with a tree and stone beside it.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it has locational characteristics in the form of Trees 3.4.2 and Stones 4.2, it has rituals (Rituals 12.5, 20.4) and legends (Legends 2.2, 12.2, 16.13.1) attaching to it, the well had more than one name (Onom.2), one of its names being of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.1), and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

24. Tubber na Cruchthanee (*Carrigan* III 408),

Tobar na Croiche Naoimh (well of the Holy Cross)

tld: Boggan, *p*: Tullaroan, *cp*: Tullaroan, *bar*: Crannagh, [*OS* 17], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, generated co-ordinates: 232619, 157033, Map 3.24, Popularity: 0, possible former pattern day: 3 May or 14 September, No local form.

Documented references

Carrigan III 498, *Carrigan NB* 29.108, *Carrigan NB* 42.104, 105, 107, *Carrigan NB* 54.16, *Carrigan NB* 97.274, *Carrigan NB* 147.114, *NFCS* 867.73, *RMPKK*, Kennedy 2001, 7, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 24, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details but no well site

Although neither the name nor location of the well is shown on the Ordnance map (nor has it survived locally), yet Hugh Breen confirms that the former owner of the land in which it was formerly situated, Thomas Breen (*Carrigan NB* 42.104, 105) was a brother of his grandfather, Stephen. Hugh's cousin, John Breen, the current owner of his grandfather, Thomas's farm, is also unaware of the location of a well on his lands. Both Hugh and John have kindly outlined John's (*olim* Thomas's) fields on the map – the land was divided into fifteen fields around 1842 (*E1(6)*) and this had been changed to four large fields some time later (*E2(6)*). A locational cue of 'in the bed of the stream are some hollows in the rocks containing water' (*Carrigan NB*, *supra*) would suggest a stream on the Munster River (further up from St. Patrick's Well) in the north-western part of the townland. Both Hugh and John have a vague recollection of the local tradition of there having been a cross in the south-eastern part of John's/Thomas's land many years ago, but not in their lifetime.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it has not been located, there is no memory or tradition of it locally, it does not appear to have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu, the name-form was not of hagiographical origin and no spoken form (even a de-onomised one) has been secured.

25. Toberpatrick (*E1(6)*), Tobar Phádraig (well of St. Patrick)

tld: Borrismore, *p*: Borrismore, *cp*: Urlingford, *bar*: Galmoy, *OS* 12, *Nat. Grid*: 230068, 163546, *SMR*: KK 012-007, Map 1.25, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 17 March, Local form: Tobar Phádraig (Margaret Tynan, Pat Tynan, Borrismore).

Documented references

Aher Clem. R 38 (1812), *OSL(KK)* I 109, *OSM(KK)* 105, *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *E2(6)*, *E1(25)*, *Carrigan II* 366, *Carrigan IV* 433, *Carrigan NB* 29.106, *Carrigan NB* 42.34, 72, *Carrigan NB* 97.140, *Carrigan NB* 147.105, *O'Kelly* 56, Dowling 1978, 29, *RMPKK*, *Discov. Ser.* S 302637, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well was located near the western boundary of the townland, to the north of the old coach road from Thurles to Freshford and in the western vicinity of Wilton House (*OSFP*; *E1(6)*; *Carrigan II* 365, 366; Hayes 2014, 54, 55) and Ardaneena Church (*Nat. Grid*: 230398, 163636, *SMR*: KK 012-009, *OSNB(7)*, *OSL(KK)* I 108, *OSM(KK)* 104, 105, *Carrigan II* 365, *O'Kelly* 56, Dowling 29), to the east of Urlingford village.

Margaret Tynan (aged 65-70) refers to it as /tobərə' fɑ:drik/ and recalls that there was a pump where the well was on Peter Seale's land, the pump being removed in 2010. The pump was at the back of where the well was and Kilkenny County Council put a fence around the area of the well site while the pump was on the roadside. The well was underneath where the pump was and Margaret describes it as having been a fairly deep open well from which people used to draw water until forty years ago. There used to be walls around it and the pump contained a handle. The river Goul flows adjacent to the site of the well and former County Council pump.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is remembered locally, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins), the name-form was of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.1) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

26. St. Margaret's Well (E1(6))

tld: Brabstown, *p*: Tullaroan, *cp*: Tullaroan, *bar*: Crannagh, *OS* 18, *Nat. Grid*: 240780, 156470, *SMR*: KK 018-038001, Map 1.26, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 20 July, former pattern day: 15 August, Fig. 8, Date of visit: 18/4/2016, Local forms: St. Margaret's Well, The Well Field (Margaret Hennessy, formerly of Brabstown; Theresa Feehan, Brabstown).

Documented references

OSNB(42), *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, Hogan 1861, 358, Hogan 1876, 203, Hogan 1884, 27, *Carrigan III* 497, *Carrigan NB* 54.16, *Carrigan NB* 96.116, *Carrigan NB* 149.153, *NFC* 468.122, *NFCS* 867.163, Healy 1951, 14, *O'Kelly* 29, *Discov. Ser.* S 408565, Kennedy 2001, 7, Larkin 2002, 98, O'Keefe 2014, 12, 23, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located close to the eastern boundary of a 3.651 acre field (*E1(25)*) in the eastern section of the townland, close to where the townlands of Brabstown, Remeen and Baunnaraha meet, in the western vicinity of a former church site (*Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 018-084001, 'there are no remains of the church' (*Carrigan III* 497), *Carrigan NB* 96.114, 116, *NFCS* 867.96, 163, Larkin 2002, 97, 98) and ancient graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 018-084002, *Carrigan III* 497, *NFCS* 867.96, 98. 99, 163, Larkin 2002, 97, 98), in a field known as Pawrkachreen (*Carrigan NB* 96.116) to the west of the road from Corstown Cross Roads (*E2(6)*) to Lis Cross Roads (*E2(6)*).

Teresa Teehan (aged 70-75) informs me that 'St. Margaret's Well' in The Well Field is situated on the land of Margaret Hennessy (née Joyce), that the well supplied water to the Joyce household and that there was a big tree at it which became uprooted during a storm in January 2014. Margaret Hennessy confirms that the well was piped to their house and adds that it is a shallow well, being about 10 feet square. It has blocks built up around it and has no steps into it. It contains a natural flow of water and the overflow runs into the nearby river. The Joyce family used to drink the well-water until around twenty years ago. Margaret informs me that she was named after the well.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it has a locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.2.2, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.5.4) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

27. Tobar Bríde (*O'Kelly* 74), Tobar Bhríde (well of St. Bridget)

tld: Brandondale, *p*: Graiguenamanagh, *cp*: Graiguenamanagh, *bar*: Gowran, [*OS* 29], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 029-037, generated co-ordinates: 270577, 143268, Map 3.27, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 1 February, Local form: Toberbride Estate (Emma Hamilton, Brandondale).

Documented references

O'Kelly 74, Joyce 1993, 191, 192, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located 'some seventy yards from the New Ross road' (Joyce 1993, 191) to the south-west of Graiguenamanagh village and to the west of the River Barrow near Brandondale House, at the Gorryard/Brandondale boundary.

The name Tobar Bride is preserved in the estate-name / address of twenty houses, e.g. Emma Hamilton, 7 Tobar Bride, Graiguenamanagh and John Murphy, 11 Tobar Bride, Graiguenamanagh, Brandondale and Graiguenamanagh being adjoining townlands.

The well is designated 'W' (Well) on *E2(6)*, 'Well' on *E1(25)* and is marked to the south-east of Brandondale House (now in possession of the National Assets Management Agency). The actual well is barely known locally. It is a very shallow granite well which is about 2 feet square. There are a number of granite steps leading to it and it still contains water. Willie Barron of Graiguenamanagh and originally from nearby Ballyogan, was the former landowner. He somewhat proudly tells me that the well is mentioned in a poem written by Seán Ó Faoláin who used to stay at Brandondale House during the early 1940s (cf. *The Bell*, September 1945 – a monthly literary periodical (1940-54) founded by Ó Faoláin). Ó Faoláin's daughter, Julia, who was born in June 1932, was about twelve when the poem, entitled *The Trout*, was penned, probably in the summer of (June) 1944. It is the sense of childhood wonderment and excitement on the part of his daughter on seeing a trout at the well rather than the well itself which is the focus of the writer's musings. It is situated on the Dark Walk, a laurel walk. Julia discovered a hole scooped in the rock at the side of the walk choked with damp leaves and ferns beside the Barrow which was only uncovered after much searching. At the back of this little cavern there was about a quart of water and 'in the water she suddenly perceived a panting trout'.

Local historian, Owen Doyle of nearby Tinnakill, has also brought my attention to this poem. However, members of the nearby Graiguenamanagh Abbey Centre were unaware of the well's existence which has long since lost all its sanctified character, being preserved only in the aforementioned estate name.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.2) and it has a de-onomised spoken form (Onom.4B1).

28. Lady's Well (*O'Kelly* 175)

tld: Burnchurch, *p*: Burnchurch, *cp*: Danesfort, *bar*: Shillelogher, [*OS* 23], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 023-099 / KK 023-101, co-ordinates of St. Dallan's Well (same field): 247966, 148331, Map 2.28, Popularity: 0, possible feastday and former pattern day: 15 August, No local form.

Documented references

O'Kelly 175, *NMS*, *ASI*

Little-documented well

The location of Lady's Well is not shown on various Ordnance Survey maps, including *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *E1(25)*, *E2(6)*, *E2(25)* and *Discov.Ser.*

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it has not been located, it would appear to have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + gr.), the well-name was of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1) and no spoken form (even a de-onomised one based on memory or tradition) has been obtained.

29. St. Dallan's Well (*EI(6)*)

tld: Burnchurch, *p*: Burnchurch, *cp*: Danesfort, *bar*: Shillelogher, *OS* 23, *Nat. Grid*: 247966, 148331, *SMR*: KK 023-054, Map 1.29, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 31 July, former pattern day: first Sunday in August, Local form: The Well (Con Barry, Danesfort).

Documented references

OSL(KK) II 31, *OSM(KK)* 45, 46, *OSFP*, *EI(6)*, Hogan 1861, 374, Hogan 1880-3, 45, Hogan 1884, 317, *Carrigan NB* 6.35, *Carrigan NB* 74.224, Healy 1893, 448, *Carrigan* III 376, *Carrigan* IV 433, Commins 1906, 267, *Carrigan NB* 97.249, Sparks & Bligh 1926, 98, *E2(6)*, *E2(25)*, *OSFM(KK)* 8913, *Fest.Lugh.* 645, 646, *KP* 13/10/1967, p10, *O'Kelly* 175, *KP* 1/8/1986, p6, *Discov. Ser.* S 479484, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well was located in the south-eastern part of a large 12.017 acre field in the northern part of the townland (*EI(25)*), a short distance to the south of the southern boundary of Ballybur Upper, to the north-east of the old village of Burnchurch, and in the vicinity of an old church site (*Nat.Grid*: 248018, 148394, *SMR*: KK 023-05300, 'the walls of an old church remained till pulled down about twenty years ago to supply material for the present Protestant Church' (*OSL(KK)* II 31 (1839)), *OSM(KK)* 45, *Carrigan NB* 6.182, *OSFM(KK)* 8912, *Fest.Lugh.* 645) and graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 248018, 148394, *SMR*: KK 023-053002, *OSL(KK)* II 31, *OSM(KK)* 45, Healy 1893, 447, *Carrigan NB* 6.182).

The field was marshy and wooded at the time of *EI(6)* but had been reclaimed by the time of *EI(25)*. 'The Well', according to Con Barry (aged 50-55 – it was situated on his land) was round in shape but was not perfectly formed. It was a deep recess in the ground, had stones around it and steps leading to it. It was a small well, having been about 2½ - 3½ feet wide. Con's father had it piped to a nearby stream around forty years ago. No sign of it has remained above ground ever since.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its former existence is remembered locally, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + gr.), it had an additional locational characteristic in the form of Rath/Moats 7.3, the well-name was a hagiographical origin (Hag.4.6) and it has a de-onomised spoken form (Onom.4B2).

30. Thubber na Mydan (*Carrigan IV 45*), Tobar na Maighdine (well of the Virgin)

tld: Caherlesk, *p*: Ballytobin, *cp*: Dunnamaggan, *bar*: Kells, [*OS 27*], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 027-071, co-ordinates of nearby Whitechurch Church: 244974, 141282, Map 2.30; Popularity: 0, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 8 September, No local form.

Documented references

Carrigan NB 33.52, *Carrigan NB 34.101*, *Carrigan IV 45*, 433, *Carrigan NB 48.67*, *Carrigan NB 66.64*, *Carrigan NB 67.71*, *NFCS 853.128*, *O'Kelly 140*, *RMPKK*, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 21, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details but no definite well site

The well is referred to as having been located ‘just opposite Whitechurch’ (*Carrigan NB 85.46*) and ‘nearly opposite Whitechurch’ (*Carrigan IV 45*) (*Nat.Grid*: 244974, 141282, *SMR*: KK 027-038001; *OSL(KK) II 89*, *OSFP*, *Carrigan III 323*, *O'Kelly 154*) near the north-western boundary of Caherlesk, a short distance to the north-west of Loughbrack Church (*OSNB(12)*, *OSM(KK) 368*, *OSFP*) and Caherlesk House (*E2(6)*) and near Caherlesk Bridge (*E2(6)*).

Philip Lynch Senior (aged 75-80) of nearby Mallardstown states with certainty that there was never a bubbling well at this spot during his lifetime. The land in question used to be owned by a Mrs. Green and then by a Mr. Gorey, while a James Moylan presently has the grazing of it. The only tenuous connection or possibility which he can imagine is that there is a cutting directly below the Whitechurch – site side which may have received water from the nearby Caherlesk river. Other than this, he is at a loss as to the well’s possible location.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it has not been located nor is there any memory of it, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (two ch. ruins), it had many legends attaching to it (Legend’s 16.24.1, 16.25.3, 16.31.1, 16.32.1), the well-name was of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1) and no spoken form (not even a de-onomised one) has been secured.

31. St. Augustine's Well (EI(6))

tld: Callan North, *p*: Callan, *cp*: Callan, *bar*: Callan, *OS* 26, *Nat. Grid*: 241581, 143895, *SMR*: KK 026-010018, Map 1.31, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 28 August, Fig.9, Date of visit: 9/7/2016, Local form: The Old Abbey Well (John Somers, Callan; Joe Kennedy, Callan, historian).

Documented references

OSNB(1:54), *OSFP*, *EI*(6), Hall II 1842, 61, *Carrigan NB* 71.192, *Carrigan NB* 74.209, *E2*(6), *E2*(25), *NFCS* 853.152, *OSFM*(KK) 8958, *O'Kelly* 177, Butler 1977, 10, *RMPKK*, Hogan 2010, 212, *NMS*, *ASI*, Kennedy 2017, 183

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the south-western part of a 4.948 acre field (*EI*(25)) to the south-east of Callan townland, to the north of the King's River and in the immediate vicinity of the Augustinian Friary (in Ruins) (*Nat.Grid*: 241613, 143958, *SMR*: KK 026-01016, Hall II 61, *Carrigan NB* 33.36, *Carrigan NB* 71.192, *Carrigan III* 310, *OSFM*(KK) 8957, *O'Kelly* 177, Salter 80, Lynch 293) and in the vicinity of the Augustinian Abbey (*EI*(6), Egan 281, *Carrigan III* 314, Kennedy 12, Lynch 293).

Presently styled The Old Abbey Well in The Friary Meadow (Kennedy 2017, 183), this rectangular-shaped well which bubbles up around the middle and which has a strong rectangular wall around 4 feet high and 6 feet wide around it, has a strong flow of water which flows 100 yards from the Abbey across the meadow, into a channel and into the river. Local historian, Joe Kennedy, states that it is not now visited for devotional purposes. It is a freshwater well.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (Friary in ruins + Abbey in ruins), it has a legend pertaining to it (Legend 16.34.1), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.5.7) and it has a de-onomised spoken form (Onom.4C).

32. St. Kieran's Well (E1(6))

tld: Cappagh, *p*: Inistioge, *cp*: Inistioge, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 29, *Nat. Grid*: 263200, 140249, *SMR*: KK 029-026, Map 1.32, Popularity: 1, Feastday and former pattern day: 5 March, Local form: The Hole in the Ground (John Doyle, Philip Knox, Cappagh).

Documented references

OSNB(37), *OSL*(KK) II 285, *OSM*(KK) 163, *E1*(6), *Carrigan NB* 6.75, *Carrigan NB* 43.3, *E1*(25), *E2*(6), *Carrigan IV* 116, Crawford 1909, 256, *NFCS* 859.242, *O'Kelly* 81, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser.* S 632403, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-western portion of a rectangular-shaped 2.677 acre field (*E1*(25)) near the eastern boundary of the townland near where the townlands of Cappagh, Rathleen and Kilkieran meet. The Sruhnasilloge stream (*E1*(6)) flows to its south-east, the old village of Brittas is situated to its north-west, while the site of St. Kieran's Church (*E1*(6)) (*Nat.Grid.* 264580, 139930, *SMR*: KK 029-027001, *E2*(6)) and an old graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 264580, 139930, *SMR*: KK 029-02702, *OSL*(KK) II 285, *OSM*(KK) 164, *Carrigan NB* 43.3, Crawford 1909, 256) are in its immediate vicinity.

It is described by Andrew Doyle (aged 70-75) as being 'in very poor condition' and being 'just a hole in the ground', Philip Knox being the present landowner. The nearby church ruins and old graveyard are better known locally than the well, which, during Andrew's lifetime did not have any sanctified character attaching to it.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + gr.) it has a ritual attaching to it (Ritual 4.2), the well-name is of hagiographical origin and it has a de-onomised spoken form (Onom.4C).

33. St. Michael's Well (EI(6))

tld: Cappagh, *p*: Inistioge, *cp*: Inistioge, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 28, *Nat. Grid*: 263200, 140249, *SMR*: KK 028-066, Map 1.33, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 29 September, Local form: St. Michael's Well (John Bryan, Andrew Doyle, Cappagh).

Documented references

EI(6), *EI(25)*, *Carrigan* IV 116, *Carrigan NB* 29.176, *Carrigan NB* 42.2, *Carrigan NB* 67.8, 10, *Carrigan NB* 94.60, *E2(6)*, *E2(25)*, *OSFM(KK)* 9728A, *O'Kelly* 79

Additional locational details and well description

The well is situated near the eastern boundary of the townland and the western boundary of adjoining Kilcullen, 'down by Sallybog stream' (Ó Ceallaigh 1962, 42, *O'Kelly* 79) in the south-eastern part of a 1.461 acre field (*EI(25)*) which adjoins the south-western part of a larger 6.234 acre field (*EI(25)*).

Andrew Doyle (aged 70-75) of Cappagh refers to St. Michael's Well and informs me that it is located on the land of John Bryan, former President of the Irish Farmers' Association (2010-2014). It is an overgrown well at the end of a field. It was formerly round, had stones around it and a tree beside it. It is a shallow well which still contains water but can go dry in warm weather. John points out that it is now like a drain and that there is an incline into it.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it was formerly the bearer of two names (*Onom.2*), the main name being of hagiographical origin (*Hag.3.3*) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

34. St. James's Well (E1(6))

tld: Carrickcloney, *p*: Kilmakevoge, *cp*: Glenmore, *bar*: Ida, *OS* 41, *Nat. Grid*: 266439, 122181, *SMR*: KK 041-029, Map 1.34, Popularity: 1, Feastday and former pattern day: 25 July, Local form: St. James's Well (John Mullally, Busherstown).

Documented references

OSL(KK) II 177, *OSM(KK)* 126, 127, *E1(6)*, Farrell 1874-9, 202, 203, *Carrigan NB* 6.145, *Carrigan NB* 61.55, 93, *E2(6)*, *Carrigan IV* 93, 433, *Carrigan NB* 67.15, 49, *Carrigan NB* 97.358, *Carrigan NB* 120.44, *Carrigan NB* 149.7, 8, *NFCS* 845.63, 64, *ITAS(KK)*, Glenmore, Form A, page 2, *O'Kelly* 116, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the northern section of a small, long .745 acre field (E1(25)) to the south-east of 'St. James R.C. Chapel' (E2(6)) to the east of the western boundary of the townland and to the north-east of a church ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 266299, 122107, *SMR*: KK 041-02801, Graiguenakill Church in Ruin, *OSNB(17)*, *OSL(KK)* II 177, *OSM(KK)* 127, *Carrigan NB* 6.145, *Carrigan IV* 92, *NFCS* 845.63, *O'Kelly* 116) and a graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 266305, 122114, *SMR*: KK 041-02802, *Carrigan IV* 93, *NFCS* 844.83, *NFCS* 845.590, 591, 593, *ITAS(KK)* Glenmore, Form A, page 2).

It is situated on a commons, is stone built, is about 3 feet square and the ground to the north of it is about 6 feet higher than the rest of the ground around it. Kilkenny County Council erected a pump here around ten years ago which serves three neighbouring households.

Tom Mullally (aged 80-85) of nearby Busherstown takes water from the well as Easter approaches each year, the water being blessed at St. James's Chapel, Glenmore, during the Easter ceremonies on every Easter Saturday night.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.) it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Stones 4.3, it has rituals (Rituals 2A5, 10.1, 12.6, 14.1, 17.4, 23.2) and legends (Legends 12.3, 16A5) attaching to it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.3) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

35. Tubberafauna (*Carrigan IV 157*)

tld: Cashel or Tobernafauna, *p*: Fiddown, *cp*: Templeorum, *bar*: Iverk, [*OS 39*], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 039-068, generated co-ordinates: 249411, 121707, Map 3.35, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Fig. 10,11, Date of visit: 9/4/2016, Local forms: The Well, The Pipe, The Pump (Michael Long, Cashel).

Documented references

Carrigan IV 157, 432, Carrigan NB 34.23, McDonald 1959, 76, O'Kelly 126, NMS, ASI

Similar names

J.M. MacKinlay refers to similar names in Scotland:

Various springs have names pointing to no ecclesiastical connection whatever. To this class belong those known as Virtue wells, and those others named from the various diseases to be cured by them [Thibberachollikeen *supra*].

(MacKinlay 1893, 32)

The same author presents an extract from a work by J. Hill Burton (*The Book Lover* (1882)) in which such small, seemingly – inconspicuous yet long-lasting wells are described:

1893 The unnoticeable smallness of many of these consecrated wells makes their very reminiscence and still semi-sacred character all the more remarkable. The stranger in Ireland, or the Highlands of Scotland, hears rumours of a distinguished well miles on miles off. He thinks he will find an ancient edifice over it, or some other conspicuous adjunct. Nothing of the kind. He has been lured all that distance, over rock and bog, to see a tiny spring bubbling out of the rock such as he may see hundreds of in a tolerable walk any day. Yet, if he search in old topographical authorities, he will find that the little well has ever been an important feature of the district; that century after century, it has been unforgotten.

(*Ibid.* 33)

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located a short distance to the south-west of Tobernabrone School (cf. O'Shea 2014, 230, 231) on the land of Michael Long. There are concrete steps down into it with a square 'house' and opening. The spring rises in the concrete structure of the well producing an overflow. The pump or pipe is still there. The well is now used by the Long household only and has the reputation of never going dry. It was, however, a public one 'used by many people years ago'. Michael states that, 'however, now it is mainly used by ourselves to supply the house and farm' and that 'it is attached to a field known as The Paddock' (measuring 1.104 acres, *EI(25)*). He adds that 'we believe that this is the well in Cashel below the school'. There are steps down into the well (: (Tobar na Fána, 'well of the slope')) and the opening is a rectangular-shaped one, being taller than wide. A bucket is still dipped into it on a regular basis.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, the name-form is not of hagiographical origin and it has a spoken form still in use.

36. Bostonfort Well (*EI(6)*), Tobar Baiste an Phoill (well of the baptism of the basin)
tld: Castle Ellis, *p*: Gowran, *cp*: Gowran, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 20, *Nat. Grid*: 262692, 153269, *SMR*: KK 020-059, Map 1.36, Popularity: 2, no former pattern day recorded (possibly 15 August), Fig.12, Local form: Boston Well (Mary Phelan, Pat Phelan, Castle Ellis).

Documented references

Mercator (1595), *OSNB*(56), *OSFP*, *OSM(KK)* 418, *EI(6)*, *EI(25)*, *Carrigan* II 62, *Carrigan* III 422, *Carrigan* IV 432, *Carrigan NB* 42.8, *Carrigan NB* 66.72, *Carrigan NB* 67.77, *Carrigan NB* 71.27, *NFCS* 860.115, 169, Drennan 1965, 53, *O'Kelly* 72, *RMPKK*, *Discov. Ser.* S 627533, *NMS*, *ASI*

‘Boshtian or Boston occurs several times as a townland name in this Diocese’ (*Carrigan* III 422).

Revd. Carrigan states the following elsewhere in his printed diocesan work:

Boston is a very ancient Irish topographical term, and gives name to another townland in the parish of Castletown, another in Camros, [i.e. additional to Boston, a sub-division of Kyleneaseer, County Laois], to a fourth near the borders of Ossory, in the parish of Abbeyleix, and to a fifth close to Kilbricken Station; also to Bostian Well, beside Gowran chapel.

Carrigan II 62

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the south-eastern part of the townland, a short distance to the south-east of an old National School (*EI(6)*) and Gowran chapel (*OSFP*, *Carrigan* II 422, Drennan 1965, 52, 53, *O'Kelly* 72), ‘beside Gowran chapel’ (*Carrigan* II 62), ‘under [below] the chapel’ (*Carrigan NB* 71.27), ‘on the south side of the road, below the Parochial House’ (Drennan 53), ‘south of the Chapel road’ (*O'Kelly* 72). It is shown on *EI(25)* as being in the north-western portion of a .457 acre field but is now, it would appear, in the centre of a large field owing to field-boundary changes. It is surrounded by a circular concrete wall about three feet high and has a small gate to the front, the whitewashed structure having a clean, shiny appearance. There is an overflow from the well into an underground conduit and this then runs into a locally-unnamed river.

Mary Phelan (aged 60-65) recalls that her family drew water from Boston Well for domestic purposes up to the mid 1950s. Eamonn Nolan is the present owner of the well-field where sheep and horses now graze at different times of the year. A grotto of Our Lady of Lourdes and St. Bernadette, erected in the Marian year of 1954, lies outside the well field.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (chapel), it has a ritual (Ritual 16.1) and legends (Legends 7.1, 16.26.1, 16.27.1) pertaining to it, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and it has a spoken form still in use.

37. Tobernagibboge (EI(6)), Tobar na nGiobóg (well of the rags)

tld: Castle Eve, *p*: Earlstown, *cp*: Callan, *bar*: Shillelogher, *OS* 27, *Nat. Grid*: 245124, 143539, *SMR*: KK 027-023, Map 1.37, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Fig.13, Local form: The Well (Stephen Hoyne, Gerard O'Brien, Castle Eve).

Documented references

OSL(KK) II 58, *OSM(KK)* 26, 27, *OSFP*, *Carrigan NB* 33.50, *Carrigan NB* 74.213, *Carrigan NB* 85.40, *Carrigan NB* 97.261, *Carrigan NB* 137.41, *Carrigan III* 330, *Carrigan IV* 433, *NFCS* 853.249, *OSFM(KK)* 8997, *O'Kelly* 117, *Discov.Ser. S* 452436, *RMPKK*, Brennan 2000, 33, 137, 138, Lynch 2010, 168, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in a square-shaped 1.792 acre field (*EI(25)*) in the south-eastern part of the townland, to the north-west of Cormick's Bridge (*EI(25)*) and a shorter distance still to the Castle Eve Castle ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 245354, 143349, *SMR*: KK 027-02401, *Lewis I* 594, *OSL(KK)* II 60, *OSM(KK)* 28, *Carrigan NB* 6.109, *Carrigan NB* 74.213, *Carrigan III* 329, 330, Walsh 1958, 43, *O'Kelly* 181) and the ruins of a Tower (*Nat.Grid*: 245356, 143326, *SMR*: KK 027-02402, *OSFP*, *EI(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 6.109, *E2(6)*, *O'Kelly* 181, Brennan 2001, 33).

Locally known as The Well in The Bog Field, it is an overground surface well which flows into a nearby stream. It is on Gerard O'Brien's land and has a very strong flow of water, there being no fewer than 20,000 gallons of water an hour issuing from it. The well, which was fenced off around twenty years ago, is not fully circular now. It is around 1 foot deep and 12-13 feet wide. The water, which is ice-cold even in summer and which Gerard O'Brien used to drink while drawing bails of hay many years ago, bursts forth from the surface. There are no stones at it and no steps leading to it. The nearby name-giving, rag-bearing tree or bush is also a noticeable absentee here.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it has a locational characteristic of Trees 3.12.4 linked to it, it has a ritual associated with it (Ritual 18.4), the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and it has a de-onomised spoken form (Onom.4B1).

38. Toberatoo (*E1(6)*) alias **Tobar Chiaráin** (*O'Kelly* 83),

Tobar an Chumha (well of the sorrow)

tld: Castlegarden, *p*: Kilfane, *cp*: Tullaherin, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 24, *Nat. Grid*: 261000, 146560, *SMR*: KK 024-086, Map 1.38, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 5 March, no former pattern day recorded, Fig.14, Local form: Tobar Chiaráin [*sic*] (Breda and Maeve Galway, Castlegarden; Eamon Hanrahan, Castlegarden).

Documented references

OSNB(5), *OSFP*, *OSM(KK)* 151, 367, *E1(6)*, *E2(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 42.7, *Carrigan NB* 67.81, *Carrigan NB* 97.243, *O'Kelly* 83, Walsh 1987, 56, *Discov.Ser.* S 609466, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 24, Walsh 2012, 71, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in Castlegarden bog in the north-eastern part of the townland and in the south-western part of a 5.063 acre field (*E1(25)*), a small distance to the east of the eastern boundary of Sugarstown and to the eastern boundary of Ballykeoghan.

William Murphy of Castlegarden describes it as a round well with withered grass surrounding a tuft of grass. It is a circular well lined with stone about 3 feet in diameter and is always full of water up to the exit point from which the overflow runs into the adjoining stream. It is on Eamonn Hanrahan's land. Water flows out of it after building up to a certain point. It is a surface spring rather than a dug well, it is railed off and is near a fifteen year old plantation. There is a stream beside it and bushes around it.

Members of the local Dúchas/Tullaherin Society restored the well in the Spring of 1982 as it was a century since Mass had been said here. On June 2nd, 1982, Mass was celebrated here by Fr. Bergin (deceased Parish Priest of Tullaherin), by Fr. Joyce (curate at the time and now deceased) and by a Fr. O'Gorman who was home on vacation from Australia according to Mary Cassin (aged 80-85) of nearby Bishopslough. The baptism of Maeve Galway, daughter of Breda and the late Thomas, (whose holding adjoins that of Eamon Hanrahan), was incorporated into the Mass celebration on that date, her's being the only baptism that took place here at the locally-known 'Tobar Chiaráin'.

It has a neglected-looking appearance at present and is somewhat overgrown.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it has rituals pertaining to it (Rituals 5.2, 16.2), it is the bearer of two names (Onom.2), the name-form of one being of hagiographical origin (Hag.3.3) which is the more commonly-known one locally (Onom.4E).

39. St. David's Well (*Carrigan* III 229)

tld: Castleinch or Inchyolohan, *p*: Castleinch or Inchyolohan, *cp*: St. Patrick's, *bar*: Shillelogher, [*OS* 23], *Nat. Grid*: /-, 146560, *SMR*: KK 023-089, co-ordinates of nearby castle: 247622, 152229, Map 2.39, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 1 March, former pattern day: first Sunday in March, Fig. 15, 16, 17, Date of visit: 4/4/2016, Local form: The Well at the Back of the Shed (Liam Delahunty, Luke Roche, Castleinch).

Documented references

Hogan 1880-3, 47, Hogan 1884, 319, Healy 1893, 122, *Carrigan* III 229, Sparks & Bligh 1926, 98, Hyland 2015, 69, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located towards the northern part of a small .371 acre field (*EI*(25)), the Castle Field, in the southern part of the townland (*Nat.Grid*: 247622, 152229, *SMR*: KK 023-002, *OSL*(KK) I 266, *OSM*(KK) 30, Hogan 1880-3, 46, 48, *Carrigan* III 232, *OSFM*(KK) 8811, *O'Kelly* 178) and just across the road from the site of the castle to the east are located (i) Castleinch old church (*Nat.Grid*: 247700, 152238, *SMR*: KK 023-00301, *Tenison Vis.* 41 (1731), *Oss.Vis.* 22 (1781), *OSL*(KK) I 266, *OSM*(KK) 30, Hogan 1872, 265, Hogan 1880-3, 46, 48, *O'Kelly* 178) and (ii) the ancient graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 247700, 152238, *SMR*: KK 023-00302, *OSNB*(37), *OSL*(KK) I 266, *OSM*(KK) 30, Hogan 1880-3, 46, 47, *Carrigan* III 232; Hyland 2015, 65).

It is on the land of Luke Roche whose people bought the holding in 1968, moved into the old dwelling house the following year and had a new dwelling built here in 1972. Luke relates that elderly neighbours used to still call it St. David's Well in the late 1960s. It used to be a round stone-built well in The Field at the back of the Shed. One can look down into it and still see the surface stones. It has a cement top, a pump house at its side and a few small stones on top of it. It was used by the Roches for farming purposes up to the early 1970s and was still pumping water up to that point when they decided to sink a new well in or around the completion of their 'new' house in 1972. Elderly neighbours informed the Roches in the late 1960s that they remembered it as a 'pattern well' many years before that time. It is now empty of water but has a tap and hose hanging from its inner wall.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.5.5) and it has a de-onomised spoken form (Onom.4B1).

40. Lady's Well (EI(6))

tld: Castlemarket, *p*: Rosconnell, *cp*: Ballyragget, *bar*: Fassadinan, *OS* 1, *Nat. Grid*: 245598, 178932, *SMR*: KK 001-003, Map 1.40, Popularity: 3, Feastday: 15 August, pattern days: 15 August – 8 September, Fig. 18,19, Local form: Lady Well (Dermot Dorgan, Julie Dorgan, Attanagh).

Documented references

OSL(KK) I 82, *OSM(KK)* 51, *OSFP*, *EI(6)*, Neary 1874-9, 81, Moran 1874-9, 123, 124, *Carrigan NB* 29.128, *Carrigan NB* 48.67, *Carrigan NB* 74.18, *Carrigan NB* 137.64, O'Hanlon & O'Leary I 1907, 309, *NFCS* 831.43, 126, 127, 128, 129, *NFCS* 832.22, *NFCS* 864.398, 399, *NFCS* 865.105, *NFCS* 866.183, 280, 281, 293, *ITAS(KK)*, Ballyragget, Form A, page 4, *Abbeyleix Story* 11 1953, *O'Kelly* 32, 52, 53, Feehan 1983, 434, Dorgan 1996, 126, 130, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, Kennedy 2003, 124, 125, Fitzgerald 2005, 389, 390, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in a long, narrow, rectangular-shaped 7.817 acre field (*EI(25)*) in the north-western part of the townland, 'a quarter of a mile off the Ballinakill-Durrow road' (Dorgan 1996, 174), 'about .50 km to the south of the Ballinakill-Durrow road' (Kennedy 2003, 124), 'about 300 yards into Co. Kilkenny' (Dorgan 1996, 174), 'just outside the bounds of the parish of Ballinakill' (*Comerford Coll.* III 1886, 60) [County Laois]. Situated a short distance to the south-west of the well is Rosconnell Bridge (*EI(6)*, *E2(6)*, 'near Rosconnell bridge on the Ouveg river' (*O'Kelly* 52) and the ruins of Rosconnell Church (*Nat.Grid*: 245210, 177968, *SMR*: KK001-00501, *Otway Vis.* 7 (1679), *Tension Vis.* 70 (1731), *Oss.Vis.* 42 (1781), *OSL(KK)* I 77, *OSM(KK)* 51, Neary 1874-9, 80, *Carrigan NB* 1.250, *Carrigan NB* 70.148, *Carrigan II* 110, 111, Orpen 1909, 333, *NFCS* 831.131, Leask II 152, *O'Kelly* 52).

The aforementioned Dermot Dorgan (aged 80-85) and his daughter, Julie, of nearby Attanagh, describe it as a circular, stone-built well, with steps down into it and a mesh protection at it for safety reasons. There is an old cross over the well and a shrine to Our Lady beside it. The Barry family is no longer in the area, the land being presently owned by the Shrine Committee. The well was originally a stream. Dermot describes the devotion to the shrine and the well as a 'mini Knock', there being devotees here all year around. There is

a full right of way into it. He cites August 15th as the pattern day and a Novena is recited here each day thereafter until September 8th – this being, undoubtedly, its busiest time of the year. A blue plaque to the right of the cross at the well asks attendees not to throw coins into the well.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins) it has additional locational characteristics attaching to it in the form of Trees 3.1.3, 3.4.3, Crosses 5.2 and Statues/Effigies 6.2, it has many rituals (Rituals 1.3, 2.4, 2A6, 3.1, 5.3, 7.1, 9.2, 12. 7, 13.4, 17.5, 18.5, 19.1, 20.5) and legends (Legends 15.2, 16.4.1, 16.19.1, 16.25.4, 16A6, 20.4, 21.2, 24.1, 28.3), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

41. Tubber-Kilkeerawn (*Carrigan* IV 243),

Tobar Chill Chiaráin (well of the church of St. Ciarán of Saighir)

tld: Castletown, *p*: Whitechurch, *cp*: Templeorum, *bar*: Shillelogher, [OS 34], *Nat. Grid*: 242190, 127490, *SMR*: KK 034-032007, Map 1.41, Popularity: 1, former pattern day: the last Sunday of September, Fig. 20, Local form: St. Kieran's Well (Mary O'Shea, Raheen).

Documented references

Moore 1874-9, 32, *Carrigan* IV 243, 432, *NFCS* 843.336, *NFCS* 844.119, *NFCS* 852.213, *O'Kelly* 139, *RMPKK*, O'Shea 1999, 19, Meehan 2008, 354, O'Shea 2014, 52, 56, 102, Ray 2014, 84, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well was located outside the present 19th century wall or termon of the graveyard and removed to its present location inside the wall of the graveyard some thirty years ago (*Nat.Grid* (graveyard): 242200, 127498, *SMR*: 034-03202, (to the east of Scogh village, the well, Church Ruins, graveyard, crosses, bullaun stones being located in the north-western section of the townland): Moore 1874-9, 32, *Carrigan* IV 243, *NFCS* 843.336, 337, *NFCS* 844.74, 83, 118, 119, *O'Kelly* 139, O'Sullivan & Downey 2006, 36, Meehan 354) while 'the ruins of an old church are still visible in the centre of the graveyard' (*NFCS* 844.118) (*Nat.Grid*: 242191, 127500, *SMR*: KK 034-03201, *Otway Vis.* 12 (1679), *Oss.Vis.* 8 (1799), Moore 1874-9, 32, *Carrigan* IV 243, *NFCS* 843.336, *NFCS* 844.74, 83, 118, 119, *NFCS* 852.215; Powell 2007, 70, 71; O'Shea 2014, 51), as are three monumental crosses (*Nat.Grid*: 242201, 127495, *SMR*: KK 034-032003, anon., *JRSAI* 1 (1850), 487, O'Neill 1857, 10, Keane 1867, 424, *Carrigan* IV 243, *NFCS* 843.336, *NFCS* 844.83, *AA Road Bk.* 193, Roe 1969, 35, *O'Kelly* 139, *AA Tour Guide* 231, O'Shea 1999, 19, Powell 2007, 70, Brennan 2010, 23; Moss 2014, 147; O'Shea 2014, 55).

This latter-mentioned author, renowned local historian Mary O'Shea, who has kindly helped me on numerous occasions during the course of my work, informs me that the well 'is within a circular enclosure covered by a grid so as no one falls into its depth'. It is locally known as St. Kieran's Well, has steps leading down to it, has a font beside it and a lengthy ladle for taking water on a nearby fence. It is surrounded by a low wall to the rear.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Stones 4.4 and Crosses 5.3, it has rituals (Rituals 13.5, 20.6) and legends (Legends 12.4, 16.15.1, 16.25.5, 22.1) pertaining to it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.3.3) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

42. St. Colman's Well (*Carrigan* III 356)

tld: Churchclara, *p*: Clara, *cp*: Clara, *bar*: Gowran, [*OS* 20], *Nat. Grid*: 257788, 156377, *SMR*: KK 020-017006, Map 1.42, Popularity: 1, Feastday and former pattern day: 16 October, Local form: St. Colman's Well (Margaret O'Keeffe, Philip O'Keeffe, Churchclara).

Documented references

Hogan 1864, 212, Hogan 1876, 49, *Carrigan* III 356, *Carrigan NB* 29.154, *Carrigan NB* 71.66, *Carrigan NB* 85.70, *Carrigan NB* 97.228, *Carrigan NB* 137.49, Hewson 1893, 208, *NFCS* 859.401, *O'Kelly* 66, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the southern part of a long 4.211 acre field (*EI*(25)) in the north-eastern part of the townland and in the vicinity of Clara Church ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 257840, 156326, *SMR*: KK 020-01701, *Tenison Vis.* 66, *OSNB* (42), *OSL(KK)* I 220, *Carrigan NB* 85.70, *Carrigan NB* 55.103, *Carrigan IV* 226, *Shell Guide Harb.* 217) and graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 257840, 156326, *SMR*: KK 020-01702, *OSFP*, *EI*(6), Hewson 1893, 207, *Carrigan* III 355, 356, *NFCS* 859.379, *O'Kelly* 66), '50 yards from the road and just opposite the place which is called "The Monument" (*NFCS* 859.401).

It was 'on Mrs O'Keeffe's Farm' in 1938 (*NFCS* 859.401), Philip and Margaret O'Keeffe being the present landowners. Philip refers to 'St. Colman's Well' and describes it as a functioning well used by cattle in The Bog. It is a round surface well with a big flagstone on top and has snowdrops growing around it. It is a shallow well even though a stream flows out of it continually. In 1957 Philip's father had the then 'hole in the ground' widened and deepened a bit, the current width being around 2½ feet. Up to that time it was considerably narrower and was just about wide enough to accommodate a bucket.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has rituals (Rituals 1.4, 2A7) and a legend (Legend 16A7) associated with it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.3) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

43. Holy Cross Well (*Graves Patrons* 3)

tld: Church Hill, *p*: Grange, *cp*: Danesfort, *bar*: Shillelogher, [*OS* 23], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 023-094, generated co-ordinates: 247095, 150133, Map 3.43, Popularity: 1, former pattern day: first Sunday of May, Local forms: The Well, The Pump (Anthony Dillon, Bernie Martin, Church Hill).

Documented references

OSNB(65), *Graves Patrons* 3, Hogan 1880-3, 43, Hogan 1884, 315, Egan 1884, 273, 274, *Carrigan* III 391, *Carrigan NB* 84.87, *Ireland's Own* 66.1705.29.4 (10/8/1935), *O'Kelly* 182, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Two patron days of Grange

Details of the two patron days of Grange are given as follows by John Hogan:

The church of Grange, or Ballybur, was dedicated in honour of the Holy Cross, and in the inauguration of this memorial, in its honour, by Richard Comerford and his dame [Purcell] may have originated the two "patron" days of Grange, which have since been observed in the little village of the Limetree on the Sunday next after the 3rd May, the feast of the "Finding of the Cross", and on the Sunday next after the 14th September, the feast of the "Exaltation of the Cross".

(Hogan 1880-3, 42)

The two "patrons" were still continued to be observed at Grange down to a few years since. I have been informed that in the early part of the present century "May Sunday" was a gala day in that little village. The patron of Grange was on the first Summer Sunday, then a favourite drive from the city. The great limetree which furnished the village square then, overshadowed by its dense foliage the patron green and under its umbrageous canopy the belles and beaux of every grade in life, in buoyancy and vigour of youth, shared in the convivialities of this popular feast, and cordially exchanged the rustic amenities of the age. How many

vital mutations and social transitions have not this patron day witnessed since Madame Purcell, in the exuberance of her connubial felicity, erected here her memorial “in honour of the Holy Cross of the Lord”.

(Hogan 1880-3, 43)

The Exaltation and Invention of the Holy Cross

The feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross is also celebrated Cruckny Well: *tld*: Drumgoole and at Tubbernacruchnhee, *tld*: Redacres North.

It is also celebrated at Kells (*Carrigan IV 56*; Lahert 62) while other sources mention the Invention of the Holy Cross with the same place (*PP:Spic.Oss. I 9*; *Carrigan NB 67.35*)).

It remains unknown as to whether the Exaltation or Invention was intended at Tubbernacruchanee, *tld*: Boggan.

Additional locational details and former well site

The well was located in the south-western vicinity of the village of Grange (which is situated in the eastern peak of the townland) ‘near the present church yard’ (*Graves Patrons 3*), ‘on the north side of the road, between the village and the church’ (Hogan 1880-3, 43), ‘on the roadside between Grange village and the chapel’ (*Carrigan III 391*). References to the long-since demolished church, ‘pulled down to build the RC Chapel with the materials’ (*OSL(KK) I 269 (1839)*) around 1827, include: *OSL(KK) I 269 (1839)*) *OSM(KK) 53*, Hogan 1873, 265, Hogan 1880-3, 37, 40, 41, 43, *Carrigan III 390, 391*, *Ireland’s Own 66.1705.29.4 (10/8/1935)*, *OSFM(KK) 8917*, *O’Kelly 182*.

The former location of the well is marked on *EI(25)*.

Anthony Dillon (aged 55-60) of Church Hill reveals that there were two stones on the side of the road where the well was and that they were propped against one another in the shape of an A. They were knocked and were never replaced. His aunt, Bernie Martin (aged 85-90) informs me that she never saw a pump or flowing water here during her lifetime, the stones having been the only clue to the well’s former location. She adds that it is over a century since a pattern was held here sometime in May as she has a long-distant memory of the tradition of a pattern here before she was born.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its location and description is based on local tradition, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (old chapel), it was the bearer of two names formerly (Onom.2), neither name having been of hagiographical origin, it had a ritual pertaining to it (Ritual 5.4) and the well-name has a de-onomised spoken form (Onom.4B3).

44. Clogharinka Holy Well (NMS, ASI)

tld: Clogharinka, *p*: Muckalee, *cp*: Muckalee, *bar*: Fassadinan, [OS 11], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 011-024, Popularity: 0, no former pattern day recorded, No local form.

Documented references

O'Kelly 50, NMS, ASI

No definite well site

Although one would initially appear to be spoiled for choice in locating the well when consulting the Ordnance Survey map (*E2(6)*), there being no fewer than six wells marked in the townland (one to the south-west of the townland to the north-west of Muckalee old creamery, another a few fields further up on the same side of the road, two more wells in adjoining fields also on the same side of the road (as wells 1 and 2) to the south west of Muckalee School and St. Brendan's Church and the old Parochial House (*E2(6)*), another well further up, again on the same side of the road in the vicinity of the old castle ruins (*E2(6)*) and yet another well to the north-east of the castle), yet neither Billy Murphy of Clorinka nor his neighbour John Hennessy of adjoining Coolraheen have ever heard that any of the wells were holy, at least during their lifetime.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it has not been located, it may have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu, the well-name does not appear to have been of hagiographical origin and no spoken form (even one of a de-onomised nature) has been obtained.

45. Tobermurry (*EI(6)*), Tobar Mhuire (well of Our Lady)

tld: Clomantagh Lower, *p*: Clomantagh, *cp*: Urlingford, *bar*: Crannagh, *OS* 13, *Nat. Grid*: 235647, 163410, *SMR*: KK 013-006, Map 1.45, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 8 September, Local form: The Pump (Liam Comerford, Edward Holahan, Clomantagh).

Documented references

OSL(KK) I 167, *OSM(KK)* 11, *OSFP*, *EI(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 42.54, 57, *Carrigan NB* 74.198, *Carrigan NB* 127.13, *Carrigan NB* 158.24, *E2(6)*, *EI(25)*, *O'Kelly* 11, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser.* S 358634, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 24, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the south-eastern part of the townland in the south-western vicinity of Clomantagh old mills (*Nat.Grid*:/-, *Lewis* I 346, *OSL(KK)* I 167, *OSM(KK)* 11, *O'Kelly* 11) on the Nuenna River and to the south-east of Clomantagh Church ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 234855, 163761, *SMR*: KK 013-00301, *Stat.Sur.(KK)* 609, *OSL(KK)* I 161, *OSM(KK)* 10, Hogan 1864, 190, *Carrigan NB* 158.24, *NFCS* 867.359, *O'Kelly* 11, Mc Cheane 38; Hayes 2014, 9) and graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 234852, 163776, *SMR*: KK 013-00302, *Longfield (KK)* 10, *OSNB* (25), *OSL(KK)* I 161, 162; *Carrigan II* 368; *NFCS* 867.359; *O'Kelly* 11; Hayes 2014, 9) near the western boundary of Kyleballynamoe townland.

Liam Comerford owns the land where 'Lady Well' is situated. A pump was put over it around forty years ago. Up to then it was an open well. It is now a shallow spring being about 4 feet deep and 2 feet square, although Edward Holahan (aged 60-65) who owns the nearby land on which the old mills are located, reveals that the well has lost its shape somewhat over the years and has an overgrowth of grass around it.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1) and it has de-onomised spoken form only (Onom.4B1).

46. Tubber Broondhawin (*Carrigan* IV 120),

Tobar Bhreandáin (well of St. Brendan/Bréanann of Clonfert)

tld: Clonamery, *p*: Clonamery, *cp*: Inistioge, *bar*: Ida, [*OS* 33], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 033-039, co-ordinates of nearby Clonamery Church: 265852, 135447, Map 2.46, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 16 May, former pattern day: the Sunday after St. Brendan's Day, Local form: The Well (Carmel Cummins, Brendan Cummins (cousin), Clonamery).

Documented references

Carrigan IV 120, 432, *Carrigan NB* 40.175, *Carrigan NB* 66.78, *Carrigan NB* 67.8, 46, *Carrigan NB* 94.55, 63, Carville 1977, 48, *RMPKK*, Wooding 2009, 192, *NMS*, *ASI*

Church of the Parish

Some fifty years prior to Carrigan's first reference to the well above (1887-92), we read the following fairly peculiar statement by John O'Donovan: 'the original Church of this Parish is one of the primitive ages of the Irish Church, but its history, I fear, is entirely lost nor is it likely that it can ever be recovered as the name of its Patron is lost to tradition and there is no holy well or other monument from which his name might be inferred (*OSL(KK)* II 335 (1839)).

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the south-eastern part of the townland to the east of the Nore and two fields to the south-east of Clonamery Old Church (*Nat.Grid*: 265852, 135447, *SMR*: KK 033-02101, *Lewis* I 357, *OSL(KK)* II 335, *OSM(KK)* 73, *Carrigan* IV 226, *Carrigan NB* 94.55, Tighe 5, *O'Kelly* 103, Carville 48, *Nat.Mon.Harb.* 195; O'Shea 2014, 107) and graveyard (*Nat.Grid.* 265852, 135447, *SMR*: KK 033-02102, *EI*(6), *Carrigan* IV 121, *Shell Guide Harb.* 207). Clonamery Castle ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 265788, 135123, *SMR*: KK 033-02201, castrum de Clone, *Inq.Lag.(KK)* 35 J 1 (1622), *Stat.Sur.(KK)* 637, *Lewis* I 357, *OSL(KK)* II 337, Orpen 1909, 322, 323, Tighe 5, *O'Kelly* 103; Farrell 2014, 180, 184, 185, 187) are located to the east of the well.

‘The Well’ is situated on the land of Brendan Cummins in The Curragh Field which is marshy at the bottom near the river. There used to be cattle at the well near a stream (12 yards from it) which flows into the river. There were willow trees and stones around this square-shaped well and it was never without water. It had a stone square hood over it and was around 1½ feet wide. Brendan (aged 60-65) often drank the water to assuage his thirst states that there was a good flow of water from it. A combination of sally-roots and cattle-trampling has disfigured it over time (over the last fifteen years).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has a ritual (Ritual 2A8) pertaining to it, the name-form is of hagiographical origin (Hag.3.1) and it has a de-onomised spoken form only (Onom.4B1).

47. Clonmore Holy Well (NMS, ASI)

tld: Clonmore, *p*: Clonmore, *cp*: Mooncoin, *bar*: Iverk, [OS 42], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 042-026, *Popularity*: 0, no former patron/pattern day, No local form.

Documented reference

NMS, ASI (18/1/2016)

The apparent well in question is assigned a separate *SMR* reference number (*supra*) to Toberaghcanice (*SMR*: KK 042-007) in the same townland. These numbers may suggest that the wells were located close to one another.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it has not been located, it may have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu like Toberaghcanice in the same townland, the well-name does not appear to be of hagiographical origin, unlike Toberaghcanice, and no spoken form has been secured.

48. Toberaghcanice (*E1(6)*), Tobar Chainnigh (well of St. Canice)

tld: Clonmore, *p*: Clonmore, *cp*: Mooncoin, *bar*: Iverk, *OS* 42, *Nat. Grid*: 248697, 117309, *SMR*: KK 042-007, Map 1.48, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 11 October (or perhaps the Sunday after), Local form: The Holy Well (Eddie Doyle, Ann Doyle, Clonmore).

Documented references

OSL(KK) II 227, *OSM(KK)* 78, *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *O’Hanlon Saints X* 163, *E1(25)*, *E2(6)*, *Carrigan IV* 148, 149, 432, *Carrigan NB* 34.73, *Carrigan NB* 47.8, *Carrigan NB* 47.129, *Carrigan NB* 66.66, *Carrigan NB* 67.72, 81, *Carrigan NB* 97.351, *NFCS* 840.16, McDonald 1959, 75, *Shell Guide Killanin* (s.n. Piltown), Burtchaell 1988, 12, *Discov.Ser.* S 487173, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well was located in the north-eastern part of a large 16.548 acre field (*E1(25)*) in the southern area of the townland and to the south-east of Skelpstown village and Clonmore Cross Roads (*E2(6)*). Nearby is Clonmore House (*E2(6)*) and some 200 yards to the west are Clonmore Church ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 248556, 117285, *SMR*: KK 042-00601, *OSL(KK)* II 227, *OSM(KK)* 78, *Carrigan NB* 6.154, *Carrigan NB* 55.102, *NFCS* 840.16, *O’Kelly* 125) and graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 248548, 117267, *SMR*: KK 042-00602, *OSL(KK)* II 227, *OSFP*, *Bowers Transcripts* 2, 10, *NFCS* 840.214, *O’Kelly* 125).

Eddie Doyle farms the land on which the well was situated before it was piped underground to a nearby dyke around twenty five years ago.

There is no name on the field where ‘The Holy Well’ was situated. There was a little gate opposite the lodge leading into it. It was a round, shallow well and was around 2 feet wide. It never went dry before it was covered over with earth following the installation of the concrete pipes to the dyke from a nearby stream. Neither Eddie nor his mother, Mary, ever drew water from it.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its location is based on a local tradition, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it had a ritual (Ritual 8.1) attaching to it, the well-name

was of hagiographical origin (Hag.3.2) and it has a de-onomised spoken form only at present (Onom.4B3).

49. Toberadrugh (*EI(6)*) / St. Fiakra's Well (*NFCS* 866.321),

Tobar an Díthreabhthaigh (well of the hermit)

tld: Clontubbrid, *p*: Sheffin, *cp*: Lisdowney, *bar*: Crannagh, *OS* 9, *Nat. Grid*: 240336, 167543, *SMR*: KK 009-044004, Map 1.49, Popularity: 2, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 8 February (or perhaps the Sunday after), Fig. 24, Local form: St. Fiachra's Well (May Maher, Ballyconra, and her brother, Larry Hamilton).

Documented references

Stat.Sur.(KK) 635 (1802), *Lewis* I 378, *OSNB*(16), *OSL(KK)*, I 90, 91, *OSM(KK)* 101, 102, *OSFP*, Petrie 1845, 453, Du Noyer 1867, 430, Joyce II 1875, 99, 100, 528, Hogan 1876, 111, *Loc.Pat.* 313, *Carrigan* II 327, 328, *Carrigan NB* 27.113, *Carrigan NB* 28.38, 39, *Carrigan NB* 35.51, 52, *Carrigan NB* 74.204, *Carrigan NB* 158.28, *NFCS* 866, 321, 470, Waldron 1959, 49, 50, 51, *Shell Guide Killanin* 283, *O'Kelly* 25, Hughes & Hamlin 1977, 121, *Shell Guide Harb.* 186, *RMPKK*, O'Dwyer 2002, 49, *Freshford Sketches* 50, Moss 2014, 180, *NMS*, *ASI*

Possible toponymical evidence of the well name

1303-6	Clontiperid	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 19 g
1318	Clontybrit	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 20 g
1351	Clontibrit	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 21 b
1450c. ¹	Clonetybbert	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 3 e
1450c. ²	Clontubyrty	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 41 g
1480c.	Clontybryt	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 36 c
1578	Clonetobbered	F3219

Additional locational details and well description

The site of the well is located just to the west of the western boundary of a large 9.203 acre field (*EI(25)*) in the south-eastern part of the townland, in an angle north-east of the cross-roads' (*O'Kelly* 25), 'about 4 yards east of the sacristy of Clonetubrid chapel' (*Nat.Grid* /-, *Lewis* I 378, *OSNB* (4), *OSM(KK)* 101, *OSFP*, *Carrigan NB* 27.109, *Carrigan NB* 74.204; *Carrigan NB* 158.28; *Carrigan* II 327; Hughes & Hamlin 1977, 121) in the immediate vicinity of 'a small obsolete burying ground now covered with furze in the Townland of Clontubrid and called Cill Sheiffin' (*OSL(KK)* I 90) (*Nat.Grid*: 240310, 167557, *SMR*: KK

009-044002, *OSM(KK)* 100, *Carrigan NB* 27.109, *Carrigan NB* 74.204, *Carrigan NB* 158.28, *Carrigan II* 327, *NFCS* 868.103, *O'Kelly* 25, *Freshford Sketches* 50).

May Maher (aged 75-80) describes 'St. Fiachra's Well' as being attached to the sacristy at the back of the church. It is encased in a stone structure and has steps down into it near the gable-end wall. It is 3-4 feet deep, 4½ feet wide and has stones around its base. It is 'to the real back of the church on the left hand side near the old graveyard'. Its water was supposed to cure warts and, given its stagnant state, is not recommended for drinking. People used to bless themselves with it.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (old chapel + gr.), it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Well House 2.2 and Crosses 5.4, it has a legend (Legend 17.3) associated with it, it was formerly the bearer of more than one name (Onom.2), one of which was of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.9) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

50. Tobar Mhuire/Coolnatobar (*O'Kelly* 41) (well of Our Lady; place of the well)

tld: Coan West, *p*: Dysart, *cp*: Muckalee, *bar*: Fassadinan, [*OS* 11], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, generated co-ordinates: 259649, 171026 (possible), Map 3.50, Popularity: 2, Feastday and possible former patron/pattern day: 15 August, Local form: The Rosary Well (Paul Kinsella, Coan).

Documented reference

O'Kelly 41

Additional locational details but no definite well site

The well may have been located to the north-east of the old village of Coan (*E1(6)*), near Burn's Bridge (*OSFP, E1(6)*) and the Dinan River, a short distance to the south-east of (i) an old graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 259602, 171072, *SMR*: KK 011-00802, *OSL(KK)* I 21, *OSM(KK)* 424, *Carrigan NB* 74.178, *Carrigan NB* 158.20, *Carrigan III* 457, *NFCS* 864.348, *O'Kelly* 41), (ii) a chapel (*Nat.Grid*: /-, *OSFP, E1(6)*, *Carrigan III* 457) and (iii) the site of an old castle, Castle Quan (*Nat.Grid*: 259379, 170971, *SMR*: KK 011-00601, *OSL(KK)* I 21, *OSM(KK)* 424, *Carrigan III* 457, *O'Kelly* 41).

Paul Kinsella (65-70), Coan, a retired principal teacher in Kilkenny city, confirms that Owen O'Kelly, who taught at the Vocational School in Coan up to the early 1970s, could not find the location of the well (cf. 'The location ... is now unknown', *O'Kelly* 41).

Paul also speaks of a Mass Rock in Coan West and of The Rosary Well just outside the townland of Coan West and inside the border of adjoining Coan East. This well is marked simply W[ell] on *E2(6)*. It is situated in the village of Coan at Burn's Bridge (*E2(6)*) to the south-east of Kilquain Grave Yard (*E2(6)*), a short distance to the north-east of the site of Castle Quan (*E2(6)*). Its location has been confirmed by Paul Kinsella.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it may still be in existence (if The Rosary Well is the well in question), it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (chapel + gr.) the well-name is a hagiographically-associated one (Hag.1.1) and it has a spoken form still in use.

51. St. Columbkille's Well (*E1(6)*)

tld: Columbkille, *p*: Columbkille, *cp*: Thomastown, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 28, *Nat. Grid*: 259527, 142483, *SMR*: KK 028-043003, Map 1.51, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 9 July, former pattern day: the Sunday after the 9th of July, Local form: The Well (John Maher, Pat O'Keeffe, Columbkille).

Documented references

Stat.Sur.(KK) 120 (1802), *OSNB(26)*, *OSL(KK)* II 340, *OSM(KK)* 146, Reeves 1874, 284, Moore 1874-9, 24, *O'Hanlon Saints* VI 556, *Loc.Pat.* 344, *E1(25)*, *Carrigan* IV 272, *Carrigan NB* 42.1, 4, Sparks & Bligh 1926, 88, *NFCS* 858.39.40, 41, 42, 44, 45, *ITAS(KK)*, Thomastown, Form A, page 4, *OSFM(KK)* 8995, *E2(25)*, *E2(6)*, *O'Kelly* 68, Pilsworth 1972, 66, *RMPKK*, Walsh 2012, 71, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well was located in the western part of a 1.547 acre field (*E1(25)*) in the north-western part of the townland and on the north-eastern outskirts of Thomastown village to the south of the road which extends from Thomastown and Graiguenamanagh near which lie Columbkille Church (*Nat.Grid*: 259534, 142497, *SMR*: KK 028-04301, *Stat.Sur.(KK)* 603, *OSL(KK)* II 340, *OSM(KK)* 146, *O'Hanlon Saints* VI 334, 556, *Carrigan* IV 272, *NFCS* 858.39, 42, *O'Kelly* 68) and a graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 259521, 142526, *SMR*: KK 028-04302, *OSNB(7)*, *OSFP*, *Carrigan* IV 272, *NFCS* 858.39, 44, *O'Kelly* 68).

'The Well', according to John Maher (aged 75-80), was down a boreen off the Thomastown-Graiguenamanagh road and was on the left hand side just before the graveyard. It was a large, circular well, was 5 feet wide and 4-5 feet deep. It had grass around it but no stones were to be seen here. It was 'a couple of yards before the gate of the graveyard' and nothing remains now above ground. The water was drinkable many decades ago and locals used to take it home in bottles 'around the time of the saint's feastday in June'.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its location and description is based on memory, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has an additional locational

characteristic in the form of Trees 3.12.5, it has many rituals (Rituals 2.5, 2A9, 6.2, 12.8, 13.6, 23.3) and legends (Legends 3.2, 16.17.1, 16.34.2, 20.5) attaching to it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.3), it has toponymical evidence to corroborate it and it now has a de-onomised spoken form only (Onom.4B2).

52. Tobar Phóil (NFCS 865.385) (Paul's well)

tld: Connahy, *p*: Grangemaccomb, *cp*: St. Colman's, *bar*: Fassadinan, [OS 10], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 010-102, generated co-ordinates: 248010, 168468, Map 3.52, Popularity: 2, possible former pattern day: 16 October, Fig. 25, 26, Date of visit: 19/3/2016, Local forms: The Well, The Móintín Field (Anne Downey, Pat Downey, Connahy).

Documented references

OSFP, *EI(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 27.61, *Carrigan NB* 85.57, *Carrigan II* 194, *NFCS* 865.385, *O'Kelly* 43, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located to the north-west of Shanganny Castle (*EI(6)*), to the north of Connahy school and within a few fields to the north-east of Connahy chapel, 'a little to the north of Conahy [*sic*] chapel' (*Carrigan III* 194, *NFCS* 865.385), 'a little north of the parish church' (*O'Kelly* 43) (*Nat.Grid*: /-, *OSL(KK)* I 40, *OSM (KK)* 93, *Carrigan NB* 1.302, *Carrigan NB* 27.61, *Carrigan II* 193, 194), near which was also an ancient burying ground (*Nat.Grid*: 247971, 167809, *SMR*: KK 010-05802, *OSL(KK)* I 40, *OSM(KK)* 94), which had been long since disused before Carrigan's time, 'even before 1839 there were no gravestones here, nor had there been any interments for a very long time; human remains, however, lie underneath the surface, especially towards the west' (*Carrigan II* 93).

The current owners of the land in which the well is situated, Pat and Anne Downey (his grandfather, Pat, and his widow Margaret, being referred to by Carrigan above) declare that the well-water was the main water supply of Pat and his five brothers in decades gone by. Anne states that the well, situated in the middle of a one acre swampy field called The Monteen (cf. Monteenafyna/Móintín na Finne, 'little marshy place of the white (cow)', 1889, *supra*) still has a good supply of water and that it is a gravity flow well which was piped into a tank. The public road runs on one side of the well and the Downeys' driveway is on the other. The Monteen field was locally known for growing rushes.

The well itself is a fresh water spring with stone-faced walls, four to five feet deep. The top of it is a three foot square flagstone and a foot square was excised from the stone to get the water out. When it was used for household purposes, there was a metal plate lid on the opening which is not there now.

While Carrigan stated around 125 years ago that the well ‘has no name at all’ (*Carrigan NB* 27.61), yet it is styled Tobar Phóil in the Schools’ Folklore Collection, an appellation, which according to Anne Downey, is somewhat peculiar given that her husband’s (Pat’s) father was named Nicholas, his grandfather was Pat (aforementioned) and his greatgrandfather was named John. Neither is there any possible reason to connect St. Paul with the well.

The only possible familiarly-related person named Paul would have been a Paul Phelan of Connahy Rocks who died in the early 1940s (while still a student at St. Kieran’s College, Kilkenny) and is buried in Connahy cemetery. His mother, Bridget Phelan (née Downey), was an aunt of her (Anne’s) husband, Pat. Anne Downey has kindly checked his tombstone in Connahy cemetery – it reveals that he died on 18/4/1943, aged eighteen, which would place the year of his birth at 1928, some ten years before the Folklore Collection entry.

Anne also relates that a Fr. Robertson, who came from County Antrim and served as a priest in Perth, central Scotland, used to regularly visit Kilkenny (his housekeeper came from here) and used to stay in the Capuchin Friary in the city. He was a regular visitor to the Downey household during the 1970s and early 1980s and used to drink the clear water from this well because of its refreshing, invigorating taste (even while ill in St. Luke’s Hospital, Kilkenny).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (parish ch. + gr.), it was formerly the bearer of more than one name (Onom.2), neither name having been of hagiographical origin and it presently has a de-onomised spoken form only (Onom.4B1).

53. St. Mary's Well (Brennan 2006, 137; Saunders 2006, 141)

tld: Coolaghmore, *p*: Coolaghmore, *cp*: Callan, *bar*: Kells, [*OS* 30], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, co-ordinates of nearby Coolaghmore Church: 241847, 139098, Map 2.53, Popularity: 0, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 8 September, No local form.

Documented references

Brennan 2006, 137, Saunders 2006, 141

There is no *SMR* reference available to pinpoint the location of the well in question, while the *SMR* reference number of Thubberakilleen (*SMR*: KK 030-004008) in the same townland points to the location of that (other) well.

Additional locational details and possible well site

The well would appear to have been located in the south-western part of the townland, a short distance to the east of the old village of Kyle, to the north-west of Coolagh Cross Roads (*E2(6)*) and in the vicinity of Coolaghmore Church ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 241874, 139098, *SMR*: KK 030-00401, *Stat.Sur.(KK)* 611, *OSNB(1:41)*, *OSL(KK)* II 45, *OSM(KK)* 23, *Carrigan NB* 137.38, 122, *Carrigan NB* 85.43, *Carrigan* III 335, *O'Kelly* 143) and graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 241853, 139089, *SMR*: KK 030-00403, *Aher Clem.* R47, *OSNB(1:41)*, *OSL(KK)* II 45, *OSM(KK)* 23, *Carrigan NB* 137.38, *Carrigan NB* 158.143, *Carrigan* III 335, *O'Kelly* 143).

Dick Grace (aged 75-80) of Coolagh(more) is very familiar with the ruins of the church on the hill and informs me that the church was originally converted from an old castle, which would have had to have a nearby source of water. He cites the very wet spot at the south-western side of the graveyard as a former possible location.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it has not been located, it would appear, like Thubberakilleen, in the same townland, to have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), the well-name was of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1) and it currently has no spoken form.

54. Thubberakilleen (*Carrigan* III 335), Tobar an Chillín (well of the little church)

tld: Coolaghmore, *p*: Coolaghmore, *cp*: Callan, *bar*: Kells, [*OS* 30], *Nat. Grid*: 241860, 139070, *SMR*: KK 030-004008, Map 1.54, Popularity: 1, former pattern day: the first Sunday of September, Local form: The Well Field (Dick Grace, Eamon Saunders, Coolaghmore).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 26.78, *Carrigan NB* 66.49, *Carrigan NB* 97.262, *Carrigan NB* 127.15, 17, *Carrigan NB* 141.19, *Carrigan* III 335, *NFCS* 853.127, *O’Kelly* 143, O’Doherty, *OKR* Vol. 2, No. 1 (1979), 74, *RMPKK*, Brennan 2006, 46, 137, Roughan 2010, 160, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well was located in the south-western part of the townland, to the north-west of an old school house (*EI(6)*) and Coolagh Cross Roads (*EI(6)*), and, like St. Mary’s Well, in the vicinity of an old church in ruins and graveyard (cf. St. Mary’s Well) ‘on the river bank’ (*Carrigan NB* 127.15).

Dick Grace (aged 75-80) of Coolagh(more) reveals that Tom Cahill, a former owner of ‘The Well Field’, drowned here in 1951-2. A bungalow was built near the well and Mick Walker had it covered over around 1975. It was a deep, wide-open, round surface well and was around 3-4 feet wide. He describes it as having been a stone-lined well with a good flow of water, slightly below ground level where cattle used to assuage their thirst. John Walker is the present owner of the land in question.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its location and description is based on local memory, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), the well-name is not hagiographical in origin and it currently has a de-onomised spoken form only (Onom.4B2).

55. St. Monchin's [Well] (Higgins 1989, 600)

tld: Coolcashin, *p*: Coolcashin, *cp*: Lisdowney, *bar*: Galmoy, [*OS* 9], *Nat. Grid*: 236078, 169011, *SMR*: KK 009-019007, Map 1.55, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 2 January, Local forms: The Well, The Church Field (Jim Fitzpatrick, Joseph Fitzpatrick, Coolcashin).

Documented references

OSL(KK) I 100, 101, *OSM(KK)* 109, *OSFP*, *Carrigan NB* 26.86, Higgins 1989, 599, 600, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

What remains of the well is situated in the south-west portion of the townland near Coolcashin House (*E2(6)*) and in the immediate vicinity of the old church site (*Nat.Grid*: 236101, 169012, *SMR*: KK 009-01901, *OSL(KK)* I 100, *OSM(KK)* 109, *Loc.Pat.* 316, 372, *Carrigan NB* 26.86, *Carrigan II* 334, *O'Kelly* 56) and graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 236114, 169003, *SMR*: KK 009-01902, *Longfield(KK)* 17, *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *E2(6)*, *O'Kelly* 56, Higgins 1989, 599, 600).

Jim Fitzpatrick of Coolcashin draws my attention to 'The Well' in The Church Field. He describes it as an oval-shaped hole in the ground with a big stone across its centre. It is around 2 feet wide and 2 feet deep but does not contain any water now. There is a stile into The Church Field from the road and the area around the well is cordoned off. The old graveyard is at the bottom of the field and as a result there is public access into it. The existing church, St. Mary's, is around a quarter of a mile distant from The Church Field and from the old church site.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + gr.), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.4) and it presently has a deonomised spoken form only (Onom.4B1).

56. St. John's Well (E(6))

tld: Cottrellsbooly, *p*: Jerpointchurch, *cp*: Aghaviller, *bar*: Knocktopher, *OS* 28, *Nat. Grid*: 254416, 143416, *SMR*: KK 028-017, Map 1.56, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 24 June, Local form: John's Well (Jim O'Connell, Knockanore; Vincent Daly, Cottrellsbooly).

Documented references

Stat.Sur.(KK) 589 (1802), *CGn.* 791.587.535123 (1824), *Lewis* II 28, *OSNB*(39), *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, Moore 1874-9, 25, *E1(25)*, *Carrigan* IV 12, 304, *Carrigan NB* 42.5, *Carrigan NB* 66.75, *Carrigan NB* 67.69, 79, *E2(6)*, *E2(25)*, *OSFM(KK)* 9706, *O'Kelly* 164, *Discov.Ser.* S 544434, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is situated in a 1.750 acre field (*E1(25)*) to the south-west of an old Gate Lodge (*E1(6)*) and Ballylinch Bridge (*E1(6)*) and the Nore, a short distance to the north-east of Johnswell House (*E1(6)*) > Norelands House (*E1(25)*), *Carrigan* IV 12, *O'Kelly* 64), 'one field from the Nore, near Norelands House' (*O'Kelly* 164), in the south-eastern part of the townland.

Jim O'Connell (aged 75-80) of nearby Knockanore informs me that where 'John's Well' rises in on Vincent Daly's land. He relates that Norelands House was demolished in the 1930s and that the land was part of the Mountjuliet Estate. It springs up from the ground at the bottom of a hill and flows through Daly's land to the river, the well-water being just higher than the spring. A hydraulic pump was in operation here up to around 1960 and the well contained a huge water-supply all year long. There is a wall around the well and the water flows out over it. It is around 5 feet deep and 8-10 feet square. A few iron stakes and some wire are on the wall to protect it from passing animals. Vincent Daly does not recall any religious or sanctified character ever attaching to the well.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (chapel), the well-name is of hagiographical origin and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

57. Caereeachth Well (*Carrigan* III 457), Caoraíocht (herd of livestock)

tld: Croghtenclogh, *p*: Castlecomer, *cp*: Castlecomer, *bar*: Fassadinan, [OS 6], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 006-014, generated co-ordinates: 258612, 173978, Map 3.57, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: Keerak Well (Ann Healy, Seamus Cody, Croghtenclogh).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 29.160, *Carrigan NB* 73.188, *Carrigan NB* 97.221, *Carrigan* III 457, *O’Kelly* 35, Lyng 1984, 106, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

Cuilatobair (cf. Map 3.57A, 257620, 172958), the address of Patrick, Marie and Ann Healy, is situated in the north-western part of a 6.779 acre field (*E1(25)*) which it is styled simply ‘Well’. It is located to the south-east of Ryan’s Cross Roads (*E2(6)*), to the south-west of Barry’s Cross Roads (*E2(6)*), Kelly’s Bridge (*E2(6)*) being located some distance to its east. The well serves Ann’s house and that of her son, Patrick, and daughter-in-law, Marie.

It is, however, not to be confused with ‘Cieragh Well/Brennan’s Well’ according to Ann Healy, which is located a mile and a half to the north-east of the Healy household in the south-western part of a 2.144 acre rectangular-shaped field marked simply ‘Well’ on *E1(25)*. It is in a field just beyond the farmhouse of Seamus Cody, formerly on Brennan’s land. Ann informs me that a priest in this Brennan family used to frequently bless the well many years ago, that it now serves cattle only and that here was the home of Tom Lyng (whom she knew) who wrote *Castlecomer Connections*, published in 1984.

She states that the well is still accounted ‘holy’. It is located a short distance to the north-east of Barry’s Cross Roads (*E2(6)*), to the west of John’s Cross Roads (*E2(6)*) and a short distance to the north east of Kelly’s Bridge (*E2(6)*).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, the well-name is not hagiographical in origin and it has a spoken form still in use.

58. Thubber Phaudhrig (*Carrigan* IV 98), Tobar Phádraig (well of St. Patrick)

tld: Davidstown, *p*: Kilcolumb, *cp*: Glenmore, *bar*: Knocktopher, [*OS* 43], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, generated co-ordinates: 263579, 118819, Map 3.58, Popularity: 2, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 17 March, Fig. 27, St. Patrick's Bowl (Dick Claridge, Liam Murphy, Davidstown).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 61.27, *Carrigan NB* 67.15, 49, *Carrigan NB* 97.358, *Carrigan NB* 149.27, *Carrigan IV* 98, 433, *NFCS* 845.95, 96, *ITAS(KK)*, Glenmore, Form A, page 3, *O'Kelly* 113, Farrell 2014, 78, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located near the Glúin Phádraig to the east of the western boundary of Davidstown, on the south-western outskirts of Glenmore village and in the north-eastern vicinity of Slieverue near the long-since destroyed Kilcliggan church (*Nat.Grid*: /-, *OSL(KK)* II 185, *Carrigan IV* 98, *O'Kelly* 113). It is shown on the Ordnance Survey maps (*E1(6)*, *E2(6)*, *E1(25)*) but is not named. The Conbhuí field measures 1.098 acres (*E1(25)*) and the well is located to the north-east of it. Liam Murphy is the landowner in question and Dick Claridge of Davidstown, has kindly confirmed the location of the well for me.

Tom Mullally (aged 82-85) of nearby Busherstown describes 'St. Patrick's Bowl' as being built up on a mound of stones around 3 feet high. It is a round hollow stone around 2 feet wide and resembles a baptismal font. Tom collects some well-water here just before Easter every year whereupon the bottled water is brought to St. James's Church, Glenmore, for blessing during the Easter ceremonies on every Easter Saturday night.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in a one-time ecclesiastical milieu (long since obliterated ch.), it has an additional locational characteristic of Stones 4.5 attaching to it, it has legends (Legends 12.5, 13, 16.37.1) associated with it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.1) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use. The annual ritual performed by Tom Mullally above is also noticed here.

59. Derrynahinch Holy Well (NFCS 848.85)

tld: Derrynahinch, *p*: Derrynahinch, *cp*: Ballyhale, *bar*: Knocktopher, [OS 32], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, Map 3.59; Popularity: 1, Feastdays: 26 March (Mocheallóg), 11 November (St. Martin), former pattern day: the Sunday after 11 November, Local form: The Well (Tom Corcoran, Kiltorcan).

Documented references

NFCS 848.85, 94

Seventeenth-century Derrynahinch inhabitant visits Lady's Island

Dr. Louise Nugent draws attention in a recent article entitled 'A seventeenth century pilgrim from County Kilkenny' (*OKR* 67 (2015), 48) to a certain James Shee (1660-1724) of Derrynahinch/Derrynahinch who attended a pilgrimage to Lady's Island, County Wexford in the late seventeenth century, which experience he noted down in his prayer book.

No mention is made of the holy well here at Derrynahinch nor of the church or graveyard or two attaching saints.

Dr. Nugent surmises that 'there must surely have been pilgrim sites closer to Derrynahinch such as St. Mullin's in Co. Carlow or indeed more local holy wells' and she poses the question why would James have travelled all the way to Wexford? 'Most likely', she answers, 'he had a strong devotion to the Blessed Virgin who was the patron saint of Lady's Island' and 'he may have hoped the distance and hardships endured during his pilgrimage journey would have been noted and appreciated by the divine power to whom he prayed and thus this would have increased the value of his pilgrimage' (*Ibid.* 50).

Additional locational details and former location of the well

The well located to the south-east of Derrynahinch House (*Stat.Sur.(KK)* 590, *Leet* I 258, *OSNB*(21), *E1*(6), *O'Kelly* 162), to the south-east of Derrynahinch Bridge (*E2*(6)), near an old railway level crossing and in the vicinity of (i) Derrynahinch church ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 255064, 136202, *SMR*: KK 032-01901, *Tenison Vis.* 20, *Stat.Sur.(KK)* 613, *OSNB*(22), *OSL(KK)* II 131, *O'Hanlon Saints* II 258, *Carrigan NB* 27.74, *Carrigan NB* 70.206, *Carrigan* IV 16, 17, *NFCS* 848.85, 94, *O'Kelly* 162) and (ii) graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 255064, 136202, *SMR*: KK 032-01902, *OSL(KK)* II 131, *Carrigan* IV 17, *NFCS* 848.64, 94).

The level-crossing to the south-east of the old church and graveyard (*EI(25)*) is where the Mac Brides resided until the late 1950s and the well, formerly located near the southern boundary of a 9.186 acre (*EI(25)*) rectangular-shaped field to the south-east of the level crossing, was piped to a drain and is no longer to be seen. Tom Corcoran of nearby Kiltorcan has kindly confirmed the former location of the well. It was never accounted holy during his lifetime.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, its former location is based on local memory, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), the well-name, on the evidence, does not appear to have been of hagiographical origin and it currently has a de-onomised spoken form only.

60. Thubber Eheen (*Carrigan* III 389), Tobar Fhéichín (well of St. Féichín of Fore)

tld: Desart Demesne, *p*: Tullaghanbrogue, *cp*: Danesfort, *bar*: Shillelogher, [OS 22], *Nat. Grid*: 244356, 148374, *SMR*: KK 022-021004, Map 1.60, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 20 January, Local form: The Pump (Breda Walsh, David O'Connor, Desart).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 6.126, 127, *Carrigan NB* 66.56, *Carrigan NB* 67.64, *Carrigan NB* 71.94, *Carrigan NB* 97.251, 267, *Carrigan* III 389, 390, *Carrigan* IV 432, *O'Kelly* 191, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and possible well site

The well's location is given in the Archaeological Survey of Ireland website as being in the north-eastern vicinity of Desart Court (*E2(6)*) within the Demesne near which was (i) the site of Cill Feichin church (*Nat.Grid*: 244356, 148373; *SMR*: KK 022-021001; *Carrigan NB* 6.126, 127; *Carrigan NB* 71.94; *Carrigan NB* 97.251, 267; *Carrigan* III 389; *O'Kelly* 191) and (ii) old graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 244356, 148373; *SMR*: KK 022-021002; *Carrigan* III 389), 'in the church field' (*Carrigan NB* 97.251) alias Bán an chillín/Bawnakilleen (*Carrigan NB* 6.126; *O'Kelly* 191).

Jim Kelly (aged 90, 2015) of Desart Demisne informs me that he has lived beside the Desart Court site since 1945 at which time the house was roofless before it was eventually knocked in the early 1960s, there now being no trace of it remaining. He has never heard of a well in the north-eastern vicinity of his house (the Archaeological Survey's supposed location) and names such as St. Féichín's Well, St. Phoenix's Well or St. Phelix's Well did not convey anything to him.

Kitty Kelly (aged 99, July 2015) of nearby Riesk confirms that the church site now takes the form of a small rise or mound in the church field.

Having spoken to both elderly informants in January 2015, I rang a month later to speak, once again, with Jim, only to discover from his daughter, Breda Walsh, that both her father and Kitty (no relation) had died in the previous fortnight. Breda subsequently informed me that there is an old pump .7 of a mile from Desart cross, which may be water-source in question. David O'Connor of Grove, Cuffesgrove, describes it as an old green pump on the roadside (backroad) on Paddy Tobin's land (it is now rented to Ken Murphy). It is covered

with briars and was not used during David's lifetime. The backroad is between Riesk and the north of where Desart House used to be.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence (in the form of an old disused pump), it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + gr.), it had legends (Legends 16.15.2, 19.1) attaching to it, the well-name was of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.8) and it now has a deonomised spoken form only (Onom.4B1).

61. Donaghmore Well (EI(6)) / St. Patrick's Well (O'Kelly 39)

tld: Donaghmore, *p*: Donaghmore, *cp*: Ballyragget, *bar*: Fassadinan, *OS* 10, *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 010-086, generated co-ordinates: 246262, 170340, Map 3.61, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 17 March, Local form: The Well Field (John Walsh, Barry O'Reilly, Donaghmore).

Documented references

OSL(KK) I 67, *OSM(KK)* 49, *OSFP*, Murphy 1874-9, 114, *Carrigan NB* 74.51, Healy 1893, 354, *EI(25)*, *E2(25)*, Lyng 1956-7, 34, *O'Kelly* 39, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 17, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and details concerning the well

The well was located in the north-western part of the townland in the vicinity of Donaghmore Church ruins, 'about a furlong east of the church' (*OSL(KK)* I 67, *OSM(KK)* 49), or four fields to the north-east of the (i) church (*Nat.Grid*: 245413, 169973, *SMR*: KK 010-00501, *Oss.Vis.* 11, *OSNB(13)*, *OSL(KK)* I 64, *OSM(KK)* 49, Cooke 1875, 485, Murphy 1874-9, 396, *Loc.Pat.* 282, *Carrigan NB* 1.244, *NFCS* 868.67, *O'Kelly* 39) and (ii) graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 245426, 169976, *SMR*: KK 010-00502, *OSNB(13)*, *OSM(KK)* 8, *Carrigan NB* 1.175, 245, *O'Kelly* 39, Dowling 9), 'beside the railway' (*O'Kelly* 39).

John Walsh (aged 65-70) states that it was situated in The Well Field on the land of Barry O'Reilly before it was drained around forty years ago. It was in a wet, low-lying area of the field, the rest of the field having been dry. The Tuairín Field is between The Well Field and The Railway (from Kilkenny to Portlaoise to Dublin) which was closed in 1962. John never saw the spring in question but recalls that his late father spoke of a tradition in the area to the effect that St. Patrick blessed the well and opened the church on the same day.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its former location is based on tradition, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it was formerly the bearer of more than one name (Onom.2), one of which was of hagiographical origin, and it presently has a de-onomised spoken form only.

62. Donaguile Well (NFCS 865.51)

tld: Donaguile, *p*: Castlecomer, *cp*: Castlecomer, *bar*: Fassadinan, [*OS* 5], *Nat. Grid*: /-,
SMR: /-, Popularity: 0, no former pattern day recorded, No local form.

Documented reference

NFCS 865.51

Michael Walsh (aged 70-75) of nearby Firoda is unaware of the well's location or even of the tradition of a well having been there. On citing the aforementioned perceived eye-cure as a possible prompt, no information concerning the same was forthcoming.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it has not been located, it does not appear to have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu, the well-name does not, on the evidence, appear to have been of hagiographical evidence, there was a legend (Legend 16.25.6) associated with it and no spoken form has been obtained.

63. Cruckny Well (*Carrigan* II 160) alias **Wood Well** (*Carrigan* II 160)

Tobar na Croiche Naoimh (well of the Holy Cross)

tld: Drumgoole, *p*: Castlecomer, *cp*: Castlecomer, *bar*: Fassadinan, [*OS* 6], *Nat. Grid*: 254027, 173102, *SMR*: KK 006-002, Map 1.63, Popularity: 1, possible former pattern days: 14 September, 1 February, Local forms: The Cupna Well, Cruckny Well (Michael Walsh, Firoda Lower; Dr. Maura Downey, Kiltown).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 73.191, 206, *E2(6)*, *E1(25)*, *Carrigan NB* 84.62, 82, *Carrigan NB* 97.188, *Carrigan* II 160, *ITAS(KK)*, Castlecomer, Form A, page 4, *O'Kelly* 33, 35, Lyng 1984, 62, 377, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser. S* 542732, *NMS*, *ASI*

Documented local evidence of the Holy Cross

Drumgoole and Castlecomer are adjoining townlands

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|
| 1400 | R[ex] statum Walt[er]I Clyng p[ar]sone eccl[es]ie s[anc]te crucis de Castlecomer. | <i>Rot.Pat.Cl.</i> 157a |
| 1669-93 | Ecclesia de Comer, Exaltatio S[ancti] Crucis, 14 Septembris. | <i>PP:Spic.Oss.</i> I 8 |
| 1759 | Jacobus Brophy Parochus S[ancti] Crucis de Castlecomer. | <i>de Burgo Reg.</i> 3;
<i>Carrigan</i> I 162;
<i>Carrigan NB</i> 167.166 |
| 1774 | Jacobus Brophy transfertur a Parochiis S[ancti] Crucis de Castlecomer, S[ancti] Andreae de Kilmadum••• | <i>Carrigan</i> I 173 |
| 1777 | Michael Kealy Parochus S[ancti] Crucis de Castlecomer. | <i>Troy Reg. (de Burgo)</i> 34;
<i>Carrigan NB</i> 167.169 |
| 1781 ¹ | Jacobus Lalor Parochus S[ancti] Crucis de Castlecomer. | <i>Troy Reg. (de Burgo)</i> 40 |
| 1781 ² | Jacobus Lalor transfertur a Parochia S[ancti] Crucis de Castlecomer ad Parochiam S[anctae] Mariae de Owing. | <i>Troy Reg. (de Burgo)</i> 42;
<i>Troy Reg.:</i> <i>Carrigan</i> I 197 |

- 1781 Andreas Phelan Parochus S[ancti] Crucis de Castlecomer.
Troy Reg. (de Burgo) 42
- 1785-94 Andreas Phelan Parochus S[ancti] Crucis de Castlecomer.
Troy, Dunne, Lanig. Reg.
13
- 1858 Castlecomer [pattern] dedicated to the Holy Cross.
Graves Patrons 9
- 1905 The ancient Catholic parish church of the Holy Cross of Castlecomer.
Carrigan II 159
- 1920 Castlecomer: Exaltation of Holy Cross, 14 Sept.
Carrigan NB 67.32
- 1960 Castlecomer is under the patronage of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the
feast day being 14th of September.
The name Exaltation of the Holy Cross lost currency in Castlecomer with
the dedication of the present church to the Immaculate Conception.
Deenside (Deireadh
Fómhair, page 11)

Additional locational details and details concerning the former well

The well (according to *EI(25)*) is located in a wooded area in the north-eastern vicinity of Castlecomer village near the old Castlecomer House (*EI(25)*), to the west of Drumgoole Bridge (*EI(25)*) and to the south-east of St. Mary's Church (*Nat.Grid: 253990, 173160, SMR: KK 006-001, OSFP, Carrigan NB 84.62, O'Kelly 35*) and graveyard (*Nat.Grid: 253990, 173161, SMR: KK 006-001, Carrigan NB 73.191, Carrigan II 160*). It is not far into the wood, is covered with briars in a cumar near the road and is around 200 yards from the church. The wood is situated between The New Road and The Yellow Road and the well is now known to very few people locally. Dr. Maura Downey (aged 75-80) of Kiltown relates that the wood is known locally as The Church Wood and that the well is near (on the main side of) The Brockagh Stream, there being a slope into the stream. She calls the well Cruckny Well while Michael Walsh (aged 70-75) of nearby Firoda pronounces it as Kuppna Well.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. + gr.) it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.2.3, it has rituals

(Rituals 2A10, 18.6) associated with it, it was formerly the bearer of more than one name (Onom.2), neither of which was of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.1), and it has a spoken form still in use.

64. St. Ronagh's Well (E1(6)) alias St. Leonard's Well (NFCS 852.272)

tld: Dunnamaggan East, *p*: Dunnamaggan, *cp*: Dunnamaggan, *bar*: Kells, *OS* 31, *Nat. Grid*: 247880, 138980, *SMR*: KK 031-003001, Map 1.64, Popularity: 2, Feastday: 6 November, former pattern day: first Sunday in November, Fig. 28, 29, Local form: St. Leonard's Well (Kathleen Kirwan, Eamon Kirwan, Dunnamaggan).

Documented references

OSNB(25), (26), *OSL(KK)* II 92, 93, *OSM(KK)* 413, *Carrigan NB* 6.40, *Carrigan NB* 27.22, *Carrigan NB* 33.53, *Carrigan NB* 74.216, *Carrigan NB* 85.46, *Carrigan NB* 137.114, 116, 117, *E1*(25), *E2*(6), *Carrigan IV* 38, 433, Healy 1907, 113, *NFCS* 852.292, 293, 294, 295, *NFCS* 853.63, 69, *NFC* 468.101, *ITAS(KK)*, Dunamaggin, Form A, page 8, Phelan 1952, 45, 46, Laherty 1956, 11, *Shell Guide Killanin* 314, *O'Kelly* 146, *Discov.Ser.* S 478392, *RMPKK*, O'Dwyer 2005, 8, Lynch 2010, 19, Moss 2014, 181, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-eastern part of a 4.087 acre field to the east of the western boundary of the townland and to the east of the River Glory in the vicinity of (i) Dunnamaggan Church ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 248123, 138978, *SMR*: KK 031-00401, *OSNB*(21), *OSL(KK)* II 91, *OSM(KK)* 38, *Carrigan NB* 6.40, *NFC* 468.101, Lahert 1956, 1, 2, 4, 6, *O'Kelly* 145, 146), (ii) a graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 248123, 138978, *SMR*: KK 031-00402, *OSNB*(21), *OSL(KK)* 93, *OSM(KK)* 38, *Carrigan NB* 74.216, *Carrigan IV* 35, *NFCS* 852.293), (iii) a stone cross (*Nat.Grid*: 248126, 138992, *SMR*: KK 031-00303, *OSL(KK)* II 92, *OSM(KK)* 38, Moran 1874-9, 14, *Carrigan IV* 35-37, *NFCS* 852.293, Lahert 1956, 4, 5, *O'Kelly* 146, *Shell Guide Harb.* 209) and situated a short distance to the north-west of the well is Dunnamaggan R.C. Chapel (*Nat.Grid*: /-, *Aher Clem.* R42, Lewis I 476, *Carrigan NB* 137.117, *Carrigan IV* 83).

To summarise, the well is located 'midway between the present and old churches of Dunnamaggan' (*Carrigan NB* 6.40), 'between the churchyard and the Catholic church' (*Shell Guide Killanin* 314), 'a short distance from the cemetery' (O'Dwyer 8).

Ger Mullally of Kilree states that it is still known as 'St. Leonard's Well' locally. It is in Ned Kirwan's field, The Well Field, beside the river. It is a circular, well-preserved well which is around 2 yards in diameter and is surrounded by trees. The bank of land is around 30 yards

in diameter. There is a stile over a wall to get into the field. The well is now a hole in the ground with ground earth around it. It may be viewed from the house entrance and from the road. There are low stones around it, the stones being just the height of the water which flows underground to the river. Water is taken from the well at Easter time only. It had been in a dilapidated condition but was restored. It used to be deep but on reconstruction stones were dropped into it for safety reasons around ten years ago.

Kathleen Kirwan speaks of the pathway into it and of the fencing around it to protect it from animals. She also, without being prompted, refers to St. Leonard's statue. A small pink-coloured gate leads into the well. Clear water is visible in Summer time and water from springs and surface water gathers in the enclosed pond which contains the well during wet times of the year.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr. + chapel), it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Trees 3.12.6, Crosses 5.6, Effigies/Statues 6.3, Rath/Moats 7.4, it has many rituals (Rituals 2.6, 3.2, 4.3, 12.9, 13.7, 14.2, 17.6) and legends (Legends 16.4.2, 16.10.2, 16.25.7, 16.29.1, 16A8, 21.3, 24.2) pertaining to it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag. 5.6) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

65. St. Patrick's Well (NFCS 860.116)

tld: Earlsbog Commons, *p*: Gowran, *cp*: Gowran, *bar*: Gowran, [*OS* 20], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-
Popularity: 0, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 17 March, No local form.

Documented references

NFCS 860.72, 116, 169, 170

Topographical details but no well site

No well or spring is marked in Earlsbog Commons on any of the Ordnance Survey maps. Part of the townland is, however, marked 'Liable to Floods' (*EI*(25)). Mary Phelan of adjoining Castle Ellis relates that much of the land from the bog has been reclaimed by local farmers in the last twenty years and that the river used to flood the whole common in winter rendering it a shaky bog, there having been access to it only during the summer months. She also relates that her father, Pat Phelan, who died aged seventy one in 1971, recalled that up to twenty homesteads occupied the common during his youth, there only having been one remaining during her youth some fifty five years ago. She does not recall any tradition of a well in the locality.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it has not been located, it may have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it had a ritual (Ritual 12.10) and legends (Legends 10.1, 16.35.1, 16A9) associated with it and no spoken form has been obtained locally. The name was of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.1).

66. Tobermogue (*EI(6)*), Tobar Modhomhnóg (Oilithir) (well of St. Modhomhnóg)
tld: Ennisnag, *p*: Ennisnag, *cp*: Danesfort, *bar*: Shillelogher, *OS* 27, *Nat. Grid*: 252287, 144094, *SMR*: KK 027-019, Map 1.66, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 14 February, former pattern days: the first Sunday of August, Fig. 30, 31, Date of visit: 19/3/2016, Local form: The Pump (Donal Sheridan, Ennisnag).

Documented references

OSNB(46), (47), *OSFP*, *EI(6)*, Shearman 1878, 365, *Loc.Pat.* 351, *Carrigan NB* 27.22, *Carrigan NB* 47.75, *Carrigan NB* 66.58, *Carrigan NB* 67.65, *Carrigan NB* 97.24, 253, *Carrigan III* 374, *OSFM(KK)* 8989A, B, *E2(6)*, *E2(25)*, *Fest.Lugh.* 41, 646, 647, *KP* 29/9/1967, *O'Kelly* 182, p10, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*, *O'Reilly* 2015, 56

Additional locational details and former well description

The well was situated in the south-eastern part of the townland, a short distance to the north-west of Ennisnag Bridge (*EI(6)*), 'where the road crosses the King's River' (*Fest.Lugh.* 646) in the vicinity of the site of the old Parish Church, 'taken down about 1820, to supply materials for the present Protestant Church' (*Carrigan III* 374) (*Nat.Grid*: 252530, 143977, *SMR*: KK 027-02001, *OSL(KK)* 275, *Loc.Pat.* 351, *Fest.Lugh.* 647, *O'Kelly* 182, *O'Reilly* 2015, 57) and adjoining graveyard *Nat.Grid*: 252535, 143970, *SMR*: KK 027-02002, *OSL(KK)* I 275, *OSM(KK)* 55, *Carrigan NB* 1.175, *Carrigan III* 374), 'about 300 yards north [-west] of the churchyard' (*Carrigan III* 374; *O'Reilly* 2015, 57).

Donal Sheridan of Ennisnag relates that the well-water issued from a rock, that it was situated on the brow of a hill on the public road to Kilkenny near the public house and old church, that locals used to get water from it until 1970, that a pump with a concrete base was erected here by the County Council in 1948, that it was stolen around ten years ago, that it was retrieved thereafter only to be stolen again at which point the Council put a slab over it for safety reasons. The well was originally around 4 feet deep. A small rectangular slab just in off the road behind where the pump was has the words 'Site of Tobermogue, St. Mogue's Well' inscribed on it.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its location and description is based on memory only, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + gr.), the well-name was of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.16) and it now has a de-onomised spoken form only (Onom.4B2).

67. Tubbernacrusha (*Carrigan IV 124*), Tobar na Croise (well of the Cross)

tld: Farrantemple, *p*: The Rower, *cp*: Inistioge, *bar*: Ida, [*OS 33*], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 033-043, generated co-ordinates: 270967, 134415, Map 3.67, Popularity: 1, possible former pattern days: 15 August, Sunday after 3 May or Sunday after 14 September (Exaltation or Invention of Cross not specified), Local form: The Well Field (Matt Crotty, The Rower).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 61.47, *Carrigan NB 66.77*, *Carrigan NB 67.8*, *Carrigan NB 94.65*, *Carrigan IV 126*, *O’Kelly 121*, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 22, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and possible well site

Farrantemple is situated to the north of the Rower village and the well would appear to have been located near the south-eastern part of the townland some 200 yards to the north-east of the church (teampall, < Fearann an Teampaill) (*Nat.Grid*: 270871, 134134, *SMR*: KK 033-03201, vicarie parrochialis ecclesie Beate Marie de Rour, *Ann.Oss.* 30.98 (1498), the parish church of Rowr, *CPL XVIII 769* (1507), a Church in Rower, *Otway Vis.* 16 (1781), ‘the original Parish Church stood in the village of the Rower...its site is occupied by a modern Protestant Church’, *OSL(KK) II 157*, *OSM(KK) 122, 123*, *Carrigan NB 61.46*, *Carrigan IV 124*, *O’Kelly 121*) and (ii) adjoining graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 270871, 134134, *SMR*: KK 033-03202, *OSFP*, *Carrigan IV 124, 126*, *NFCS 847.167*).

Matt Crotty of The Rower indicates its probable location on the Ordnance map – in a small, rectangular-shaped 1.049 acre field (*EI(25)*) (part of the larger 4.300 acre field to its east would appear to have been formerly a part of The Well Field, according to *EI(6)*). The well would appear to have been located near its eastern border. Matt relates that according to local folklore, ‘the well was protected at one stage with a metal railway in the early 20th century approximately’. Andrew Jones is the current landowner. Matt also relates that ‘a Protestant Rectory was built adjacent to and due west of the well’, that ‘during the 20th century the rectory became the Catholic Curacy before coming into private ownership around 1970’ and ‘that the spring well may (then) have been subject to drainage works’.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its location and description is based on tradition and on the documented evidence, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. + gr.), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Crosses 5.6, the well-name was not of hagiographical origin and it currently has a de-onomised spoken form only (Onom.4B3).

68. Tubber Finnawn (*Carrigan* II 101), Tobar Fhionnáin (well of St. Finnian of Clonard)
tld: Finnan, *p*: Donaghmore, *cp*: Ballyragget, *bar*: Fassadinan, [*OS* 5], *Nat. Grid*: 246650, 171820, *SMR*: KK 005-063004, Map 1.68, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 12 December, Local form: The Monastery Well (David Thorpe, Billy Brophy, Finnan).

Documented references

OSFP, *Carrigan NB* 26.5, *Carrigan NB* 27.52, *Carrigan NB* 74.20, *Carrigan NB* 97.200, *Carrigan* II 101, *Carrigan* IV 432, *O'Kelly* 39, Lyng 1984, 106, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 18, 19, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and details concerning the former well

The well was located in a square-shaped 3.421 acre field (*EI*(25)) near the eastern boundary of the townland near which is shown a 'Lime Kiln' (*EI*(25)) and the new road (upper road) to Castlecomer and the lower old road to the same location. The well is in the immediate vicinity of Kill-Finnawn ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 246650, 171820, *SMR*: KK 005-06301, *Carrigan NB* 87.81, *Carrigan* II 101, *O'Kelly* 39) and graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 246650, 171820, *SMR*: KK 005-06303, *RMPKK*).

David Thorpe (aged 65-70) confirms that the well is no longer to be seen, that he remembers water flowing out on to new road to Castlecomer from the Monastery Field up to the late 1950s when the field was reclaimed, that the flow of water was a mere 100 yards from his house and only 20 feet from the edge of the road, that Gerard Brennan (now deceased) used to own the land in question, that Billy Brophy is the current owner and that there is now a manhole on the road side of the ditch.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its former location and description is based on memory, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it had a ritual (Ritual 2A11) and legends (Legends 16.15.3, 22.2) pertaining to it, the well was formerly the bearer of more than one name, one of which was of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.10) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

69. Nanny's Well or St. Anne's (O'Kelly 35)

tld: Firoda Lower, *p*: Castlecomer, *cp*: Castlecomer, *bar*: Fassadinan, [OS 5], *Nat. Grid*: /-,
SMR: KK 005-038, Map 3.69, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 26 July, no former pattern day recorded, Local forms: Nanny's Well, St. Anne's Well (Michael Walsh, Firoda).

Documented references

O'Kelly 35, NMS, ASI

There is no evidence to hand to suggest that there was an ecclesiastical site or graveyard in the townland (*per SMR*).

Additional locational details and well description

He has indicated the well's location on the Ordnance map – it is situated in the south-eastern section of the townland, to the west of a small wooded area in the western part of adjoining Kiltown, in the north-eastern section of a swampy 1.770 acre field (*EI(25)*), to the east of an old gravel pit (*EI(25)*) and Lime Kiln (*EI(25)*) and in the immediate vicinity of an old Foot Bridge (*EI(25)*) under which flows the Deen into Castlecomer.

Michael informs me that it was 'a massive spring, seven feet deep and that the Corporation have tied it to the Castlecomer water supply'.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it does not appear to have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu, the well-name appears to be of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.2) and both Nanny's Well and St. Anne's Well are still in use locally (Onom.4E).

70. Thubberchooann (*Carrigan IV 91*), Tobar Chuáin (well of St. Cuán)

tld: Flemingstown, *p*: Kilcoan, *cp*: Glenmore, *bar*: Iverk, [*OS 41*], *Nat. Grid*: 265297, 124574, *SMR*: KK 041-015002, Map 1.70, Feastday and possible former pattern days: unknown, Local form: St. Kwan's Well (Tom Mullally, Busherstown).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 6.49, *Carrigan NB 67.15*, 49, *Carrigan NB 97.358*, *Carrigan IV 91*, 432, *NFCS 845.9*, 10, *O'Kelly 109*, *Ó Riain Saints 240*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-eastern portion of the townland (cf. Tobermurry, *tld*: Flemingstown), a short distance to the east of Mullinavat, on the north-western outskirts of Glenmore and within 'a quarter of a mile' of Kilcoan Church site (*NFCS 845.50*) (*Nat.Grid*: 265166, 125389, *SMR*: KK 00101, *OSL(KK) II 176*, *OSM(KK) 126*, Farrell 1874-9, 202, *Carrigan NB 32.170*, *Carrigan IV 91*, *NFCS 845.50*, *O'Kelly 109*) and one-time graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 265166, 125389, *SMR*: KK 00102, *Carrigan IV 91*, *NFCS 845.9*, *ITAS(KK) Glenmore*, Form A, page 2).

Pat Fitzgerald relates that an old sceach is situated near the spring in which there is no great flow of water, that there are a few stones scattered around it and that it is now somewhat neglected given that animal-stock render the ground around it uneven.

Tom Mullally (aged 80-85) of nearby Busherstown collects well-water from here each year as Easter approaches, the water being blessed at the Easter ceremonies on Easter Saturday night at Glenmore Church and being stored thereafter with water from other wells in the parish for religious ceremonies for the coming year.

The land around the well is boggy and is situated in an area known as The Sruhawns (< srutháin/streamlets). Pat Fitzgerald owns the land in question and his neighbour, Thomas Mullins (aged 50-55), relates that it is fenced off and describes the plot of land with the spring in view as 'no man's land'.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + former gr.), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.5) and it currently has a de-onomised spoken form only (Onom.4C).

The annual ritual performed by Tom Mullally above is also noticed here.

71. Tobermurry (*EI(6)*), Tobar Mhuire (well of Our Lady)

tld: Flemingstown, *p*: Kilcoan, *cp*: Glenmore, *bar*: Iverk, *OS* 41, *Nat. Grid*: 265351, 124589, *SMR*: KK 041-015001, Map 1.71, Popularity: 1, Feastdays: 15 August, 8 September, no former pattern day recorded, Fig. 32, 33, Date of visit: 20/3/2016, Local form: Tobar a Mhuire [*sic*] (Thomas Mullens, Dick Duggan, Flemingstown).

Documented references

OSL(KK), II 176, *OSM(KK)* 126, *OSFP*, *EI(6)*, Farrell 1874-9, 201, 202, *Carrigan NB* 6.145, *Carrigan NB* 33.170, *Carrigan NB* 61.55, *Carrigan NB* 67.14, 15, 49, 50, *Carrigan IV* 91, *Carrigan NB* 97.358, *NFCS* 854.10, 50, *ITAS(KK)*, Glenmore, Form A, page 4, *O'Kelly* 109, *Discov.Ser.* S 654246, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located 'about a quarter of a mile to the south' of Kilcoan Church site (*NFCS* 845.50) (cf. Thubberchooann, *tld*: Flemingstown), near this last-mentioned well, in the north-eastern part of a 1.467 acre field (*EI(25)*), which field lies between two larger fields (3.832 acres and 3.760 acres).

Patrick Fitzgerald owns The Bog Field in which Tobar Mhuire is situated. It is a wet patch of land on the edge of the road and up to 50 years ago the well used to bubble up from the ground just inside the road. It was 2 feet deep under ground and has a little concrete tank around 1 foot high around it. Several local people used to use the water for domestic purposes and local farmers used to stop here to replenish their cows and horses. Water now comes from inside the ditch by way of the aforementioned tank which supplies water to the village of Glenmore. Steps lead down into the well and it has a ditch or fence around it. Dick Duggan (aged 80-85) of Flemingstown describes it as a small square well with a square stone wall around it. It is around 6 feet deep and the source comes from a spring across the road which flows into it by way of an underground pipe. It is reached by way of a narrow entrance in from the road. The actual well is not now in view but is situated only 10-15 feet from the road coming from Ballybrophy on the left hand side before a T junction. Tom Mullally (aged 80-85) of nearby Busherstown brings water from here each year to be blessed at the Easter ceremonies on Easter Saturday night at Glenmore Church along with bottled water from the other holy wells of the parish of Glenmore.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + former gr.), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.1.4, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

The annual ritual performed by Tom Mullally above is also noticed here.

72. Sruthán na Ceárdcha (*Carrigan II 199*)

recte **Sruth Áth na Ceárdcha** (stream of the ford of the forge)

tld: Foulksrath, *p*: Coolcraheen, *cp*: Connahy, *bar*: Fassadinan, [OS 10], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /- generated co-ordinates: 245681, 166463, Map 3.72, Popularity: 0, no former pattern day recorded, No local form.

Documented references

Carrigan II 199, O'Kelly 37

Additional locational details and former well site

The well was located between the old landmark called George's Tree (*E2(6)*) and Jenkinstown Post Office (*E2(6)*), some distance to the south-east of Foulksrath Castle (*Nat.Grid*: 246231, 166682; *SMR*: KK 010-05601; Mease 1850, 469, *Carrigan II 199* (now An Óige Hostel), *O'Kelly 37*; *McCheane 39*; *Shell Guide Harb. 67*), near the south-western part of the townland 'where the gullet crosses the little stream running from Foulksrath to Clintstown' (*Carrigan II 199*), just outside a 2.879 acre field (*E1(25)*) where 'Smithy' or forge is also marked on the same map, the probable location of Sruth ('stream') Áth ('of the ford') na Ceárdcha ('of the forge').

Milo Maher (75-80) of adjoining Clintstown assures me that 'the smithy does not exist' now.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it has not been located, it does not appear to have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu, the well-name was not of hagiographical origin and no spoken form/local reference has been secured.

73. St. Scoheen's Well (EI(6)) (well of St. Scoithín)

tld: Freneystown, *p*: Tiscoffin, *cp*: Windgap, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 15, *SMR*: KK 015-030006, generated co-ordinates: 259719, 159339, Map 3.73, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 7 January, Local form: The Well (John Nolan, Pat Fitzgerald, Freneystown).

Documented references

OSNB(40), *OSL*(KK) I 222, *OSM*(KK) 155, *OSFP*, *EI*(6), *Graves Patrons* 4, *Carrigan NB* 29.155, *Carrigan NB* 70.202, *Carrigan NB* 74.193, *Carrigan NB* 97.226, *Carrigan III* 361, *Shell Guide Killanin* 302, *O'Kelly* 97, *Discov.Ser. S* 597594, *Clara Hist.* 16, 17, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the south-eastern part of a small .683 acre field (*EI*(25)) to the east of Freneystown village and in the western vicinity of the site of Tiscoffin Church (*Nat.Grid*: 259785, 159337, *SMR*: KK 015-03001, *OSNB*(39), *OSL*(KK) I 222, *OSM*(KK) 154, 155, *Carrigan NB* 74.193, *E2*(6), *Carrigan III* 361, *O'Kelly* 361), beside the graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 259790, 159340, *SMR*: KK 015-03002, *OSNB*(39), *OSL*(KK) I 222, *OSM*(KK) 155, *Graves Patrons* 4, *Carrigan III* 361, *Shell Guide Killanin* 302, 'on the roadside underneath the boundary wall of the churchyard' (*Carrigan III* 361) and to the east of another Church (in ruins) (*Nat.Grid*: 259697, 159367, *SMR*: KK 015-03004, *OSNB*(40), 'the present church of Tascoffin, near Freneystown' (Hogan 1884, 54, *Carrigan NB* 70.202, *Carrigan III* 361, *O'Kelly* 97).

Tom Nolan (aged 80-85) confirms that 'the well is still there', that it is circular, that it is on the roadside, that it is built into part of the cemetery wall, that it is around 2½ feet up from the ground, about 2 feet in diameter, that the wall is also north of the well, that it is close to the gate of the little-used graveyard as one exits from it to the left hand side and that local people used to arrive here with buckets up to around 40 years ago to bring the water home for personal use.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + ch. in ruins + gr.), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees

3.5, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.23), it has toponymical evidence to corroborate it, and it has a spoken form still in use (the hagiographical name-form).

74. Angel's Well (Hogan 1884, 262) alias **Blackabbey Well** (Hogan 262) alias **St. Dominic's Well** (2016)

tld: Gardens, *p*: St. Canice's, *cp*: St. Canice's, *bar*: Kilkenny, [*OS* 19], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /- co-ordinates of Blackabbey: 250287, 156112, Map 4.74, Popularity: 2, Feastday: 8 August, Fig. 43, 44, Date of visit: 2/7/2016, Local forms: Angel's Well, Blackabbey Well, St. Dominic's Well (Joseph Kavanagh, O.P., Blackabbey; Ann Walsh, Rioch Court, Kilkenny).

Documented references

Hogan 1883, 5, Hogan 1884, 253, 262, 400, Sparks & Bligh 1926, 44, *NFCS* 855.407, *NFCS* 856.199, Fitzgerald 2005, 381, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 24

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in a garden at the bottom of Abbey Street, 'inside the Park, opposite the Dominican Convent' (Sparks & Bligh 1926, 44) and close to the eastern gable of the former choir of the Black Abbey (Hogan 1884, 262).

Joseph Kavanagh, O.P., confirms that in Abbey Street, just outside the church and Priory, is a garden and at the eastern side or corner of it at Friar's Bridge is a statue of St. Dominic which is situated around 10 yards from the well, the well being visible through railings. It is located right up against a house in Abbey Street and has steps down into it. It contains a little enclosure and has a small Celtic cross over it, the base or bottom of the well being somewhat silty and muddy. Ann Walsh of nearby Rioch Court relates that the well was in the back garden of her maternal grandmother, a Mrs. Phelan (presumably the house mentioned above). She blesses herself while passing on the street outside when the neglected little well in the closed little garden comes into view.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. + priory + convent), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Crosses 5.7, it is the bearer of three names, one of which is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.23) and the three spoken forms still exist locally (Onom.4E).

75. St. Canice's Well (EI(6))

tld: Gardens, *p*: St. Canice's, *cp*: St. Canice's, *bar*: Kilkenny, *OS* 19, *Nat. Grid*: 249992, 155994, *SMR*: KK019-024, Map 4.75, Popularity: 3, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 11 October, Fig. 45, 46, Date of visit: 20/3/2016, Local form: Kenny's Well (John Hackett, Kennyswell; Aidan Brennan, St. Canice's Steps).

Documented references

Gilbert Mss. lxxii, No. 2 (1244-50), *De Praesul.Hib.* I 368, *Ledwich Ir.Kilk.*533, *St. Canice's Marr.* (Pat Butler, Mary Kealy, 3/6/1832), *OSNB*(48), *OSFP*, *EI*(6), Hall II 1842, 23, *St. Canice's Marr.* (Martin Ryan, Betty Fogarty, 24/9/1844), *JRSAI* 1 Part II 1850, 264, 265, *St. Canice's Bapt.* (Michael Reade, 28/11/1860), *St. Canice's Bapt.* (Joan Shortal, 30/3/1874), *O'Hanlon Saints X* 163, *St. Canice's Marr.* (Bridget Deering, Michael Cranny, 5/2/1877), *St. Mary's Marr.* (Patrick Houghney, Judith Cahill, 1/11/1881), Hogan 1884, 41, 253, 257, 259, 260, 366, Egan 1884, 232, Bassett 1884, 39, 81, 83, 85, *Carrigan III* 190, *EI*(25), *Carrigan NB* 45.85, 86, *Carrigan NB* 48.9, *Carrigan NB* 97.28, Sparks & Bligh 1926, 44, 45, *NFC* 468.95, *NFCS* 855.155, 156, 374, *NFCS* 856.79, 198, 199, 237, *OSFM*(KK) 8803, *E2*(25), Walters 1953, 39, Phelan 1959, 31, 40, Sparks 1960, 32, 33, 34, 35, *O'Kelly* 20, Fenning 1975, 3, 4, Smithwick 1988, 526, 527, Carroll 1999, 23, 80, 81, Bradley 2000, 10, Fitzgerald 2002, 82, 83, 84, 87, Fitzgerald 2005, 378, 379, Tynan 2006, 91, 92, 93, Fenning 2009, 151, 152, *Ó Riain Saints* 138, Farrell 2014, 171, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located 'on the verge of the city' (*O'Hanlon Saints X* 163), 'a short distance from the Cathedral' (Hall II 23 (1842)), 'at the foot of Crokershill' (Hogan 1883, 8, 9, Egan 232), 'on the brink of the Bregach River' (Hogan, *op.cit.*), 'a few hundred yards south-west of the Black Abbey' (*Carrigan III* 190, *NFCS* 855.155, *NFCS* 856.237) and 'beside Blackmill street' (*NFCS* 856.198). There is a strong flow of water here into a rectangular trough and an open gully to a stream nearby. The basin of the well is visible and the whitewashed well-house door may be seen from the gully. It is known locally as Kennyswell and has given its

name to Kennyswell Road, an address-name which has been in common usage since the 1840s.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (cathedral), it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Well House 2.3 and Crosses 5.8, it has rituals (Rituals 2A2, 2.11, 17.7) and legends (Legends 16.36.1, 16A10, 23.1) pertaining to it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.3.2) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

76. St. Francis Well (Hogan 1884, 261; *Carrigan* III 110)

tld: Gardens, *p*: St. Canice's, *cp*: St. Canice's, *bar*: Kilkenny, *OS* 19, *Nat. Grid*: 250335, 156114, *SMR*: KK 019-026022, Map 4.76, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 4 October, Local forms: St. Francis Well, The Well (Paddy Neary, Wolfe Tone Street; Keith O'Dwyer, Brewery Information Centre; Seamus Fahy, St. Francis Terrace).

Documented references

Anal.Hib. 6.83 (1617), *The Franciscan Tertiary*, Vol. 6, No. 7, page 194, *Ledwich Ir.Kilk.* 537, *Mon.Hib.* 375, *Grose* I (1791), 36, *Stat.Sur.(KK)*, 120, Carlisle, *Lewis* II 115, *OSNB(2)*, Hogan 1876, 177, Hogan 1883, 3, 13, Hogan 1884, 253, 261, *Carrigan* III 111, *NFC* 468.95, 96, *OSFM(KK)* 8805, *OKR* 14 1962, 58, Fitzgerald 2005, 380, 381, MacMahon 2012, 34, Keane 2013, 156, *NMS, ASI*, O'Keefe 2016, 37, 38

Additional locational details and former well description

The well was located 'on the grounds of the present Smithwick's Brewery' (Fitzgerald 2005, 380), in the north-eastern part of the medieval Hightown, 'in the garden behind the Abbey' [St. Francis Abbey] (Hogan 1861, 351), 'near the infirmary of the monastery' (*Mon.Hib.* 375 (1786), *OSNB(2)*), 'between the chancel and the River Nore' (*OKR* 14 1962, 58). It is now underneath one of the brewery buildings, about 45 yards to the north-east of the friary.

Paddy Neary (aged 70-75) of nearby Wolf Tone Street, who worked in the brewery during the period 1958-1999, relates that the well was situated in the open air until the early 1970s. It was located in Stallard's Orchard very near the Nore and when the brewery secured this site for expansion purposes, the orchard was to be no more and the well was subsequently 'in-house' in a part of the then newly-expanded building where it was used as a coolant until 2013. Up to the 1970s, the well outside was circular, pond-like in appearance, with a little stone wall, around 1½ feet high, around it. It contained a huge amount of water and its diameter was around 15 feet. A concrete floor was put in the new expanded area in 1977 where the preserved site of the well was used as a cegging area and coolant with a pumphouse nearby, its overflow being still visible in 2013.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its former location and description is remembered by a few former employees of the old brewery, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (abbey ruins), it had rituals (Rituals 12.12, 17.8) and a legend (Legend 16A11) attaching to it, the well-name was of hagiographical origin (Hag.5.9) and its hagiographical name-form is still remembered by certain staff members of the aforementioned brewery.

77. St. Kieran's Well (Hogan 1884, 253)

tld: Gardens, *p*: St. Mary's, *cp*: St. Mary's, *bar*: Kilkenny, [OS 19], *Nat. Grid*: /-, co-ordinates of Kytler's Inn: 250586, 155983, Map 2.77, 4.77, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 5 March, Fig. 51, 52, Date of visit: 11/7/2016, Local form: The Flagstones (Richard Condren, Kytler's Inn).

Documented references

IMED 309 (1260), *CDI* II 140.861 (31/12/1269), Graves & Prim 1857, 31, Hogan 1861, 352, Hogan 1876, 100, 114, 176, 177, 212, 213, 214, *Loc.Pat.* 281, Hogan 1884, 50, 253, 254, 256, 393, 407, *Carrigan* III 103, 104, 173, *Onom.Goed.* 639 b, Sparks & Bligh 1926, 22, 23, *NFCS* 856.266, *OSFM(KK)* 8822, Kenealy 1965, 30, Lanigan & Tyler 1977, 78, *Shell Guide Harb.* 215, O'Carroll 2004, 15, Fitzgerald 2005, 378, Bradley 2009, 22

Additional locational details and The Flag Stones

The well has now been covered and 'is buried beneath the modern city of Kilkenny' (Fitzgerald 2005, 378). It would appear to have been in Kieran Street, perhaps 'behind Kyteler's Inn' (Bradley 2009, 22) or 'beside Kyteler's Inn' (*Shell Guide Harb.* 215), 'midway between the Bregach [River] and the castle'. We learn that 'at the rear of Kyteler's Inn, quite close to the well, is the old courtyard' (O'Carroll 2004, 15) and that the well lay 'east of the house in the courtyard' (Lanigan & Tyler 1977, 78).

Nicola Flynn of Kyteler's Inn refers to the garden at the back of her premises which is now a courtyard and over to the left hand side of the courtyard are two adjoining flagstones, now of ornamental value, which serve as an indication of the well's location, the garden having extended down to the river. The two wells were located beside one another until the summer of 2013 when the flags now covering them near the back entrance of the courtyard/smoking area of the eaterie/pub were laid during renovation. The two wells were circular in shape, they were 3½ - 4 feet above the ground and contained water only during wet weather. They were located around 1½ feet from each other and the current stonework now covering them is of 'fancy brick' variety.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, there is a memory of a well having been here, it was not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it had legends associated with it (Legends 16A 12, 23.2), it was formerly the bearer of two names (Onom.2), the more commonly-documented one having been of hagiographical origin (Hag.3.3) and the current spoken form may be a de-nomised one (depending on the probable equation of The Flag Stones with St. Kieran's Well) (Onom.4B3).

78. St. Mary's Well (Hogan 1884, 260)

tld: Gardens, *p*: St. Mary's, *cp*: St. Mary's, *bar*: Kilkenny, [OS 19], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, co-ordinates of nearby St. Mary's Church: 250662, 155841, Map 4.78, Popularity: 0, Feastdays: 15 August, 8 September, No local form.

Documented references

Lib.Prim.Kilk. 154 (1312), *EI(6)*, Hogan 1883, 3, 12, 13, Hogan 1884, 253, 407, Sparks & Bligh 1926, 44, *NFCS* 857.423, Kenealy 1965, 25, 26, Fitzgerald 2005, 378

Additional locational details and possible well location

The well is supposed to have been located 'at the foot of the hill on which the English colonists built St. Mary's Church' in the thirteenth century (Hogan 1884, 261, Sparks & Bligh 1926, 44, Fitzgerald 2005, 378), somewhere 'in High Street' (*NFCS* 857.423) and near 'King Street' (Hogan 1884, 261, Kenealy 1965, 25), now Kieran Street.

Evelyn Graham, an architect with the local Heritage Council speaks of St. Mary's Church on the high hilltop of Hightown/High Street, the foundations of which were filled in, the archaeological and architectural details of which (and contemporary graveyard and funerary monuments) are described in a 60 page Conservation Plan (2005) which bears no reference to a holy well. Evelyn states that it may have been located on the lower level near St. Kieran's Street parallel to the church and High street.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, its former location is unknown, it appears to have been located, however, in an ecclesiastical milieu (old ch. + funerary monuments — Murphy 2017, 190), it had a legend connected with it (Legend 16A 13), the documented well-name was of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1) and no current spoken form or reference has been secured.

79. Garryduff Holy Well (NFCS 844.8) (St. Mark's Well)

tld: Garryduff, *p*: Owing, *cp*: Templeorum, *bar*: Iverk, [OS 35], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, generated co-ordinates: 247150, 128160, Map 3.79, Popularity: 1, Feastdays: 25 April, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Well (James Power, Garryduff).

Documented references

NFCS 841.119, 120, NFCS 844.8, 9, O'Shea 2014, 44, 92, 100

Additional locational details and former well description

The well was located a short distance to the north-east of Garryduff Cross Roads (*E2(6)*), to the north-west of Mullenbeg Creamery and Cross Roads (*E2(6)*), to the east of the road which runs through the old village of Garryduff; 'in a marshy spot beside [to the west of] the main road' (*NFCS 844.9*) and to the east of a 3.701 acre field (*E1(25)*).

James Power of Garryduff has kindly marked its exact location on the map. The portion of land in question is portrayed as being of a poor, marshy quality on *E2(6)*. The well is no longer to be seen. It was 'near the stream on the Garryduff side'. James also states that 'when we were young the old people of our family and the area said the water from that well was a cure for sore eyes, but that died out when the older people passed on'.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, its location is remembered locally, it does not appear to have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it had a locational characteristic in the form of Rath/Moats 7.5, it had a ritual (Ritual 17.9) and a legend (Legend 23.3) attaching to it, its name appears to have been of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.6) and its current spoken form is a de-onomised one only (Onom.4B2).

80. Tobera Choinee (*Carrigan NB 30.3*), Tobar Chainnigh (well of St. Canice)

tld: Garrygaug, *p*: Muckalee, *cp*: Templeorum, *bar*: Iverk, [*OS 39*], *Nat. Grid*: 252403, 126590, *SMR*: KK 039-010, Map 1.80, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 11 October, Local form: The Well Field (Mary Reid, Garrygaug; Mary O'Shea, Raheen).

Documented references

Moore 1874-9, 34, *Carrigan IV 235*, *Carrigan NB 30.3*, *Discov.Ser. S 524069*, O'Shea 1995, 42, 43, O'Shea 1999, *RMPKK*, O'Shea 2014, 77, *NMS, ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-western part of the townland near the Poulanassy River (*OSFP*) at a distance of '100 yards east of the church of Muckalee (*Carrigan IV 235*; O'Shea 1995, 42; O'Shea 1999; O'Shea 2014, 75, 95) and the adjoining graveyard (O'Shea 2014, 75, 95, 288) (cf. Toberacluggeen, *tld*: Milltown, which townland adjoins Garrygaug).

Mary Davis (aged 75-80) refers to The Muckalee Field and to The Well Field, the well or spring being located in the corner of the field 'going up by a ditch'. Up to around 2000 the well was springing up from the ground and cattle used to roam in its vicinity, following which Mary's son, Richard, put a round cement pipe over the well to keep it clean. It was 2 to 3 feet deep with the water coming to the top and flowing over its side. Now designated simply The Well, it was supposed to have supplied a cure for sore chests many years ago and her late husband used to take a bottle of water from it many decades ago while haymaking.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + gr.), it has many legends pertaining to it (Legends 16.7.1, 16.8.1, 16.9.1, 16.30.1), the well-name was of hagiographical origin (Hag.3.2) and its current spoken form is a deonomised one only (Onom.4B1).

81. Tobermamoinne (*EI(6)*), Tobar Moninne (well of St. Moninne)

tld: Glencommaun, *p*: Tullahought, *cp*: Windgap, *bar*: Kells, [*OS* 34], *Nat. Grid*: 243940, 128221, *SMR*: KK 034-034, Map 1.81, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 6 July, former pattern day: 1 May, Local form: Tobernanayne (Gerard Doyle, Curraghnadimpaun).

Documented references

OSNB(48), (51), *OSFP*, *OSM(KK)* 364, *Carrigan IV* 328, *Carrigan NB* 6.152, *Carrigan NB* 27.25, *Carrigan NB* 47.13, 143, 144, 160, *Carrigan NB* 66.50, *Carrigan NB* 67.59, *Carrigan NB* 97.339, *NFCS* 852.214, *ITAS(KK)*, Windgap, Form A, page 4, *RMPKK*, *Ó Riain Saints* 496, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the southern part of a 4.432 acre field (*EI(25)*) in the southern portion of the townland, just to the north of the north-eastern boundary of the adjoining townland of Bregaun, to the south-west of Tobermathulla and the western boundary of the adjoining townland of Beatin, ‘in the first field after passing Bregaun, and in the field next to the road to the west’ (*Carrigan NB* 6.152). The road from Tullahought to Owing lies to its east.

Gerard Doyle (aged 40-45) of adjoining Curraghnadimpaun relates that Aidan O’Brien, horse-trainer, owns the holy well field, while the Doyles (Gerard and his father, Eamonn) own the adjoining field. The well field here, like that of Tobermathulla (also owned by O’Brien) was reclaimed but unlike the case of Tobermathulla, it was locally remembered as having been holy and was not tampered with. The water of the well rises up out of a rock and is very clear. Stone-shaped stones lie around it and a flag is located over it. It is around 1 foot deep and has four trees around it. Gerard tentatively pronounced the name as Tobernanayne.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it has a locational characteristic in the form of Raths/Moats 7.6, it had rituals associated with it (Rituals 4.4, 17.10), it was formerly the bearer of two names (Onom.2), the more commonly-documented form being of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.19) and it has a spoken form (albeit a corrupted one) still in use (Onom.4F).

82. Tobermathulla (*EI(6)*), Tobar Mochuille (well of St. Mochuille)

tld: Glencommaun, *p*: Tullahought, *cp*: Windgap, *bar*: Kells, *OS* 34, *Nat. Grid*: 244153, 128361, *SMR*: KK 034-035, Map 1.82, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 12 June, possible former pattern day: 1 May, Local form: Tobernahulla (Gerard Doyle, Curragnadimpaun).

Documented references

OSNB(48), (49), (51), *OSM(KK)* 364, *OSFP*, *Carrigan NB* 6.153, *EI*(25), *Carrigan NB* 27.25, *E2*(6), *Carrigan IV* 328, *Carrigan NB* 47.13, 14, 143, 160, *Carrigan NB* 66.48, 50, *Carrigan NB* 67.58, 59, *Carrigan NB* 97.339, *NFCS* 852.214, *O'Kelly* 156, *Discov.Ser.* S 442283, *RMPKK*, *Ó Riain Saints* 474, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and former well description

The well was located in the south-western part of a long, narrow 1.951 acre field (*EI*(25)) in the south-eastern part of the townland, beside the western boundary of the adjoining townland of Beatin, a short distance to the north-east of Tobermamonine, ‘on Holden’s land’ (*NFCS* 852.214), ‘at east side of the road [from Tullahought to Owing]...on Bounds of Beating near the houses’ (*Carrigan NB* 6.153).

Gerard Doyle (aged 40-45) of adjoining Curragnadimpaun informs me that nobody in the vicinity currently uses Glencommaun as a postal-address but that he and his father, Eamonn, own land there as does the Ballydoyle horse-trainer, Aidan O’Brien. The well was situated in a swampy field on the roadside but lost its shape, was flattened some twenty years ago, the field being subsequently drained by O’Brien, by having big concrete drainage pipes inserted therein. The well, as a result, has disappeared and the field is used for silage for horses. Gerard Doyle refers to the well as Tobernahulla and can point to its former approximate location within the field. Neither he nor his father recall any sacred character attaching to it.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its former location is remembered, it was not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.15) and it has a corrupted spoken form someway reflective of this still in use (Onom.4F).

83. Toberkyle (*E1(6)*), Tobar Coill (well of the hazel tree)

tld: Gorteen, *p*: Powerstown, *cp*: Graiguenamanagh, *bar*: Gowran, *OS 25, Nat. Grid*: 268247, 149388, *SMR*: KK 025-021, Map 1.83, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Well (Ned Moran, Skeaghvasteen; Michael Maloney, Gorteen).

Documented references

OSNB(16), (37), *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *E1(25)*, *E2(6)*, *O'Kelly* 89, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser. S* 683494, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and former well description

The well was located in the south-eastern part of the townland, on the road from Graiguenamanagh to Goresbridge, 'south of the road from Sceach R.C. chapel' (*O'Kelly* 89) *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *E2(6)*, *O'Kelly* 89) (*tld*: Tomnahaha) and to the north of Skeagh old post office (*tld*: Boherkyle) and an old school house (*tld*: Curraghlane).

Ned Moran (aged 70-75) states that the well, which is no longer to be seen, was situated in The Bog Field beside a ditch around 10 yards distant from the roadside. The well water in this one-time stone-lined well was used by local inhabitants for domestic purposes up to around sixty years ago as well as by students of the local National School during Ned's school days. It flowed into the ditch but thereafter disappeared when an open drain was placed beside the ditch. Former owners of the land include the Kehoe family and a Michael Maloney now has it rented from a Mr. Murphy.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its former location is remembered, it was not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it had a locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.9.1, the well-name was not of hagiographical origin and its present spoken form is a de-onomised one only (*Onom.4B2*).

84. Tobernasool (*OSM(KK)* 8), Tobar na Súil (well of the eyes)

tld: Gorteennamuck, *p*: Coolcashin, *cp*: Lisdowney, *bar*: Galmoy, [*OS* 8], *Nat. Grid*: 233890, 169320, *SMR*: KK 008-133, Map 1.84, Popularity: 2, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: Tobar na Súil (Pat O’Loughlin, Joan O’Loughlin, Gorteennamuck).

Documented references

OSL(KK) I 156, *OSM(KK)* 8, Moore 1874-9, 37, Hogan 1884, 251, 461, *Carrigan NB* 26.61, *Carrigan NB* 29.115, *Carrigan NB* 43.163, *Carrigan NB* 97.163, *Carrigan II* 299, *NFC* 468.93, *NFCS* 829.36, *NFCS* 830.159, 269, *NFCS* 868.141, *NFCS* 869.22, 23, 27, 227, 228, Lyng 1959, 25, 29, *O’Kelly* 62, Dowling 1978, 9, *RMPKK*, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 22, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located near the western boundary of the townland, a short distance to the south of the road which extends from Galmoy to Gathabawn, to the north-east of an old graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 232911, 169091, *SMR*: KK 008-08202, *OSNB*(1), *OSL(KK)* I 156, Moore 1874-9, 37, *Carrigan II* 299, *NFCS* 868.158, *O’Kelly* 62, Dowling 9) and ‘a quarter of a mile east of the old church’ (*Nat.Grid*: 232903, 169101, *SMR*: KK 008-08201, *Otway Vis.* 20, *Stat.Sur. (KK)* 609, *OSL(KK)* I 155, *OSM(KK)* 5, *Carrigan II* 298, 299, *ITAS(KK)* Johnstown, Form A, page 3, *O’Kelly* 62), near ‘the road which connects Creenkill Cross with that on the main road (Dublin to Cork) at Glashare’ (*NFCS* 868.414). The aforementioned distance of ‘a quarter of a mile’ is given in *OSL(KK)* I 156, *OSM(KK)* 8 and Moore 1874-9, 37.

Pat O’Loughlin (aged 75-80) and his wife, Joan, relate that it is situated in The Darnells Field, that it is almost circular, that it has an electric fence around it just in off the Gathabawn/Freshford road, that it is only around 1 foot deep, yet it never goes dry, that there are steps down into it, that a little stream flows out from it, that there are stones near the edge of the well, that a whitethorn tree with rags lies over it. People with sore eyes used to dip their hands in the water and make the sign of the Cross on the eyes three times.

In 2014 a small stone bridge was built 100 yards from the well. The spring rises near Gathabawn, flows down by Liam Brennan’s land, down by the main Cork-Dublin road and then into the River Goul. The Rock Road is only 100 yards distant from it.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (old ch. + gr.) it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Trees 3.6.1 and Raths/Moats 7.7, it has many rituals (Rituals 2.7, 2A13, 12.13, 13.8, 17.11, 18.7, 19.2, 20.7) and legends (Legends 9.1, 16.4.3, 16.21.1, 16.25.8, 21.4) pertaining to it, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and it has a spoken form still in use. It was formerly the bearer of two names (Onom.2).

85. Thibberawling (*Carrigan IV 149*), Tobar Álainn (lovely well)

tld: Graigavine, *p*: Clonmore, *cp*: Mooncoin, *bar*: Iverk, [*OS 42*], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, Map 3.85, Popularity: 2, former pattern day: Ascension Day, Local form: Tobar Álainn (Hew Bowers, Graigavine; Edward Brennan, Grange).

Documented references

Lewis I 373, *Bowers Transcripts 7, 8 (1850c.)*, *Carrigan NB 6.96*, *Carrigan NB 34.73*, *Carrigan NB 66.66*, *Carrigan IV 149*, *NFC 468.115*, *NFCS 840.173*, 174, 203, *NFCS 841.37*, *NFCS 846.36*, McDonald 1959, 75, Lucas 1963, 40, *RMPKK*, Murphy & Fripps 2001, 5, 13, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in a small .762 acre field (*E1(25)*) in the south-eastern part of the townland, a short distance to the south-east of Graigavine House (*E2(6)*) and to the east of old Emil village (*E1(6)*) within some 600 yards to the north of Killaspick Church ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 249933, 118941, *SMR*: KK 042-006001, *Carrigan NB 6.96*, *Carrigan IV 154*, ‘an old chapel 600 yards from it’ [the well], *NFCS 840.173*, 203) and graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 249933, 118941, *SMR*: KK 042-002002, *RMPKK*).

Nicola Bowers of Graigavine confirms that the well was remembered as having been holy and that ‘according to local folklore, its water had healing properties’. It is no longer situated on Bower’s land, Tom Quinn being the current landowner of where the well is located. She refers to the field as ‘Tuber Thomas’.

Edward Brennan of Grange refers to it as Tobar Álainn. He states that this is the more common appellation still and he has confirmed the well’s location on the Ordnance map.

Hew Bowers remembers that pilgrims used to visit the well regularly on Sundays up to around 1940. Prayers were said at the well which was fenced in to keep the cattle at bay. A hawthorn tree was situated beside it.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it has locational characteristics in the form of Trees 3.3.1, 3.12.7, it has many rituals (Rituals 1.5, 12.14, 13.9, 15.1, 17.12, 18.8, 20.8) and legends (Legends 16.1.2,

16.8.2, 16A14, 23.4, 25.2, 28.4), the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and it has a spoken form still in use.

86. Lady's Well (E1(6))

tld: Graiguenamanagh, *p*: Graiguenamanagh, *cp*: Graiguenamanagh, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 29, *Nat. Grid*: 270836, 143786, *SMR*: 029-018007, Map 1.86, Popularity: 1, Feastdays: 15 August, 8 September, 8 December (possible former pattern days), Local form: Lady Well (Colm Walsh, John Cushen, Graiguenamanagh).

Documented references

E1(6), *E1(25)*, *E2(6)*, *NFCS* 857.119, 423, Joyce 1993, 86, 192, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

While there is a certain paucity of documented evidence pertaining to the well-name, the hagiographical evidence of the patron saint in the locality is quite abundant:

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located to the north of High Street (*E1(6)*), a short distance to the west of Chapel Street (*E2(6)*) and Main Street (*E1(6)*) in the western vicinity of the Douskey River (*E2(6)*) and in the north-western vicinity of Duiske Abbey (*Nat.Grid*: 270984, 143746, *SMR*: KK 029-01801, in monasterio de Dowisky, *Duiske Chart.* 102, 103, 109 (1278), the monastery of St. Saviour's, alias of Dussque, *CPL* XV 439 (1489), *IMP* 193, 'a fine abbey', *Compleat Trav.* 76 (1788), *OSL(KK)* II 9, *OSM(KK)* 143, Egan 1884, 301, *Comerford Coll.* III 200, *Leask* II 86, *AA Road Bk.* 180, *Med.Rel.Ho.* 133, *Shell Guide Harb.* 198, *Nat.Mon.Harb.* 197, Meehan 2008, 348).

John Cushen refers to the Lady Well grotto and says that the real well lies around 9 feet from it in a field (The Minauns) across a pathway. It is now overgrown, behind a hedge and out of view. His brother, Philip, adds that the spring is piped across the pathway into the grotto and that there is now no indication of the well as such apart from the spring.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (nearby abbey + ch. + gr.), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

87. St. Bridget's Well (Murphy & Fripps 2001, 5)

tld: Grange, *p*: Pollrone, *cp*: Mooncoin, *bar*: Iverk, [OS 42], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 042-027, generated co-ordinates: 249900, 119023, Map 3.87, Popularity: 2, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 1 February, Local form: St. Bridget's Well (Edward Murphy, Grange).

Documented references

Bowers Transcripts 7 (1850c.), Murphy & Fripps 2001, 5, 6, 12, 13, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located to the north of Grange old village, to the east of Emil old village and to the east of Thibberawling (85) in the north-western part of a peculiarly-shaped 5.286 acre field (*E1(25)*) in which is located Killaspick Church ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 249933, 118941; *SMR*: KK 042-00201; *Aher Clem.* R40 (1818); *OSNB(22)*; *OSM(KK)* 395; *E1(6)*; Killinaspic, *Bowers Transcripts 2*; Kilaspic, *Ibid.* 6, Kilaspie, *Ibid.* 7, 9, 18, *Carrigan NB* 6.155; *Carrigan IV* 153, 154, Murphy & Fripps 2001, 11, 12, 13). Situated only a number of fields away to the south-east is another St. Bridget's Well (1) in the townland of Afaddy or Silverspring. Edward Murphy of Grange has kindly indicated the well's (*tld*: Grange) location on the map. Edward adds that it is a small well down in the bottom of the Church Field. It is a little opening or hole in the ground, while water springs up from the surface. It is located around 20 yards back from the River Pill, is about 4 ft square and 2 ft deep. It is now somewhat overgrown and beginning to lose its shape and was known locally as a cure for sore eyes.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in use, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins), it has a legend (Legend 16.25.9) associated with it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.2) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

88. Toberaphuicín (OSM(KK) 2) / St. Kieran's Well (Carrigan NB 43.161)

Tobar an Phúicín (well of the sprite)

tld: Grangefertagh, *p*: Fertagh, *cp*: Johnstown, *bar*: Galmoy, [OS 8], *Nat. Grid*: 250800, 169760, *SMR*: KK 008-047008, Map 1.88, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 5 March, Fig. 34, 35, Local forms: St. Kieran's Well, The Spring (William Nicholson, Richard Nicholson, Grangefertagh).

Documented references

OSL(KK) I 135, *OSM(KK)* 2, *OSFP*, Moore 1874-9, 36, Healy 1893, 221, *Carrigan NB* 28.24, 29, *Carrigan NB* 43.161, 188, *Carrigan NB* 97.135, *Carrigan II* 297, 298, *Carrigan IV* 433, *NFCS* 830.295, *NFCS* 868.167, *NFCS* 869.227, Lyng 1959, 25, 27, *O'Kelly* 60, Dowling 1978, 8, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-eastern part of the townland, a short distance to the south-east of Fertagh Bridge, to the north of Fertagh Round Tower (*Nat.Grid*: 230775, 169766, *SMR*: KK 008-04704, *ARE* II 1118 (1156), *Stat.Sur. (KK)* 631, *Lewis* I 613, *OSL(KK)* I 131, *OSM(KK)* 1, *Carrigan NB* 43.22, *Carrigan II* 291, *NFCS* 830.170, 312, 314, 316, 318, *O'Kelly* 60, *Shell Guide Harb.* 299, *Nat.Mon.Harb.* 198) and in the vicinity of Fertagh Priory (*Nat.Grid*: 230806, 169772, *SMR*: KK 008-04703, *IMP* 206, *Ware's Antiq.* 263, *OSL(KK)* I 140, *Carrigan II* 290, 292, 294, *NFCS* 829.59, *NFCS* 830.314, 317, 318, *Nat.Mon.Harb.* 198), (ii) Fertagh Church (*Nat.Grid*: 230806, 169772, *SMR*: /-, *IMP* 207, *Tenison Vis.* 53, Moran 1874-9, 35, *Loc.Pat.* 372, 378, *Carrigan NB* 43.160, 188, *Carrigan II* 293, *NFCS* 830.294, Dowling 7) and (iii) Fertagh graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 230806, 169771, *cimiterum, Inq.Lag.(CC)* 13 J1 (1615), *OSNB(11)*, *OSM(KK)* 1, *OSFP*, *NFCS* 868.158).

Brothers William and Nicholas Nicholson of Farrenmurray relate that the well, St. Kieran's Well, is situated on William's land, that it springs out of the ground some 5-10 yards from a ditch, that it now has no formation, that there is a square concrete tank around it in The Well Field to safeguard it from the growth of weeds, that there used to be an old gun barrel pipe with a pump and a concrete lid over it up to around ten years ago when a new pipe was laid in its place, that William still uses the water for farming purposes and that alder and spruce trees grow just outside the ditch in wet ground beside a Forestry area. Although the well-water is used for farming purposes, livestock are not allowed to roam near the well.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (nearby abbey ruins + gr.) it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.12.8, it has a legend (Legend 6) pertaining to it, it was formerly the bearer of two names (Onom.2), one of which is of hagiographical origin (Hag.3.3) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use (it also appears as a de-onomised form).

89. Tobernanaspog (*EI(6)*), Tobar na nEaspag (well of the bishops)

tld: Grangehill, *p*: Tiscoffin, *cp*: Clara, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 20, *Nat. Grid*: 259190, 156869, *SMR*: KK 020-019, Map 1.89, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Easpag Field (Matthew Corr, Grangehill).

Documented references

OSNB(27), (41), *OSFP*, *EI(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 29.155, *Carrigan NB* 42.14, *Carrigan NB* 55.103, *Carrigan NB* 70.201, *Carrigan NB* 85.70, *Carrigan NB* 97.229, *Carrigan NB* 137.49, *Carrigan III* 361, *E2(6)*, *EI(25)*, *O’Kelly* 98, *Discov.Ser. S* 593567, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

The seven bishops

St. Scoithín’s ancient church site and holy well are located in the townland of Freneystown which adjoins Grangehill to the north. Scoithín was the father of the bishops in question here: *OSNB(39)*: *OD*, *OSL(KK)* I 222, *OSM(KK)* 155, *OSL(KK)* I 225, 226, *OSL(KK)* I 227, *O’Hanlon Saints* I 35, *Loc.Pat.* 300, *O’Hanlon Churches* I 205, *Carrigan III* 361, *O’Kelly* 97, *Clara Hist.* 17, *Ó Riain Saints* 552.

In his richly-documented publication *The Lore of Ireland*, the late Professor Dáithí Ó hÓgáin under the heading ‘Seven Bishops’ relates that ‘a common Irish folk legend describes how seven baby brothers were saved from drowning and grew up to each become a bishop, and accordingly seven churches were founded by them’ (Ó hÓgáin 2006, 453). He continues: ‘variants of the story were told throughout Ireland. It is said that all seven were born at one birth and that their parents were poor and despaired of being able to support them. The father therefore put them into a sack and was bringing them to a river with the intention of drowning them when he met a holy man who enquired as to what was in the sack. The father protested that they were pups, but the holy man saw through the lie and insisted that the children be given to him. He took them, and reared and educated them, so that each of the seven became a priest and eventually a bishop’ (*op.cit.* 453, 454).

He also refers to a special variant of the folktale in the area of south Kilkenny and south-east Tipperary whereby an aged cleric saved seven boys from being drowned by their father. The cleric sent them to Rome to be educated until they eventually became bishops and returned to Ireland. However, in his instance, ‘they were entertained at Grannagh Castle by the great sixteenth-century Countess of Ormond, Margaret Butler but she grew suspicious that they

had gold in their luggage and sent some of her servants after them to kill them. They were accordingly beheaded at Áth na gCeann, on the Lismatigue river in Aghaviller, County Kilkenny...they were buried at Ahenny and the high cross erected over them' (*Ibid.* 454; *Carrigan IV* 7; *O'Kelly* 172; Farrell 2014, 75, 76).

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located close to the northern boundary of a 3.852 acre field (*E1(25)*) in the south-western part of the townland, near where the townlands of Grangehill, Moonhall and Coolgrange meet, a short distance to the north-west of Moonhall castle in ruins (*Nat.Grid: 259557, 156687, SMR: KK 020-022001, Castle Field (OSFP), Carrigan NB 70.201, Carrigan III 361, Carrigan NB 97.229, O'Kelly 98*): 'there is a castle in ruins with a fine spring adjoining' (*O'Kelly 98*), 'a little to the north-west of the castle field in Moonhall' (*Carrigan NB 97.229*).

Tom Mullally (aged 80-85) of nearby Busherstown refers to it as The Bishop's Well and says that it is situated in The Easpag Field on Matthew Corr's land. It is not on land level as it issues from higher land. It resembles a small pond of water, is neglected in appearance, is 2-3 feet deep and a couple of feet wide. There are flat stones near it and bushes grow around it. Tom collects water from the well during Easter week each year, and, along with well-water from the other holy wells of Glenmore parish, it is blessed during the Easter ceremonies on Easter Saturday night at Glenmore church.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it has a locational characteristic in the form of Rath/Moats 7.8, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and it has a spoken form still in use. The annual ritual performed by Tom Mullally above is also noticed here. It was formerly the bearer of two names (*Onom.2*).

90. Lady Well (*E1(6)*)

tld: Grange Lower, *p*: Grangesilvia, *cp*: Goresbridge, Paulstown, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 21, *Nat. Grid*: 267110, 153540, *SMR*: KK 021-028, Map 1.90, Popularity: 1, Feastday and former pattern day: 15 August, Local form: Lady Well (Margaret Holohan, Pat Curran, Grange Lower).

Documented references

OSNB(31), (46), *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *Comerford Coll.* III 330, *E2(6)*, *E1(25)*, *O’Kelly* 78, *RMPKK*, Fitzgerald 2005, 387, 388, Dunleavy (2007), 3, 16, *NMS*, *ASI*

Nineteenth-century parishioners of Grangesilvia

While the name under scrutiny here, Lady Well, does not appear to have ever had an Irish form locally, the inhabitants of Grangesilvia appear to have been conversant in Irish some twenty five years before the first documented entry above (*OSNB* (1838)). William Shaw-Mason observed in 1814 that ‘all the inhabitants of this parish can speak English, but among themselves they speak Irish mostly’ (*Par.Sur.* I 419).

The fact that ‘in consequence of abuses, the clergy thought it well to put a stop to the Patron’ (1886, *supra*) may be better understood in light of the following observation made by the same author (Shaw-Mason), ‘the observation of the R. Catholic holidays is universal among the lower class of people; and, as it has been already noticed, contributes much, in addition to the whiskey-drinking, to keep them in poverty’ (*Ibid.*).

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located near the southern boundary of an 8.218 acre field to the south-west of Goresbridge village, to the south of a Mill Race (*E1(6)*), ‘below the bridge on the Gowran road’ (*O’Kelly* 78), the castle ruins of Lord Galmon’s Castle lying to its south-west (*Nat.Grid*: 266738, 153477, *SMR*: KK 021-027, *Trustees* 394 b (1703), *Compleat Trav.* 105-6 (1788), *OSL(KK)* II 23, *OSM(KK)* 139, *Comerford Coll.* III 330 (1886), *O’Kelly* 78).

Lady Well is situated in a field (which does not bear a name) beside the road a few hundred yards from Margaret Holohan’s house. There is a grotto at the water-bearing circular-shaped well. It is about 5 feet deep, resembles a hole in the ground and has Mass bushes growing beside the grotto. Margaret describes it as a manmade stone well, the top of which is flat. It contains a cup and handle for drinking the water. Mass is celebrated here each year on

August 15th. The original spring is on the nearby hill and the overflow of water from the well runs down the field into a river. She also speaks of the related Millstream and of The Red Mills nearby.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it has a locational characteristic in the form of Effigies/Statues 6.4, it has legends attaching to it (Legends 16.4.4, 16A 15), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

91. Columbkille's Well (EI(6))

tld: Inistioge, *p*: Inistioge, *cp*: Inistioge, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 32, *Nat. Grid*: 263343, 137891, *SMR*: KK 032-017011, Map 1.91, Popularity: 3, Feastday and former pattern day: 9 June, Fig. 36, Local form: St. Columbkille's Well (David O'Dwyer, Inistioge).

Documented references

Stat.Sur.(KK) 120, 121, *OSNB(53)*, *EI(6)*, *Prim.Anders.Nooks* 134, *EI(25)*, *E2(6)*, *NFCS* 859.186, 187, 236, 247, 252, Hughes 1949, 46, *O'Kelly* 80, Birthistle 1969, 41, 42, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser. S* 633378, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-western part of Inistioge village to the west of the River Nore, 'about 20 yards from the Hatchery Stream' (*NFCS* 859.236), 'up the hillside' (*NFCS* 859.247, Hughes 1949, 46, Birthistle 1969, 41, 42), near a glen called The Combe (*EI(6)*, *E2(6)*, Birthistle 1969, 41), to the north of Stradnabaursha (*EI(6)*, *E2(6)*) and near where the road from Kilkenny to New Ross 'crosses the Nore by an 18th c. ten-arch bridge' (*Shell Guide Harb.* 207). The ruins of Inistioge Augustinian Priory lie a short distance to the east (*Nat.Grid*: 263508, 137902, *SMR*: 032-01704, *IMP* 184, 185 (1541), *Otway Vis.* 16 (1679), *OSNB(67)*, *OSM(KK)* 161, *AA Road Bk.* 185, *O'Kelly* 80, *AA Tour Guide.* 224). An old graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: /-, in cemeterio de Inisteague, *Troy Reg. (de Burgo* 96 (1780), *EI(6)*, Birthistle 1969, 37) and chapel (*Nat.Grid*: /-, *Stat.Sur. (KK)* 606, *OSNB(36)*, *EI(6)*, *E2(6)*, *Carrigan IV* 128) are also located here.

David O'Dwyer (aged 70-75) describes the well as being recessed in a wall and having a stone structure protecting it. The well in the ground is boxed in to keep it clean in its base. It has an archway around it which is semicircular on the top of which is inscribed St. Columbkille's Well. A decorative stone cross is situated in pinnacle fashion on top of the archway. David also refers to the locational cues of The Hatchery Lane and The Coum sloping valley.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (priory ruins + gr.), it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Trees 3.12.9, Stones 4.6, Crosses 5.9, Effigies/Statues 6.5 and Rathes/Moats 7.9, it has many rituals (Rituals

2A14, 4.5, 9.3, 13.10, 21.1) and legends (Legends 4.3, 12.6, 16.20.2, 16.25.10, 16.26.2, 16.30.2, 22.3, 24.3) associated with it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.3) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

92. St. Rock's Well (Hogan 1884, 262)

tld: Jamesgreen, *p*: St. Canice's, *cp*: St. Mary's, *bar*: Kilkenny, [*OS* 19], *Nat. Grid*: 250275, 155534, *SMR*: KK 019-025003, Map 4.92, Popularity: 0, Feastday: 1 August, former pattern day: first Sunday of August, No local form.

Documented references

Hogan 1859, 472, 473, *O'Hanlon Saints* VIII 8, *Loc.Pat.* 280, Hogan 1883, 3, 14, Hogan 1884, 16, 17, 253, 262, 263, 322, 323, 413, 414, *Carrigan* III 193, Sparks & Bligh 1926, 44, *NFCS* 856.199, *Fest.Lugh.*644, 645, *O'Kelly* 14, *RMPKK*, Carroll 1999, 23, Fitzgerald 2005, 381, 382, O'Dwyer 2007, 8, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and the long-disappeared well

The well was located a short distance to the west of the Cathedral, in the vicinity of the Saint's old church site and graveyard, 'about midway between the graveyard and the centre of the green' (Hogan 1859, 473), 'somewhere in the present Fair Green' (*NFCS* 856.199), 'inside the old Fair Green Wall, close to St. Rock's Church' (Fitzgerald 2005, 381), 'a little to the north of the site of his church, somewhere near the present Gaol Road' (*Carrigan* III 193).

Ann Walsh of nearby Rioch Court explains that the gate into the graveyard is on Walkin Street and that the other side of the graveyard is on the Gaol Road, near the Fair Green. She also speaks of the Closh on the Walkin Street side of the graveyard but she does not refer to the church site or, understandably, to the long-since submerged/disappeared holy well.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its exact former location is unknown, it does, however, appear to have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + gr.), its well-name was of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.20) and no current spoken form has been secured.

93. Tubberathoggarth (*Carrigan IV 89*), Tobar an tSagairt (well of the priest)

tld: Jamestown, *p*: Ballygurrim, *cp*: Glenmore, *bar*: Ida, [*OS 41*], *Nat. Grid*: 266900, 125070, *SMR*: KK 041-007005, Map 1.93, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, perhaps 21 May, Local form: Tobar na Sagart (Tom Mullally, Busherstown; John Walsh, Jamestown).

Documented references

Farrell 1874-9, 202, *Carrigan IV 89*, *NFCS 845.8*, *NFCS 846.266*, *O'Kelly 102*, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Similar names

Other well-names in the area of study which are named after ecclesiastical or clerical personages include (i) Thubberathoggarth (*tld*: Baunballinlough) and (ii) Friar's Well (*tld*: Killonerry).

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the northern peak of the townland around 150 yards to the north-west of Ballygurrim old church ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 266892, 125050, *SMR*: KK 041-00701, *OSNB*(12), *OSL(KK)* II 173, *OSM(KK)* 125, *EI*(6), Farrell 1874-9, 202, *Carrigan NB 6.145*, *Carrigan IV 88*, *O'Kelly 102*) and adjoining graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 266894, 125066, *SMR*: KK 041-00702, *OSFP*, *OSL(KK)* II 173, *EI*(6), *Carrigan IV 89*, *NFCS 845.8*, *O'Kelly 102*), a short distance to the west of the River Barrow and the old rail line, and in the southern vicinity of the southern peak of the adjoining townland of Ballycrony.

Danny Dowling (aged 85-90) of Jamestown states that Tubberathoggarth is situated on the land of Peggy Holden (aged 90-95) in a swampy area traversed by cattle. The area around the well is normally not too wet although a small stream runs down from it and the water percolates somewhat through the swamp.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and it has a spoken form still in use.

94. St. John's Well (EI(6))

tld: Johnswell, *p*: Rathcoole, *cp*: St. John's, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 15, *Nat. Grid*: 256187, 161614, *SMR*: KK 015-009, Map 1.94, Popularity: 3, Feastday: 24 June, former pattern day: 23 June, Fig. 37, 38, 39, 40, Date of visit: 11/4/2016, Local form: John's Well (Mary Brophy, Johnswell; Pat Murphy, Well View, Johnswell).

Documented references

Oss.Wills 10 (1791), *OLL* 2 (2006), 15 (< 5/5/1761), *Carrigan* I 170, *Collectanea Hibernica* 12 (1969), 56), *St. John's Bapt.* (s.n. Catty Carroll, 4/12/1811), *Cinnlae Amhl.* I 292, *OSNB*(28), (30), *OSL(KK)* II 79, 80, *OSM(KK)* 68, *OSFP*, *EI*, *Cambr.Evers* 133, Hogan 1859, 478, 479, Hogan 1873, 279, 280, Hogan 1884, 23, 251, 363, *Loc.Pat.* 325, *Carrigan* III 278, 279, *Carrigan NB* 29.117, *Carrigan NB* 47.131, *Carrigan NB* 48.46, 53, 56, 58, *Carrigan NB* 97.297, *Carrigan NB* 118.99, Sparks & Bligh 1926, 98, *NFC* 468.103, 105, *NFCS* 833.347, *NFCS* 855.365, *NFCS* 856.195, 238, *O'Kelly* 89, *Bailte Poist* 33, Dowling 1978, 18, Hegarty 1983, 555, Ó Fearghail 1990, 240, 241, Smyth 1990, 136, *Discov.Ser.* S 561861, Johnston 1997, 129, Carroll 1999, 47, 48, *Johnswell MR* 6, Fitzgerald 2005, 383, 384, 386, Saunders 2006, 141, O'Dwyer 2007, 8, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 24, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-western part of the townland in the village of Johnswell, to the north-east of the Post Office (*EI*(25)) and to the south-west of 'St. John's RC Chapel' (*EI*(25)) (*Nat.Grid*: 256187, 161614, *Lewis* II 492, *OSNB*(30), *OSL(KK)* II 80, *OSM(KK)* 68, *EI*(6), *Carrigan NB* 1.154, *Carrigan NB* 48.46, *Carrigan* III 278, *NFCS* 855.365, Hegarty 1983, 553), between an old church (*EI*(25)) and the Post Office, just opposite a general goods shop on the other side of the street from the chapel.

It is housed in a yellowish and bluish enclosure which has a brownish door with two small square windows, the well housing facing away from the door. It is protected by two stone lion statues and the door, once opened, reveals a broken white statue of St. John the Baptist. In front of the well a concrete path leads down to a lower portion where the water enters a very large rectangular trough or basin (perhaps used for baptismal and healing purposes in days of yore).

Mary Brophy (aged 90-95) of nearby Johnswell Post office relates that the well is circular, being about 3-4 feet deep and 4-5 feet in diameter. She also refers to the steps going up into it, to the stone platform going from the well to a square spout with a cross on top, to the wall around it and to the broken white statue inside the well house which originally came from the nearby house which originally came from the nearby church. A sign over the well-house reads 'improved in 1897'.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (chapel + old ch.) it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Well House 2.4 and Rath/Moats 7.10, it has many rituals (Rituals 1.6, 2.8, 2A15, 3.3, 5.5, 10.2, 11, 12.15, 13.11, 14.3, 17.13) and legends (Legends 16.15.4, 16.17.2, 16.35.2, 16A16, 27.1) pertaining to it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.7), it has toponymical evidence to corroborate it, and, it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

95. Toberbride (EI(6)), Tobar Bhríde (well of St. Bridget)

tld: Kells, *p*: Kells, *cp*: Dunnamaggan, *bar*: Kells, *OS* 27, *Nat. Grid*: 249767, 141323, *SMR*: KK 027-042, Map 1.95, Popularity: 1, Feastday and former pattern day: 1 February, Fig. 41, Date of visit: 9/4/2016, Local form: Bridget's Well (Gerard Mullally, Kilree; Alan Sheridan, Kells).

Documented references

OSL(KK) II 62, *OSM(KK)* 34, *EI(6)*, Hogan 1884, 29, *EI(25)*, *Carrigan NB* 6.154, *Carrigan IV* 48, Commins 1906, 272, *Carrigan NB* 67.71, Sparks & Bligh 1926, 95, *E2(6)*, *E2(25)*, *OSFM(KK)* 9703, Lahert (1956), 22, 36, *O'Kelly* 154, Phelan 1973, 27, *AA Tour Guide* 237, *Shell Guide Harb.* 209, *RMPKK*, Lynch 2010, 11, Keane 2013, 153, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and former well location

The well was located in the south-eastern part of the townland to the south of Kells Priory (*Nat.Grid*: /-, *IMED* 33, *IMP* 188, *Mon.Hib.* 361, *OSL(KK)* II 71, *Carrigan NB* 55.93, *O'Kelly* 148, *Shell Guide Harb.* 208, *Nat.Mon.Harb.* 199, Salter 2009, 96, Callan 2015, 123) and to the north of (i) a bullán stone Gloonbride (*Nat.Grid*: 249746, 141121, *SMR*: KK 027-043, *OSM(KK)* 33, *OSFM(KK)* 9704, Lahert 1956, 24, Lynch 11), (ii) Kilree Round Tower (*Nat.Grid*: 249690, 140966, *SMR*: KK 027-04403, *Stat.Sur.(KK)* 631, *Lewis* II 108, *OSM(KK)* 33, *Loc.Pat.* 300, Egan 1884, 287, 288, *Carrigan IV* 48, 50, *OSFM(KK)* 8976, *O'Kelly* 153, *Shell Guide Harb.* 209, Meehan 363), (iii) Kilree Celtic Cross (*Nat.Grid*: 249633, 140950, *SMR*: KK 027 – 04404, *OSL(KK)* II 62, *OSM(KK)* 33, Egan 287, *Carrigan IV* 48, *O'Kelly* 154, Meehan 2008, 363; Moss 2014, 147) and (iv) an old graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 249706, 140944, *SMR*: KK 027-04402, Egan 287, *Carrigan IV* 47, *O'Kelly* 153) and (v) St. Bridget's Church (*Nat.Grid*: 249702, 140953, *SMR*: KK 027-04401, Prim 1850, 172, Egan 287, *Carrigan NB* 55.94, Lahert 22, 24, *AA Road Bk.* 200, *AA Tour Guide* 237, Barrow 132, 1, Meehan 363; Farrell 2014, 140).

Ger Mullally of Kilree confirms that a timber sign on a dip on the side of the public road marks where the well was. There is no water here now and the immediate area is totally overgrown with ivy which Alan Sheridan clears from time to time. The area would now appear to be an earthen mound under large rocks.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (nearby ch. ruins), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Stones 4.7, it has a legend (Legend 12.7) associated with it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.2) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

96. Thubberniclaush (*Carrigan* III 436), Tobar Niocláis (well of St. Nicholas)

tld: Kilballykeefe, *p*: Ballycallan, Tullaghanbrogue *cp*: Kilmanagh, *bar*: Grannagh, [*OS* 22], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 022-042, generated co-ordinates: 242076, 150347, Map 3.96, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 6 December (and possible former pattern day), Fig. 42, Date of visit: 9/4/2016, Local form: St. Nicholas Well (Tom Fitzpatrick, James Nugent, Kilballykeefe).

Documented references

OSL(KK) I 237, *Carrigan* III 436, *Carrigan* IV 433, *Carrigan NB* 47.106, *Carrigan NB* 66.56, *Carrigan NB* 67.64, *Carrigan NB* 97.268, *O'Kelly* 9, 15, Larkin 2002, 119, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The location of the well is given as being around half way between Ballykeefe Cross Roads and Clasheen Bridge in the north-western vicinity of Kilballykeefe Church ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 242254, 150283, *SMR*: 022-01501, *Lewis* II 655, *OSNB* (2:7), *OSL(KK)* I 237, *OSM(KK)* 167, *Carrigan* III 436, *O'Kelly* 15) and graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 242248, 150278, *SMR*: KK 022-01502, *OSNB* (2:7), *OSL(KK)* I 237, *Carrigan* III 436, *O'Kelly* 9, Larkin 108, 120) in the south-western part of the townland near the eastern boundary of adjoining Ballykeefe Castle. Tom Fitzpatrick of Kilballykeefe has indicated its exact location on the Ordnance map, being situated to the west of the road in a 1.825 acre field (*EI*(25)).

Tom (aged 65-70) points to the round-shaped hole in the ground which is around 1 foot deep and 3-4 feet in diameter. There is an ash tree near it and there used to be a stone beside it. It is situated beside the road and is in good condition. His father used to draw water from it many years ago. It used to be called St. Nicholas Well.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.5.2) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

97. St. Broghan's Well (*Carrigan IV 194*) (well of St. Bearchán)

tld: Kilbraghan, *p*: Dysartmoon, *cp*: Rosbercon, *bar*: Ida, [*OS 37*], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 037-043, generated co-ordinates: 267674, 128455, Map 3.97, Popularity: 1, Feastday: unknown, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Spring (Richard Merrigan, John Joe Gahan, Kilbraghan).

Documented references

Moore 1874-9, 30, *Carrigan NB 40.179*, *Carrigan NB 67.11*, 46, *Carrigan IV 194*, *Carrigan NB 97.359*, *Carrigan NB 149.4*, *ITAS(KK)*, Rosbercon, Form A, page 3, *O'Kelly 108*, *RMPKK*, Murphy 2008, 14, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well location

The well is located in the north-western part of the townland beside a subdenomination of the same called Shanavollia (*Carrigan IV 194*), some '30 perches north of the church' (*Ibid.*) (*Nat.Grid*: 267531, 128250, *SMR*: KK 037-04201, Moore 1874-9, 30, *Carrigan NB 40.179*, *Carrigan IV 194*, *ITAS(KK)* Rosbercon, Form A, page 3, *O'Kelly 108*).

Richard Merrigan of Kilbraghan has indicated its location on the Ordnance map – it lies in the south-western portion of a 1.410 acre field (*EI(25)*), the 'Seanabhaile field' being a larger 4.254 acre field (*EI(25)*) to its south-west and the Chapel Field, 2.890 acres (*EI(25)*) being located to the south (west) of the Shanavollia.

There is still a strong spring in existence here with a stone in front of it on the land of John Joe Gahan down near the valley and river. No trace of the church existed during Richard's lifetime.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (obliterated ch.), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Raths/Moats 7.11, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.1), it has toponymical evidence to corroborate it, and its current spoken form is a de-onomised one only.

98. Tubbervrachawin (*Carrigan* III 442), Tobar Bhearcháin (well of St. Bearchán)

tld: Kilbraghan, *p*: Kilmanagh, *cp*: Kilmanagh, *bar*: Crannagh, [*OS* 22], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 022-044, co-ordinates of nearby Kilbraghan Church: 236657, 149249, Map 2.98, Popularity: 1, Feastday: unknown, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Well Field (Pat Marnell, Kilbraghan).

Documented references

Carrigan III 442, *Carrigan NB* 47.97, *Carrigan NB* 66.56, *Carrigan NB* 67.64, *Carrigan NB* 97.267, *ITAS(KK)*, Kilmanagh, Form A, page 2, *O’Kelly* 16, *RMPKK*, Larkin 2002, 118, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and The Well Field

The well was located to the east of the Munster River and County Tipperary border in the second field to the north of a church site (*Nat.Grid*: 236657, 149249, *SMR*: KK 022-01101, *Loc.Pat.* 303, ‘St. Braghan’s church stood at Kilbraghan cross, at the exact point where the public road branches off to Graigue’, *Carrigan* III 442; *O’Kelly* 16) and graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 236657, 149249, *SMR*: KK 022-01102, Holahan 1883, 107, *Carrigan* III 442, *NFCS* 854.54, Larkin 118).

On enquiring of Pat Marnell, Kilbraghan, concerning the local tradition or site of a well ‘in the second field to the north of a church site’, he replies that “I have heard of the ‘second field to the north’ theory, but I’m not familiar with the source of these directions”. He adds, however, that the large 11.337 acre field (*EI*(25)) to the south of the graveyard field was locally known as The Well Field.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, there is a tradition of a well having been here, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu, (long since obliterated ch. + gr.), the well-name was of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.1), it has toponymical evidence to corroborate it and its current spoken form is a de-onomised one only (Onom.4B3).

99. Thubbervzheedha (*Carrigan* IV 92), Tobar Bhríde (well of St. Bridget)

tld: Kilbride, *p*: Kilbride, *cp*: Glenmore, *bar*: Ida, [*OS* 40], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 040-046, co-ordinates of nearby Kilbride Church: 264138, 124735, Map 2.99, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 1 February, Local form: St. Bridget's Well (Mary O'Doherty, Kilbride; Tom Mullally, Busherstown).

Documented references

Farrell 1874-9, 201, *Carrigan* IV 92, *Carrigan NB* 67.15, 49, *Carrigan NB* 97.358, *Carrigan NB* 149.15, *NFCS* 845.49, *O'Kelly* 109, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-eastern part of the townland south of the road which extends from New Ross and to the north-west of Glenmore village, in the southern vicinity of Kilbride Church (*Nat.Grid*: 264138, 124735, *SMR*: KK 040-01101, *OSL(KK)* II 176, *OSM(KK)* 126, *Carrigan NB* 6.145, *Carrigan* IV 91, 92, *NFCS* 845.49, *O'Kelly* 109) and adjoining graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 264153, 124743, *SMR*: KK 040-01102, *OSFP*, Farrell 1874-9, 201, *Carrigan* IV 92, *O'Kelly* 109).

The current owner of the land is Raymond Culleton, whose sister, Mary O'Doherty (aged 65-70) relates that her father, John Culleton, used to refer to the well as (St.) Bridget's Well. It is situated in a field near the graveyard and crossroads at the back of Culleton's house and now contains very little water. It could have been described as a surface spring, is overgrown and has stones around it.

Tom Mullally (aged 80-85) of nearby Busherstown used to collect water from the now almost dry well up to 2012 after which it used to be brought to St. James's Church in Glenmore to be blessed every Easter Saturday night.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has a ritual (Ritual 13.12) and a legend (Legend 16.15.5) associated with it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.2), it has toponymical evidence to corroborate it and its spoken form (the hagiographical name) is still in use.

The annual ritual performed by Tom Mullally above is also noticed here.

100. Tobar na Coille (*NFCS* 847.91) (well of the wood)

tld: Kilconnelly, *p*: The Rower, *cp*: Inistioge, *bar*: Ida, [*OS* 33], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, generated co-ordinates: 272845, 137004, Map 3.100, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Well (Pat Galvin, Kilconnelly).

Documented references

NFCS 847.91, 126, 127, *O'Kelly* 121, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

Kilconnelly is situated on the western bank of the River Barrow (in this instance, the river is the boundary between Counties Kilkenny and Carlow) and the wood of the well is located in the eastern part of the townland in the north-eastern vicinity of the site of a church (*Nat. Grid*: 272630, 135990, *SMR*: KK 033-03801, this church in Killeen was, undoubtedly, the original Kilconnelly, i.e. Cill Chongalaigh, the church of St. Congalach, *Carrigan* IV 127, Killeens, a small church, *O'Kelly* 121) and an adjoining obsolete graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 272631, 135989, *SMR*: KK 033-03802, *Carrigan* IV 127, a churchyard set apart for infant burial, *O'Kelly* 121).

Pat Galvin (65-70) of Kilconnelly has marked the location of the well on the Ordnance map – it lies in the northern portion of the wood near the south-eastern part of adjoining Coolrainy townland. He recalls from his youth that it was ‘circular and about four feet deep’. It is now covered with briars. A Hanrahan family who lived to the west of the wood occasionally used the water of the well for domestic purposes up to the 1950s.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and the current spoken form is a de-onomised one only (Onom.4B1).

101. Kilcross Well (E1(6)) (church of the Holy Cross)

tld: Kilcross, *p*: Inistioge, *cp*: Inistioge, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 33, *Nat. Grid*: 265005, 137764, *SMR*: KK 033-010, Map 1.101, Popularity: 1, former pattern day: 3 May, Local form: Holy Cross Well (Pat Grace, John Knox, Kilcross).

Documented references

OSNB(19), (54), *OSL(KK)* II 285, *E1(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 6.46, 77, *Carrigan NB* 42.3, *Carrigan NB* 43.3, *Carrigan NB* 94.57, 64, *Carrigan IV* 115, *E2(6)*, *NFCS* 847.516, 517, *NFCS* 859.184, 232, 233, *O’Kelly* 80, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser. S* 651378, Fitzgerald 2005, 375, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 22, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is situated in the south-eastern part of a 1.467 acre field (*E1(25)*) in the south-western part of the townland beside two old Lime Kilns (*E1(25)*) and to the south-east of the ancient ruined church of Kilcross (*Nat.Grid*: 264960, 137806, *SMR*: KK 033-00901, *OSNB*(19), *OSNB*(66), *OSL(KK)* II 284, *OSM(KK)* 163, *Carrigan NB* 43.3, *Carrigan IV* 114, *NFCS* 859.184, *O’Kelly* 80) and long-since disused adjoining graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 264960, 137806, *SMR*: KK 033-00902, *Carrigan I V*115).

‘Holy Cross Well’, as it is known locally, is located on the side of a laneway beside John Knox’s dwelling house. There are actually two round wells at this spot, one well flowing into the other and from here into a tank outside on the road. The wells are around 3 feet deep when full and contain water throughout the year. There are stones and a wall built around them and a large oak tree lies beside them.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has many legends (Legends 16.15.6, 16.24.2, 16.25.11, 24.4) pertaining to it, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and it has a spoken form still in use.

102. Kildalton Holy Well (NMS, ASI)

tld: Kildalton, *p*: Fiddown, *cp*: Templeorum, *bar*: Iverk, [OS 39], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 039-050, co-ordinates of (?) nearby Kildalton Church: 246899, 122700, Map 2.102, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, No local form.

Documented reference

NMS, ASI (18/1/2016)

SMR number and Tobar na leib

Kildalton Holy Well (*SMR*: KK 039-050) is assigned a separate *SMR* reference number to St. John's Well in the same parish (*SMR*: KK 039-051) and would appear to have been situated very near to the latter-named well. There is also a possibility that the well under scrutiny may have been confused with Tobar-na-leib, 'Well of the entrails' (*Carrigan* IV 220) which is not cited by either Revd. Carrigan or by Owen O'Kelly as having been a holy well. Concerning a pattern which used to be held at nearby Fiddown at Tober na leadhba, 'the well of the rags', Mary O'Shea states that it was celebrated 'on the Sunday after the feast of St. Peter, whose feast day falls 13th August' (O'Shea 2014, 64).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it has not been located, it may have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu, like St. John's Well in the same townland, the name, on the evidence, does not appear to be of hagiographical evidence and no spoken form has been secured.

103. St. John's Well (*Carrigan IV 220*)

tld: Kildalton, *p*: Fiddown, *cp*: Templeorum, *bar*: Iverk, [*OS 39*], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 039-051, generated co-ordinates: 246422, 122646, Map 3.103, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 24 June, possible former pattern day: 23 June (or perhaps 3 October at an earlier time), Local form: The Spring (Finbar Hodge, Kildalton College).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 6.70, 126, 162, Carrigan IV 220, Carrigan NB 30.8, Carrigan NB 34.69, Carrigan NB 47.131, Carrigan NB 66.43, Carrigan NB 67.54, Carrigan NB 97.341, O'Shea 2014, 113, NMS, ASI

Locational cue

Tubber-na-lybe (*Carrigan IV 220*) was apparently situated to the south-east of Bessborough House.

Additional locational details and former well description

The well was located to the north of the Glen River (Sruth na Searrach) (*Carrigan NB 6.162*), to the west of Lady's Bridge (*Ibid.*) where a duck pond is now in existence, in a glen, close to Bessborough House (Kildalton College) (*T&S 163, Stat.Sur.(KK) 124, 586, Par.Sur. I 360, Lewis I 628, Lewis II 461, OSM(KK) 37, Carrigan IV 219, 220, O'Kelly 128*), to the east of which was located the church of Kildalton/Kilmodalla (*Nat.Grid: 246899, 122700, SMR: KK 039-02401, Moore 1874-9, 33, Carrigan IV 219; Carrigan NB 97.341; NFCS 842.301, O'Kelly 128; O'Shea 2014, 112, 113, 114, 125, 169*) and graveyard (*Nat.Grid: 246899, 122701; SMR: KK 039-02402; Moore 1874-9, 33; Carrigan IV 219; O'Shea 2014, 114, 169*). Finbar Hodge who has lectured at Kildalton College since 1978 recalls an ornamental walled-in garden to the east of the house during his early working life there. It is marked on *E1(6)* but is not named and is now no longer to be seen. It was styled 'Kitchen Garden' on the Earl of Bessborough's Map of 1847. To the south-east of its former location is marked 'Spring' (*E2(6)*) which Finbar describes as 'a very strong spring' to the north-east of which is a lake or 'little island'. He recalls that there were formerly steps down into the well. There is now a concrete slab over the spring although its outlet is not covered. The spring flows to the south-east into the Duck Pond (*Carrigan NB 6.162*), which is shown but not named on the Bessborough Map to the east of 'The Oak Wood'.

Finbar also pinpoints the location of Lady's Bridge (*Carrigan NB* 6.162) – it is to the south-east of the Duck Pond at where a Lodge (*E2(6)*) formerly stood, under which bridge flows The Pill River.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, its former location is remembered, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (former old ch. + gr.), it had a legend (Legend 16A17) attaching to it, the well-name was of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.7) and the current spoken form is a deonomised one (Onom.4B2).

104. Kildrinagh Holy Well (NMS, ASI)

tld: Kildrinagh, *p*: Tubbridbritain, *cp*: Urlingford (Graine), *bar*: Crannagh, [OS 12], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 012-066, co-ordinates of nearby Kildrinagh Church: 233576, 159780, Map 2.104, Popularity: 0, no former pattern day recorded, No local form.

Documented reference

NMS, ASI (18/1/2016)

From the *SMR* reference number (KK 012-066), it would appear to have been located near Lady's Well (KK 012-059004) in the same townland.

Paucity of evidence

The well is not mentioned in any of Revd. Carrigan's various works or in the writings of Owen O'Kelly (1969).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it has not been located, it may have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu, like Lady's Well in the same townland, the well-name does not appear to be of hagiographical origin and no spoken form or present-day reference has been obtained.

105. Lady Well (*Carrigan II 372*)

tld: Kildrinagh, *p*: Tubbridbritain, *cp*: Urlingford, *bar*: Crannagh, [*OS 12*], *Nat. Grid*: 233600, 159860, *SMR*: KK 012-059004, Map 1.105, Popularity: 1, Feastdays: 15 August, 8 September, former possible pattern day on either of these dates or perhaps on 12 December, Local form: The Pump (Billy Phelan, Kildrinagh).

Documented references

Healy 1874-9, 44, *Carrigan II 372*, *Carrigan NB 29.106*, *Carrigan NB 42.47*, *Carrigan NB 97.143*, *Carrigan NB 147.95*, *O'Kelly 26*, *RMPKK*, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 24, *NMS*, *ASI*

Locational cue

The well appears to have been located in Kildrinagh and not in the northern section of the adjoining townland of Sragh (the hill or slope of Sragh being near its northern end to the south-west of the old church of Kildrinagh).

Additional locational details and well description

The well was located in the western section of the townland in the vicinity of Kildrinagh old church ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 233576, 159780, *SMR*: 012-059001, *OSNB*(19), *OSL*(*KK*) I 171, 172, *OSM*(*KK*) 12, Hogan 1884, 68, *Carrigan II 371, 372*, *ITAS*(*KK*) Urlingford, Form A, page 2 (1942), *O'Kelly 26*) and adjoining graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 233580, 159770, *SMR*: KK 012-059002, *OSNB*(19), *OSFP*, *E1*(6), *E2*(6), *NFCS* 867.302, *O'Kelly 26*; Ó Fearghail 2015, 23) to the south of Kildrinagh Cross Roads and just a short distance to the north-east of the north-eastern boundary of the adjoining townland of Sragh, 'on the slope of Shragh [*sic*] hill' (*O'Kelly 26*).

The *SMR* numbers of the holy well, ancient church and graveyard indicate that they were situated in close proximity to one another.

Billy Phelan (aged 60-65) of Kildrinagh states that there used to be a well and subsequently a green pump, now no longer in existence, on the corner of Kildrinagh Cross, some 200 yards North North West of the graveyard. One may reach the crossroads by travelling from the Freshford road up to the Valley Inn public house crossroads. Travelling straight through the crossroads, one reaches Kildrinagh Cross at a fork on the left hand side of the road around 100 yards up, one reaches the former site of the well and pump. There used to be a concrete

slab behind it and the water used to boil up from the surface, then flow under the road and finally cross the road further down in wet weather. The pump disappeared some twenty years ago. It may also be worth noting that the graveyard is visited only via Kildrinagh Cross mentioned above.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its former location and description is remembered, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1) and the spoken form is a de-onomised one only (Onom.4B2).

106. Kilfane Holy Well (Walsh 2012, 70)

tld: Kilfane Demesne, *p*: Kilfane, *cp*: Tullaherin, *bar*: Gowran, [*OS* 28], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*:/-, generated co-ordinates: 259798, 144299, Map 3.106, Popularity: 1, possible former pattern day: 8 December, Local form: The Well (William Murphy, Castlegarden; Mary Cassin, Tullaherin Historical Society).

Documented references

Egan 1884, 301, Walsh 2012, 70, 71, *NMS*, *ASI*

Possible former location of the well

The well would appear to have been located in the south-western part of the townland, ‘somewhere to the south of Kilfane House’ (Egan 1884, 301) near where the townlands of Kilfane Demesne, Ballyroe and Kilmurry meet, to the south of Kilfane Church ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 259847, 145067, *SMR*: KK 028-013001, *Lib.Rub.Oss.* 51, *OSL(KK)* II 14, Egan 300, *Carrigan* III 483; *O’Kelly* 83; Holden 2009, 203, 204; ‘an early 14th century church dedicated to St. Paan’, Meehan 2008, 358; Keane 2013, 58) and graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 259851, 145060; *SMR*: KK 028-013003; *E1(6)*; *E2(6)*).

However, a ‘Spring’ which is marked on *E2(6)* and on *E1(25)* in a large wooded 39.313 acre field (*E1(25)*) in the vicinity of ‘Kilbeg’ and to the south-east of ‘Old Kennells’ (*E2(6)*, *E1(25)*) in the north-western part of adjoining Kilmurry townland just to the south of the southern boundary of Kilfane Demesne, may also be the well in question. See also ‘a fine spring near the old stables in the Demesne’ (Walsh 1987, 56).

Local historian William Murphy refers to the late Walter Walsh’s article (1987) and states that ‘it would appear from Walter’s text that this well is no longer extant’. He also refers to the cross, ‘a cross which may have adorned it [the well] was discovered in 1996 on the lands of the Ryan family at Knockanroe South’.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, there is a tradition of a well having been here, it would appear to have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it had an additional locational characteristic in the form of Crosses 5.10, the well-name does not, on the evidence, appear to have been of hagiographical origin and the spoken form appears to be a de-onomised one (Onom.4B3).

107. Kilkeasy Holy Well (NFCS 848.63)

tld: Kilkeasy, *p*: Kilkeasy, *cp*: Aghaviller, *bar*: Knocktopher, [OS 35], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, co-ordinates of Kilkeasy graveyard: 252771, 132429 (in graveyard), Map 2.107, Popularity: 2, possible pattern day: 28 May, Local form: The Hollow in the Tree (Thomas Holden, Kilkeasy).

Documented references

NFCS 848.63, *ITAS(KK)*, Aghaviller, Form A, page 4

Additional locational details and well description

The well is situated in the pocket of a very old sycamore tree in the right hand side of Kilkeasy graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 252771, 132429, *SMR*: KK 035-01302, *OSL(KK)* II 138, *Carrigan* IV 6, *O'Kelly* 68). It is around 4 feet up from the ground and is around 8 inches wide. Thomas Holden (aged 80-85) of Kilkeasy informs me that a bough broke off the tree at this point many years ago and that when the bough rotted away, the well formed. He often blessed himself with the well-water while visiting the graveyard. Kilkeasy old church ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 252764, 132435, *SMR*: KK 035-01301, *OSL(KK)* II 138, *OSM(KK)* 81, *Carrigan* NB 6.149, *Carrigan* IV 5, 6, NFCS 848.62, *ITAS(KK)* Aghaviller, Form A, page 2, *O'Kelly* 168) lie near by.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (gr.), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.12.10, it has many legends (Legends 16.25.12, 16.35.3, 22.4) pertaining to it, the well-name does not, on the evidence, appear to be of hagiographical origin and the spoken form is a de-nomised one (Onom.4C).

108. St. Kieran's Well (EI(6))

tld: Kilkieran, *p*: Inistioge, *cp*: Inistioge, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 29, *Nat. Grid*: 264748, 140456, *SMR*: KK 029-024, Map 1.108, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible pattern day: 5 March, Local form: The Well (Danny McDonald, Inistioge; Andrew Doyle, Cappagh).

Documented references

OSNB(55), Hogan 1876, 207, *E2*(6), *Carrigan IV* 116, *Carrigan NB* 32.47, *Carrigan NB* 42.2, 3, *Carrigan NB* 66.42, *Carrigan NB* 67.56, *NFCS* 859.204, 205, *O'Kelly* 81, *Discov.Ser. S* 646399, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and former well site

The well was situated just outside the north-westerly part of a 6.296 acre field to the east of the western boundary of the townland and within four fields to the north-east of St. Kieran's Well of adjoining Cappagh townland. It is situated to the west of Fiddaun Bridge (*EI*(6)), to the north of Sruhansilloge stream and to the south-west of the site of Kilkieran Castle (*Nat.Grid*: 264934, 140822, *SMR*: KK 029-022, *E2*(6), *Carrigan IV* 116), 'south of the road from Brittas to Fiddaun bridge' (*O'Kelly* 81).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its location is remembered as is its description, it was not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it had legends (Legends 4.4, 17.4, 20.6) associated with it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.3.3), it has toponymical evidence to corroborate it, and the spoken form is, understandably, a de-onomised one (Onom.4B2).

109. Tubberkilkierawn (*Carrigan IV 116*), Tobar Chill Chiaráin (well of St. Ciarán)

tld: Kilkieran, *p*: Inistioge, *cp*: Inistioge, *bar*: Gowran, [*OS 29*], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 029-040, co-ordinates of Kilkieran Castle: 264934, 140822 (in the castle field), Map 2.109, Popularity: 0, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 5 March, No local form.

Documented references

OSNB(55), *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details

The well was located near the eastern boundary of the townland in a 5.245 acre field (*EI(25)*, *Carrigan IV 116*) containing the site of Kilkieran Castle. The castle field is situated four fields to the north-east of the site of St. Kieran's Well (*EI(6)*) in the same townland and ten fields to the north-west of St. Kieran's Well in the adjoining townland of Cappagh: 'Site of Kilkieran Castle' (*EI(6)*), 'an old Norman fortress called Kilkieran Castle', (Hogan 1876, 207), 'Kilkieran Castle (Site of)' (*E2(6)*), *SMR*: KK 029-022).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it has not been located/it no longer exists, it was not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, the well-name was of hagiographical origin (Hag.3.3), it has toponymical evidence to corroborate it and a spoken form, quite understandably, has not been secured.

110. St. Nicholas Well (EI(6))

tld: Killamery, *p*: Killamery, *cp*: Windgap, *bar*: Kells, *OS* 30, *Nat. Grid*: 237707, 136070, *SMR*: KK 030-008007, Map 1.110, Popularity: 2, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 6 December, Local form: St. Nicholas Well (Paul Ryan, Gerry O'Meara, Killamery).

Documented references

OSNB(35), *OSL*(KK) II 96, *OSM*(KK) 39, *OSFP*, *EI*(6), *Loc.Pat.*288, *Carrigan NB* 26.79, *Carrigan NB* 27.43, *Carrigan NB* 47.118, *Carrigan NB* 67.60, *Carrigan NB* 74.214, *Carrigan NB* 85.42, *Carrigan NB* 97.336, *Carrigan NB* 137.28, *Carrigan IV* 315, *NFCS* 774.40, *NFCS* 852.70, *O'Kelly* 149, *KP* 13/6/1986, p25, *Shell Guide Harb.* 88, Edwards 1990, 41, Smyth 1990, 136, *RMPKK*, O'Sullivan & Downey 2006, 36, Meehan 2008, 357, Ray 2014, 83, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

Paul Ryan (aged 45-50) of Killamery states that 'St. Nicholas's Well is in the old graveyard' (*Nat.Grid*: 237700, 136120, *SMR*: KK 030-00803, *Aher Clem.* R 47, *OSL*(KK) II 96, *OSM*(KK) 39, *Loc.Pat.* 286, *Carrigan NB* 27.43, *NFCS* 852.70, *O'Kelly* 149), Killamery Church ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 237741, 136044, *SMR*: 030-00803, *Stat.Sur.*(KK) 614, *Aher Clem.* R 47, *ARE* II 753, note b, *Loc.Pat.* 286, *Carrigan NB* 74.214, *Carrigan IV* 316, *NFCS* 774.40, Shine 2003, 17) and stone cross (*Nat.Grid*: 237696, 136092, *SMR*:/-, *OSNB*(35), *OSL*(KK) II 97, *OSM*(KK) 40, *Loc.Pat.* 286, *Carrigan IV* 313, *Nat.Mon.Harb.* 203, Moss 2014, 147) being located in its vicinity.

The well is located 2-3 feet inside the perimeter wall of the graveyard and does not resemble a standard well. It is a stone well, 3ft high and curved on top. Just below ground level is an open box in front of a stone and the spring which comes out of this rectangular box which is open on top is the actual location of the well. There is a hole in the wall to allow the well to flow. There are flat stones in the bottom of the well which is never without water but it is quite stagnant, a fact which is not helped by all the moss inside it.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Stones 4.8 and

Crosses 5.11, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.5.2) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

111. Friar's Well (*Carrigan* IV 214)

tld: Killonerry, *p*: Whitechurch, *cp*: Templeorum, *bar*: Shillelogher, [*OS* 38], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, co-ordinates of nearby Killonerry Church: 241293, 124077, Map 2.111, Map 3.111, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Friar's Well (Peter O'Dwyer, Killonerry).

Documented references

Moore 1874-9, 31, *Carrigan NB* 73.101, *Carrigan* IV 241, 242, *NFCS* 844.110, 111, 112, 113, *NFCS* 852.215, *O'Kelly* 140, O'Shea 2014, 58, *NMS*, *ASI*

Similar names

Other ecclesiastical personages featuring in the names of holy wells include (i) Thubberathoggarth, *tld*: Baunballinlough and (ii) Thubberathoggarth, *tld*: Jamestown.

Additional locational details and former location of the well

The well was located in the north-western part of the townland, a short distance to the north-west of Killonerry House (*E1(6)*, *E2(6)*), in the vicinity of Killonerry Church site (*Nat.Grid*: 241293, 124077, *SMR*: KK 038-004001, *OSNB(12)*, Moore 1874-9, 31, *Carrigan NB* 73.76, *Carrigan* IV 241, *NFCS* 844.110, 111; *O'Kelly* 140; O'Shea 2014, 57, 58, 102) and a long-since obliterated graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 241292, 124077; *SMR*: KK 038-004002; Moore 1874-9, 31; *Carrigan* IV 214; *NFCS* 844.111; *O'Kelly* 140; O'Shea 2014, 102), 'about 100 yards nearer the [Linguan] river (*NFCS* 844.112) than the church site' in the vicinity of bullaun stones (*Nat.Grid*: 241292, 124077; *SMR*: KK 038-004003; O'Shea 2014, 58 and *Nat.Grid*: 241293, 124077; *SMR*: KK 038-004004).

The current owner of the land, Peter O'Dwyer (grandson of P. O'Dwyer, *NFCS* 852.215) states that 'Friar's Well was piped to a nearby river' (The Lingaun) and he has marked its former location as having been in the south-western part of a 3.921 acre field (*E1(25)*) to the north-west of the adjoining church site field, a short distance to the south-west of Cregg Bridge (*E1(6)*) and to the south-east of the old village of Cregg in adjoining County Tipperary.

It was piped to the river by way of an underground chalk pipe around fifty years ago, there now being no trace of wetness where the well was. Peter refers to the two bullán stones, one of which contains imprints and both of which are still in existence. They are situated around

150 yards from the well's former location. Peter, being aged 50-55, has no recollection of the well's appearance.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, there is a tradition of a well having been here, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + demolished gr.), it had an additional locational characteristic in the form of Stones 4.9, it had legends (Legends 12.8, 16.14.1, 25.3) attaching to it, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and a spoken form (of the same name) is still remembered locally.

112. Thubber Murrha (*Carrigan* II 201), Tobar Mhuire (well of Our Lady)

tld: Kilmacar, *p*: Kilmacar, *cp*: Connahy, *bar*: Fassadinan, [*OS* 10], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, generated co-ordinates: 249908, 169253, Map 3.112, Popularity: 1, Feastdays: 15 August, 8 September, 8 December, former pattern day: 29 June (Saints Peter and Paul), Local form: Tober a Mhuire [*sic*] Bridge (Nellie Healy, Colm Healy, Kilmacar).

Documented references

OSL(KK) I 29, *Carrigan NB* 20.298, *Carrigan NB* 85.60, *Carrigan NB* 141.59, *Carrigan* II 201, *Carrigan* IV 433, *NFCS* 864.55, 149, *NFCS* 865.371, 388, *NFCS* 868.14, 62, *E2(6)*, *O'Kelly* 46, Lyng 1984, 103, Smyth 1990, 136, *Discov.Ser.* S 501693, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 20

Additional locational details and former location of the well

Tobar Muire Bridge (*E2(6)*) is located to the north-east of old Barrack Village (*E1(25)*), Kilmacar Church (in ruins) (*E1(6)*, *Nat.Grid*: 249139, 168863; *SMR*: KK 010-03801; *OSNB(13)*; *OSL(KK)* I 27; *OSM(KK)* 64; *Carrigan NB* 85.60; *Carrigan* II 201; *NFCS* 864.55; *O'Kelly* 46) and adjoining graveyard (*E1(6)*; *Nat.Grid*: 249130, 168860; *SMR*: KK 010-03801; *OSNB(13)*; *OSL(KK)* I 29; *OSM(KK)* 64; *Carrigan NB* 1 264; *O'Kelly* 46) near the eastern boundary of the townland beside the River Cloghagh (*E1(25)*) just to the west of where Coolnambrisklaun or Coolnacoppoge, Kilmacar and Maudlin townlands meet and to the north of a 2.252 acre field (*E1(25)*).

Bríd Healy (aged 60-65) of Kilmacar whose husband Pat Healy died in 1999 (Pat was the son of Jer Healy mentioned in *NFCS* 865.371 (1938) above) does not recall the actual location of the well nor does Colm Healy, Jer's grandson although it was located on the Healy farm in 1938.

Bríd recalls that a small concrete bridge on the main road from Connahy to Castlecomer which is still in existence (and is mentioned on *E2(6)* above) used to be called /tobərə'wifə bridz/ up to around forty years ago, the name of the (? nearby) well having been preserved up to that time in the name of the bridge. However, the well-name is now in danger of being lost altogether as the bridge-name has been de-onomised, being now referred to simply as /d̪ə'bridz/.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, there is a tradition of a well having been here, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it had rituals (Rituals 2A16, 24A1) and legends (Legends 15.3, 16.17.3, 16.25.13, 17.5) attaching to it, the well-name was of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1) and its spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B3).

113. Lady's Well (EI(6))

tld: Kilmacoliver, *p*: Tullahought, *cp*: Windgap, *bar*: Kells, *OS* 34, *Nat. Grid*: 243286, 129892, *SMR*: KK 034-024, Map 1.113, Popularity: 1, Feastdays: 15 August, 8 September, 8 December, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: Our Lady's Well (Eamon Doyle, Curragh; Brian Hennessy, Kilmacoliver).

Documented references

OSNB(63), *OSFP*, *Carrigan NB* 6.151, *Carrigan NB* 26.83, *Carrigan NB* 47.15, 164, *Carrigan NB* 66.48, *Carrigan NB* 67.58, 59, *Carrigan NB* 97.338, *Carrigan NB* 127.44, *Carrigan NB* 141.26, *Carrigan IV* 326, 432, *NFCS* 852.214, *O'Kelly* 156, 157, *RMPKK*, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 24, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and former location of the well

The well was located in the south-western part of a 4.733 acre field (*EI*(25)), in the north-eastern portion of the townland, a short distance to the south-west of Tullahought village, 'at the back of Griffin's house' (*NFCS* 852.214), in the southern vicinity of (i) a graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 243396, 130070, *SMR*: KK 034-026002, *OSL*(*KK*) II 109, *OSM*(*KK*) 43, Moore 1874-9, 32, *Carrigan NB* 141.26, *Carrigan IV* 325, 'there is an ancient church site and churchyard in a field called Fauheen' (*O'Kelly* 156)), (ii) a R.C. Chapel (*Nat.Grid*: /-, *OSFP*, *EI*(6), *Carrigan NB* 127.44, *Carrigan NB* 141.26, *Carrigan IV* 326, *O'Kelly* 156), and (iii) an ancient church ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 243396, 130070, *SMR*: KK 034-026002, *OSNB*(61), *Carrigan NB* 141.26, *Carrigan IV* 326, *O'Kelly* 156), 'near the chapel' (*Carrigan NB* 141.26), 'near the roadside south of St. Nicholas's R.C. Church' (*O'Kelly* 156).

Eamonn Doyle (aged 75-80) of nearby Curragh, Piltown, states that 'The Holy Well is not visible now'. He does not remember having seen it but he used to hear elderly people speak of the well in Shem Power's field many years ago. The Griffin family is long since gone from the area and the land has been drained.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, there is a tradition of a well having been here, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (chapel, ch. ruins, gr.), it had a legend (Legend 16.19.2) connected with it, the well-name was of hagiographical origin and a spoken form which reflects this is remembered locally.

114. Tobar Brigid (NFCS 852.214), Tobar Bhríde (well of St. Bridget)

tld: Kilmacoliver, *p*: Tullahought, *cp*: Windgap, *bar*: Kells, [OS 34], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, generated co-ordinates: 242834, 129360, Map 3.114, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 1 February, Local form: The Spring (Eamon Doyle, Curragh[nadimpaun]).

Documented reference

NFCS 852.214

Additional locational details and former location of the well

The Maher family resided in the extreme north-eastern part of the townland, in the north-western vicinity of the old village of Tullahought and to the south of the south-eastern part of the same townland, near the old church in ruins (*Nat. Grid*: 243396, 130070) to the north-east of Lady's Well (*tld*: Kilmacoliver) and of an old School House (*EI*(6)) and adjoining the south-western portion of the adjoining townland of Knickeens.

Eamonn Doyle of nearby Curragh has indicated the site of William Maher's house on the Ordnance map. It is located to the south-west of Tullahought village in a half acre field marked on *EI*(25), just at the eastern boundary of the townland adjoining the western boundary of Pollrone. He has also indicated 'the site of the spring at the rear of the house which is no longer visible'. The 'Spring' is marked on *EI*(25) and was located near the boundary of an adjoining 4.493 acre field. Ned and Joan Purcell redesigned the old Maher house some forty years ago.

Eamonn Doyle informs me that 'the location of Bill Maher's house may be viewed as follows: [maps.osi.ie/publicviewer/#v1, 642909, 629360, 7, 9](https://maps.osi.ie/publicviewer/#v1,642909,629360,7,9).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its location and description is based on memory, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins), it had legends (Legends 16.22.1, 16.25.14) associated with it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1) and the spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B2).

115. Kilmacow Holy Well (*NMS, ASI*)

tld: Kilmacow, *p*: Kilmacow, *cp*: Kilmacow, *bar*: Iverk, [*OS* 43], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 043-062, Popularity: 0, no former pattern day recorded, No local form.

Documented reference

NMS, ASI (18/1/2016)

The well would appear to have been located near Tobersenan in the same townland but not immediately so given the different *SMR* reference numbers:

SMR: KK 043-062 (the well in question),

SMR: KK 043-006 (Tobersenan).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its location has not been ascertained, it may, like Tobersenan in the same townland, have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu, the well-name does not, on the evidence, appear to be of hagiographical origin and no spoken form has been secured.

116. Tobersenan (*E2(6)*), Tobar Sheanáin (well of St. Senan)

tld: Kilmacow, *p*: Kilmacow, *cp*: Kilmacow, *bar*: Iverk, *OS* 43, *Nat. Grid*: 256494, 117205, *SMR*: KK 043-006, Map 1.116; Popularity: 1, Feastday: 22 August, last pattern day: 29/8/1802, Fig. 47, Local form: St. Senan's Well (Mairéad Phelan, Ned Reddy, Kilmacow).

Documented references

OSFP, Brennan 1874-9, 64, *EI(25)*, *E2(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 34.61, *Carrigan NB* 66.71, *Carrigan NB* 67.76, *Carrigan NB* 71.59, *Carrigan NB* 97.356, *Carrigan IV* 134, 432, *NFCS* 843.229, *NFCS* 843.9, *ITAS(KK)*, Kilmacow, Form A, page 4, *O'Kelly* 130, *RMPKK*, Laffan 2005, 26, 31, 86, 87, *Ó Riain Saints* 557, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-western part of a small .389 acre field (*EI(25)*) between Kilmacow Bridge and the old Kilmacow Girls' School (*EI(25)*) in the eastern portion of the townland near which was located the old parish church (upon which a Protestant church was erected around 1818 (*Carrigan IV* 133), (*Nat.Grid*: 256885, 117115, *SMR*: KK 043-01601, *Tenison Vis.* 14, 62, *Oss.Vis.* 32, *OSL(KK)* II 233, *OSM(KK)* 79, *Carrigan NB* 6.147, *Carrigan IV* 133, *NFCS* 843.13, *ITAS(KK)* Kilmacow, Form A, page 2) and a graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 256884, 117115, *SMR*: KK 043-01602, in cemeterio de Kilmacow, *Troy Reg. (de Burgo)* 96, *OSL(KK)* II 233, *OSM(KK)* 79, *Carrigan NB* 61.35, *Carrigan IV* 134, Laffan 32). There are two manmade right angles in a stream at the back of Mairéad Phelan's house which indicate the location of 'St. Senan's Well', formerly a round well in The Bog Field near which are two railway sleepers. It is around 3 feet wide, the water, when there, is murky and leaves, weeds and willow herbs choke it. Tom Ahern erected an iron cross over the well around thirty years ago and Ned Reddy put a railing around it some years ago which has since been removed.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (old ch. + gr.), it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Trees 3.12.11 and Crosses 5.12, it has rituals (Rituals 2.9, 5.6, 12.6, 17.14) and legends (Legends 16.15.7,

16.35.4, 16A18) associated with it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.24) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

117. Toberachree (*EI(6)*), Tobar an Chrainn (well of the tree)

tld: Kilmacshane, *p*: Inistioge, *cp*: Inistioge, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 32, *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, generated co-ordinates: 262131, 138503, Map 3.117, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Well Field (Eamon Drea, Matt Drea, Kilmacshane).

Documented references

OSNB(21), (60), *EI(6)*, *E2(6)*, *Carrigan IV* 114, *Carrigan NB* 42.3, *Carrigan NB* 66.78, *Carrigan NB* 67.9, 10, *Carrigan NB* 97.59, *O'Kelly* 81

Additional locational details and possible former location of the well

The well was situated on Eamonn Drea's land in the south-western part of a 2.274 acre field (*EI(6)*, *EI(25)*) a short distance to the south-east of Kilmacshane Bridge (*EI(6)*) and to the east of the western boundary of the townland near the site of Shankill church (*Nat.Grid*: 261283, 137752, *SMR*: KK 032-01601, *OSNB(21)*, *OSNB(68)*, *OSL(KK)* II 284, *OSM(KK)* 163, *Carrigan NB* 43.3, *Carrigan IV* 108, 114, *Carrigan NB* 67.10, *O'Kelly* 78), 'near Ballyduff cross-roads' (*O'Kelly* 78).

Matt Drea refers to The Well Field but he has never seen the well. His uncle, Edward Drea, who died in 2002, tried to find the well by employing the services of a water-diviner but it proved unsuccessful. There is, however, a dyke of water beside where the well is supposed to have been. Matt believes that a nearby pond in a lane (on the side of the road) which never goes dry may have been connected with it. Cattle and sheep now graze the land.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, there is a tradition of a well having been here, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site), it had an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.12.12, the well-name was not of hagiographical origin and it now has a de-onomised spoken form (Onom.4B3).

118. St. Andrew's Well (*Carrigan* III 464)

tld: Kilmadum, *p*: Kilmadum, *cp*: Muckalee, *bar*: Fassadinan, [*OS* 14], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 014-079, co-ordinates of nearby Kilmadum Church: 252314, 164832, Map 2.118, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 30 November, Fig. 48, Local form: The Well (Ray Brophy, Kilmadum).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 48.135, *Carrigan NB* 85.61, *Carrigan* III 464, *O'Kelly* 45, 84, *Ballyfoyle P&P* 60, *NMS*, *ASI*

The Fishpond Field

Revd. Carrigan states in 1890 (*supra*) that the well 'is scarcely a well now' and adds in 1905 (*supra*) that 'it is now neglected'. It was apparently located in The Fishpond Field (1890), a poem concerning which was penned by Brother Leandor McGrath around a century after The Famine (cf. *Ballyfoyle P&P* 60). Although it is clear that Brother McGrath probably writing in the 1940s, was very au fait with this field, yet it is equally clear from the above stanza that he had no idea of the well's location. His nephews, Bill and John McGrath, now own The Fishpond Field. Br. McGrath was born in Kilmadum, Ballyfoyle, and along with two of his brothers, he joined the De La Salle Order (Farrell 2014, 28).

The Ballyfoyle of Carrigan's youth

Revd. Coleman quotes Revd. Carrigan's nostalgic comments on the old parishioners of Ballyfoyle parish during his youth in which he praises the respectful, neat dress of the mass-attendees and the fluency of their Irish:

'What a pity the old race is gone. I would give a good deal for a glimpse of the congregation I used to see in my native chapel of Ballyfoyle (between Castlecomer and Kilkenny) fifty-five years ago; the old men all dressed up in the Irish style, even to the riding coat, and the married women in their picturesque hooded cloaks; and all of them Irish speakers'. (Coleman 1927, 626).

Revd. Carrigan was born in the adjoining townland of Ruthstown in either May or August of the year 1860 (Ó Fearghail 2000, 109; Ó Fearghail 2005, xii).

Additional locational details and approximate former location of the well

The well may have been located in a 6.312 acre field (*EI(25)*) in the south-central part of the townland, ‘a couple of hundred yards south of the church’ (*Carrigan III 464*) (*Nat.Grid: 252314, 164832, SMR: KK 014-02001; OSNB(2); OSL(KK) I 31; OSM(KK) 91; Carrigan III 464; OSFM(KK) 8844A; O’Kelly 45; Ballyfoyle P&P 19*) and near the old church site of Ballyfoyle (*Nat.Grid: 252641, 164123, SMR: KK 014-021001, OSL(KK) I 31, OSM(KK) 91, Carrigan III 466, OSFM(KK) 8847A, O’Kelly 84*).

Ray Brophy of Kilmadum has outlined the Fish Pond field on the Ordnance map. Kilmadum Church Site is located in the north of the field and given that the well was ‘a couple of hundred yards south of the church’ (*supra*), this would give a location very near the roadway to the south. Ray also states that ‘priors in Kilkenny called the well after St. Andrew the Apostle’. The Fishpond Field is now overgrown with rushes.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, there is a tradition of a well having been here, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + ch. site), the well-name was of hagiographical origin (*Hag.1.4*) and its spoken form is a de-onomised one (*Onom.4B3*).

119. St. Mogarra's Well (NFCS 859.404)

tld: Kilmagar, *p*: Clara, *cp*: Clara, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 15, *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, generated coordinates: 257627, 158183, Map 3.119, Popularity: 2, no feastday or former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Well (Tom Brennan, Clarabricken).

Documented reference

NFCS 859.404

James Carrigan was born here

Carrigan's father, James, 'a good Irish speaker' was born in this townland in September 1817 (*Carrigan NB* 48.56, 57).

Additional locational details and well description

Given the locational cue 'in a field belonging to Mr. Malone' (NFCS 859.404), Tom Brennan (aged 80-85) of nearby Clarabricken has indicated the Malone's former residence (now rubble only) on the map where a 'Well' is marked (but not named) on *E1(25)*. It is not marked on either *E1(6)* or on *E2(6)*. It is situated to the south-east of Kilmagar House, near the southern boundary of Kilmagar townland, a short distance to the north-east of Clara Castle (*E2(6)*), to the east of an old 'Lime Kiln' (*E1(25)*) in the northern section of a 1.468 acre field (*E1(25)*), 'the old house field'. Its former owner, Pierce Malone died around twenty years ago, aged 85-90, while his wife, Bonnie, aged 90 (2015), is still alive. Tom informs me that it is a deep, half moon-shaped, 'surface' well. It contains a small cover, is still 'a good spring' and is not surrounded by stones.

Tom also brings my attention to a circular stone well which contains a flag and has three steps leading down into it to the immediate north-east of Kilmagar House. The well which is not marked on any of the Ordnance maps (*E1(6)*, *E2(6)*, *E1(25)*) is owned by Jeffrey Brennan and had the reputation of flooding. Tom adds there was a local tradition of a long-since disappeared monastic site beside this well).

However, notwithstanding the possible local ecclesiastical connection with this well, we must apply ourselves here to the well in question, Malone's Well.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (long-demolished ch.), the well-name was, it appears, of hagiographical origin and the current spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B1).

120. Tubber a'teampaill (*Carrigan* IV 240), Tobar an Teampaill (well of the church)

tld: Kilmanahin, *p*: Fiddown, *cp*: Templeorum, *bar*: Iverk, [*OS* 39], *Nat. Grid*: 246212, 125822, *SMR*: KK 039-003004, Map 1.120, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Well (Mary O'Driscoll, Mick O'Driscoll, Kilmanahin).

Documented references

Moore 1874-9, 32, 33, 35, *Carrigan NB* 6.14, *Carrigan NB* 30.5, 14, *Carrigan NB* 47.18, *Carrigan NB* 66.43, 44, *Carrigan NB* 67.56, *Carrigan NB* 97.344, *NFCS* 843.342, *O'Kelly* 128, Ryan 1986, 302, *RMPKK*, O'Shea 2014, 68, *NMS*, *ASI*

Well name

The well is in this instance named after the nearby church in place of Mainchín of Coolcashin (*Ó Riain Saints* 425), brother of Caisín, Lóchán [Rathlogan] and Fachtna [Tibberaghny] (*Ibid.* 300).

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-western part of a 2.508 acre field (*EI(25)*) in the south-eastern portion of the townland, to the north-west of Kilmanahin Cross Roads (*EI(25)*), 'in the South West quadrant of Kilmanahan crossroads' (Ryan 1986, 302), a few perches to the south of Kilmanahan church, in a hollow (*Nat.Grid*: 246212, 125822, *SMR*: KK 039-00301, *OSNB(26)*, Moore 1874-9, 32, *Carrigan NB* 6.14, *Carrigan IV* 240, *NFCS* 841.113, *NFCS* 843.342, *O'Kelly* 128; O'Shea 2014, 68, 97). The well was supposedly in the same field as the church (*Carrigan NB* 6.14), near which was also located a graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 246212, 125822; *Carrigan IV* 240; *NFCS* 843.342; O'Shea 2014, 97). The church and graveyard have disappeared (O'Shea 1999, 26).

Mary Driscoll (aged 85-90) who lives a quarter of a mile from the where the Blackmore residence was, has never seen the well. However, her nephew, Mick Driscoll (aged 65-70) saw it around twenty years ago. It is on the left hand side of a field just in off the Kilmanagh/Templeorum – Owing road. It is in a little hollow and is a shallow surface well with a good flow of water around 150 yards from where the Blackmore lived. Draining took place here around thirty years ago but the well appears to have been spared.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its location is remembered, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (demolished ch. + gr.), it had an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.1.5, the well-name was not of hagiographical origin and the spoken form is a deonomised one (Onom.4B2).

121. Kilmog Holy Well (RMPKK)

tld: Kilmog or Racecourse, *p*: Grange, *cp*: Danesfort, *bar*: Shillelogher, [OS 23], *Nat. Grid*: 249804, 151041, *SMR*: KK 023-009005, Map 1.121, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Fig. 66, 67, 68, Local form: The Pump (Dermot Kearney, Kilmog).

Documented references

RMPKK, NMS, ASI

Additional locational details and well/bush description

The well is located in north-eastern part of the townland near St. Patrick's Bush (*EI(6)*) growing over Glúin Phádraig (*OSL(KK)* I 267, *OSM(KK)* 53, *Loc.Pat.* 276, *Carrigan NB* 55.91, *Carrigan III* 392, *Duiske Chart.* 165 (1918), *Carrigan NB* 97.247, *NFCS* 854.228, 229, *NFCS* 855.339, *OSFM(KK)* 8921c, *OSFM(KK)* 8922, Lucas 1963, 36, *O'Kelly* 179, 183) near which an ancient church and churchyard (*Carrigan NB* 6.182, *Carrigan III* 392, 393) may have been formerly located. 'There is a tradition of an ancient church' (*O'Kelly* 183).

Dermot Kearney (aged 80-85) of Kilmog refers to the Raggedy Bush/St. Patrick's Bush, a whitethorn from which he formerly removed 180 rags after it fell in the year 2000. However, bits of clay remain in the root and it still blooms after a fashion. There is a pump situated around 10-15 feet from the bush. It was painted black and amber around ten years ago. It has been in situ since 1910, the well underneath having been very deep. This pump and an adjoining one here are both electric pumps. The bush and painted pump are parallel to each other and the road from Kilkenny to Kells is situated right beside it. Just over the boundary of Danesfort Catholic parish is the parish of St. Patrick's. The bush and nearby pump are situated on a dangerous bend on the road.

The left pillar of a gate, the gate and the right pillar of the gate separate them, the bush being to the left and the pump to the right.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. + gr. Tradition), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of a nearby holy tree (3.1.6), it has a legend (Legend 29.1) pertaining to it, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and the current spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B1).

122. Kilmogue Holy Well (*Carrigan* IV 240)

tld: Kilmogue, *p*: Fiddown, *cp*: Templeorum, *bar*: Iverk, [*OS* 35], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 035-086001, Popularity: 0, no former pattern day recorded, No local form.

Documented reference

NMS, ASI (18/1/2016)

The well under scrutiny here has been assigned an independent *SMR* reference number to Tubberachreene (*SMR*: *KK* 035-085004) in the same townland. The numbers may suggest that they were located close to one another.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it has not been located, it may, like Tubberachreene in the same townland, have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it is not known if the well-name was of hagiographical origin and no spoken form has been secured.

123. Tubberachreene (*Carrigan IV 233*)

tld: Kilmogue, *p*: Fiddown, *cp*: Templeorum, *bar*: Iverk, [*OS 35*], *Nat. Grid*: 250129, 128380, *SMR*: KK 035-085004, Map 1.123, Popularity: 1, former pattern day not recorded (perhaps 13 August), Local form: The Well Field (Angela Donovan, Kilmogue, and her sister, Lily Hennessy).

Documented references

OSM(KK), 67, Moore 1874-9, 34, *Carrigan NB* 6.139, *Carrigan IV* 233, 432, *Carrigan NB* 47.187, *Carrigan NB* 66.45, *Carrigan NB* 67.55, *Carrigan NB* 97.143, *Carrigan NB* 147.96, *NFCS* 842.169, 170, *O’Kelly* 163, *RMPKK*, O’Shea 1997, 33, O’Shea 2014, 43, 75, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located near the eastern boundary of the townland, about midway down, ‘a little to the west’ of a former church ruins (*OSM(KK)* 67), (*Nat.Grid*: 250129, 128380, *SMR*: KK 085001, *Carrigan NB* 6.63, in Pawrkathowmple, *Carrigan IV* 233, *NFCS* 842.18, *O’Kelly* 163; O’Shea 2014, 74, 96, 125) and graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 250129, 128380; *SMR*: KK 035-085; *Carrigan IV* 233; *NFCS* 842.169; O’Shea 2014, 96), beside a small circular rath or moat (*Nat.Grid*: 250129, 128380, *SMR*: KK 035-085003, *Carrigan NB* 6.139, *Carrigan NB* 97.343, *Carrigan IV* 233, *NFCS* 842.18, *O’Kelly* 163) in the middle of a 6.495 acre field (*EI(25)*) and to the north-west of Leac an Scáil megalithic tomb (*SMR*: KK 035-044; O’Shea 2014, 37) in the adjoining field to the south. There is also an old ‘smithy’ or forge located to the north-east of the Well (*EI(25)*).

Angela Donovan (aged 65-70) on whose land it is situated refers to The Well in The Well Field. It is small shallow well, just wider than the width of a bucket. It resembles a hole in the ground, a large chestnut tree lies to the back of it and there is a rock around it on both sides. Her mother used to draw water from it, the only visitors to it now being cattle.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (former ch. ruins + gr.), it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Trees 3.2.4, 3.7.1 and Rath/Moats 7.12, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and the spoken form is a de-onomised one (*Onom.4B1*).

124. Tobermurry (*E1(6)*), Tobar Mhuire (well of Our Lady)

tld: Kilmurry, *p*: Rathpatrick, *cp*: Slieverue, *bar*: Ida, *OS* 43, *Nat. Grid*: 263250, 114134, *SMR*: KK 043-037001, Map 1.124, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 15 August, former pattern day: following Sunday, Local form: The Well (Pat Conway, Ballinakill; Jim Power, The Rower).

Documented references

OSNB(20), *OSL(KK)* II 292, *OSM(KK)* 110, 111, *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *E1(25)*, *Carrigan NB* 6.143, *Carrigan NB* 61.29, *E2(6)*, *Carrigan IV* 202, 433, *Carrigan NB* 67.17, 51, *Carrigan NB* 97.357, *Carrigan NB* 149.37, *ITAS(KK)*, Slieverue, Form A, page 4, *O'Kelly* 118, Cowman 1982, 5, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser.* S 633142, Murtagh 2000, 58, 59, 98, 99, 100, 102, Murtagh 2001, 116, 117, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in a small .579 acre field (*E1(25)*), to the east of the western boundary of the townland and to the east of Milepost Village (*E1(25)*), a short distance to the south-west of Kilmurry Church site (*Nat.Grid*: 263450, 114148, *SMR*: KK 043-038001, *OSL(KK)* II 292, *OSM(KK)* 110, *E1(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 61.29, *Carrigan NB* 149.37, *Carrigan IV* 202, *ITAS(KK)* Slieverue, Form A, page 2 (1945), *O'Kelly* 118, Murtagh 2000, 29, 99, 100), the ruins of Kilmurry Castle being situated in close proximity to the south-east of the well (*Nat.Grid*: 263340, 114033, *SMR*: KK 046-028, *OSL(KK)* II 291, *Carrigan NB* 61.29, *Carrigan IV* 202, *ITAS(KK)* Slieverue, Form A, page 2 (1945), *O'Kelly* 118, Cowman 1982, 5, Murtagh 2000, 26, 27, 28, 30, 58, 59, 98, 100, 102, 103, 104).

Jim Walsh of The Rower relates that Pat Conway, who now lives in Ballinakill, Mullinavat, used to own the land in question with his wife, Josie, now deceased. The well, which is more or less circular, is located very close to the N25 road from Waterford to New Ross. It bubbles up from the ground, is about 3 feet in diameter and has stones around it. The Walsh family put a drain at the top of it to take away the surplus water – Johanna Walsh having been the owner in 1945 (*supra*).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site), it has a ritual (Ritual 5.7) and legend (Legend 16A 19) pertaining to it, the well-

name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1), it has toponymical evidence to corroborate it and the spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B1).

125. Kealy's Well (*Carrigan* II 162), Tobar Philib (*Carrigan* IV 133) (well of Philip)

tld: Kiltown, *p*: Castlecomer, *cp*: Castlecomer, *bar*: Fassadinan, [*OS* 5], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 005-053, generated co-ordinates: 252003, 174183, Map 3.125, Popularity: 1, former pattern day: 14 September, Local forms: Kealy's Well, The Pump (Michael Walsh, Firoda; Grace Rothwell, Kiltown).

Documented references

OSL(KK) I 45, *OSM(KK)* 90, *Carrigan NB* 72.124, *Carrigan NB* 73.125, 205, *Carrigan* II 162, *Carrigan* IV 433, *Carrigan NB* 84.61, 64, *Carrigan NB* 97.184, *NFCS* 865.175, *O'Kelly* 36, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 20, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and former location of the well

The well was located in the north-western vicinity of Castlecomer and in the south-western part of Kiltown townland, to the left hand side of the road located south of the crossroads, a very short distance to the north-west of the local church in ruins (*Nat. Grid*: 252320, 173790, *SMR*: KK 005-05401, *Carrigan* II 161, 162, *Carrigan NB* 84.64) and adjoining graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 252320, 173790, *SMR*: KK 005-05402, *OSL(KK)* II 162, *OSM(KK)* 90, *Carrigan* II 161, 162, *O'Kelly* 36).

Michael Walsh of Firoda has confirmed its location on the Ordnance map. It is marked simply 'W' on *E2(6)* and 'Well' on *E1(25)*, in the very north-eastern part of a 5.971 acre field, just to the left of the road as one travels from Castlecomer. Michael has heard the well being called Holy Cross Well and Kealy's Well in Kealy's Field, the land being now owned by Grace Rothwell. It was located very near the Castlecomer-Ballinakill new road. Cattle used to drink water from it up to the 1960s. When the Kealys bore a well for domestic purposes around forty years ago, the water going to the new pump disrupted the flow of the one-time holy well and it has been dry ever since. When the road was widened a few years ago, a carved stone on the top of the well was removed. A ditch lies beside it by the side of the road. Michael describes the well-area now as 'only a spot'.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, its location and description is remembered, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it was formerly the bearer of two names (Onom.2),

neither of which was of hagiographical origin, and its current spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B2).

126. Tobernaglohin (*EI(6)*), Tobar na gCloigeann (well of the skulls)

tld: Kiltrassy, *p*: Killamery, *cp*: Windgap, *bar*: Kells, *OS* 34, *Nat. Grid*: 240244, 132296, *SMR*: KK 034-003, Map 1.126, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day not recorded, Local form: Tobernaglakin (Tom Meagher, Liam Meagher, Kiltrassy).

Documented references

OSNB(43), *Carrigan NB* 26.81, *Carrigan NB* 47.68, *Carrigan NB* 66.50, *Carrigan NB* 67.58, *Carrigan NB* 74.215, *Carrigan NB* 127.45, *Carrigan IV* 323, *O'Kelly* 150, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser.* S 403323, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the south-eastern part of the townland between 200-300 yards (*Carrigan NB* 127.45) or a quarter of a mile (*Carrigan NB* 74.215) to the south-west of Kiltrassy old Church and graveyard (cf. Tobaratiampuill), in the immediate vicinity of Kiltrassy Moat (*Nat.Grid*: 240648, 131952, *SMR*: KK 034-008, *OSNB(43)*, *Carrigan IV* 323, *O'Kelly* 150).

Tom Meagher (aged 69, 2015) on whose land the well is located gives the pronunciation Tobernagliseen, while his brother, Liam (a year his junior) independently pronounces it Tobernaglokin. It is situated near the northern end of a small, narrow, peculiarly-shaped field, the field itself bearing no name. The Meaghers drew water from the well for domestic purposes up to the 1950s, before electrification. It has two square walls and a flat concrete cover, while a shallow well pump from it supplies the farm. The well itself is about 3½ feet deep. A stream used to flow beside it which used to take the overflow. There used to be drains in the field but these have long since been removed following reclamation.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Raths/Moats 7.13, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and it has a corrupted spoken form still in use (*Onom.4F*).

127. St. Luke's Well (EI(6))

tld: Knockmoylan, *p*: Kilkeasy, *cp*: Aghaviller, *bar*: Knocktopher, *OS* 36, *Nat. Grid*: 255474, 127492, *SMR*: KK 036-030, Map 1.127, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 18 October, former pattern day: 25 July (St. James's Day), Local form: The Well (Mícheál Ó Diarmada, Owen Darmody, Lukeswell).

Documented references

Vallencey (1786), *Stat.Sur.(KK)* 120, 613, *Aher Clem.* R 45 (1818), *Cinnlae Amhl.* II (1829), 216, *OSNB*(14), *OSL(KK)* II 146, *OSM(KK)* 83, *OSFP*, *Mullinavat Bapt.* (s.n. Denis Knox, 16/1/1844), *Mullinavat Bapt.* (s.n. Laurence Murphy, 25/1/1845), *Carrigan NB* 6.147, 149, *Carrigan IV* 21, 30, *Carrigan NB* 66.62, 68, *Carrigan NB* 67.67, 74, *Carrigan NB* 78.27, *Carrigan NB* 97.353, *NFCS* 852.272, *NFC* 468.112, 113, *NFCS* 848.193, 194, 237, *NFCS* 851.46, *NFCS* 852.294, *AA Road Bk.* 217, *O'Kelly* 167, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser.* S 556275, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 19, O'Shea 2014, 73, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and former location of the well

The well was located near the south-western part of a 1.133 acre field (*EI*(25)) in the south-eastern part of the townland, in the immediate south-western vicinity of Lukeswell Bridge and village near Lukeswell chapel (*Nat.Grid*: /-, *Stat.Sur.(KK)* 613, *Carrigan IV* 30, *NFCS* 848.194, *O'Kelly* 168) and Knockmoylan castle in ruins (*Nat.Grid*: 254492, 128397, *SMR*: KK 036-028, *OSL(KK)* II 149, *Carrigan IV* 21, *O'Kelly* 168).

Mícheál Ó Diarmada (aged 65-70) of Lukeswell informs me that the well was situated on the land where his grandmother came from, that a Jim Doherty, a first cousin of his father, William (1897-1968), closed it and that it was very close to where the Blackwater river flowed [Tobar na hAbha Duibhe]. An eventful pattern used to be held here during William's youth up to around ninety years ago, its sacredness or spirituality fading thereafter. Jim Moran is the present owner of the land.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, there is a tradition of a well having been here, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (chapel), it had an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.6.2, it had a ritual (Ritual 12.17) pertaining to it, the well was formerly the bearer of

two names (Onom.2), one of which was of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.5), there is toponymical evidence to corroborate the hagiographical name and the current spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B3).

128. Knockroe Holy Well (NMS, ASI)

tld: Knockroe, *p*: Tullahought, *cp*: Windgap, *bar*: Kells, [OS 34], *Nat. Grid*: 240900, 131280, *SMR*: KK 034-019002, Map 1.128, Popularity: 0, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Well (Martin O'Shea, Knockroe).

Documented reference

NMS, ASI (18/1/2016)

Possible former location of the well

Judging from the Archaeological Survey of Ireland website, /www.archaeology.ie/, the well would appear to be located in the extreme south-eastern part of a square-shaped 1.638 acre field (*EI(25)*) which adjoins the south-western peak of a triangular-shaped 1.621 acre field, two fields to the south-east of Tobernaraha. Disused slate quarries are shown in the fields to the north and north-west, while a megalithic tomb-passage (*Nat.Grid*: 240873, 131261; *SMR*: KK 034-019001, Murphy 2017, 190) is recorded around the northern boundary of a practically-adjoining 1.594 acre field to its south, the well apparently lying in the north-eastern environs of the tomb-passage (cf. Meehan 2008, 354-356 'Knockroe Passage Cairn'), the site of which being locally known as the 'Caiseal' (Meehan 354).

Martin O'Shea (aged 70-75) of Knockroe describes 'An Caiseal' and attends the winter solstice gathering here like many of his neighbours. Having supplied Martin with an Ordnance Survey map with the archaeological holy well site superimposed thereon, he adds that 'to get to the supposed site, take the laneway from the Windgap/Ahenny roadway in the east and head west passing two farmyards along the way. On arriving at a third ruined farmyard and The Passage Tomb, from here a narrow, overgrown bóithrín on the right leads north for another 100 metres approximately to a dilapidated cottage. According to the map supplied, the site of this holy well lies close to the entrance of this bóithrín'. He cautions, however, that neither he nor 'local people have any memories' of a well here and he suggests a well nearby (marked simply 'Well' on *EI(25)*) on the eastern side of the Windgap/Ahenny road 'which is clearly visible from the roadway as a tree marks its exact spot' to the east of the eastern boundary of Knockroe and to the north of the north-western boundary of Inchanaglogh townland.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it has not been located, it appears to have been located near a Passage Tomb, the well-name, if one ever existed, apart from the townland name introduced for labelling purposes, does not appear to be of hagiographical origin and no spoken form has been secured.

129. Tobernaraha (*EI(6)*), Tobar na Rátha (well of the enclosure)

tld: Knockroe, *p*: Tullahought, *cp*: Windgap, *bar*: Kells, *OS* 34, *Nat. Grid*: 240778, 131511, *SMR*: KK 034-011, Map 1.129, Popularity: 2, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: Tobar na Rátha (Martin O'Shea, Knockroe; Tom Meagher, Oldcastle).

Documented references

OSNB(73), *OSFP*, *OSM(KK)* 364, *EI(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 26.81, *Carrigan NB* 66.48, *Carrigan NB* 74.219, *Carrigan NB* 141.25, *Carrigan IV* 325, *O'Kelly* 157, *Discov.Ser.* S 408315, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located close to the western boundary of the townland in the south-western part of a large field, 'the Raheen field' (*O'Kelly* 157), two fields to the east of the Tipperary border, near where the townlands of Knockroe, Kiltrassy and Castlejohn meet. It is situated two fields to the south-east of the south-eastern extremity of the adjoining townland of Kiltrassy. Martin O'Shea (70-75) refers to the well as Tobernarawha. A stream still flows to the south of the well but the well itself, in The Well Field, is no longer visible. He informs me that the well was a meeting-place for many of the neighbours who used to assemble there to chat before electrification in the late 1950s. Arriving with buckets, they ferried the water home for domestic purposes. Martin attests to the fact that 'they kept the well beautifully'. Although it was located on Martin's land, neither he nor his family drew water from it as they used another well closer to their residence.

The well was round-shaped and made of stone, one piled on the other, with no concrete. The water was ice-cold and the well never went dry. Over time, animals drank the water and trampled on the well, so much so, that now even the stones are hidden beneath the surface in a wet, marshy area, the one-time location of the well. The name-giving fort/ráth is located in the nearby land of Tom and Liam Meagher in the adjoining townland of Kiltrassy.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is remembered locally, it may have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu (old cashel gr., perhaps) it had a locational characteristic in the form of

Raths/Moats 7.14, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and a spoken form is still in use.

130. Trinity Well (EI(6))

tld: Knocktopherabbey, *p*: Knocktopher, *cp*: Ballyhale, *bar*: Knocktopher, *OS* 31, *Nat. Grid*: 253266, 137068, *SMR*: KK 031-017009, Map 1.130, Popularity: 3, former pattern day: third Sunday of June (Trinity Sunday), Fig. 49, 50, Date of visit: 11/7/2016, Local form: Trinity Well (Derek, Liz of Knocktopher Abbey (Four Seasons)).

Documented references

OSNB(2:12), *OSL(KK)* II 113, *EI*(6), Hogan 1873, 265, *Carrigan NB* 6.157, *E1*(25), *E2*(6), *Carrigan IV* 26, *Carrigan NB* 34.83, *Carrigan NB* 47.152, *Carrigan NB* 66.62, *Carrigan NB* 67.67, Redmond 1931, 17, *NFCS* 848.135, *AA Road Bk.* 203, *O'Kelly* 171, Logan 1980, 39, Phelan 1988, 38, *RMPKK*, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 19, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is situated in Knocktopher House/Mansion (*Nat.Grid*: /-, *OSL(KK)* II 113, *Carrigan NB* 6.157, *Carrigan IV* 24, *O'Kelly* 171, *Shell Guide Harb.* 229, *Nat.Mon.Harb.* 204) in the north-eastern part of the townland under the floor boards of the servants' hall, near Knocktopher Church and Tower (*Nat.Grid*: /-, *Tenison Vis.* 19, *Oss.Vis.* 34, *Lewis* II 241, *OSM(KK)* 415, *Carrigan* 6.159, *Carrigan IV* 23, Orpen 1909, 325, *Nat.Mon.Harb.* 204, Meehan 361) and friary (*Nat.Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 031-01708, *OSL(KK)* II 113, *Mon.Hib.* 376, *AA Road Bk.* 203, *Shell Guide Harb.* 229, *Nat.Mon.Harb.* 204).

On walking from the Ballroom and down a winding staircase, one reaches the wine vault where the open circular well, around 4 feet wide, is in view. A light bulb shines over it in the interest of safety. It is at ground level, comes from an underground reservoir and is very deep during the winter. It is built up on one side and not on the other. There is a wooden floor around it. During the summer American visitors who are aware of its association with the Blessed Trinity, take photos of it and bring a quantity of water home with them for future christenings of relatives in their homeland.

A golden plaque hanging on a white-washed wall near the well reads 'Holy Trinity Well, Dated 1356'.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (old abbey + old ch.), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.9) and a spoken form reflective of this is still in use.

131. Tobermolua (*E1(6)*), Tobar Molua (well of St. Molua)

tld: Kylesnaskeagh, *p*: Killaloe, *cp*: Kilmanagh, *bar*: Shillelogher, *OS* 22, *Nat. Grid*: 239739, 148168, *SMR*: KK 022-017001, Map 1.131, Popularity: 2, Feastday: 4 August, former pattern day: the Sunday after 4 August, Local form: Tobar Molua (Pat O'Halloran, Kylesnaskeagh; James Cahill, Killaloe).

Documented references

OSL(KK) II 52, *OSM(KK)* 25, *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *O'Hanlon Saints* VIII 69, Holahan 1883, 112, *Carrigan* III 440, 441, *Carrigan NB* 47.94, *Carrigan NB* 66.56, *Carrigan NB* 67.64, *Carrigan NB* 74.222, *Carrigan NB* 97.269, *NFCS* 854.31, 121, *ITAS(KK)*, Kilmanagh, Form A, page 6, Mac Leod 1946, 161, 162, *O'Kelly* 185, *Discov.Ser.* S 398482, *RMPKK*, Larkin 2002, 117, 118, Moss 2014, 181, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and former well description

The well was located in a small, triangular-shaped 1.946 acre field in the south-western part of the townland around midway between Kilmanagh and Callan, to the north of Killaloe Bridge (*E2(6)*), of Killaloe old chapel (*Nat.Grid*: 239737, 147929, *SMR*: 022-01803, *Stat.Sur.(KK)* 611, *O'Hanlon Saints* VIII 69, *Carrigan NB* 1.197, *Carrigan* III 439, *NFCS* 854.121, *O'Kelly* 185) and the adjoining graveyard (*Nat.Grid*: 239737, 147928, *SMR*: KK 022-01801, *OSL(KK)* II 52, *OSM(KK)* 25, *Carrigan* III 439, *NFCS* 854.138, *NFCS* 867.46, *ITAS(KK)* Kilmnagh, Form A, page 3).

Pat O'Halloran of Kylesnaskeagh on whose land it was situated relates that it was called 'St. Molua's Well', that it was located in The Lower Bog Field, that it was round in shape, that it had steps down into it and that it was filled in around forty years ago.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is remembered locally, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (old chapel + gr.), it had additional locational characteristics in the form of Stones 4.10 and Effigies/Statutes 6.6, it had a legend (Legend 11.1) pertaining to it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.18), there is toponymical evidence to corroborate it and a spoken form reflective of this is still in use.

132. St. Bridget[’s Well] (Carrigan IV 324)

tld: Lamoge, *p*: Tullahought, *cp*: Windgap, *bar*: Kells, [OS 34], *Nat. Grid*: 243154, 132958, *SMR*: KK 034-013005, Map 1.132, Popularity: 1, Feastday and former pattern day: 1 February, Local form: The Well (John Comerford, Lamoge).

Documented references

Carrigan IV 324, *Carrigan NB 34.98*, *Carrigan NB 66.49*, *Carrigan NB 67.61*, *Carrigan NB 97.335*, *ITAS(KK)*, Windgap, Form A, page 4, *O’Kelly 157*, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-western part of the townland, to the east of the road from Windgap to Templeorum, a short distance to the north-east of the south-eastern boundary of the adjoining townland of Garranhalloo, in the vicinity of (i) Lamoge church site (*Nat. Grid*: 243155, 132940, *SMR*: KK 034-01301, *OSNB(77)*, *EI(6)*, *Carrigan NB 6.151*, *Carrigan NB 74.219*, *Carrigan IV 324*, *ITAS(KK)* Windgap, Form A, page 4 (1945), *O’Kelly 157*) and (ii) graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 243154, 132929, *SMR*: KK 034-01302, *OSL(KK)* II 109, *OSM(KK)* 43, *Carrigan NB 74.219*, *Carrigan IV 324*, *NFCS 852.217*, *ITAS(KK)* Windgap, Form A, page 5 (1945), *Shell Guide Harb.* 225) ‘a little to the north of the churchyard in ‘the church field’ (*Carrigan IV 324*).

John Comerford (aged 85-90) informs me that the River Lingaun starts at The Well in The Bog Field, which field he drained around forty years ago. The church ruins are on his land and the well is in the adjoining field to the north. The well is a hole in the ground, like spring bubbles up from the ground, it measures around 5 feet in diameter and there is a fall of ground around it on all sides. It never runs dry. During John’s youth, some seventy years ago, he and family members and neighbours used to arrive here with buckets and bring the water home for domestic use.

It was about 3-5 feet deep at that time (in the low part of the field) and because of the spring it was never covered.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + gr.), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.2) and the current spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B1).

133. Tubbernaev Mulleeng (*Carrigan* IV 454)

Tobar Naomh Moling (well of St. Moling)

tld: Listerlin, *p*: Listerlin, *cp*: Rosbercon, *bar*: Ida, [*OS* 37], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 036-048001 [*sic*], generated co-ordinates: 264294, 128808, Map 3.133, Popularity: 2, Feastday: 17 June (and possible former pattern day), Local form: The Well (Eddie Long, Darren Atkins, Listerlin).

Documented references

Par.Sur. III 244, 245, *OSL(KK)* II 166, *OSM(KK)* 173, *Camb.Evers.* I (1848-51), 132, Moore 1874-9, 28, MacKinlay 1893, 235, *Carrigan* IV 190, 433, *Carrigan NB* 67.12, 46, *Carrigan NB* 97.359, *NFCS* 846.1, 250, 264, 313, 314, 414, *ITAS(KK)*, Rosbercon, Form A, pages 2, 6, *Fest.Lugh.* 233, Lucas 1963, 40, *O'Kelly* 117, Logan 1980, 91, Bord & Bord 1985, 99, 239, *RMPKK*, Murphy 2000, 14, 15, Mac Coitir 2003, 17, 55, *Ó Riain Saints* 489, *NMS*, *ASI*

Vibrancy of the Irish language

The accuracy of Carrigan's early twentieth-century transliterated forms (1900, 1905, 1920¹⁻³) may be understood in the context of the following remark by William Shaw-Mason concerning the viable nature of the Irish language in the area in the early part of the nineteenth century, to the effect that 'the languages used are English and Irish; many of the people particularly those advanced in years, know no other language than the latter' (*Par. Sur.* III 244).

Credulous parishioners

He also states that the people of the parish 'are prone to superstition and credulity' (*Ibid.*), a statement which may have been influenced by the locally-held traditional beliefs that the hawthorn tree beside the well sprung from the saint's walking stick and that the adjacent bullaun stones (*SMR*: KK 036-048004, *SMR*: KK 036-048005, *SMR*: KK 036-048006) provided a cure for headaches.

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the southern part of the townland in a field called Fidhawn (*Carrigan* IV 190, *Carrigan NB* 97.359), 'two or three hundred yards south of the church' (*Carrigan* IV

190), ‘roughly a quarter of a mile from the church site’ (*O’Kelly* 117) (*Nat. Grid*: 263978, 128951, *SMR*: KK 036-02701, *Oss.Vis.* 35 (1799), *Carrigan NB* 6.145, *Carrigan IV* 108, 187, 190, *NFCS* 845.92, *ITAS(KK)* Rosbercon, Form A, page 6, *O’Kelly* 117), beside which lies an old graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 263978, 128951, *SMR*: KK 036-02702, *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *Carrigan IV* 190, *NFCS* 846.263). Listerlin Moat (*Nat. Grid*: 263965, 129078, *SMR*: KK 036-026, *Carrigan IV* 190, Orpen 1909, 324, 325, *Fest. Lugh.* 233, *O’Kelly* 117) was located ‘about 80 perches’ (*Carrigan IV* 190) or ‘200 yards’ (*ITAS(KK)* Rosbercon, Form A, page 4) north of the graveyard.

Eddie Long of Listerlin confirms that the well is still in existence, along with three stones, ‘one for your knee, one for your head and one for your back.’ He also states that ‘the elder tree is gone.’ A bungalow has been recently built beside the stream, Darren Atkins being its owner. The well appears to be marked ‘Spring’ on *E2(6)* and on *E1(25)*.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + gr.), it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Trees 3.1.7, Stones 4.11 and Raths/Moats 7.15, it has many legends (Legends 1.1, 4.5, 5.1, 16.15.8, 16.26.3, 16.28.1, 20.5) pertaining to it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.17) and the current spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B1).

134. Maudlin Holy Well (NMS, ASI)

tld: Maudlin, *p*: Mothell, *cp*: Ballyragget, *bar*: Fassadinan, [*OS* 10], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 010-195, Popularity: 0, no former pattern day recorded, No local form.

Documented reference

NMS, ASI (18/1/2016)

It is uncertain whether the well in question here was confused with Tobar Muire Bridge (*E2(6)*) which is located near the eastern boundary of Kilmacar beside the Gloscha stream and just to the west of where the townlands of Kilmacar, Maudlin and Coolnambrisklaun or Coolnacoppoge meet (which location would correspond to the north-western boundary of Maudlin, an adjoining townland – ‘Tobar Muire is a river [!] that rises in Toor and flows through Maudlin, Esker and Killcollin’, *NFCS* 864.149; ‘it [the well] occupied the centre of a garden on the right of the road leading to Maudlin’, *NFCS* 865.388), which, indeed, may well be the case, or whether a stream or well-like pool formerly existed in Maudlin, perhaps near the western boundary of the adjoining townland of Lisnafunshin, where (in Maudlin) was located the site of a leper hospital: ‘Leper Hospital Site’, *RMPKK* (1996).

Leper hospitals in Ireland

In his study of leper hospitals in medieval Ireland, Gerard A. Lee, discussing in particular leprosy and its patron saints, states that ‘a leper hospital or lazar-house was often known as the ‘Maudlin House’, Maudlin being a corruption of the name of [St. Mary] Magdalene or Madeleine and the site and grounds of the hospital or its endowed lands were often called ‘The Maudlins’ (Lee 1996, 19).

In addition to St. Mary Magdalene as a one-time popular patron of leprosy ‘in these islands’, he lists St. Nicholas and St. Stephen (the first martyr) and concludes that ‘in a few instances, hospitals were dedicated to St. Brigid, St. Laurence, St. James or one of the St. Johns’ (*Ibid.*). Tom Lyng states that ‘Maudlins were pre-reformation hospitals – hence the term “spital (spittle) house” – for the isolation of leprosy and contagious skin diseases’ (Lyng 1984, 103), that is, not just for ‘leprosy’ alone.

Dr. Evelyn Bolster also applies the term ‘a virulent form of dermatitis’ rather than pure ‘leprosy’ (Bolster 1972, 301, 302).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it has not been located (unless it is connected with the well in Kilmacar), it does not appear to have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu, the name may be of hagiographical origin and a spoken form has not been secured.

135. St. James's Well (E1(6))

tld: Mill Island, *p*: Mallardstown, *cp*: Callan, *bar*: Kells, *OS* 26, *Nat. Grid*: 243204, 142695, *SMR*: KK 026-011, Map 1.135, Popularity: 2, Feastday and former pattern day: 25 July, Local form: James's Well (John Somers, Mai Fennelly, Mill Island, Callan).

Documented references

Cinnlae Amhl. I 100, 170, 184, II 110, 182, *OSNB* (37) (28), *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, Hogan 1859, 478, *Carrigan NB* 33.45, *Carrigan NB* 71.186, *Carrigan NB* 74.212, *Carrigan NB* 85.47, *Carrigan* III 323, 324, *Carrigan* IV 433, *Carrigan NB* 97.259, *NFCS* 853.126, 152, 232, 250, *NFCS* 854.21, *E2(6)*, *E2(25)*, *Fest.Lugh.* 646, *KP* 9/2/1968, p12, *O'Kelly* 154, 155, Danaher 1972, 183, *Discov.Ser.* S 432428, *RMPKK*, Brennan 2001, 82, Fitzgerald 2003, 220, Brennan 2006, 138, Saunders 2006, 142, Lynch 2010, 44, O'Grady 2013, 160, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the western part of a long 5.671 acre field (*E1(25)*), on the south-eastern outskirts of Callan, near Callan Golf Club, beside the King's River and an old flour mill (*Lewis* II 338, *OSNB(37)*, *Carrigan* III 323) and a short distance to the south-east of the ruin of Whitechurch (*Nat. Grid*: 244974, 141282, *SMR*: KK 027-03801, *Aher Clem.* R47 (1816), *OSL(KK)* II 89, *Carrigan* III 323, *Fest. Lugh.* 646, *O'Kelly* 12, Brennan 2001, 82) and adjoining graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 244974, 141289, *SMR*: KK 027-03802, *OSL(KK)* II 90, *Carrigan* III 323, *O'Kelly* 12).

'James's Well' is rectangular in shape being about 8 feet by 5 feet and 1½ foot deep. It is a moss-covered bubbling stone well and has two steps down to it. There is a slope of 2-3 feet into it from the nearby Kells-Callan road, being about 10 yards only from the road. A 3 feet round pipe was inserted here in the 1950s and the water flows to the nearby King's River. The stones around it are 3-4 feet high. Mai Fennelly is the owner of the land in question.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has rituals (Rituals 1.7, 15.2) associated with it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.3) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

136. Toberacluggeen (EI(6)), Tobar an Chloigín (well of the little bell)

tld: Milltown, *p*: Muckalee, *cp*: Templeorum, *bar*: Knocktopher, *OS* 35, *Nat. Grid*: 251032, 127362, *SMR*: KK 035-058, Map 1.136, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Fig. 53, Date of visit: 9/4/2016, Local form: The Holy Well (Tom Reid, Mary Reid, Milltown).

Documented references

OSL(KK) II 201, *OSM(KK)* 119, *OSFP*, *EI(6)*, Moore 1874-9, 34, *Carrigan NB* 6.149, 169, *EI(25)*, *E2(6)*, *Carrigan IV* 234, *Carrigan NB* 66.45, 49, *Carrigan NB* 67.53, *Carrigan NB* 97.344, *Carrigan NB* 149.12, *NFCS* 842.121, 122, 171, *O’Kelly* 131, *Discov. Ser. S* 512273, *RMPKK*, O’Shea 1999, 39, O’Shea 2014, 44, 77, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-west corner of a small peculiarly-shaped area surrounded by five fields (a .909 acre field to the south, a 1.316 acre field to the west, a .551 acre field to the north-west, a .649 field to the north and a .718 acre field to the east) to the south-west of Harristown village and in the north-western portion of the townland. Situated a short distance to the south-east of the well are (i) Muckalee Church in ruins (*Nat. Grid*: 252290, 126585, *SMR*: KK 039-009001, *OSL(KK)* II 201, *OSM(KK)* 119, Moore 1874-9, 34, *Carrigan IV* 234, Ó Riain 2008, 33) and (ii) an adjoining old graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 252300, 126580, *SMR*: KK 039-009002, *OSL(KK)* II 201, *OSM(KK)* 119, *Carrigan IV* 234, O’Shea 1999, 38).

‘The Holy Well’ has no actual hole in the ground but it bubbles up from the surface. There is a sally bush over it and it has steps down into it. There are stones on one side of it rising to a height of around 3 feet. Its diameter is around 3-4 yards across and cattle drink from the wet surface spring. Mary Reid (aged 70-75) informs me that her son, Tom, cleaned the well and found sand in it. It is still remembered locally as having been visited formerly as a cure for sore eyes.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Trees 3.1.8 and Rath/Moats 7.16, it has rituals (Rituals 2A18, 12.18, 18.9, 19.3, 20.9, 22A) and a legend

pertaining to it (Legends 16.25.15), the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and the current spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B1).

137. Toberlaghteen (*EI(6)*), Tobar Laichtín (well of St. Laichtín)

tld: Moat, *p*: Freshford, *cp*: Freshford, *bar*: Crannagh, *OS* 13, *Nat. Grid*: 241290, 164640, *SMR*: KK 013-025, Map 1.137, Popularity: 2, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 19 March, Fig. 54, 55, 56, 57, Date of visit: 9/4/2016, Local form: St. Laichtin's [*sic*] Well (John Cahill, Sean Ryan, Moat).

Documented references

Aher Clem. R 32 (1817), *Freshford Bapt.* (s.n. Mary Brophy, 1/1/1826), *OSNB*(30), *OSL(KK)* I 188, *OSM(KK)* 14, *OSFP*, *Prim. Anders. Nooks* 61, *ARE* I 244, note g, *O'Hanlon Saints* III 847, *Loc.Pat.* 377, *Carrigan NB* 74.196, *Carrigan NB* 158.24, Healy 1893, 148, Healy 1901, 25, 26, E2)6), E1(25), *Carrigan* II 256, Sparks & Bligh 1926, 101, *NFCS* 866.361, 466, *AA Road Bk.* 170, *O'Kelly* 13, *Shell Guide Harb.* 186, *RMPKK*, *Discov. Ser.* S 414647, Cantwell 2000, 33, *Freshford Sketches* 48, *St. Lachtain's CP* 48, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The holy well is situated in a 4.057 acre field (*EI(25)*) to the south-east of Freshford village in the north-eastern part of the townland of Moat close to the Nuenna River and in the vicinity of Freshford Church (*Nat. Grid*: 240727, 164763, *SMR*: KK 013-02301, *OSL(KK)* I 188, *OSM(KK)* 13, *Carrigan* II 253, *Nat.Mon.Harb.* 196, *Ó Riain Saints* 236, 387) and graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 240753, 164767, *SMR*: KK 013-02302, in coemeterio de Freshford, *Troy Reg. (de Burgo)* 97, *Carrigan* I 200, *Carrigan* II 255).

Olive Ryan (aged 70-75) of Moat relates that 'St. Lachtin's Well' is located near the roadside in a field where the Health Centre is situated. It is round in shape and is described as being 'down at Ryan's gate'. Members of FÁS took pampas grass out of it some years ago and put stones into it. It had been flooded for a few years prior to this. A Fr. Henry (surname) used to recite the Rosary here on the 15th of August around forty years ago. It was also known locally to have been visited by people suffering from eye complaints.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. + gr.), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.2.5, it has rituals (Rituals 8.2, 13.13) and legends (Legends 16.19.3, 16.25.16) associated with it, the

well-name is of hagiographical origin and a spoken form reflective of this is still in use (Hag.4.11).

138. Toberpatrick (*EI(6)*), Tobar Phádraig (well of St. Patrick)

tld: Mountnugent Lower, *p*: Rathcoole, *cp*: St. John's, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 15, *Nat. Grid*: 256617, 161914, *SMR*: KK 015-012, Map 1.138, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 17 March, Local form: St. Patrick's Well (Mary Brophy, Seamus Dowling, Mountnugent).

Documented references

OSNB(30), (41), *EI(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 74.191, *E2(6)*, *EI(25)*, *Carrigan III* 273, *Carrigan NB* 97.297, 302, *O'Kelly* 90, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser.* S 564618

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located around the north-western part of a .518 acre field (*EI(25)*) in the north-western part of the townland, just to the south of the southern boundary of the adjoining townland of Agha, a short distance to the north-east of St. John's Well and Johnswell village and to the south-west of a largely wooded area.

'St. Patrick's Well' is now covered up with briars and bushes on the side of the Johnswell road. Mary Brophy (aged 85-90) of Johnswell Post Office relates that it was a small square well with a flag on top and that for many decades the only visitors to the well were passing cattle. Prior to this, however, during Mary's youth, locals used to arrive here with buckets and ferry the water home for domestic use, a practice which died out during the period 1940-1950. Mary also speaks of the locally-held belief that St. Patrick is supposed to have blessed the well. Aga Butler, from whose gate the well is only a couple of yards distant, died in February 2015.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (chapel), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.1) and a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

139. Muckalee Holy Well (*Carrigan* IV 454)

tld: Muckalee, *p*: Muckalee, *cp*: Muckalee, *bar*: Fassadinan, [*OS* 10], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 010-106, generated co-ordinates: 253702, 166851, Map 3.139, Popularity: 1, former pattern day: 8 September, Local form: The Well (Pádraig Hunt, Gaulstown).

Documented references

OSL(KK) I 17, *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 26.4, *Carrigan* III 454, *O'Kelly* 51, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and former location of the well

The well was located in the southern part of the townland to the north of the Douglas River (*E2(6)*), between the eastern part of Scanlansland and the north-western part of Gaulstown, ‘a couple of fields north-east of the church’ (*Carrigan* IV 454) of Muckalee [to be distinguished from the Muckalee Church ruins in Garrygaug *tld*, cf. Milltown] (*Nat. Grid*: 253333, 166756, *SMR*: KK 010-06901, *OSL(KK)* I 16, *OSFP*, *Carrigan* III 453, 454, 477, *E2(6)*, *OSFM(KK)* 8872, *O'Kelly* 51, barony of Fassadinan) beside which is located an old graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 253342, 166752, *SMR*: KK 010-06902, *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *Carrigan* III 453, 454, *O'Kelly* 51).

Pádraig Hunt of adjoining Gaulstown (a descendant of Carrigan’s ‘Mr. Hunt’) has marked The Faugha Field on the Ordnance map and he states that it was piped by his grandfather, Paddy Hunt, ‘out to the road ditch where it still flows’. He indicates the well in the south-western part of a 10.384 acre field (*E1(25)*), The Faugha.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, there is a tradition of a well having been here, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), the well-name does not appear to have been of hagiographical origin and the spoken form now in use is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B3).

140. St. Mullin's Well (EI(6)) (well of St. Moling)

tld: Mullennakill, *p*: Jerpointwest, *cp*: Rosbercon, *bar*: Knocktopher, *OS* 36, *Nat. Grid*: 260181, 131346, *SMR*: KK 036-012001, Map 1.140, Popularity: 3, Feastday: 17 June, former pattern day: on 20 August or the following Sunday (St Bernard's Day: 20 August), Fig. 58, Local form: St. Moling's Well (John Mackey, John Kennedy, Mullennakill).

Documented references

Duan.Osr. 61, 61.4, 5, 12, 16, 17, *Stat.Sur.(KK)* 121, *Par.Sur.* III 245, *OSNB(70)*, *EI(6)*, *Cambr.Evers.* 132, Moore 1874-9, 30, *Carrigan NB* 6.145, *Carrigan NB* 40.171, *Carrigan NB* 61.36, 39, 40, 51, *Carrigan IV* 192, 193, 432, *Carrigan NB* 67.11, 45, *Carrigan NB* 97.359, *NFCS* 846.2, 250, 251, 252, 313, 314, *NFCS* 848.292, 293, 301, 302, 303, *NFCS* 851.19.20, 46, 47, 48, 49, *ITAS(KK)*, Rosbercon, Form A, pages 3, 6, *Fest.Lugh.* 232, Tighe 1965, 5, *O'Kelly* 165, Murphy 1970, 42, 43, Pilsworth 1972, 7, Logan 1980, 52, 87, 93, *Shell Guide Harb.* 207, *Harb. Pilgr.* 230, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser.* S 603314, Murphy 2000, 17, 213, 214, 215, Rackard, O'Callaghan 2001, 58, Healy 2001, 49, Fitzgerald 2005, 392, 393, 394, Meehan 2008, 351, 352, Walsh 2012, 71, *NMS*, *ASI*

Irish language

Carrigan's accurately transliterated name-forms, Tubbermulleenh (1900), Craown-Mulleeng (1900), Tubber-chraown-Mulleeng (1900), Craown-Mulleeng (1900), Thubber yass Crown Mullh-eeng (1900), were received from Irish speakers born at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Revd. Shaw-Mason draws attention to the fact that many elderly people (around the time that Carrigan's informants were born) in the neighbouring parish of Listerlin some eighty years earlier, were conversant in the Irish language only, 'the languages used are English and Irish; many of the people particularly those advanced in years, know no other language than the latter' (*Par.Sur.* III 244 (1819)).

Credulous parishioners

Shaw-Mason also remarks of the people of the area that 'like the ignorant and uneducated in general, they are prone to supersition and credulity' (*Ibid.*).

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in a small half acre site a short distance in from the road, in the north-western part of the townland, to the south-east of the saint's cave (*Nat. Grid: 259753, 131312*) in the adjoining townland of Coolnahau, and to the west of Mullennakill old church (*Nat. Grid: 261149, 131444, SMR: KK 036-01401, Stat.Sur.(KK) 604, Par.Sur. III (1819), 245, Moore 1874-9, 30, Carrigan NB 40.172, O'Kelly 165, Murphy 1970, 43, Shell Guide Harb. 207, Meehan 351*) and adjacent graveyard (*Nat. Grid: 261149, 131444, Carrigan IV 191, Murphy 1970, 43, Murphy 2000, 16*).

The well is on the side of a hill overlooking the Arrigle valley, John Mackey being the present owner of the land. It is a circular stone well around 3 feet deep, the water issuing from the hill and not from the ground. John Kennedy (aged 82, 2015) who is a member of the well committee informs me that Mass is celebrated here annually on the first Sunday after the 20th August, there being no fewer than 300-400 devotees in attendance.

St. Moling's Statue is around 20 feet beneath the level of the road and is around 30 yards distant from the well, there being 26 concrete steps down to the well from the statue. Momentoes are still left on the rough stone altar which is situated around 5 yards to the north east of the well and St. Moling's Tree, the centre of which was completely rotten, was cut down for health and safety reasons in August 2014 as part of it had already collapsed.

The well is situated around 20 feet below the road, the hill-side site measuring about half an acre. Cans and mugs are seen at the well and the well is visible from the roadside above.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Trees 3.2.6, 3.3.2, 3.7.2, Stones 4.12, Crosses 5.13, Effigies/Statues 6.7, it has rituals (Rituals 5.8, 12.9, 13.14, 18.10, 24 B1) and many legends (Legends 1.2, 5.2, 12.9, 16.3.1, 16.6.1, 16.15.9, 16.16.1, 16.25.17, 16.26.4, 16.30.3, 16.36.2, 16.37.2, 20.7, 22.5, 28.6, 29.2) associated with it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag. 4.17) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

141. Lady's Well (E1(6))

tld: Newtown, *p*: Thomastown, *cp*: Thomastown, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 28, *Nat. Grid*: 258284, 142176, *SMR*: KK 028-039, Map 1.141, Popularity: 3, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 15 August, Local form: Lady Well (Robbie Murphy, Newtown; Laurence Stapleton, Brownsbarn; Chris Kavanagh, Ladywell Street).

Documented references

Thom. Therin Bapt. (s.n. Ellen Lynch, 14/3/1822), *Thom. Bapt.* (s.n. Richard Cahill, 17/11/1822), *OSNB* (34), (55), *OSL(KK)* II 247, *OSM(KK)* 160, *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *E1(25)*, *Carrigan* IV 262, 432, *NFCS* 858.43, *E2(6)*, *E2(25)*, *OSFM(KK)* 8992, *O'Kelly* 96, Pilsworth 1972, 185, 192, *Discov.Ser.* S 583423, *RMPKK*, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 23, Dunphy 2009, 43, Cullen 2012, 85, Ray 2014, 129, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and possible former location of the well

The well was located on the north-eastern verge of a 6.555 acre field (*E1(25)*), beside Lady's Well Street (*E1(25)*) 'on the roadside, a short distance from the church' (*Carrigan* IV 262), St. Mary's parish church (*Nat. Grid*: 258404, 142291, *SMR*: KK 028-03801, *Carrigan* IV 256, 259, 260, *ITAS(KK)* Thomastown, Form A, page 7 (1945), *O'Kelly* 96, Pilsworth 1972, 185, *Nat.Mon.Harb.* 205) and from Madlin Graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 238385, 141988, *SMR*: KK 028-03802, *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *Carrigan* IV 269, *NFCS* 858.43, *E2(6)*, *O'Kelly* 96, Pilsworth 1972, 185, *Nat.Mon.Harb.* 205), close to the eastern boundary of the townland.

Laurence Stapleton of nearby Brownsbarn, Thomstown, relates that the well, now covered in, was situated 'down Ladywell Street on the right hand side going into Thomastown almost directly opposite the entrance to Grennan College Vocational School'. He also speaks of another possible location further down the road on the same side, Robbie Murphy being the landowner here. However, the well opposite the College, which was a small hole under an old wall up to the 1990s, is the more likely option.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is remembered locally, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. + gr.) it had rituals (Rituals 2.10, 12.20, 23.4) pertaining to it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1) and a current spoken form reflective of this still in use.

142. St. Bridget's Well (E1(6))

tld: Newtown (Shea), *p*: Earlstown, *cp*: Callan, *bar*: Shillelogher, *OS* 27, *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 027-014, generated co-ordinates: 247283, 143648, Map 3.142, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 1 February, Local form: St. Bridget's Well (Robert Whitford, Kells; Stephen Hoyne, Ballymack).

Documented references

OSNB(41), *OSL*(*KK*) I 59, *OSFP*, *E1*(6), Hogan 1884, 84, 85, *Carrigan NB* 33.50, *Carrigan NB* 74.213, *Carrigan NB* 85.47, *E1*(25), *Carrigan* III 328, *Carrigan* IV 433, *Carrigan NB* 97.260, *Carrigan NB* 120.45, *NFCS* 854.21, *E2*(6), *E2*(25), *O'Kelly* 148, 181, *Discov.Ser. S* 473437, *RMPKK*, Brennan 2001, 138, Lynch 2010, 168, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in a long, rectangular-shaped 4.840 acre field (*E1*(25)) to the north-west of Nolan's Cross (*E2*(6)), close to the north-eastern boundary of the adjoining townland of Spruceshay and to the south-western boundary of adjoining Killinny, east of Newtown Castle (*Nat. Grid*: 246470, 143740, *SMR*: KK 027-01207, *OSL*(*KK*) II 59, *OSM*(*KK*) 27, Egan 1884, 284, *Carrigan* III 328, *NFCS* 854.21, *O'Kelly* 181, O'Brennan 2006, 138), 'which stands a little to the south-east of the church, near Newtown bridge' (*Carrigan* III 328) (*Nat. Grid*: 246341, 143950, *SMR*: KK 027-01201, *OSL*(*KK*) II 59, Hogan 1884, 84, *Carrigan* III 328, *O'Kelly* 181).

It is situated on Tom Shea's land in the Lackan Field adjoining Robert Whitford's land beside the Newtown Road from Kells. There are steps down into it and it is around 30-40 feet beneath the road. It is described by Stephen Hoyne as being 'a spring on the side of a hill with a stile in from the road'. It is a shallow well, bubbles up from the surface and is about 2 feet in diameter. There are a few stones at this circular well which is 25-30 yards from the King's River. Locals used to use the water for domestic purposes before the Rural Water Scheme was introduced over forty years ago. Robert Whitford recalls that his neighbour, Dick Shirley, used to drink the water up to five or six years ago as the quality of his own drinking water was poor.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (chapel), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Raths/Moats 7.17, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.2) and a spoken form of the name which reflects this is still in use.

143. Tobaratiampuill (*Carrigan IV 323*), Tobar an Teampaill (well of the church)

tld: Oldcastle Lower, *p*: Killamery, *cp*: Windgap, *bar*: Kells, [*OS 34*], *Nat. Grid*: 240703, 132415, *SMR*: /-, Map 1.143, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Well (Tom Meagher, Liam Meagher, Oldcastle).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 26.81, *Carrigan NB 27.41*, *Carrigan NB 97.337*, *Carrigan NB 141.25*, *Carrigan IV 323*, *O’Kelly 150*

Similar name

Tubber a’teampaill elsewhere in the county (*tld*: Kilmanahin) is of identical origin, ‘well of the church’.

Additional locational details and well description

The Church Well is located in the southern part of a triangular-shaped field, The Church Field, and its location is shown on *E1(6)*, although it is not named thereon. It is shown to be in the south-western part of the townland, a short distance (a few fields) to the north-east of Tobernagloghin, Kiltrassy. It is ‘roughly ten yards from the church’ (*Nat. Grid*: 240703, 132415; *SMR*: KK 034-00402; *OSNB(53)*: *OSFP*; *Carrigan IV 323*; *ITAS(KK)* Windgap, Form A, page 6). It is marked ‘Spring’ on *E2(6)*. It is situated just outside the boundary of Tom and Liam Meagher’s land, Kiltrassy, on land owned by John Ronan, Castlepark, Carrick on Suir.

Tom Meagher (aged 69, 2015) tends to the well which is built of stones, one piled on the other, with no concrete. It is square-shaped, two feet deep, contains a cup for drinking, has a step down into it and has a small stream flowing out of it for most of the year. It rarely, if ever, goes dry and Tom does not recall any cures having ever been associated with it. However, a Fr. Raftice used to say a graveyard Rosary and Benediction here once a year some time in the month of August up to some years ago.

Tom does not recall many neighbours having visited the well during his lifetime, mainly, he surmises, owing to its isolated location, being a mile in from the road from the Ronan residence and a quarter of a mile through the fields across from the Meagher’s house.

John Ronan sets corn in the field every year, the corn being only three or four yards from the well at one side of the field.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.) the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and the current spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B1).

144. Templeorum Well (*Carrigan* IV 231)

tld: Oldcourt, *p*: Fiddown, *cp*: Templeorum, *bar*: Iverk, [*OS* 39], *Nat. Grid*: 247818, 125825, *SMR*: KK 039-005004, Map 1.144, Popularity: 1, former pattern day: Sunday after 11 October, Local form: The Well (Mary O'Shea, Raheen).

Documented references

Graves Patrons 9, Moore 1874-9, 33, 34, *Carrigan* IV 231, *Carrigan NB* 30.4, 6, *Carrigan NB* 47.38, 122, *O'Kelly* 129, *RMPKK*, O'Shea 1999, 5, 6, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 23, O'Shea 2014, 72, 73, 92, 93, 178, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and former location of the well

The well was supposedly located in a small 1.048 acre field in the south-eastern part of the townland in the church field (*Carrigan* IV 231) of an ancient church site (*Nat. Grid*: 247818, 125825, *SMR*: KK 039-00501, *OSL(KK)* II 207, *Carrigan* IV 230; 231, *O'Kelly* 129, O'Shea 1999, 6; O'Shea 2014, 23, 64, 69, 70, 72, 73, 92, 93, 125, 141) beside which is a graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 247823, 125817; *SMR*: KK 039-00503; Moore 1874-9, 34; *Carrigan* IV 230, 231; *NFCS* 844.74; *O'Kelly* 129; O'Shea 2014, 93, 141, 176) and a R.C. Chapel (*Nat. Grid*: /-); *Par.Sur.* I 370; *OSNB*(2:23); *Carrigan* IV 237, 238; *O'Kelly* 129). The well was supposedly located in a field across the road from the present chapel (O'Shea 1999, 5), 'St. Mary's R.C. Chapel' (*EI*(25)). Although the well was formerly called Templeorum Well, it was actually situated in the adjoining townland of Oldcourt, very close to the western boundary of Templeorum. Similarly, the site of Templeorum Castle (*EI*(25); *Nat. Grid*: 247836, 125826; *SMR*: KK 039-005002) is located just inside the eastern border of Oldcourt.

The National Monuments website lists a 'ritual site-holy well' for both Oldcourt and Templeorum, but co-ordinates are not given (known) in either case. An *SMR* reference number is given in both cases, the number being the same for both (Oldcourt, *SMR*: KK 039-005004 and Templeorum, *SMR*: KK 039-005004).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference and there is a tradition of a well having been here, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + gr.), it had a legend (Legend 20.8) attaching to it, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and the spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B3).

145. Toberakin (*E1(6)*), Tobar an Chinn (well of the head)

tld: Ovenstown, *p*: Earlstown, *cp*: Callan, *bar*: Shillelogher, *OS* 27, *Nat. Grid*: 246748, 144820, *SMR*: KK 027-001002, Map 1.145, Popularity: 2, no former pattern day recorded (perhaps 1 November), Local form: The Tobar (Dick Walsh, Newtown, Kells; Robert Whitford, Kells).

Documented references

OSL(KK) II 59, *OSM(KK)* 27, *OSFP*, Hogan 1884, 40, *Carrigan NB* 6.31, 111, *Carrigan NB* 33.51, *Carrigan NB* 74.213, *Carrigan III* 329, *Carrigan IV* 432, *Carrigan NB* 97.260, *NFCS* 854.21, *E2(6)*, *E2(25)*, *OSFM(KK)* 9702, *O'Kelly* 177, 181, *Discov.Ser.* S 467448, Brennan 2001, 33, Lynch 2010, 168, *NMS*, *ASI*

The rarely-featuring all-inclusive patrons, All Saints (*infra*), were passed over here in the naming of the well for the locally-perceived headcure.

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the south-west extremity of a 3.629 acre field (*E1(25)*), between the old villages of Newtown (Baker) to the south-west and Newtown (Walsh) to the north-east, to the north-east of Huntingbrook House (in Ruins) (*E1(25)*) in the south-western part of the townland, 'a quarter of a mile north-east of the church' of Newtown (Baker) (*OSL(KK)* II 59, *OSM(KK)* 27) (*Nat. Grid*: 246341, 143950, *SMR*: KK 027-012001). The field in which the well is located is called 'Rillig' (*Carrigan III* 329), 'in which is an ancient graveyard' (*NFCS* 854.21) (*Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 027-053).

'Tubber Well' is situated in the side of a field beside (some 20 feet from) the road in front of Dick Walsh's house (John Cass, now deceased, having been the former owner of the land). It is a circular open spring well with steps into it and a stile in off the road. It is about 2 feet deep and 2 feet wide. It is a bubbling spring which forces up sand from the surface. There are circular stones built up from the ground around it and a triangular stone lies in the well itself. Clay and grass are seen on the well's surface and an electric fence protects it from bovine intruders. The water is very pure and the spring water flows around 6 feet wide of a stream going across the road and under a small bridge. The stone-lined well never goes dry and is well kept apart from the appearance of a few briars inside the fence near it. Stephen Hoyne used to drink the water until a few years ago, having done so from his earlier days up

to then. Locals used to draw water from it for domestic and farming purposes up to a couple of decades ago (for example, churns of water used to be brought home by pig-owners).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (chapel), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.12.13, it has a legend (Legend 16.15.10) pertaining to it, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and the spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B1).

146. Lady's Well (*Carrigan IV 239*)

tld: Owning, *p*: Owning, *cp*: Templeorum, *bar*: Iverk, [*OS 39*], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 039-002001, generated co-ordinates: 244805, 126526, Map 3.146, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 15 August, Local forms: The Spring, The Swimming Pool (Con Nolan, Owning).

Documented references

Carrigan IV 239, *Carrigan NB 66.42*, *Carrigan NB 67.56*, *Carrigan NB 97.347*, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 23, O'Shea 2014, 59, 60, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and details concerning the well

The well in question is simply designated 'Spring' on *E2(6)*. It is located to the north-west of Toberuna (147) in the same townland, to the north-west of Owning House (*E2(6)*, albeit a little further to the north-west than Toberuna), to the north of (i) Owning Church ruins (*Nat. Grid*: 244800, 126388, *SMR*: KK 039-00101, *Ann.Oss.* 25.78 (1489), *Carrigan IV 240* (1637), *Par.Sur.* I 361, 364 (1814), *OSL(KK)* II 192, *OSM(KK)* 115, *Carrigan IV 238*, 239, *NFCS* 844.74, 83, *O'Kelly* 133; O'Shea 2014, 275) and (ii) graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 244792, 126384, *SMR*: KK 039-00102, *Par.Sur.* I 361 (1814), *OSL(KK)* II 193, *OSM(KK)* 115, *Carrigan NB 1.162*, *Carrigan IV 239*, *NFCS* 844.74, *NFCS* 852.217) and (iii) Owning RC Chapel (*Nat. Grid*: /-, *Stat.Sur.(KK)* 614 (1802), *Par.Sur.* I 370 (1814), *Lewis* II 452, *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *Carrigan IV 251*).

Noreen Kenneally (70-75) of Owning explains that 'the spring is still there', that 'it could have been an orchard one time but not any more – it is just a field' and that 'Con Nolan [cf. Ó Néill [2000], 340 (facing); O'Shea 2014, 264] used to call it *the swimming pool*', for some reason unknown to her.

Carrigan's description that the well was 'in Mrs. O'Neill's "Orchard", Owning' (*Carrigan IV 239*) tallies with trees having been formerly shown on *E2(6)* and on *E1(25)* where the 'Spring' is shown. Noreen also confirms that 'the well on the other [western] side of the road is still there too' (*E2(6)*, *E1(25)*). It is the 'Spring', however, which concerns us here. This other 'well' is also to be distinguished from the former location of nearby Toberuna.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr. + chapel), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1) and the spoken form obtained is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B1).

147. Toberuna (well of Úna) (*EI(6)*) (alias (i) **Tubbernamuchtee** (meaning obscure)

(*Carrigan IV 239*), (ii) **Tubber-na-graoun** (well of the trees) (*Carrigan IV 218, 239*) and (iii)

Tubberowning (*Carrigan NB 27.37*))

tld: Owing, *p*: Owing, *cp*: Templeorum, *bar*: Iverk, *OS 39*, *Nat. Grid*: 244946, 126488, *SMR*: KK 039-002001, Map 1.147, Popularity: 1, former pattern day: 15 August, Local form: The Well Field (Noreen Kenneally, Tom Kenneally, Owing).

Documented references

OSL(KK) II 193, *OSM(KK)* 115, *OSFP*, Moore 1874-9, 32, *Carrigan NB* 6.81, *Carrigan NB* 30.12, 13, *Carrigan NB* 32.85, 180, *Carrigan NB* 74.264, *Carrigan IV 239*, *Carrigan NB* 97.347, *NFCS* 844.8, *NFCS* 862.276, *ITAS(KK)*, Piltown, Form A, page 4, *O'Kelly* 133, *Discov.Ser.* S 449265, *RMPKK*, Ó Néill 2000, 16, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 23, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and details concerning the well

The well was located in the north-western part of a large, square-shaped 6.743 acre field (*EI(25)*), in the southern part of the townland, a short distance to the south-east of the supposed location of the other holy well in the townland, Lady's Well.

Toberuna was situated just to the north-east of (i) the village of Owing, (ii) Owing Church ruins (cf. Lady's Well), (iii) an old graveyard (cf. Lady's Well), (iii) Owing RCChapel (cf. Lady's Well) and (iv) Owing House (*E2(6)*), 'now a Sisters of Mercy Convent' (*O'Kelly* 133).

Noreen Kenneally (70-75) explains that 'Toberuna is not there anymore' and that the well-field on their land 'was all cleaned up and drained'. She also explains the connection between the Nolan, O'Neill and Kenneally families: 'Con Nolan was a cousin of Tom's [Noreen's husband] and Con Nolan's mother was an O'Neill'. Pádraig O'Neill (miller and poet) was Con's grandfather who built the mill house where the Kenneallys live in 1780 and the mill in 1805.

Eoghan Ó Néill describes the association between the O'Neill and Nolan families thus:

'Patrick O'Neill's widow, Margaret Scurry, had continued to run the farm and mill until she died in 1859, when her son Conn took over. He married Mary Talbot about 1870 and they had two daughters, Maria and Teresa. The two girls married two brothers, John and Philip Nolan from Owing' (Ó Néill 2000, 501).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, there is a tradition of a well having been here, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr. + chapel), it had an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.12.14, it had a ritual (Ritual 17.15) and a legend (Legend 16A20) connected with it, it was formerly the bearer of four names, none of which were of hagiographical origin, and the current spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B3).

148. Pollagh Holy Well (RMPKK)

tld: Pollagh, *p*: Powerstown, *cp*: Graiguenamanagh, *bar*: Gowran, [*OS* 25], *Nat. Grid*: 268843, 150174, *SMR*: KK 025-025, Map 1.148, Popularity: 0, No former pattern day recorded, No local form.

Documented reference

NMS, ASI (18/1/2016)

This well appears to have had a separate location to Toberboy (*SMR*: KK 025-026) and to Tobernavean (*SMR*: KK 025-028) in the same townland and as a result would have been near Templeboy Church / Thampilbweenapullie (*OSFP*, Toberboy).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it has not been located, it may, like Toberboy and Tobernavean in the same townland, have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu, the well-name does not appear, on the evidence, to be of hagiographical origin (the townland name is employed here for naming/labelling purposes) and no spoken form has been secured.

149. Toberboy (*E1(6)*), An Tobar Buí (the yellow well)

tld: Pollagh, *p*: Powerstown, *cp*: Graiguenamanagh, *bar*: Gowran, *OS 25*, *Nat. Grid*: 269258, 149836, *SMR*: KK 025-026, Map 1.149, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Fig. 59, Date of visit: 30/4/2016, Local form: The Well (Ned Moran, Skeaghavasteen; John Foley, Pollagh).

Documented references

OSNB(20), *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *E1(25)*, *E2(6)*, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser. S 688502*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the south-western part of a 1.759 acre field (*E1(25)*) in the south-eastern part of the townland, a short distance to the north-west of a Templeboy Church site (*Nat. Grid*: 269406, 149778, *SMR*: KK 025-02701, *OSNB(35)*, *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *E2(6)*, *O’Kelly 88*, ‘Thampilbweenapullie’, *OSFP* (< Teampall Buí na Pollaí), and a short distance to the north-east of the north-eastern boundary of the adjoining townland of Tomnahaha.

It is a circular pool of water, the area around it being also wet. The field in question, now owned by Tom McDonald, does not bear a name. John Foley (aged 45-50) of Pollagh accompanied me to the well.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site), the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and the current spoken form is a deonomised one (Onom.4B1).

150. Tobernavean (*E1(6)*), Tobar na bhFiann (well of the bands/groups)

tld: Pollagh, *p*: Powerstown, *cp*: Graiguenamanagh, *bar*: Gowran, *OS 25*, *Nat. Grid*: 269674, 150519, *SMR*: KK 025-028, Map 1.150, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Fig. 60, Date of visit: 30/4/2016, Local form: Tobernanayne (John Foley, Shea Foley, Pollagh).

Documented references

OSNB(20), *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *E1(25)*, *E2(6)*, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser. S 697507*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Ecclesiastical accompaniment

The well, although clearly not of hagiographical derivation, was located near Thampilbweenapullie (cf. Toberboy) and two other holy wells in the same townland, *viz*: Toberboy and Pollagh Holy Well.

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-western portion of a 2.986 acre field in the north-eastern part of the townland (the River Barrow, a short distance to the east of the well, is the eastern boundary of the townland), a short distance to the south-west of Ballyteiglea Lock (*E2(6)*) and a short distance to the north-west of Ballyteiglea Bridge (*E2(6)*), while Toberboy lies a short distance to its north-east.

John Foley (aged 45-50) of Pollagh refers to the well as /tobərnə'ne:n/ and /də blesɪd 'wel/. It is situated in his homeplace on the land of his brother, Shay in a field called The Old Garden or The Field in under the House. There is a water font beside the well with three holes in it and a carved stone cross lies about it (the well). It is 4-5 feet deep, has manmade stones around it, is always kept clean and people used to take water home from it some decades ago for domestic usage. It is linked to a pump-shed near the house.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Crosses 5.14, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and the current spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B1).

151. Toberaniddaun (*EI(6)*), Tobar Nadáil (well of St. Nadál/Natalis)

tld: Pottlerath, *p*: Kilmanagh, *cp*: Kilmanagh, *bar*: Crannagh, *OS* 22, *Nat. Grid*: 238267, 152168, *SMR*: KK 022-004, Map 1.151, Popularity: 2, Feastday: 31 July, former pattern day: the last Sunday of July or following Sunday, Local form: Tobar Naidaun (Brian Harris, Violet Harris, Pottlerath).

Documented references

OSFP, *OSM(KK)* 403, *OSM(KK) (OD)*, *EI(6)*, *Graves Patrons* 1, 2, Hogan 1864, 200, *O'Hanlon Saints* VII 512, Holahan 1883, 104, 107, 108, *Carrigan NB* 6.122, *EI(25)*, *E2(6)*, *Carrigan* III 430, *Carrigan* IV 433, *Carrigan NB* 47.98, *Carrigan NB* 66.56, *Carrigan NB* 74.225, *NFCS* 853.128, *ITAS(KK)* Kilmanagh, Form A, page 6, MacLeod 1946, 156, *O'Kelly* 17, *Shell Guide Harb.* 88, Flanagan 1990, 77, *Discov.Ser. S* 383523, *RMPKK*, Larkin 2002, 119, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 19, Moss 2014, 181, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the south-eastern part of a large 18.226 acre field (*EI(25)*) in the north-eastern part of the townland in the north-eastern vicinity of (i) an old church ruins (*Nat. Grid*: 237932, 151838, *SMR*: KK 022-002, *Lewis* II 174, *OSL(KK)* I 244, 245, *OSM(KK)* 167, 168, *Carrigan* III 434, *Carrigan NB* 67.64, *O'Kelly* 17), (ii) a graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 237956, 151764, *SMR*: KK 022-002001, *OSFP*, *EI(6)*) and (iii) the site of Pottlerath castle (*Nat. Grid*: 237956, 151764, *SMR*: KK 022-003, *Lewis* II 174, *OSM(KK)* 167, *Carrigan NB* 6.122, *Carrigan* III 434, *O'Kelly* 17, *Shell Guide Harb.* 89).

It is a circular spring well which constantly bubbles up from the ground, is situated in The Bog Field and is now quite neglected. There is a dyke around the field from which cattle drink but they do not drink the well-water in the middle of the field. Violet Harris (aged 70-75) relates that neighbours used to ferry water home from it for household purposes up to around fifty years ago and that certain people in the vicinity suffering from unspecified ailments used to also visit it. The water of this shallow well is very pure. There is no tree or bush in its vicinity and it is an open well.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Trees 3.12.15 and Effigies/Statues 6.8, it has rituals (Rituals 2A19, 15.3, 18.11) and legends (Legends 16.1.1, 16.26.5) connected with it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.22) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

152. Tobernaliha (*E1(6)*), Tobar na Leice (well of the flagstone)

tld: Powerswood, *p*: Inistioge, *cp*: Thomastown, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 32, *Nat. Grid*: 259452, 135254, *SMR*: KK 032-022, Map 1.152, Popularity: 1, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: Kitty's Well (Eamon Dempsey, Powerswood).

Documented references

OSNB, *E1(25)*, *Carrigan NB* 61.38, *Carrigan NB* 66.74, *Carrigan NB* 67.81, *Carrigan NB* 97.308, *O'Kelly* 81, *Discov.Ser. S* 595354, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well was located near the point where three fields meet (the northern part of a 2.149 acre field, the north-western part of a larger 5.283 acre field, across from a 1.273 acre field, *E1(25)*) near the southern boundary of the townland, 'on the road from Thomastown to Mullinavat' (*OSNB(56): Sit.*), 'on roadside in Powerswood' (*Carrigan NB* 61.38) and to the south-east of an old church (*Nat. Grid*: 260266, 135708, *SMR*: KK 032-02301, *RMPKK*) and graveyard, Killeen Laghts (*Nat. Grid*: 260265, 135708, *SMR*: KK 032-02302, *E1(6)*, *E2(6)*). Formerly called Kitty's Well locally, it was situated near a bend on the road. Eamonn Dempsey (aged 65-70) remembers that it was a small well, around 1 foot deep, which would have had room for a can but not for a bucket. There were stones around it. James Casshin of nearby Coolroebeeg states that the County Council drained this area of the road around a decade ago and he believes that the well was shifted to a spot opposite a Mr. Norton's house. Eamonn was summoned to fetch water from the well around sixty years ago with a view to providing solace or a cure for a sick elderly neighbour.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is remembered locally, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (chapel), it has a current spoken form which is different to the Ordnance Survey form, neither of which was of hagiographical origin (Onom.2).

153. St. Catherine's Well (E1(6))

tld: Rathbeagh, *p*: Rathbeagh, *cp*: Lisdowney, *bar*: Galmoy, *OS* 9, *Nat. Grid*: 244240, 167113, *SMR*: KK 009-049, Map 1.153, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 25 November, former pattern day: 24 June, Local form: The Well (James Walsh, Rathbeagh).

Documented references

OSNB, *OSL(KK)* I 88, *OSM(KK)* 100, *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 109.36, Healy 1893, 175, *Carrigan NB* 27.27, *Carrigan II* 325, *Carrigan IV* 433, *Carrigan NB* 66.39, *Carrigan NB* 97.158, *Carrigan NB* 109.36, *O'Kelly* 62, de Loughry 1974, 37, Smyth 1990, 136, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser. S* 444673, *Freshford Sketches* 50, Spears 2006, 102, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and details concerning the former well

The well was located just outside the eastern boundary of a .772 acre field (*E1(25)*) and outside the western boundary of a .487 field to its east, in the south-eastern part of the townland, 'on the west bank of the Nore' (*O'Kelly* 62), a short distance to the south-east of Rathbeagh old church ruins (*Nat. Grid*: 244141, 167227, *SMR*: KK 009-04801, *OSL(KK)* I 86, 87, *OSM(KK)* 99, Hogan 1861, 364, *Carrigan NB* 1.248) and adjoining graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 244141, 167226, *SMR*: KK 009-04803, *Tenison Vis.* 28, 53 (1731), *Troy Reg. (de Burgo)* 97 (1782), *OSNB(7)*, *Carrigan II* 324, de Loughry 1974, 37).

James Walsh (aged 80-85) of Rathbeagh relates that the well was apparently situated on the land of his brother, Valentine, but neither actually ever saw it nor did they hear of St. Catherine's Well. The field in question, called The River [Nore] Field, is often flooded near a ditch beside the road. James, a diviner, tried to locate the long-lost well during dry weather some years ago but his efforts were to no avail. Their father, Michael, who died in 1970 aged 84, told his sons that his father before him (who died aged 90) used to speak of people visiting the well during his youth in search of a cure for sore eyes, some people having travelled from as far away as Northern Ireland in the hope of securing a cure.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, there is a tradition of a well having been here, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it had an additional locational characteristic in the

form of Rath/Moats 7.18, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.5.3) and the current spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B3).

154. St. Philomena's Well (NFCS 860.120)

tld: Rathcash West, *p*: Blanchvilleskill, *cp*: bar: Gowran, [*OS* 20], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, generated co-ordinates: 258555, 154776, Map 3.154, Popularity: 2, Feastday: 10 August, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Spring (Tom Brennan, Clarabricken; Eddie Phelan, Rathcash).

Documented reference

NFCS 860.128

Location and well description

Tom Brennan (aged 80-85) of nearby Clarabricken, appears to have identified the well in question and has indicated its location on the map. It is neither named nor shown on *E1(6)*, but it is marked 'Spring' (and unnamed) on later Ordnance Survey maps, namely, *E2(6)* and *E1(25)*. It was located on the eastern boundary of a 4.180 acre field (*E1(25)*), Blake's Field, now owned by Eddie Phelan. It is round-shaped and has been covered over with flags, with clay now covering the flags. Tom informs me that there is an old Mass Path running through this field, from Kyle to Clara Church. There was an overflow from the well which used to flood the field up to around fifteen years ago, but it now runs into a drain. The well is piped underneath the N9 Motorway, between it and the old Carlow-Kilkenny road.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it has a ritual (Ritual 25.1) and a legend (Legend 16A2) associated with it, the name-form is of hagiographical origin (Hag.5.10) and the current spoken form is a de-onomised one.

155. Tobernagolumb (*EI(6)*), Tobar na gColm (well of the doves)

tld: Rathinure, *p*: Kilcolumb, *cp*: Glenmore, *bar*: Knocktopher, *OS* 44, *Nat. Grid*: 265992, 119971, *SMR*: KK 044-008, Map 1.155, Popularity: 2, former pattern day: 9 June, Local form: The Well of the Doves (Tom Mullally, Busherstown; Áine Irish, Rathinure).

Documented references

OSL(KK) II 180, *OSM(KK)* 127, 128, *OSFP*, *EI(6)*, Reeves 1874, 283, Farrell 1874-9, 203, *O'Hanlon Saints* VI 334, 554, *Carrigan NB* 6.143, *Carrigan NB* 61.25, *Carrigan IV* 96, 443, *Onom.Goed.*640, *Carrigan NB* 67.14, 15, 49, 50, *Carrigan NB* 97.358, *NFCS* 845.23, 63, *O'Kelly* 110, 114, *RMPKK*, Ó Muraíle 1997, 209, *Discov.Ser.* S 661200, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the south-eastern part of a .494 acre field (*EI(25)*) in the south-western part of the townland, a short distance to the west of the river Barrow and in the vicinity of (i) Kilcolumb Church (*Nat. Grid*: 265900, 119934, *SMR*: KK 044-00701, *OSNB(41)*, *OSL(KK)* II 180, *OSM(KK)* 127, *O'Hanlon Saints* VI 334, 554, *Carrigan NB* 61.25, *Carrigan IV* 95, *NFCS* 845.63, *O'Kelly* 114), (ii) an old graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 265901, 119929, *SMR*: KK 044-00702, *OSL(KK)* II 180, *Carrigan IV* 96, *NFCS* 845.542, 589, 590, 592, 593) and (iii) Cloch Choilm (*Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 044-00703, *OSL(KK)* II 180, *Carrigan NB* 67.15, *Carrigan IV* 96, *NFCS* 845.23, 542, *O'Kelly* 114).

Tom Mullally (aged 80-85) of nearby Busherstown refers to The Well of the Doves which is 'situated in The Church Field on the land of Áine Irish'. It is somewhat unusual in that the land is higher than the well itself. It is 2 feet by 4 feet wide, has a constant supply of water and a big stone is situated 100 yards from it in the same field. Some similar stones are in evidence at the well itself. Tom collects water from it in the lead up to Easter every year and it is therefore blessed in St. James's Church, Glenmore, during the Easter ceremonies every Easter Saturday night.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Stones 4.13 and Rath/Moats 7.19, it has legends (Legends 11.2, 12.10) connected with it, the well-name is

not of hagiographical origin and it has a spoken form (albeit a translated one) still in use (Onom.4G).

The annual ritual performed by Tom Mullally above is also noticed here.

156. Toberkieran (*EI(6)*), Tobar Chiaráin (well of St. Ciarán)

tld: Rathkieran, *p*: Rathkieran, *cp*: Mooncoin, *bar*: Iverk, *OS* 42, *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 042-021, generated co-ordinates: 252640, 115764, Map 3.156, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 5 March, Local form: The Spring Well (Tom Doody, Eddie Sullivan, Rathkieran).

Documented references

OSL(KK) II 242, *OSM(KK)* 80, *OSFP*, *EI(6)*, Hogan 1876, 194, *Carrigan NB* 6.154, *EI(25)*, *E2(6)*, *Carrigan IV* 160, 432, *Carrigan NB* 47.33, *Carrigan NB* 66.67, *Carrigan NB* 67.72, *Carrigan NB* 97.351, McDonald 1959, 76, *O’Kelly* 137, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Ciarán — holy well, townland and parish names

The name of the patron saint, Ciarán of Saighir, is preserved in the name of the holy well in addition to the townland and civil parish names.

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located near the southern peak of a 6.757 acre field (*EI(25)*) in the north-eastern part of the townland, ‘half a furlong north [-east] of the church’ of Rathkieran (*OSL(KK)* II 242, *OSM(KK)* 80) (*Nat. Grid*: 252559, 115548, *SMR*: KK 042-01301, *T&S* 163 (1778), *Oss. Vis.* 39 (1781), O’Donovan 1850, 363, Moran 1880-3, 201, *Carrigan IV* 158, *NFCS* 840.215, *NFCS* 843.26, *NFCS* 843.205, *O’Kelly* 137) and adjoining graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 252589, 115538, *SMR*: KK 042-01302, *OSFP*, *Carrigan NB* 1.144, *Carrigan NB* 97.351, *Carrigan IV* 160, 167, Clohosey 1965, 64, *O’Kelly* 137; Farrell 2014, 154), ‘in the 2nd field on [the] left when going from Rathkieran Church to Rathcurby Church’ (*Carrigan NB* 6.154).

Tom Doody (aged 60-65) confirms that ‘the well is still there’, being now only a very shallow small hole in the ground. It is situated in Asper’s Bog Field on the land of Eddie O’Sullivan on the Ashgrove road. Drainage took place here in the 1980s down as far as a ditch and it extended as far as the overgrown well, the dyke having been used to take water from it. Cattle used to trample around the well many years ago but this is no longer the case.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it was formerly the bearer of two names (Onom.2), the more commonly-attested one being of hagiographical origin (Hag. 3.3), there is toponymical evidence to corroborate this hagiographical form and the current spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B1).

157. Rathlogán Holy Well (NMS, ASI)

tld: Rathlogán, *p*: Rathlogán, *cp*: Johnstown, *bar*: Galmoy, [OS 8], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 008-131/*SMR*: KK 008-132, co-ordinates of (?) nearby Rathlogán Church: 233748, 169352, Map 2.157, Popularity: 0, no former pattern day recorded, No local form.

Documented reference

NMS, ASI (18/1/2016)

The well appears to have been assigned an *SMR* reference number separate to and independent of (i) the nearby Tubber Ullacawn in the same townland and (ii) Tobernasool in the adjoining townland of Gorteennamuck.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it has not been located, it may have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu like Tubber Ullacawn in the same townland, the townland name would appear to be of hagiographical origin and no spoken form has been secured.

158. Tubber Ullacawn (*Carrigan* II 299),

Tobar Lócháin (well of St. Lóchán) ('Rathlogan, Lóchán's dwelling' *Ó Riain Saints* 400, s.n. Lóchán of Kilmacahill)

tld: Rathlogan, *p*: Rathlogan, *cp*: Johnstown, *bar*: Galmoy, [*OS* 8], *Nat. Grid*: 233748, 169352, *SMR*: KK 008-132, Map 1.158, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day unknown, Local form: St. Elickan's Well (Pat Loughlin, Joan Loughlin, Rathlogan).

Documented references

Moore 1874-9, 37, *Carrigan NB* 28.33, *Carrigan* II 299, *Carrigan* IV 432, *Carrigan NB* 29.104, 105, *Carrigan NB* 45.75, *Carrigan NB* 97.135, Lyng 1959, 25, 29, *O'Kelly* 62, *Ó Riain Saints* 400, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-eastern part of the townland, having been described as being 'a quarter of a mile east of the church' of Rathlogan' (*Carrigan* II 299) (cf. Tobernasool, Gorteennamuck), 'quite close to Tobar na Suil' [*sic*] (*Ibid.*), in the south-western portion of adjoining Gorteennamuck.

It is roundish in shape, is about 1 foot deep, 5 feet wide, has a stream flowing out of it and has steps going down into it. There is a whitethorn tree and bushes with rags over it and there are broken down walls to its rear. It is part of the Deerpark and is in The Darnell's Field which is owned by Pat Loughlin (aged 75-80). Both he and his wife Joan call it St. Elikan's Well. It never goes dry and like the nearby Tobernasool, it is also situated around 100 yards from Rock road and people with styes in their eyes still visit it in search of a cure.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins), it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Trees 3.1.9, 3.7.3 and Rath/Moats 7.20, it has a ritual (Ritual 20.10) pertaining to it, the well-name appears to be of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.13), there is toponymical evidence to corroborate it, and there is a spoken form of this hagiographical name still in use.

159. Tobernacask (*EI(6)*), Tobar an Ghaisc (well of the drinking-vessel)

tld: Redacres North, *p*: Killahy, *cp*: Mullinavat, *bar*: Knocktopher, *OS* 35, *Nat. Grid*: 254186, 127000, *SMR*: KK 035-064, Map 1.159, Popularity: 1, former pattern day not recorded, Local form: Tobernacask (Andy Frisby, Pat Frisby, Redacres North).

Documented references

OSNB(28), *OSL(KK)* II 140, *OSFP*, *EI(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 6.149, 171, *Carrigan NB* 119.5, *EI(25)*, *E2(6)*, *Carrigan IV* 173, *Carrigan NB* 78.27, *Carrigan NB* 97.353, *O'Kelly* 169, *Discov.Ser.* S 542269, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in a 2.501 acre field (*EI(25)*), ‘two fields east of the village’ of Redacres (*O'Kelly* 169) near where the townlands of Killeen, Knockmore and Redacres North meet, to the south-east of Killahy Church (*Nat. Grid*: 253294, 127327, *SMR*: KK 035-06101, *OSL(KK)* I 139, *OSM(KK)* 81, *Carrigan IV* 173, *NFCS* 842.171, *NFCS* 850.104, *O'Kelly* 169 and adjoining graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 253292, 127336, *SMR*: KK 035-06102, *OSFP*, *Carrigan NB* 6.149, *Carrigan IV* 173, *O'Kelly* 169).

The water of /tobernə'kask/ bubbles up from the ground and even though there is a good flow of water from it, it can go dry at certain times of the year. It is around 1 foot deep and 2 feet wide. There are stones around it and the water percolates through a big stone in the ground. Andy Frisby relates that locals used to take water home for domestic purposes up to the early 1970s, the only frequenters now being of the bovine kind.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has a ritual (Ritual 12.21) and a legend (Legend 17.6) attaching to it, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and the spoken form is still in use.

160. Tubbernacruchnhee (*Carrigan IV 173*),

Tobar na Croiche Naoimh (well of the Holy Cross)

tld: Redacres North, *p*: Killahy, *cp*: Mullinavat, *bar*: Knocktopher, [*OS 35*], *Nat. Grid*: /-,
SMR: KK 035-094, co-ordinates of nearby Killahy Church: 253294, 127327, Map 2.160,
Popularity: 1, former pattern day: the third Sunday of September, Local form: The Well
(Mary Alice Holden, Andy Frisbee, Redacres).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 6.171, Carrigan IV 173, 433, Carrigan NB 47.42, Carrigan NB 66.68, Carrigan NB 67.74, Carrigan NB 97.353, NFCS 850.153, O’Kelly 169, RMPKK, NMS, ASI

Documented local evidence of the Holy Cross

Redacres North and Killahy are adjoining townlands.

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1759 | Edmundus Shortall Parochus S[ancti] Crucis de Killahey.
<i>de Burgo Reg. 5;</i>
<i>Carrigan I 163</i> |
| 1761 | Dionysius Deleign Parochus S[ancti] Crucis de Killahey.
<i>de Burgo Reg. 23</i> |
| 1761 | Dionysius Deleign collatus fuit•••ad Parochiam S[ancti] Kirani de Kilmacoe cum duobus annexis Parochiis S[ancti] Davidis de Ullid & S[ancti] Crucis de Killahey.
<i>Carrigan I 172</i> |
| 1777 | Thos. Lalor Parochus S[ancti] Crucis de Killahy.
<i>Troy Reg.(de Burgo) 35</i> |
| 1778 | ad Administrationem conterminarum Parochiarum S[ancti] Kirani de Kilmacow ... S[ancti] Crucis de Killahey.
<i>Troy Reg.: Carrigan I 197</i> |
| 1893 | Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Pattern of Killahy <i>Carrigan NB 6.171</i> |
| 1905 | This [Killahy] church was dedicated to the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (Sept. 14).
<i>Carrigan IV 173</i> |
| 1905 | The Pattern of Harristown is, in reality, the pattern of the church of the Holy Cross, of Killahy. |

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located ‘about two or three hundred yards away to the south-east’ (*Carrigan IV 173*), i.e. to the south-east of Killahy Church (cf. Tobernacask), in the immediate vicinity of Redacres village and to the north-east of Tobernacask. It would appear that the road which extends down from Kyleva lies between the two wells.

Andy Frisby (aged 65-70) of Redacres informs me that both Holy Cross Well and Tobernacask are situated on his land. Holy Cross Well is ‘to the right of Tobernacask and is the bigger of the two wells. It is about 2 feet deep, is a surface well with a big flow of water and is surrounded by stones. A big eel used to be seen in it many years ago. Andy’s late father, George, who died in 1978, used to refer to it as Holy Cross Well.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has a ritual (Ritual 5.9) associated with it, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and the current spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B1).

161. Riesk Holy Well (NMS, ASI)

tld: Riesk, *p*: Tullaghanbrogue, *cp*: Danesfort, *bar*: Shillelogher, [OS 22], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 022-048, generated co-ordinates: 243759, 147594, Map 3.161, Popularity: 2, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Shore (Ned Brennan, Bridie Brennan, Riesk).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 6.126, *Carrigan NB* 71.94, *Carrigan IV* 432, *Carrigan NB* 97.251, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well, locally called The Shore, is situated on the land of Ned Brennan, Riesk, Desart, whose father, Peter, took up residence some seventy years ago on the Tobin's holding. It is situated some distance to the south-west of Thubber Eheen near Desart Court, very near a 'Spring' (*EI*(25)) which is in the vicinity of the southern boundary of the Demesne wall. It contains a box shore built of stone with flags on top. Water comes into the shore/well from the Desart side. It is piped now from 'Tobin's Yard' to the river. A drain or dyke comes in a stream from the river side of Desart. An overflow from the main Desart 'Spring' flows into the river and flows through Riesk heading for Callan.

Regarding the 'Spring', Ned reveals that up to around forty years ago, local farmers, arriving in horses and cars (traps), used to wash their milk-churns here and it was also their wont to take water home in containers for their cattle.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and the current spoken form is a de-nomised one (Onom.4B1).

162. St. Rosentha's Well (NFCS 852.5)

tld: Rossaneny (Reade), *p*: Killamery, *cp*: Windgap, *bar*: Kells, [*OS* 30], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK, co-ordinates of nearby Rossaneany Church: 240996, 135357, Map 2.162, Popularity: 1, Feastday: inapplicable, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Well (John Lanigan, Elizabeth Lanigan, Rossaneny).

Documented references

Carrigan NB 47.169, *NFCS* 852.5

A pseudo-hagiographical name

It would appear that St. Rosentha has been fabricated from the name of the townland which is not of hagiographical origin at all but is, in essence, an old tribal name, Rossaneny < Ros Ó nÉanna (*Liostaí Log.CC* 88), 'wood of the Uí Éanna (tribe)'. It is therefore a pseudo-hagiographical name.

Additional locational details and well description

'The well' is situated on the north-east outskirts of Windgap village to the north of the crossroads between Rossaneny (Reade), Rossaneany (Morris) and Windgap and close to the eastern boundary of Rossaneny (Reade) in the vicinity of an old church (*Nat. Grid*: 240996, 135357, *SMR*: KK 030-01301, *OSNB*(69), *OSNB*(70), *OSL*(KK) II 101, *Carrigan IV* 320, *Carrigan NB* 47.169, *NFCS* 852.5, *O'Kelly* 150) and graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 240983, 135360, *SMR*: KK 030-01302, *OSL*(KK) II 101, *Carrigan IV* 320, *NFCS* 852.5, *O'Kelly* 150).

It is on the land rented by John Lanigan whose mother, Elizabeth (aged 70-75), describes it as being 'in the field north of the church ruins off the main road from Callan to Windgap near the Glen crossroads and on the Glory river'. It was round, sprang up from the ground and was about 3 feet wide. It is now overgrown and there used to be a pathway by a ditch into it. 'The ruins of the church are to the right hand side' of the well', the well being 'barely in from the road'. People used to use its water for domestic purposes up to the 1960s before the local Water Scheme was introduced.

In summary

The well does not have an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has a legend (Legend 16A22) pertaining to it, the

well-name is of pseudo-hagiographical origin and the current spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B1).

163. Rossdama Holy Well (Holahan 1883, 83)

tld: Rossdama, *p*: Grange, *cp*: Danesfort, *bar*: Shillelogher, [*OS* 18], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 018-095, generated co-ordinates: 244460, 152386, Map 3.163, Popularity: 1, former pattern day: 24 June, Local form: The Well (Billy Butler, Ballycallan; Tom Doheny, Rossdama).

Documented references

Holahan 1883, 83, Larkin 2002, 119, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Details concerning the former holy well

The well is marked close to the western boundary of a small, triangular-shaped .567 acre field (*EI(25)*), to the east of the roadside and to the north-east of an old Lime Kiln (*EI(25)*). Billy Butler of nearby Ballycallan confirms that this is the well which was associated with ‘The Blessed Field Tree’ (and not the well marked towards the southern end of the townland, *EI(25)*). He declares that ‘the well is now gone’ and that where it was located is ‘on Tom Doheny’s land’. Most of the ditches near its former location have also disappeared.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is remembered locally, it was not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it had a ritual (Ritual 8.12) and legends (Legends 28.7, 29.3) associated with it, the well-name was not, on the evidence, of hagiographical origin and the current spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B2).

164. Loughman's Well (*Carrigan* IV 194)

tld: Shanbogh Upper, *p*: Shanbogh, *cp*: Rosbercon, *bar*: Ida, [*OS* 41], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: KK 041-010005, co-ordinates of St. Fintan's Well: 268754, 126421 ('same field'), Map 2.164, Popularity: 0, no former pattern day recorded, No local form.

Documented references

Carrigan IV 194, *NFCS* 846.106, *NFCS* 846.129, *RMPKK*, Murphy 2000, 17, 18, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and details of the disappeared well

The well was located near the River Barrow in the north-eastern part of the townland in the northern or north-eastern environs of (i) Shanbogh old church (*Nat. Grid*: 269045, 126535, *SMR*: KK 041-01001, *Stat.Sur.(KK)* 616 (1802), *Lewis* II 550, *OSNB*(28), *OSL(KK)* II 172, *OSM(KK)* 125, Moore 1874-9, 27, *Carrigan NB* 40.172, *Carrigan NB* 61.52, *Carrigan* IV 194, *NFCS* 846.124, 142, *O'Kelly* 123) and (ii) graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 269059, 126532, *SMR*: KK 041-01002, *OSNB*(28), *OSL(KK)* II 172, *OSM(KK)* 125, *Carrigan* IV 194, *NFCS* 846.124, 263).

A Mrs. Green was au fait with both Loughman's Well and with St. Fintan's Well at the time of the Schools' Survey (*NFCS* 846.105, 106) but neither the name of the former well nor its location are known to her grandson, Thomas Green (aged 80-85) of Shanbogh Upper, a fact which may not be surprising as we learn in 1938 that 'this small well very often ceases to exist' (*NFCS* 846.129). As far back as 1887-92 we learn concerning the much larger St. Fintan's Well that its location 'was altered about 50 years ago [c.1830-40] by Murphy of Annaghs, the present one being supplied by a shore from the old one' (*Carrigan NB* 40.172), a fact which may explain the former existence of two nearby wells.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, there is no memory of its exact location, it would appear, like St. Fintan's Well in the same townland, to have been located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), the well-name was not of hagiographical origin and no spoken form or current reference to the well has been secured.

165. St. Fintan's Well (*Carrigan* II 194) (well of St. Munna of Taghmon)

tld: Shanbogh Upper, *p*: Shanbogh, *cp*: Rosbercon, *bar*: Ida, [*OS* 41], *Nat. Grid*: 268754, 126421, *SMR*: KK 041-036, Map 1.165, Popularity: 2, Feastday: 21 October, former pattern day: second Sunday of October, Local form: Hennessy's Well (Pat Hennessy, Thomas Green, Shanbogh).

Documented references

Moore 1874-9, 27, 28, *Carrigan NB* 40.172, *Carrigan NB* 61.55, *Carrigan IV* 194, *Carrigan NB* 67.12, 46, *Carrigan NB* 97.360, *Carrigan NB* 149.9, *NFCS* 846.105, 106, 107, 128, *O'Kelly* 123, *RMPKK*, Murphy 2000, 17, 18, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well was located a couple of fields to the west of the church ruins according to *Carrigan* (*Carrigan IV* 194, cf. Loughman's Well).

However, a Mrs. Green (née Whelan) who was born in Shanbogh and was around 60 years of age at the time of the Schools' Folklore Survey, heard from her father before her that it was located to the 'east or south-east of the old church' (*NFCS* 846.105).

Thomas Green (aged 80-85) relates that it was a small square well on the side of a hill and was situated 'in Pat Hennessy's field'. It was 'a shore well' (cf. *Carrigan NB* 40.172), a fact which is also referred to by Thomas. It was in a field in front of their house and was one field from the old National School which is now roofless. There were a few stones around this surface well and Thomas's father erected a concrete entrance to it many years ago. It never ran dry and never overflowed. Nellie Hennessy (aged 80-85) relates that while a National School pupil, the teacher used to ask pupils to fetch water from the well every day at lunchtime. Thomas also mentions 'St. Fintan's Stone' nearby.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is remembered locally, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it had an additional locational characteristic in the form of Stones 4.14, it had rituals (Rituals 4.6, 24.1) and legends (Legends 12.11, 17.7, 21.5 and 24.5) associated with it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.21) and a spoken form reflective of this is still in use.

166. St. Fiachra's Well (EI(6))

tld: Sheastown, *p*: Kilferagh, *cp*: St. Patrick's, *bar*: Shillelogher, *OS* 20, *Nat. Grid*: 254377, 152527, *SMR*: KK 020-05004, Map 1.166, Popularity: 2, Feastday: 8 February, former pattern day: 30 August, Fig. 6.1, Local form: St. Fiachra's Well (Tom Hoyne, Sheastown; Joseph Wallace, Kilferagh).

Documented references

OSNB(9), *OSNB*(11), *OSL*(*KK*) I 280, *OSM*(*KK*) 56, *OSFP*, *EI*(6), Moran 1874-9, 90, 91, *O'Hanlon Saints* VIII 427, *Loc.Pat.* 199, *Carrigan NB* 85.64, 65, *Carrigan* III 321, *Carrigan* IV 432, *Carrigan NB* 97.291, *KP* 1/9/1928, p9, *KP* 8/9/1928, p7, *KP* 6/9/1930, p4, *NFCS* 854.195, 196, *NFCS* 855.4, 9, 135, 136, 213, 346, 347, *NFCS* 856.198, *NFCS* 860.119, Maher 1961, 48, 49, *KP* 30/8/1968, p12, *O'Kelly* 184, *KP* 22/8/1969, p20, Deenside 1970, 62, 63, *KP* 26/8/1977, p7, *KP* 4/8/1981, p5, *KP* 28/8/1981, p25, Cotter & Lehane 1987, 153, 156, *Shell Guide Harb.* 219, *KP* 28/8/1992, p3, *Discov. Ser.* S 544525, *KP* 18/8/2000, p35, O'Dwyer 2002, 57, 61, O'Farrell 2002, 67, Fitzgerald 2005, 377, Manning 2012, 139, 151, Farrell 2014, 134, 137, Ray 2014, 128, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-west part of a 3.076 acre field (*EI*(25)) in the north-east portion of the townland to the west of the Nore and to the south of St. Fiachra's Church (Site of) which is located in the south-east part of the adjoining townland of Kilferagh. To the west of the church site (*Nat. Grid*: 254370, 152556, *SMR*: KK 020-050001, *Lewis* II 91, *OSL*(*KK*) I 277, *OSM*(*KK*) 56, *O'Hanlon Saints* VIII 427, *Carrigan* III 221, 223, *O'Kelly* 184) are a disused graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 254370, 152556, *SMR*: KK 020-050002, *OSL*(*KK*) I 279, *OSM*(*KK*) 56, *O'Hanlon Saints* VII 392, 393, *Loc.Pat.* 199, *NFCS* 855.9, *O'Kelly* 184) and (ii) St. Fiachra's Effigy (*SMR*: KK 024-089, *OSNB*(9), *O'Hanlon Saints* VII 393, *Carrigan* III 219, 220, *Shell Guide Harb.* 219, O'Farrell 2002, 67).

It is a shallow circular well with stones around it. It is currently waterless, has a small covering over it and steps into it. There are steps up to the altar beside the well. Mass used to be said here on the last Sunday of August and the Rosary was recited on each week night leading up to it. Tom Hoyne of Sheastown House relates that it is still known locally as St. Fiachra's Well.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + gr.) it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Well House 2.5, Trees 3.12.16, Stones 4.15, Crosses 5.15 and Effigies/Statues 6.9, it has many accompanying rituals (Rituals 2.11, 4.7, 5.10, 6.3, 17.16, 20.11) and legends (Legends 1.3, 8.1, 11.3, 12.12, 16.4.5, 16.25.18), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.9) and the spoken form of the well which reflects this is still in use.

167. Toberkieran (*EI(6)*), Tobar Chiaráin (well of St. Ciarán)

tld: Stonecarthy West, *p*: Stonecarthy, *cp*: Aghaviller, *bar*: Shillelogher, *OS 27*, *Nat. Grid*: 251793, 141651, *SMR*: KK 027-045, Map 1.167, Popularity: 2, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 5 March, Fig. 62, 63, 64, 65, Date of visit: 20/3/2016, Local form: Toberkieran (John Phelan, Stonecarthy; Ger Mullally, Kilree).

Documented references

OSNB(35), *OSL(KK)* I 283, *OSM(KK)* 31, 32, *OSFP*, *Camb.Evers.* 133, Hogan 1861, 385, *O'Hanlon Saints* III 145, 146, Hogan 1876, 208, *Loc.Pat.* 298, *EI(25)*, *Carrigan* IV 10, 432, *Carrigan NB* 47.83, *Carrigan NB* 67.69, *E2(6)*, *E2(25)*, *OSFM(KK)* 9711, *O'Kelly* 191, *Discov.Ser.* S 518416, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-western part of a large 25.763 acre field (*EI(25)*) in the north-eastern section of the townland near where the townlands of Stonecarthy East, Stonecarthy West and Rathduff meet and to the south-west of (i) Stonecarthy ancient ruined church (*Nat. Grid*: 251966, 141812, *SMR*: 027-04601, *OSL(KK)* I 283, *OSM(KK)* 31, 32, *Loc.Pat.* 298, *O'Hanlon Saints* III 145, 146, *Carrigan* IV 9, 10, *O'Kelly* 190, 191) and (ii) graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 251966, 141812, *SMR*: KK 027-04602, *OSL(KK)* I 283, *OSFP*, *Loc.Pat.* 298, *Carrigan NB* 1.143, *Carrigan* IV 85, *O'Kelly* 191) in the south-western portion of the adjoining townland of Stonecarthy East.

John Phelan owns the land on which 'Toberkieran' is situated and there is a public right of way into it. It has a great source of water, is roundish in shape and has a stone-capped wall up around it. The well sits in its own basin, the area surrounding it is around 15 yards, while the well itself is considerably smaller. Water is released through two openings in the wall and then flows down into Ger Mullally's land formerly owned by his grandparents here. Ger presently resides in nearby Kilree and is a frequent visitor to the Stonecarthy homestead. He informs me that when the River Glory floods, it encroaches on the well encircled by trees.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has connected rituals (Rituals 2A20, 14.4), the well-name is of

hagiographical origin (Hag.3.3) which has both a current spoken form (Toberkieran) and a de-onomised one (The Well).

168. St. Martin's Well (EI(6))

tld: Templemartin, *p*: St. Martin's, *cp*: Clara, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 20, *Nat. Grid*: 255079, 156148, *SMR*: KK 020-010, Map 1.168, Popularity: 1, Feastday and former pattern day: 11 November, Local form: The Well (Pat Carroll, Nicholas Long, Templemartin).

Documented references

OSNB(50), *OSL(KK)* I 247, *OSM(KK)* 130, 131, *OSFP*, *EI*(6), Shearman 1878, 40, *Loc.Pat.* 393, Healy 1893, 375, *Carrigan NB* 27.90, *E2*(6), *EI*(25), *Carrigan III* 363, *Carrigan NB* 71.38, *NFCS* 859.403, *O'Kelly* 93, Smyth 1990, 136, *Discov.Ser.* S 552562, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and details concerning the closed-in well

The well was located in the south-western part of a 5.833 acre field (*EI*(25)), to the east of the western boundary of the townland 'in the second field north of the church-site' (*O'Kelly* 93), (*Nat. Grid*: 254959, 155988, *SMR*: KK 020-009001, *OSL(KK)* I 247, *OSM(KK)* 128, *OSNB*(54), Shearman 1878, 406, 407, *Loc.Pat.* 391, 392, *Carrigan NB* 27.90, *Carrigan III* 363, *NFCS* 859.403, *Clara Hist.* 4) and graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 254961, 155976, *SMR*: KK 020-009002, *OSL(KK)* I 247, Shearman 1878, 406, *Carrigan NB* 1.142, Healy 1893, 375, *Carrigan III* 363, *NFCS* 859.402, 'situated in a lane leading up to Hurley and Morris' farm' (*Clara Hist.* 5), 'about two hundred yards north-east of the Church' (*OSL(KK)* I 247), formerly in a bog.

Pat Carroll (aged 45-50) who resides right opposite the lane to the graveyard informs me that the well has been long since closed in. He used to hear his late father, Michael, speak of 'a well in a field' but neither Michael nor Pat ever saw it. On bringing the well's former location on the Ordnance Map to Pat's attention, he confirms that the land was owned by John Kelly and is now owned by a Mr. Brennan of Paulstown. The land in question is no longer boggy, being 'all dry land'.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, there is a tradition of a well having been here, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + gr.), it has accompanying rituals (Rituals 1.8, 2A21, 5.11, 7.2) and a legend (Legend 16A23), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.5.1),

it has toponymical evidence to corroborate it and the current spoken form is a de-onomised one (Onom.4B3).

169. St. Faghtna's Well (EI(6))

tld: Tibberaghny, *p*: Tibberaghny, *cp*: Templeorum, *bar*: Iverk, *OS* 38, *Nat. Grid*: 244097, 121451, *SMR*: KK 038-013, Map 1.169, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 14 August, former pattern day: 13 February (St. Modhomhnóg's Day), Local form: Well of St. Fhachna [*sic*] (Daphne Dowley, Louis Dowley, Tibberaghny).

Documented references

Stat.Sur.(KK) 121, *OSNB*(31), *OSL(KK)* II 213, 224, *OSM(KK)* 77, *OSFP*, *EI*(6), Joyce I 1869, 452, Moore 1874-9, 31, *Loc.Pat.* 311, *Carrigan NB* 6.80, 81, *Carrigan IV* 228, Orpen 1909, 324, *Carrigan NB* 30.13, *Carrigan NB* 34.67, *Carrigan NB* 67.54, *Carrigan NB* 97.341, *NFCS* 843.346, 347, *O'Kelly* 137, *Shell Guide Harb.* 264, Meehan 2008, 353, O'Shea 2014, 60, 110, *NMS, ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in a small .432 acre field (*EI*(25)) in the south-western part of the townland, 'in the glen under the railway, a short distance from the church' (*Carrigan IV* 228) (*Nat. Grid*: 244159, 121486, *SMR*: KK 038-014001, *Stat.Sur.(KK)* 614 (1802), *Par. Sur.* I 362 (1814), *OSL(KK)* II 223, *OSM(KK)* 77, *Loc. Pat.* 311, *Carrigan NB* 43.2, *Carrigan IV* 226, Orpen 1909, 324, *NFCS* 842.288, *O'Kelly* 137, *Shell Guide Harb.* 264) and graveyard [both situated to the north-east of the well] (*Nat. Grid*: 244156, 121483, *SMR*: KK 038-014002, *Carrigan IV* 227, Orpen 1909, 324, *NFCS* 842.18, *O'Kelly* 138, *Shell Guide Harb.* 264, Meehan 353), the ruins of Tibberaghny castle being a short distance to the south-east of the well (*Nat. Grid*: 244024, 121604, *SMR*: KK 038-012001, *ALC* I 170 (1185), *ARE* III 66 (1185), *T&S* 163, *Stat.Sur.(KK)* 637, *Lewis* II 108, *OSL(KK)* II 224, *OSM(KK)* 77, *Carrigan IV* 229, Orpen 1909, 324, *O'Kelly* 138, *Shell Guide Harb.* 264, Keane 2013, 195, 199; O'Shea 2014, 276).

'The Well of St. Fhachna' [*sic*] is near the entrance to Louis and Daphne Dowley's pigfarm on the Piltown side. The surface spring percolates up from the ground. Very little of the actual well remains. It is in The ChurchField on the river side rather than the Monastery side of the railway. Louis describes it as being 'over the railway'. There are no stones around it or at it and the water, petering out from the surface, has not been used for many decades even on the pigfarm.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Trees 3.1.10, 3.2.7, Stones 4.16 and Crosses 5.16, it has a concomitant ritual (Ritual 18.13) and legends (Legends 12.13, 19.2), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.7), (it has toponymical evidence to corroborate it) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

170. Toberelleen (*EI(6)*), Tobar Eibhlín (well of Eileen)

alias **St. Fiachra's Well** (*NFC 468.107*)

tld: Tikerlevan, *p*: Graiguenamanagh, *cp*: Graiguenamanagh, *bar*: Gowran, *OS 29*, *Nat. Grid*: 267076, 144970, *SMR*: KK 029-003, Map 1.170, Popularity: 2, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 8 February, Local form: St. Fiachra's Well (Margaret Wade, Richard O'Keeffe, Tickerlevin).

Documented references

OSNB(53), *OSL(KK)* II 10, *OSM(KK)* 144, *EI(6)*, Comerford 1883, 55, Healy 1893, 215, *EI(25)*, *E2(6)*, O'Leary & O'Leary 1924, 27, *NFC 468.107*, 108, *NFCS 857.54*, 55, 56, *O'Kelly 77*, Joyce 1996, 192, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser. S 672448*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-eastern part of a 6.522 acre field (*EI(25)*) in the north-eastern section of the townland, to the south of the road which extends in a south-westerly direction towards Thomastown and to the north of the site of Tikerlevin old church (*Nat. Grid*: 267055, 144573, *SMR*: 029-004, *OSNB(50)*, *OSL(KK)* II 10, *OSM(KK)* 144, Comerford 1883, 55, *Comerford Coll.* III 221, *E2(6)*, *NFC 468.107*, *NFCS 857.55*, 87, *O'Kelly 77*).

It is a small rectangular well measuring about 3 feet by 5 feet and has stones around it, Richard O'Keeffe being the landowner in question. The O'Keeffe household always referred to it as St. Fiachra's Well, having never heard of Toberelleen, the Ordnance Survey appellation. It is two fields back from the house on the right hand side. There are sceachs and reeds around this shallow well and fog spawn is viewed in it during the Spring. It is on a slight incline from ground level in a boggy, rushy area. Richard's daughter Catherine, relates that during her youth, a portion of the well-water was always found in the house, or more precisely in the water font, from which all family members used to bless themselves and that her late grandfather, Patrick O'Keeffe, who died in 1983 aged 84, used to use the water for headaches and for blessing crops and animals.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.1.11, 3.6.3, it has

many rituals (Rituals 2.12, 9.4, 13.15, 17.17, 18.14, 20.12) and legends (Legends 1.4, 16.15.11, 16.20.3, 16.35.5, 21.6) associated with it, it was formerly the bearer of two names (Onom.2), the current spoken form (St. Fiachra's Well) being of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.9).

171. St. Finan's Well (EI(6)) (well of St. Finnian)

tld: Tinnalintan, *p*: Donaghmore, *cp*: Ballyragget, *bar*: Fassadinan, *OS* 5, *Nat. Grid*: 245003, 174436, *SMR*: 005-012001, Map 1.171, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 15 November, former pattern day: 'some day in August', Local form: St. Finan's Well (Dermot Dorgan, Attanagh; Michael Staunton, Tinnalintan).

Documented references

OSNB(4), *OSL*(KK) I 74-6, *OSM*(KK) 50, *OSFP*, *EI*(6), *Carrigan NB* 73.76, *Carrigan NB* 74.24, *Carrigan II* 106, *Carrigan IV* 432, *Carrigan NB* 97.200, *Carrigan NB* 120.58, *NFCS* 866.293, *NFCS* 868.4a, 10a, *Shell Guide Killanin* 104, *O'Kelly* 45, *RMPKK*, Dorgan 1996, 131, *Discov.Ser.* S 451744, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 17, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and details concerning the one-time well

The well was located in the north-western section of a 2.468 acre field (*EI*(25)), 'about a furlong south-east of the church' (*Carrigan II* 106) (*Nat. Grid*: 244858, 174433, *SMR*: KK 005-01102, *Oss.Vis.* 4, *Stat.Sur.*(KK) 607, *OSL*(KK) I 74, *OSM*(KK) 50, *Carrigan NB* 74.24, *Carrigan II* 106, *Shell Guide Killanin* 104, *O'Kelly* 45) and adjoining graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 244845, 174422, *SMR*: KK 005-01102, *OSL*(KK) I 76, *OSM*(KK) 50, *Carrigan II* 106, *O'Kelly* 45) in the northern part of the townland near the Glashagal River.

It was well known as St. Finan's Well in the 1960s but fell victim to land reclamation. Dermot Dorgan (aged 80-85) of nearby Attanagh describes it as having been an ordinary surface spring which flowed into the Glashagal. It was near the river on Michael Staunton's land and was around 200 yards from the Ballyragget-Ballinakill road and a bridge. At the time the field was wet and there were blackthorns near the well which were eventually removed and the well appears to have become smothered prior to reclamation. Dermot remembers Michael's late mother, Mrs. Staunton, using the water for sore eyes.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is remembered locally, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it had additional locational characteristics in the form of Trees 3.2.8 and Rathes (Moats 7.21), it had a ritual (Ritual 4.8) and legends (Legends 2.3, 16.15.12,

16.25.9, 16.26.6) attaching to it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.10), (it has toponymical evidence to corroborate it) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

172. St. Bridget's Well (*Graves Patrons* 1)

tld: Toberbreedia, *p*: Ballycallan, *cp*: Kilmanagh, *bar*: Crannagh, [*OS* 22], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: 022-037, generated co-ordinates: 243655, 151376, Map 3.172, Popularity: 2, Feastday and former pattern day: 1 February, Local form: Bridget's Well (Paul Harrison, Toberbreedia; Tom Fitzpatrick, Kilballykeeffe).

Documented references

OSNB(2:35), *Graves Patrons* 1, Holahan 1883, 83, 119, *Carrigan* III 442, *Carrigan* IV 433, *NFCS* 867.45, 46, *ITAS(KK)*, Kilmanagh, Form A, page 6, *O'Kelly* 9, Larkin 2006, 118, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

Billy Butler (aged 80-85) of nearby Ballycallan has indicated the location of 'St. Bridget's Well' on the Ordnance map. It is situated in the north-western corner of a swampy 5.486 acre field (*E1(25)*) near the southern end of the townland (and is to be distinguished from a 'Well' marked on *E1(25)* in a small .489 acre field which adjoins it). It is 'about three quarters of a mile south of the church' of Ballycallan (*Carrigan* III 442; *Nat. Grid*: 243017, 152421; *SMR*: KK 022-07201; *OSL(KK)* I 235; *OSM(KK)* 166; *Graves Patrons* 1; Holahan 1886, 82) and nearby graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 243012, 152429; *SMR*: KK 018-07202; *OSL(KK)* I 235; *OSM(KK)* 166; *Carrigan* III 442; *O'Kelly* 5).

It is a circular well with a sceach bush over it and no stones at it. It percolates up through the ground, the air bubbles being visible. It is situated in a laneway a mile in from the road on Paul Harrison's land in an area formerly known as Moore's Bog. Water used to be brought from the well to St. Bridget's Chapel, Ballycallan, to be blessed each year on the saint's feastday. There used to be a cup at the well up to thirty years ago. Billy Butler, who cleans the well and pulls watercress from it, used to drink the water while hunting during his youth some 65-70 years ago. Although the Harrisons reclaimed the aforementioned bog, the well was left intact. Tom Fitzpatrick (aged 65-70) of nearby Kilballykeeffe refers to it as Bridget's Well.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located some distance from an ecclesiastical milieu (old ch. + gr.), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.3.3, it has legends attaching to it (Legends 18.1, 28.8), the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.2) (which is corroborated toponymically) and a spoken form reflective of this is still in use.

173. Thibberachollikeen (*Carrigan IV 236*), Tobar an Chailcín (well of the eye disorder)
tld: Tobernabrone, *p*: Fiddown, *cp*: Templeorum, *bar*: Iverk, [*OS 39*], *Nat. Grid*: 249179,
122111, *SMR*: KK 039-025001, Map 1.173, Popularity: 2, no former pattern day recorded,
Fig. 69, 70, Date of visit: 21/3/2016, Local forms: The Well of the Sorrows/Quern (Michael
Long, Jack Kearns, Tobernabrone).

Documented references

Moore 1874-9, 33, *Carrigan IV 236*, 432, *Carrigan NB 34.22*, 23, 47, *Carrigan NB*
66.43, *Carrigan NB 74.265*, *Carrigan NB 97.342*, *ITAS Piltown*, Form A, page 4,
O'Kelly 29, *Discov.Ser. S 493222*, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the western part of a small 1.958 acre field (*E1(25)*) in the south-western part of the townland, and ‘a few perches west of it is a powerful spring’ (*Carrigan NB 6.132*).

Michael Long calls the well [Tobar na Brón, ‘well of the quern’] both ‘the well of the sorrows’ (a local misinterpretation) and ‘The well of the quern’ (a correct interpretation). However, ‘the well of the sorrows’ is the more commonly-used appellation. Michael’s neighbour, Jack Kearns, is the present landowner. The well, according to Michael ‘has a cure for sore eyes if you wash your eyes with the water’. In addition, it goes dry every summer. It is a circular stone well with a hole in the middle. The water flows through the hole and the well is 2-3 feet wide. A grinding stone at it is sunk down into the ground, half of it being visible. The well has a few big stones around it and is fenced off to protect it from animals. The water is piped to keep the area dry.

Michael also refers to the well as ‘the well of the eyes’ which is in keeping with the Tobar an Chailcín (‘well of the eye-disorder’) derivation.

Professor Celeste Ray comments that ‘when bullauns serve as stations or secondary wells and, more rarely retain their “grinder stones” (so-named from the perception of bullauns as querns), these can be ritually moved and are called “curing stones” depending on the ritualist’s intentions and the direction in which the stones are turned’ (Ray 2011, 274).

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is not located in an ecclesiastical milieu, it has a locational characteristic in the form of Raths/Moats 7.22, it has legends (Legends 16.25.20, 17.8) pertaining to it, the well was formerly the bearer of two names (Onom.2), neither of which was of hagiographical origin and it has a spoken form still in existence (including a correctly-translated form and an incorrectly-translated one) (Onom.4G).

174. Tobernapeastia (E2(6)), Tobar na Péiste (well of the worm/serpent)

tld: Tobernapeastia, *p*: Freshford, *cp*: Freshford, *bar*: Crannagh, *OS* 9, *Nat. Grid*: 239210, 165124, *SMR*: KK 009-064, Map 1.174, Popularity: 2, no former pattern day recorded, Fig. 71, 72, Date of visit: 20/3/2016, Local form: The Well of the Worms [*sic*] (Pat Walsh, Thomas Doheny, Tobernapeastia).

Documented references

OSNB(29), *OSL*(KK) I 188, *OSM*(KK) 14, *OSFP*, Joyce I 1869, 199, *Carrigan NB* 74.196, *Carrigan NB* 127.13, 14, 17, *Carrigan NB* 158.24, *E2*(6), *E1*(25), *Carrigan* II 256, *Carrigan* IV 443, *NFCS* 866.322, 351, *RMPKK*, Cantwell 2000, 34, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 21, *NMS*, *ASI*

Saints versus serpents

The legendary notion that many named early Christian Irish saints (a source of goodness) wrestle in an aquatic context with a serpent or *ollphiast* (a source of evil) is elaborated on more fully, under Legend 14 (i.e. chapter on Legendary Evidence). The outcome is nearly always the same in that the saint, by dint of his supernatural and thaumaturgical powers, emerges victorious against all the odds.

Additional locational details and details concerning the well

Tobernapeastia is located in the north-eastern part of a 4.795 acre field (*E1*(25)) in the north-western vicinity of Freshford, to the south of the road from Johnstown to Freshford, to the north-west of Kilrush corn mills, close to the southern bank of the Nuenna River on the land of Liam Deacon.

There is an old pedestrian entrance (gate) and stile into the field near the bottom of which is a bushy, marshy spot, the one-time location of the well. Tom Doheny has kindly tracked its location by entering the National Grid co-ordinates on his phone. The New Freshford Cemetery is situated to its right. However, this is not an example of an old holy well and old graveyard, as the cemetery, still in use, was only opened in the 1950s, so essentially the well was in existence long before the graveyard.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is barely traceable, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (modern gr.), it has a ritual (Ritual 26.1) and legends (Legends 3.3, 14.1) attaching to it, the well-name is not of hagiographical origin and the main spoken form is a somewhat inaccurately-translated English form (Onom.4G).

175. Toberacrin (*E1(6)*), Tobar an Chrainn (well of the tree)

alias St. Brendan's Well (*Carrigan III 196, 197*)

tld: Troyswood, *p*: St. Canice's, *cp*: St. Canice's, *bar*: Crannagh, *OS 14, Nat. Grid*: 248026, 160057, *SMR*: KK 014-055, Map 1.175, Popularity: 1, Feasday: perhaps 16 May, no former pattern day recorded, Local form: The Blessed Well (Helen Dowling, Seamus Neary, Troyswood).

Documented references

OSNB(56), OSL(KK) II 78, OSM(KK) 67, OSFP, E1(6), Graves 1883, 14, Carrigan NB 27.6, 25, Carrigan NB 74.195, Carrigan NB 85.53, Carrigan III 196, 197, OSFM(KK) 8855, E2(25), E2(6), Lucas 1963, 40, O'Kelly 25, Carville 1977, 42, RMPKK, Discov.Ser. S 481601, Cantwell 2000, 70, NMS, ASI

Similar names

The officially-adopted anglicised form of the name, Toberacrin, is an acceptable one, like Tubberachreene (*tld*: Kilmogue) and unlike the somewhat corrupted Toberachree < Tobar an Chrainn (*tld*: Kilmacshane).

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in a small, narrow .886 acre field (*E1(25)*) in the north-western part of the townland, to the south of the old village of Thornback and about 200 yards to the north-west of (i) Troyswood Church ruins (*Nat. Grid*: 248210, 159940, *SMR*: 014-05601, *Ledwich Ir. Kilk.* 458 (1781), *OSL(KK) II 78, OSM(KK) 66, Graves 1883, 14, Carrigan NB 85.53, Carrigan III 195, 196, 197, OSFM(KK) 8854, O'Kelly 25*), (ii) the adjoining graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 248216, 159916, *SMR*: KK 014-05602, *OSNB(14), OSL(KK) II 77, Carrigan III 195, O'Kelly 25, Carville 1980, 42*) and (iii) a castle in ruins overlooking the valley of the Nore (*Nat. Grid*: 248220, 159940, *SMR*: KK 014-05603, *OSNB(14), OSL(KK) II 77, OSM(KK) 67, Carrigan III 195, OSFM(KK) 8856, O'Kelly 25, Cantwell 70*).

The well is still there but is overgrown and it dries up. It is less than 100 yards from Seamus Neary's house between the Thornback and Freshford roads. It is a D-shaped shallow well in a valley and a stream passes by it. It is 3 feet wide and contains sand in its basin. There is a little wall in front of 'The Blessed Well' and the well is high at the back and lower at the sides. There used to be an old oak tree at it and yellow lillies used to be seen around it. Bríd

Dowling (aged 65-70), who lives in Thornback near the graveyard laneway, recalls that pupils used to be sent from the nearby National School during her primary-school days, down the slope to the well, to fetch water for boiling at the school at lunchtime.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 2.9, it has a ritual (Ritual 16.3) associated with it, it was formerly the bearer of two names (Onom.2), one of which was of hagiographical origin (Hag.3.1, 4.2) and the current spoken form is a deonomised one (Onom.4B2).

176. Tubbrid Holy Well (*EI(6)*), Tiobraid (the well)

tld: Tubbrid, *p*: Tubbrid, *cp*: Mooncoin, *bar*: Iverk, *OS* 39, *Nat. Grid*: 251676, 121070, *SMR*: KK 039-031, Map 1.176, Popularity: 1, possible former pattern days: 1 February or 13 April, Local form: The Well (Leo Dunphy, James Dunphy, Tubbrid).

Documented references

OSNB(8), *OSL(KK)* II 228, *OSM(KK)* 79, *OSFP*, *EI(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 74.27, *Carrigan IV* 156, *NFCS* 840.150, 153, McDonald 1959, 76, *O’Kelly* 138, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Toponymical evidence of the original well name

1300c.	Typeryd	<i>COD</i> IV 366
1303-6	Typeryd	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 19c
1351	Tybrid	<i>COD</i> IV 379
1351	Tybrit	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 21h
1450c.	Tybryt	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 3c
1480c.	Tybryid	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 36h
1500	Tibordi (rectorie de-)	<i>Ann.Oss.</i> 32.103
1503	Tribuda (perpetual vicarage of-)	<i>CPL</i> XVIII 11.15
1637	Tuburd	<i>Inq.Lag.(KK)</i> 93 C1
1655	Tubberd	<i>DS</i>
1659	Tubrad	<i>Cen.</i> 418
1660c.	Tubburd	<i>BSD(KK)</i> 170
1669	Tubburd	<i>ASE</i> 218b

Additional locational details and former well description

The well was located in the north-eastern part of a 3.209 acre field (*EI(25)*) in the eastern section of the townland, ‘about 800 links North-West of Tubrid [*sic*] Church’ (*OSNB(8)*: *Sit.*) (*Nat. Grid*: 251656, 120969, *SMR*: KK 039-032001, ‘a ruin of a small dimension, little of its walls are standing’ (*OSNB*: *Descr.Rem.*), *OSL(KK)* II 228, *OSM(KK)* 78, *Carrigan IV* 156, *NFCS* 840.150, 151, 154, *O’Kelly* 138) and adjoining graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 251651, 120965, *SMR*: KK 039-032002, *OSL(KK)* II 228, *OSM(KK)* 78, 79, *Carrigan IV* 156, *NFCS* 840.151, 154, 214, *NFCS* 842.18, *O’Kelly* 138).

It was in existence until the early 1970s and was on the land of Leo Dunphy (aged 50-55), whose uncle was Michael Dunphy (*NFCS* 840.150). It was in a stone wall on the roadside and resembled a fireplace. The water in the wall had a cap over it. Leo Dunphy, James Dunphy (aged 50-55) and their uncle, Larry Gilmartin (aged 70-75) remember it.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is remembered locally, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it had an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 2.10, it had a legend (Legend 16A 24) attaching to it, it was formerly the bearer of two names (Onom.2), one of which was of hagiographical origin (Hag. 2.2) and the current spoken form is of a de-onomised nature (Onom.4B2).

177. Toberpatrick (*EI(6)*), Tobar Phádraig (well of St. Patrick)

tld: Tubbrid Upper, *p*: Tubbridbritain, *cp*: Urlingford, *bar*: Crannagh, *OS* 13, *Nat. Grid*: 235133, 162526, *SMR*: KK 013-031, Map 1.177, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 17 March, Local form: Tobar Pháraic [*sic*] (John Campion, Tubbrid Upper).

Documented references

OSL(KK) I 171, *OSM(KK)* 11, 12, *OSFP*, *EI(6)*, Hogan 1864, 201, Healy 1874-9, 46, Shearman 1878, 390, *Carrigan NB* 74.199, *Carrigan NB* 127.10, 12, *E2(6)*, *EI(25)*, *Carrigan II* 370, 371, *Carrigan IV* 433, *NFCS* 867.360, 361, Waldron 1959, 13, 17, *O’Kelly* 27, de Loughry 1974, 36, Dowling 1978, 30, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser. S* 352625, Hayes 2014, 7, *NMS*, *ASI*

Possible toponymical evidence of the original well name

1303-6	Typeridbretaen	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 19g
1316-18	Tibretbretayn	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 22b
1317	Tiberydbrytayn	<i>Kts’ Fees</i> 196
1318	Tybritbrytayne	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 20g
1351	Tybritbretayn	<i>Lib.Rub.Oss.</i> 21b
1400	Tiperbritane	<i>COD II</i> 353

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located a short distance to the north of the north-eastern part of a long, narrow 4.189 acre field (*EI(25)*) in the north-western portion of the townland, to the east of the eastern boundary of the adjoining townland of Tubbrid Lower, and a short distance to the west of Tubbrid old church ruins (*Nat. Grid*: 235292, 162538, *SMR*: KK 013-032001, *Tenison Vis.* 69 (1731), *OSNB(3)*, *OSL(KK)* I 170, *OSM(KK)* 11, Hogan 1884, 78, *Carrigan NB* 74.271, *Carrigan NB* 127.12, *Carrigan NB* 158.24, *NFCS* 867.360, *O’Kelly* 27) and graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 235294, 162539, *SMR*: KK 013-032002, *OSNB(3)*, *OSL(KK)* I 170, *OSM(KK)* 11, 12, *OSFP*, *EI(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 158.24, *NFCS* 867.302, 360, *O’Kelly* 27; Hayes 2014, 9). Situated a short distance to the south-east of the well and to the south of the church are Tubbrid Castle ruins (*Nat. Grid*: 235291, 162385, *SMR*: KK 013-033001,

Stat.Sur.(KK) 637 (1802), *Lewis* II 108, Mease 1850, 463, Egan 1884, 316, *Carrigan* II 371, *NFCS* 867.360, *O'Kelly* 27, *Shell Guide Harb.* 186; Hayes 2014, 9).

It is situated in Bán an Champa field on John Campion's land. The river Nuenna flows right at it, near the end of a lane. It contains what John terms as 'spa-water' and has stones at it. It has lost its shape over the years and does not now resemble a well, being neither circular nor rectangular. The Campions still refer to it as Tobar Phádraig.

In summary

The well has an SMR reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has a legend (Legend 3.4) attaching to it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.2.1) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

178. David's Well (E1(6))

tld: Tullaherin, *p*: Tullaherin, *cp*: Tullaherin, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 24, *Nat. Grid*: 260924, 147985, *SMR*: KK 024-072, Map 1.178, Popularity: 1, Feastday: 1 March, former pattern day: 5 March (St. Kieran's Day), Fig.73, Local form: St. David's Well (William Murphy, Castlegarden).

Documented references

OSNB(48), *OSFP*, *E1(6)*, Moore 1874-9, 25, *E2(6)*, *E1(25)*, *Carrigan* III 419, *Carrigan NB* 42.6, *Carrigan NB* 66.73, *Carrigan NB* 67.78, *Carrigan NB* 71.31, *Carrigan NB* 97.241, *Carrigan NB* 149.65, *O'Kelly* 100, *RMPKK*, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and details concerning the well

The well was located close to the eastern boundary of a large 13.098 acre field (*E1(25)*) in the north-eastern part of the townland, 'near Dungarvan village' (*O'Kelly* 100), which townland adjoins Tullaherin to the north-east, 'on the Tullaherin border' (*O'Kelly* 70), 'close to the bounds of Dungarvan and Kilmanahan' (*Carrigan* III 419), some distance to the north-east of Tullaherin church ruins (*Nat. Grid*: 259026, 147877, *SMR*: KK 024-062001, *Tenison Vis.* 24, 61 (1731), *OSNB* (49), *OSL(KK)* I 261, *OSM(KK)* 150, 151, Graves 1856-7, 153, *Loc.Pat.* 379, Hewson 1893, 208, *Carrigan* III 480, *Shell Guide Harb.* 198, *Nat.Mon.Harb.* 205, Meehan 357) and graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 259038, 147862, *SMR*: KK 024-062002, *OSNB*(49), Moore 1874-9, 25, *Carrigan* III 481, *O'Kelly* 100, Dyer 2009, 135, Holden 2009, 193).

Local historian William Murphy of nearby Castlegarden states that the well is not now in view and that 'it has a tower built on it (probably from the nineteenth century) which obliterates the well itself'. He adds that, to the best of his knowledge, 'the purpose of the tower was to supply via gravity an adjoining landlord farmyard owned by the Davis family who lived at Summerhill near Kilfane' and that, as far as he can ascertain, 'it is now on land owned by Simon and Ann Porter'. He refers to it as 'St. David's Well', the Ordnance Survey appellation being 'David's Well'.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it has a tradition of a well having been here, it was located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it had an additional locational characteristic in the

form of Raths/Moats 7.23, the well-name is of hagiographical origin and it has two spoken forms, one, St. David's Well, and the other a de-onomised one, The Well.

179. Thubbervweenia (*Carrigan III 322*), Tobar Mhaighne (well of (the) homestead)
alias St. Cathrine's Well [sic], Couchlan's Well (NFCS 853.248, 249)

tld: Tullamaine (Ashbrook), *p*: Tullamaine, *cp*: Callan, *bar*: Shillelogher, [*OS 22*], *Nat. Grid*: 243668, 145931, *SMR*: KK 022-027004, Map 1.179, Popularity: 2, Feastday: 25 November, former pattern day: 21 January, Fig.74, Local form: Coughlan's Well (William Maher, Tullamaine; Stephen Hoyne, Ballymack).

Documented references

OSNB(3), *OSL(KK)* I 55, 56, *OSM(KK)* 26, *OSFP*, *EI(6)*, *Carrigan NB* 33.47, *Carrigan NB* 71.101, 185, *Carrigan NB* 74.209, *Carrigan NB* 85.47, *Carrigan III* 321, 322, *NFCS* 853.248, 249, *O'Kelly* 192, O'Donnell 1987, 59, 60, *Discov.Ser. S* 437459, Manning 1998, 19, Brennan 2001, 11, Fitzgerald 2003, 103-5, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 20, Lynch 2010, 17, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-eastern portion of a 5.556 acre field (*EI(25)*) in the south-western part of the townland, beside the Creasóg stream (Brennan 2001, 11, Fitzgerald 2003, 104) in the south-western vicinity of Tullamaine old graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 243769, 146212, *SMR*: KK 022-027002, *OSL(KK)* II 55, *OSM(KK)* 26, *Carrigan NB* 71.185, *Carrigan NB* 137.115, *Carrigan III* 321, *O'Kelly* 192, Brennan 2001, 14, Brennan 2006, 138, Lynch 2010, 18, Kennedy 2017, 183) and ancient church site (*Nat. Grid*: 243769, 146212, *SMR*: KK 022-027001, *Cinnlae Amhl.* I 134 (24/11/1837), Hogan 1884, 154, *Carrigan NB* 137.118, *Carrigan III* 321, *O'Kelly* 192, O'Donnell 1987, 59, 60, Brennan 2001, 11, Fitzgerald 2003, 105).

It is situated on the land of William Maher (aged 55-60), its measurements being 6 feet by 6 feet. It is some 200 yards to the back of the house in a yard. Locally known as Couchlan's Well (it was shown as 'Holy Well' only on the Ordnance Survey maps), it is a surface well which bubbles up from the ground and stones are visible where it bubbles up. It flows into the Creasog stream then into a cement tank and finally up into the river. The Mahers used to often drink the spring water up to around twenty years ago.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. site + gr.), it has an additional locational characteristic in the form of Trees 3.2.11, it has many legends (Legends 16.5.1, 16.6.2, 16.4.2, 16.15.13, 16.18.1, 16.23.1, 16.33.1, 25.4) pertaining to it, it was formerly the bearer of many names (Onom.2), one of which was of hagiographical origin (Hag.5.5) and it has a spoken form reflective of this still in use.

180. Lady's Well (EI(6))

tld: Tullaroan, *p*: Tullaroan, *cp*: Tullaroan, *bar*: Crannagh, *OS* 18, *Nat. Grid*: 238348, 156561, *SMR*: KK 018-031, Map 1.180, Popularity: 1, Feastday and former pattern day: 15 August, Local form: St. Mary's Well (Fr. Patrick Guilfoyle, Anthony Dillon, Tullaroan).

Documented references

OSNB(1), *OSL(KK)* I 213, *OSM(KK)* 20, *EI*(6), Hogan 1858-9, 478, 479, Healy 1893, 442, *E2*(6), *E1*(25), *Carrigan* III 495, *Carrigan* IV 43, *Carrigan NB* 42.124, *Carrigan NB* 48.38, *Carrigan NB* 97.275, *NFC* 468.12, Healy 1951, 14, *Shell Guide Killanin* 283, *O'Kelly* 31, Walsh 1991, 17, *Discov.Ser.* S 384567, *RMPKK*, Kennedy 2001, 10, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 24, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located towards the northern end of a large 10.945 acre field (*E1*(25)) in the southern part of the townland, to the south-east of Tullaroan village, to the east of the 'Moat Field' (*OSFP*, *E1*(6)), in the field adjoining (i) Tullaroan old church to the north (*Nat. Grid*: 238375, 156428, *SMR*: KK 018-032001, *Stat.Sur.*(*KK*) 611, *Par.Sur.* III 605, *Lewis* II 654, *OSL(KK)* I 210-213, *OSM(KK)* 20, Hogan 1864, 195, *Carrigan* III 493, *NFC* 468.121, *O'Kelly* 31, Kennedy 2001, 10; the church of Tullaroan, Ó Riain 2014, 72 and (ii) graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 238364, 156433, *SMR*: KK 018-032002, *OSNB*(12), *Carrigan NB* 1.181, 271, *Carrigan* III 495, *NFCS* 867.98, 140, *Shell Guide Killanin* 283, *O'Kelly* 31, Kennedy 2001, 10). The well is situated 'about 200 yards north of the churchyard' (*Carrigan* III 495).

It is situated on the land of Anthony Dillon (aged 55-60), being a small circular hole in the ground and measuring 2 feet across. It is in the middle of a field and had a stone canopy over it. There are wooden stakes and wire around it and the stone house is no longer to be seen. Revd. Patrick Guilfoyle, parish priest of Tullaroan who lives across the road from the Dillons refers to it as 'St. Mary's Well'. On showing me the well he draws my attention to the fact that there now 'only a tiny drop of water in it'.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr. + chapel), it has additional locational characteristics in the form Trees 3.1.12

and Raths/Moats 7.24, it has legends (Legends 2.4, 16A25) pertaining to it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1) and the spoken form reflects this.

181. St. Fiachra's Well (EI(6))

tld: Ullard, *p*: Ullard, *cp*: Graiguenamanagh, *bar*: Gowran, *OS* 25, *Nat. Grid*: 270836, 143786, *SMR*: KK 025-038003, Map 1.181, Popularity: 2, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 8 February, Local form: St. Fiachra's Well (Catherine Doyle, Myles Doyle, Ullard).

Documented references

OSNB(28), *OSL*(KK) II 2, *OSM*(KK) 142, *EI*(6), *Loc.Pat.* 200, *Comerford Coll.* III 224, Vigors 1893, 258, *EI*(25), *E2*(6), O'Leary 1911, 6, 20, 21, O'Toole 1933, 107, *NFCS* 857.31, 54, 87, 145, 146, 423, 424, 425, 469, *NFCS* 858.21, *NFCS* 903.637, 638, *NFCS* 904.471, O'Leary 1948, 22, 25, *KP* 19/6/1948, p5, *O'Kelly* 101, *KP* 7/2/1969, p9, Hughes 1970, 59, 60, Logan 1980, 85, 86, 87, *KP* 15/2/1980, p10, *KP* 13/2/1981, p21, Cotter & Lehane 1981-2, 154, Joyce 1993, 191, 192, *RMPKK*, *Discov.Ser.* S 724483, O'Dwyer 2002, 49, Meehan 2008, 348, Bradley 2009, 5, Varner 2009, 113, Farrell 2014, 137, *KP* 7/2/2014, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located near the eastern boundary of a 6.283 acre field (*EI*(25)) to the east of the western boundary of the townland, a short distance to the north-east of Ullard House (*EI*(25)), 'in the field beside the church' (*Nat.Mon.Harb.* 206) (*Nat. Grid*: 272384, 148142, *SMR*: KK 025-03801, *OSNB* (20), *OSNB* (28), *OSL*(KK) II 4, *OSM*(KK) 142, *O'Hanlon Saints* V 66, Vigors 1893, 251, 252, *NFCS* 857.269, 469, Leask I 126, *O'Kelly* 101). Also lying in the south-eastern vicinity of the well are (i) a graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 272389, 148138, *SMR*: 025-03809, *EI*(6), Vigors 1893, 255, *NFCS* 903.637, *O'Kelly* 101) and (ii) a stone cross (*Nat. Grid*: 272408, 148150, *SMR*: 025-03802, *Lewis* II 670, *OSL*(KK) II 6, *OSM*(KK) 142, *Loc.Pat.* 200, *Comerford Coll.* III 217; *Shell Guide Harb.* 198; *Nat.Mon.Harb.* 206; Moss 2014, 148), the eastern boundary of the townland to its west being the River Barrow (the county boundary between Kilkenny and Carlow).

Catherine Doyle and her son, Myles, are the owners of The Well Field. Myles informs me that the locally well-known St. Fiachra's Well is situated on slopy land, that it is circular in shape, that its inside is made of granite stone, that it has a flat stone on top, that it never goes dry, being about 1 foot deep in summer and about twice as deep in winter, that the square slab of limestone is on the level of the grass, that at the bottom side of the slab are two small steps down to the well, that one can look back into the well from here while on one's knees, that at

the back of the well is a pool for excess water which drains off down along the field and that stations are performed at the nearby church on February 8th, the well being sometimes visited at this time, weather permitting.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. ruins + gr.), it has additional locational characteristics in the form of Trees 3.1.13, Stones 4.17, Crosses 5.17, it has many rituals (Rituals 1.9, 2.13, 2A22, 4.9, 12.22, 16.4, 17.18, 18.15, 20.13, 24.2, 27) and legends (Legends 1.5, 3.5, 7.2, 12.14, 16.2.1, 16.15.14, 16.20.4, 16.35.6) associated with it, the well-name is of hagiographical origin (Hag.4.9) and the spoken form in use reflects this.

182. Lady's Well (*Carrigan* II 364)

tld: Urlingford, *p*: Urlingford, *cp*: Urlingford, *bar*: Galmoy, [*OS* 12], *Nat. Grid*: /-, *SMR*: /-, generated co-ordinates: 228130, 162430, Map 3.182, Popularity: 1, Feastday and possible former pattern day: 15 August, Fig. 75, Date of visit: 14/7/2016, Local form: Connie's Well (Des Fitzgerald, John Queally, Urlingford).

Documented references

Healy 1874-9, 42, *Carrigan* II 364, *Carrigan* IV 432, *Carrigan* NB 29.107, *Carrigan* NB 42.80, *Carrigan* NB 97.144, *Carrigan* NB 147.120, *O'Kelly* 64, Dowling 1978, 28, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 24

Additional locational details and details concerning the well

The well was located to the south-west of the village of Urlingford in the south-western part of the townland, 'beside the Togher road as it crosses into Co. Tipperary' (*Carrigan* II 364), 'in the field next to Co. Tipperary, and joining the Togher road on the right as you go from the town to Gortnahoo' (*Carrigan* NB 147.210), 'in Mrs. Quinlan's land' (*Ibid.*), some distance to the south-west of Urlingford Church ruins (*Nat. Grid*: 228039, 163799, *SMR*: /-, *OSNB* (11), *E1*(6), Healy 1874-9, 41, *O'Kelly* 64, Dowling 1978, 28, Lanigan 1980, 69, *Shell Guide Harb.* 299) and graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 228030, 163790, *SMR*: KK 012-00102, *OSNB* (11), *OSFP*, *E1*(6), *E2*(6)).

John Queally of Togher Road relates that the well has long since lost its holy status, now bearing the appellation Connie's Well (he cannot, however, recall who this Connie was).

He also confirms the well's location on the Ordnance map – it is situated at the very south-eastern end of a large, swampy, 31.998 acre field (*E1*(25)). The relevant field is marked on *E1*(25) but the well is not. It is, however, shown (but not named) on the earlier *E1*(6).

Des Fitzgerald used to be the landowner. His father, Jimmy, who died around thirty years ago, married a Quinlan – hence the Quinlan/Fitzgerald ownership connection. Margaret Hayes refers to a Mrs. Fitzgerald (née Quinlan), daughter of Thomas (Hayes 2014, 59) in this locality.

Des, whose family owned the land until 2002, relates that the well caved in sometime in the 1980s and that stones fell into it. It was an open spring well and 'it was wide as a neighbour's horse once fell into it'. The land around where it was is 'sandy, marshy,

undeveloped boy'. A local family named Purcell were the last people to use it as drinking water during the 1970s. The name Lady's Well is not remembered locally and like John Queally, Des is unaware as to whom the replacement name, Connie's Well, refers.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is remembered locally, it was not located in an immediate ecclesiastical milieu, it had a ritual (Ritual 2A23) associated with it, the well-name (Lady's Well) is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1) but the spoken form is a substitute-name, Connie's Well (Onom.2).

183. Tobar Muire (*Carrigan* IV 241), Tobar Mhuire (well of Our Lady)

tld: Whitechurch, *p*: Whitechurch, *cp*: Templeorum, *bar*: Shillelogher, [*OS* 38], *Nat. Grid*: 241489, 124821, *SMR*: KK 038-001, Map 1.183, Popularity: 1, Feastdays: 15 August, 8 September (possible former pattern days), Local form: Cregg Well (Betty Hanrahan, Whitechurch (aged 95–100)).

Documented references

Moore 1874-9, 31, *Carrigan* IV 241, 432, *Carrigan NB* 34.57, *NFCS* 843.334, *O’Kelly* 140, *RMPKK*, Dorgan & Dorgan 2008, 23, *NMS*, *ASI*

Additional locational details and well description

The well is located in the north-eastern portion of the townland in the vicinity of Whitechurch Church (*Nat. Grid*: 242459, 124880, *SMR*: KK 038-002001, *OSL(KK)* II 189, *OSM(KK)* 114, ‘there are no vestiges of the ancient church, but a modern [Protestant] one has been built on its site’ (Moore 1874-9, 31), *Carrigan NB* 6.150, *Carrigan* IV 241, *NFCS* 843.334, *O’Kelly* 140) and graveyard (*Nat. Grid*: 242458, 124880, *SMR*: KK 038-002002, *OSL(KK)* II 189, *OSM(KK)* 114, *Carrigan NB* 6.150, *Carrigan* IV 241, *NFCS* 843.334), ‘100 perches to the west’ of the church (*Carrigan* IV 241), at Cregg Bridge (*EI(6)*) on the eastern bank of the Lingaun River, ‘near its junction with the Suir’ (*Lewis* II 713), ‘on the road to Carrick-on-Suir’ (*O’Kelly* 140).

Betty Hanrahan (aged 95) has only ever heard it called ‘Cregg Well at Cregg Bridge’. It is a circular surface well which is shallow and is around 4 feet wide. There are no stones at it. Up to forty years ago before the local water scheme was introduced, neighbours from the Templeorum/Mountain Grove area used to ferry the water home. Betty describes it as having been ‘very pure, clean and ice-cold in summer’.

In summary

The well has an *SMR* reference, it is still in existence, it is located in an ecclesiastical milieu (ch. + gr.), the well-name (Tobar Muire) is of hagiographical origin (Hag.1.1) but the spoken form is a substitute-name, Cregg Well (Onom.2).

Alphabetical list of numbered wells

(the numbers refer to the order in which they appear in the Database, where they are arranged in alphabetical order according to townland)

- Angel's Well (74), *p* St. Canice's
- Ark Well, The, see St. Kieran's Well (77)
- Ashbrook Well, see Thubbervweenia (179)
- Aughatubbrid Well, see Church Well, The (5)
- Aughkiletaun Holy Well (6),
p Powerstown
- Ballachullia Well, see St. Michael's Well (33)
- Ballinvarry Holy Well (7), *p* The Rower
- Ballyda Holy Wel (10), *p* Danesfort
- Ballyneale Holy Wel (14), *p* Dysartmoon
- Ballyreddy Holy Well (17), *p* Dysartmoon
- Blackabbey Well, see Angel's Well (74)
- Bostionfort Well (36), *p* Gowran
- Broderick's Well, see Tobermamonine (81)
- Broochgarrig Well (4), *p* Castlecomer
- Caereeachth Well (57), *p* Castlecomer
- Church Well, The (5), *p* Castlecomer
- Church Well, see Holy Cross Well (43)
- Clogharinka Holy Well (44), *p* Muckalee
- Clonmore Holy Well (47), *p* Clonmore
- Columbkille's Well (91), *p* Inistioge
- Connie's Well, see Lady's Well (182)
- Coolathubber, see Caereeachth Well (57)
- Coolnatober, see Tobar Mhuire (50)
- Coughlan's Well, see Thubbervweenia (179)
- Cregg Well, see Tobar Muire (183)
- Cruckny Well (63), *p* Castlecomer
- David's Well (173), *p* Tullaherin
- Derrynahinch Holy Well (59),
p Derrynahinch
- Desart Well, see Thubber Eheen (60)
- Donaghmore Well (61), *p* Donaghmore
- Donaguile Well (62), *p* Castlecomer
- Flagstones, The, see St. Kieran's Well (77)
- Friar's Well (111), *p* Whitechurch
- Garryduff Holy Well (79), *p* Owing
- Grove Well, The, see Toberkieran (156)
- Hennessy's Well, see St. Fintan's Well (165)
- Holy Cross Well (43), *p* Grange
- Holy Cross Well, see Kilcross Well (101)
- Kealy's Well (125), *p* Castlecomer
- Kenny's Well, see St. Canice's Well (75)
- Kilcross Well (101), *p* Inistioge
- Kildalton Holy Well (102), *p* Fiddown
- Kildrinagh Holy Well (104), *p* Tubbridbritain
- Kilfane Holy Well (106), *p* Kilfane
- Kilkeasy Holy Well (107), *p* Kilkeasy
- Kilmacow Holy Well (115), *p* Kilmacow
- Kilmog Holy Well, *p* Grange
- Kilmogue Holy Well (122), *p* Fiddown
- Kitty's Well, see Tobernaliha (152)
- Knockroe Holy Well (128), *p* Tullahought
- Lady Well (90), *p* Grangesilvia
- Lady Well (105), *p* Tubbridbritain
- Lady's Well (28), *p* Burnchurch
- Lady's Well (11), *p* Danesfort
- Lady's Well (86), *p* Graiguenamanagh

Lady's Well (146), *p* Owing
 Lady's Well (40), *p* Rosconnell
 Lady's Well, see St. Cranagh's Well (22)
 Lady's Well (141), *p* Thomastown
 Lady's Well (113), *p* Tullahought
 Lady's Well (180), *p* Tullaroan
 Lady's Well (182), *p* Urlingford
 Loughman's Well (164), *p* Shanbogh
 Maudlin Holy Well (134), *p* Mothell
 Mickel's Well (12), *p* Danesfort
 Monastery Well, The, see Tubber Finnawn (68)
 Monteenafyna, see Tobar Phóil (52)
 Muckalee Holy Well (139), *p* Muckalee
 Nanny's Well (69), *p* Castlecomer
 Old Abbey Well, The, see St. Augustine's Well (31)
 Phoenix Well, see Thubber Fheen (60)
 Pollagh Holy Well (148), *p* Powerstown
 Rathlogán Holy Well (157), *p* Rathlogán
 Riesk Holy Well (161), *p* Tullaghanbrogue
 Rosary Well, The, see Tobar Mhuire (50)
 Rossdama Holy Well (163), *p* Grange
 Sruthán na Ceárdcha (72), *p* Coolcraheen
 St. Andrew's Well (118), *p* Kilmadum
 St. Anne's Well, see Nanny's Well (69)
 St. Augustine's Well (31), *p* Callan
 St. Brandon's Well (3), *p* Aghaviller
 St. Brendan's Well, see Toberacrin (175)
 St. Bridget's Well (172), *p* Ballycallan
 St. Bridget's Well (1), *p* Ballytarsney
 St. Bridget's Well (142), *p* Earlstown
 St. Bridget's Well (132), *p* Lamoge
 St. Bridget's Well (87), *p* Pollrone
 St. Brigid's Well (9), *p* Aharney
 St. Broghan's Well (97), *p* Dysartmoon
 St. Canice's Well (75), *p* St. Canice's
 St. Catherine's Well (153), *p* Rathbeagh
 St. Cathrine's [*sic*] Well, see Thubberavweenia (179)
 St. Colman's Well (42), *p* Clara
 St. Columbkille's Well (51), *p* Columbkille
 St. Cranagh's Well (22), *p* Tullaroan
 St. Dallan's Well (29), *p* Burnchurch
 St. David's Well (39), *p* Castleinch
 St. Dominic's Well (39), *p* Angel's Well (74)
 St. Faghtna's Well (169), *p* Tibberaghny
 St. Fiachra's Well, see Aughkiletaun Holy Well (6)
 St. Fiachra's Well (166), *p* Kilferagh
 St. Fiachra's Well, see Toberadrugh (49)
 St. Fiachra's Well, see Toberelleen (170)
 St. Fiachra's Well (181), *p* Ullard
 St. Finan's Well (171), *p* Donaghmore
 St. Fintan's Well (165), *p* Shanbogh
 St. Francis Well (76), *p* St Canice's
 St. James's Well (34), *p* Kilmakevoge
 St. James's Well (135), *p* Mallardstown
 St. John's Well (103), *p* Fiddown
 St. John's Well (56), *p* Jerpointchurch
 St. John's Well (94), *p* Rathcoole
 St. Kieran's Well (32), *p* Inistioge
 St. Kieran's Well (108), *p* Inistioge
 St. Kieran's Well (77), *p* St Mary's
 St. Kyran's Well, see Toberaphuicin (88)
 St. Lawrence's Well (15), *p* Graiguenamanagh
 St. Leonard's Well, see St Ronagh's Well (64)
 St. Luke's Well (127), *p* Kilkeasy

St. Margaret's Well (26), *p* Tullaroan
 St. Mark's Well, see Garryduff Holy Well (79)
 St. Martin's Well (168), *p* St Martin's
 St. Mary's Well (53), *p* Coolaghmore
 St. Mary's Well (78), *p* St Mary's
 St. Michael's Well (21), *p* Erke
 St. Michael's Well (33), *p* Inistioge
 St. Mogarra's Well (119), *p* Kilmagar
 St. Monchin's Well (55), *p* Coolcashin
 St. Mullin's Well (140), *p* Jerpointwest
 St. Nicholas Well (110), *p* Killamery
 St. Patrick's Bowl, see Thubber Phaudhrig (58)
 St. Patrick's Well (2), *p* Ballytarsney
 St. Patrick's Well, see Donaghmore Well (61)
 St. Patrick's Well (65), *p* Gowran
 St. Patrick's Well (23), *p* Tullaroan
 St. Phelix's Well, see Thubber Eheen (60)
 St. Philomena's Well (154), *p* Blanchvilleskill
 St. Rock's Well (92), *p* St Canice's
 St. Ronagh's Well (64), *p* Dunnamaggan
 St. Rosentha's Well (162), *p* Killamery
 St. Scoheen's Well (73), *p* Tiscoffin
 Templeorum Well (144), *p* Templeorum
 Thibberachollikeen (173), *p* Fiddown
 Thibberawling (85), *p* Clonmore
 Thubberakilleen (54), *p* Coolaghmore
 Thubberchooann (70), *p* Kilcoan
 Thubber Eheen (60), *p* Tullaghanbrogue
 Thubber Murrha (112), *p* Kilmacar
 Thubbernadhrynee, see St Patrick's Well (23)
 Thubberniclaush (96), *p* Ballycallan
 Thubber Phaudhrig (58), *p* Kilcolumb
 Thubbervweenia (179), *p* Tullamaine
 Thubbervzheedha (99), *p* Kilbride
 Tobaratiampuill (143), *p* Killamery
 Tobar Bríde (27), *p* Graiguenamanagh
 Tobar Brigid (114), *p* Tullahought
 Tobar Chiaráin, see Toberatoo (38)
 Tobar Mhuire (50), *p* Dysart
 Tobar Muire (183), *p* Whitechurch
 Tobar na hAbha Duibhe, see St Luke's Well (127)
 Tobar na Coille (100), *p* The Rower
 Tobar Phóil (52), *p* Grangemaccomb
 Tobera Choinee (80), *p* Muckalee
 Toberachree (117), *p* Kilmacshane
 Toberacluggeen (136), *p* Muckalee
 Toberacrin (175), *p* St Canice's
 Toberadrugh (49), *p* Sheffin
 Toberaghcanice (48), *p* Clonmore
 Toberakin (145), *p* Earlstown
 Toberaniddaun (151), *p* Kilmanagh
 Toberaphuicin (88), *p* Fertagh
 Toberatoo (38), *p* Kilfane
 Toberboy (149), *p* Powerstown
 Toberbride (19), *p* Callan
 Toberbride (95), *p* Dunnamaggan
 Toberelleen (170), *p* Graiguenamanagh
 Toberkieran (156), *p* Rathkieran
 Toberkieran (167), *p* Stonecarthy
 Toberkyle (83), *p* Powerstown
 Toberlaghteen (137), *p* Freshford
 Tobermamonine (81), *p* Tullahought
 Tobermathulla (82), Tullahought
 Tobermogue (66), *p* Ennisnag
 Tobermolua (131), *p* Killaloe

Tobermurry (45), *p* Clomantagh
 Tobermurry (71), *p* Kilcoan
 Tobermurry (124), *p* Rathpatrick
 Tobernacask (159), *p* Killahy
 Tobernagibboge (37), *p* Earlstown
 Tobernagloghin (126), *p* Killamery
 Tobernagolumb (155), *p* Kilcolumb
 Tobernakill (13), *p* Portnascully
 Tobernaliha (152), *p* Inistioge
 Tobernanaspog (89), *p* Tiscoffin
 Tobernapeastia (174), *p* Freshford
 Tobernaraha (129), *p* Tullahought
 Tobernaskeagh (20), *p* Callan
 Tobernasool (84), *p* Coolcashin
 Tobernavean (150), *p* Powerstown
 Toberpatrick (25), *p* Borrismore
 Toberpatrick (138), *p* Rathcoole
 Toberpatrick (177), *p* Tubbridbritain
 Tober Philip, *see* Kealy's Well (125)
 Tober(s)enan (116), *p* Kilmacow
 Toberuna (147), *p* Owing
 Trinity Well (8), *p* Ballinamara
 Trinity Well (16), *p* Dunmore
 Trinity Well (130), *p* Knocktopher
 Tubberachreene (123), *p* Fiddown
 Tubber a'teampaill (120), *p* Fiddown
 Tubberathoggarth (93), *p* Ballygurrim
 Tubberathoggarth (18), *p* Erke
 Tubber Broondhawin (46), *p* Clonamery
 Tubber Caceh, *see* Tobernasool (84)
 Tubber Finnawn (68), *p* Donaghmore
 Tubber Kilkeerawn (41), *p* Whitechurch
 Tubberkilkierawn (109), *p* Inistioge
 Tubber na Mydan (30), *p* Ballytobin
 Tubbernacruchnhee (160), *p* Killahy
 Tubber na Cruchthanee (24), *p* Tullaroan
 Tubbernacrusha (67), *p* The Rower
 Tubbernaev Mulleeng (133), *p* Listerlin
 Tubbernafauna (35), *p* Fiddown
 Tubber-na-graoun, *see* Toberuna (147)
 Tubbernamuchte, *see* Toberuna (147)
 Tubber Ullacawn (158), *p* Rathlogan
 Tubbervrachawin (98), *p* Kilmanagh
 Tubbrid Holy Well (176), *p* Tubbrid
 Wood Well, The, *see* Cruckny Well (63)



Fig.1

St.Brendan's Well,

Aghaviller,

Carmel Raggett, Pádraig Ó

Dálaigh, 2015



Fig.2

St.Brendan's Well,

Aghaviller,

Carmel Raggett, Pádraig Ó

Dálaigh, 2015



Fig.3

Lady's Well, Ballyda,

Tim Murphy, 2015



Fig.4

Mickel's Well, Ballyda,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.5

Toberbride, Baunta Commons,

Joe Kennedy, 2016

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh



Fig.6

Toberbride, Baunta Commons,

Joe Kennedy, 2016

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh



Fig.7
St.Michael's Well, Bayswell,
Stephen Delaney, 2015



Fig.8

St.Margaret's Well, Brabstown,

Margaret Hennessy, 2016

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh

(over which a tree fell in a storm)



Fig.9

St. Augustine's Well / Old Abbey
Well (to the right in front of the Old
Abbey)

Callan North

Joe Kennedy, Pádraig Ó Dálaigh,

2016



Fig.10

Tubbernafauna (well), Cashel or
Tobernafauna (townland),
Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.11

Tubbernafauna (well), Cashel or
Tobernafauna (townland),
Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016

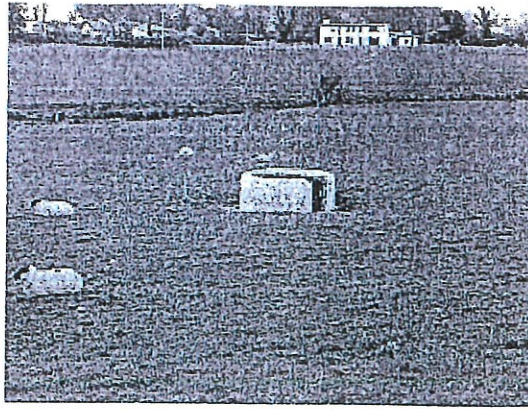


Fig.12

Boston Well, Castle Ellis,

http://irelandsholywells.blogspot.ie/2012/05/our_ladys_well_gowran_co_unty_kilkenny/,2012



The holy well



The overflow into the underground culvert



Fig.13

Tobernagibboge, Castle Eve,

Gerard O'Brien, 2016



Fig.14

Toberatoo / St.Kieran's Well,

Castlegarden,

William Murphy, Pádraig Ó Dálaigh,
2016



Fig.15

St.David's Well, Castleinch,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.16

St.David's Well, Castleinch,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.17

St.David's Well, Castleinch,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh , 2016



Fig.18

Lady Well, Castlemarket,

Julie Dorgan, Dermot Dorgan,

2008



Fig. 19

Lady's Well, Castlemarket,

Julie Dorgan, 2016

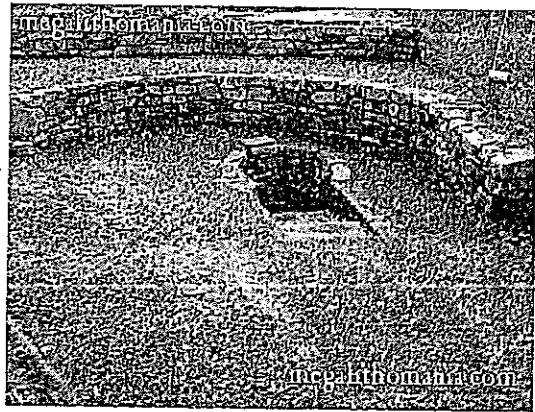


Fig.20

Tubber Kilkeerawn, Castletown,

[/www.megalithomania.com/show
/site/369/Kilkieran.htm](http://www.megalithomania.com/show/site/369/Kilkieran.htm), 2002

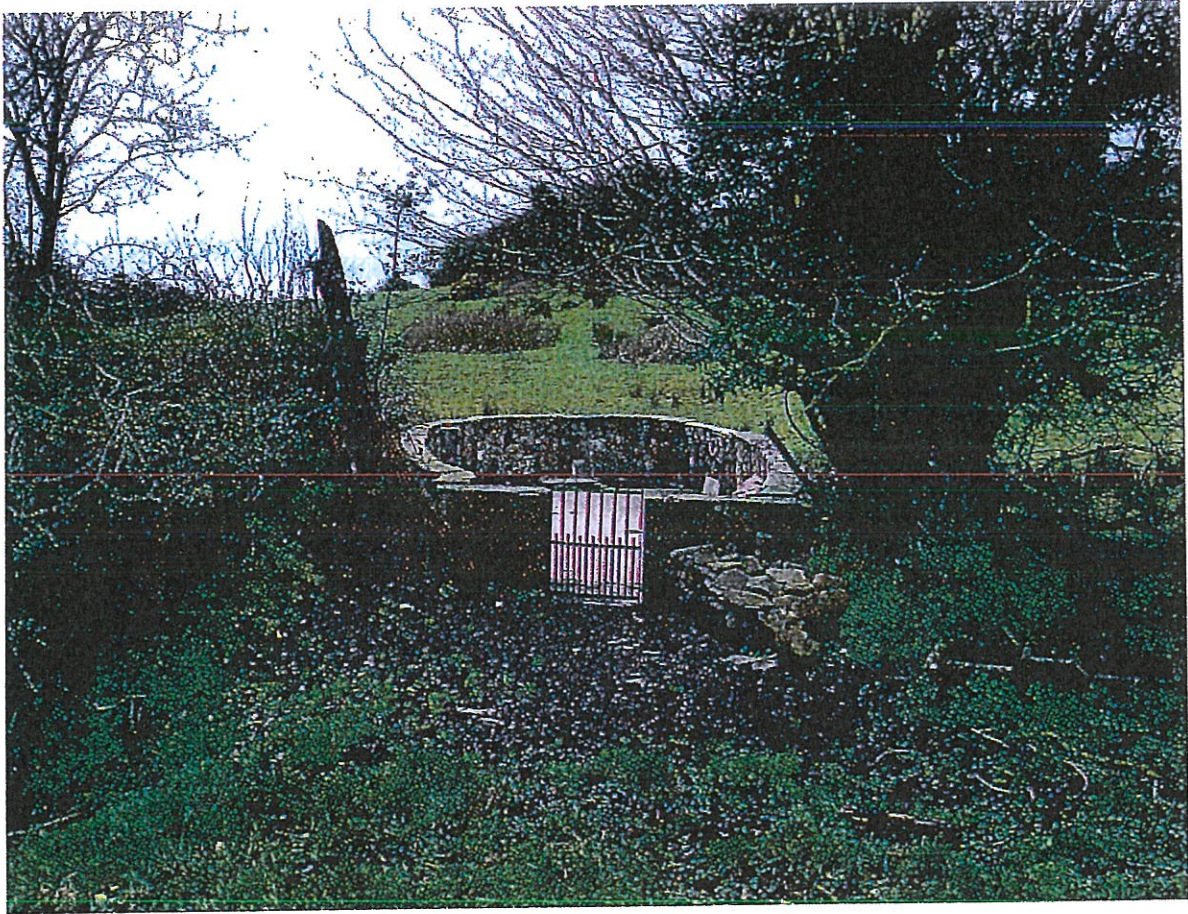


Fig.21

Church Well enclosure, Chatsworth,
Michael Condren, Pádraig Ó Dálaigh,
2016



Fig.22

Church Well, Chatsworth,

Michael Condren, Pádraig Ó Dálaigh,

2016

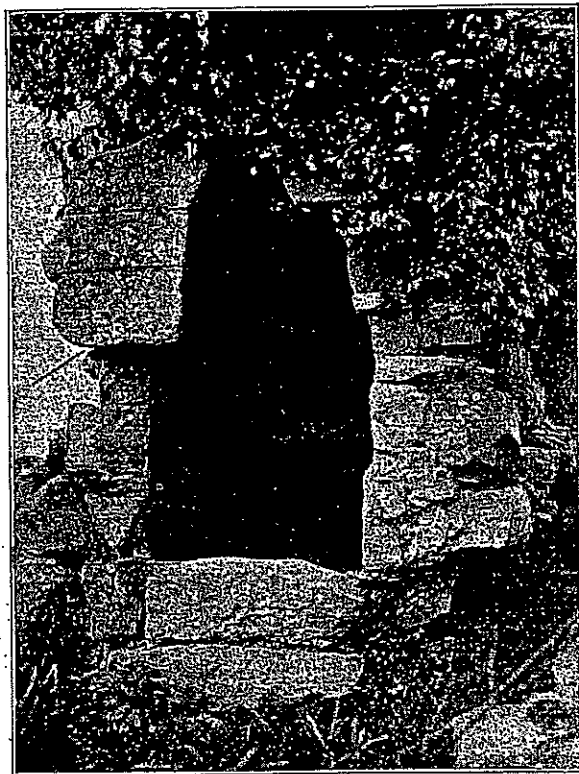


Fig.23

Church Well, Chatsworth,

Michael Condren, Pádraig Ó Dálaigh,

2016



THUBBERADHROO, EAST VIEW, SHOWING DOOR.

Fig.24

Thubberadhroo, Clontubbrid,

Carrigan II 328



Fig.25

Monteenafyna Well, Connahy.

Edel Downey, Pádraig Ó Dálaigh,

2016

(in the Monteen Field)



Fig.26

Another well in the Monteen
Field other than the capped
Monteenafyna above.

Edel Downey, Pádraig Ó Dálaigh,
2016



Fig.27
St.Patrick's Bowl, Davidstown,
Dick Claridge, 2014



Fig.28

St.Leonard's Well,
Dunnamaggan East,
Ger Mullally, 2016



Fig.29

St.Leonard's Well,
Dunnamaggan East,
Ger Mullally, 2016



Fig.30

Tobermogue, Ennisnag,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.31

Tobermogue, Ennisnag,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.32

Tobermurry, Flemingstown,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.33

Tobermurry, Flemingstown,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.34
St.Kieran's Well, Grangefertagh,
Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016

St. Kieran's Well

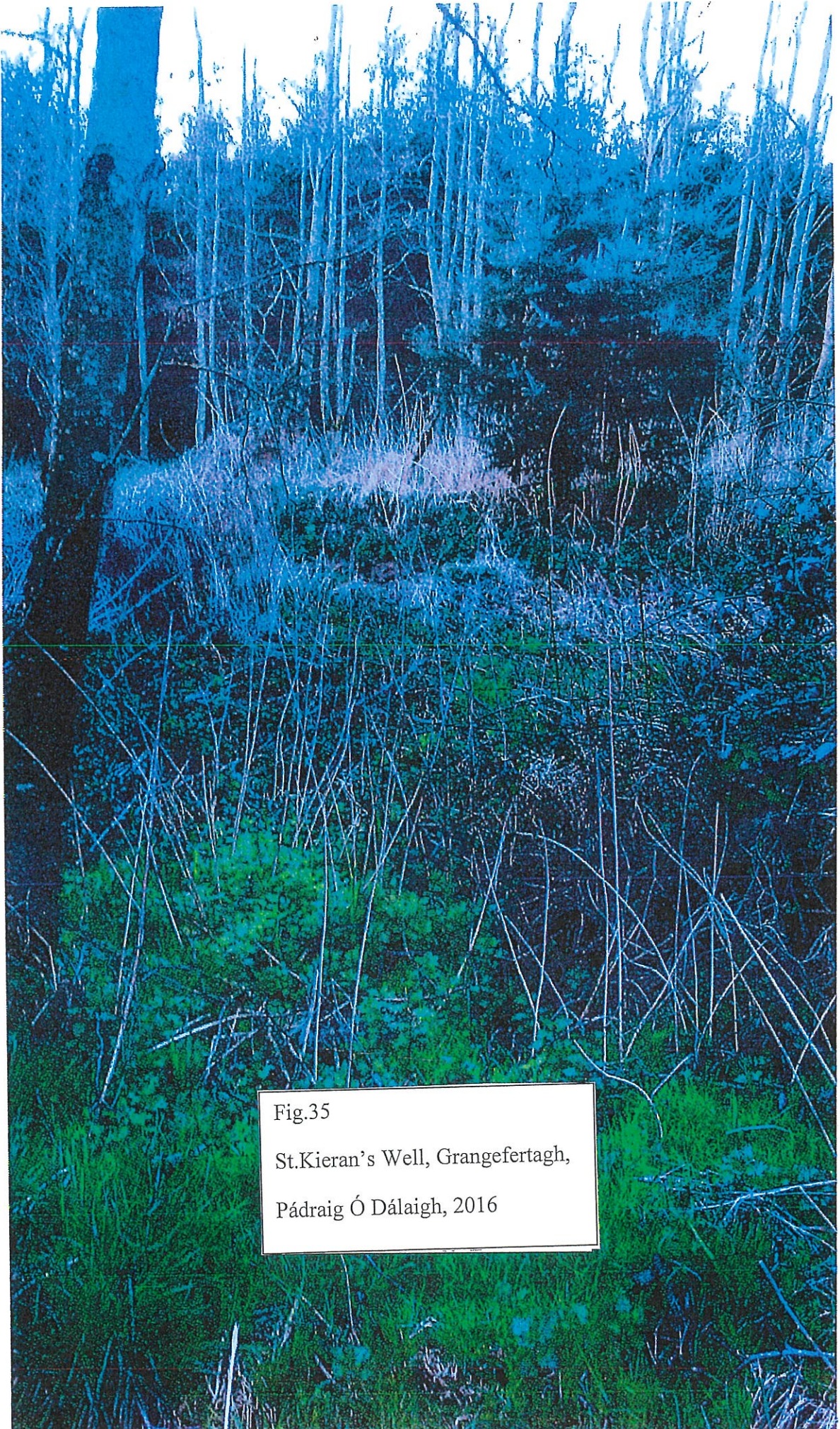


Fig.35

St.Kieran's Well, Grangefertagh,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.36

St. Columbkille's Well, Inistioge,

[/www.inistiogne.ie/117/Inistioge-](http://www.inistiogne.ie/117/Inistioge-)

TidyTownns/, 2016



Fig.37

St.John's Well (well-house),
Johnswell,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016

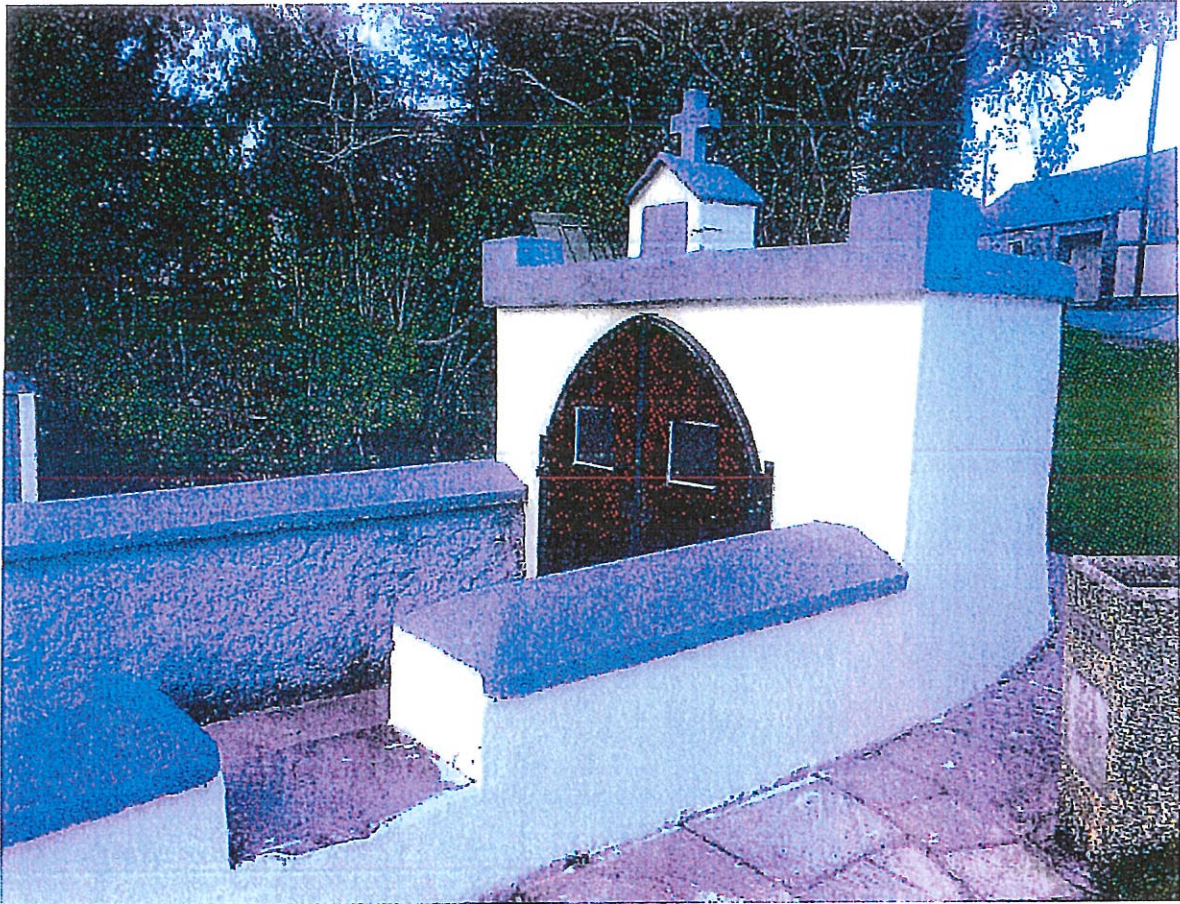


Fig.38

St.John's Well (well-house),

Johnswell,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016

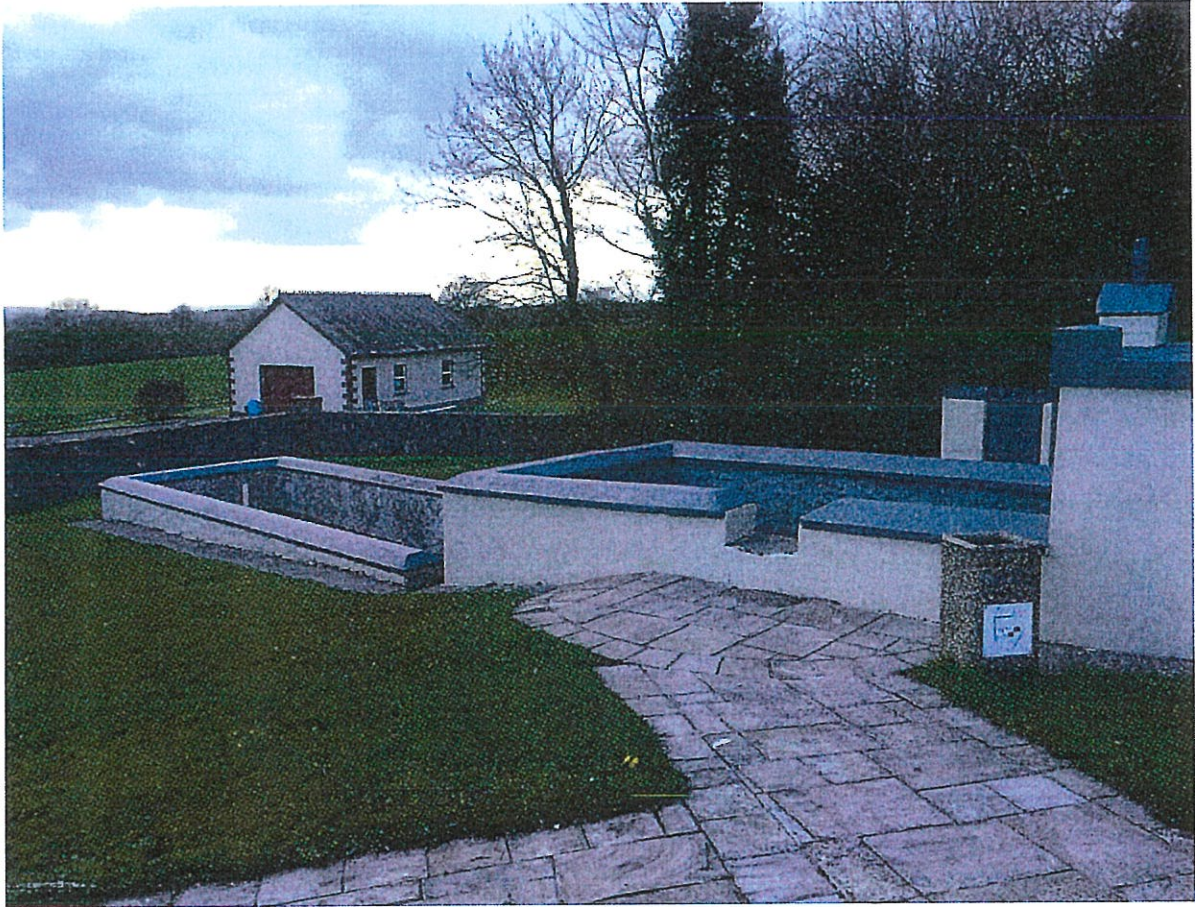
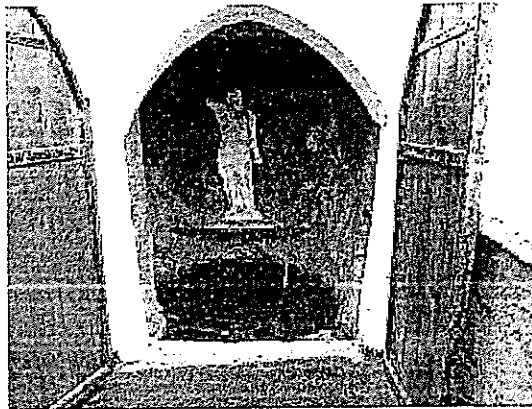


Fig.39,

St.John's Well, (side view of well-house entrance and of old rectangular baptismal area to its south), Johnswell, Ray Brophy,

2016



Saint John the Baptist's holy well

Fig.40 8

St.John's Well, Johswell,

view of opened well-house with
the saint's statue inside,

[/www.irelandsholywells.blogspot.
ie/2012/05/saint-john-baptists-
well-johswell/2012](http://www.irelandsholywells.blogspot.ie/2012/05/saint-john-baptists-well-johswell/2012)



Fig.41

Toberbride, Kells,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.42

Thubberniclaush, Kilballykeefe,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016

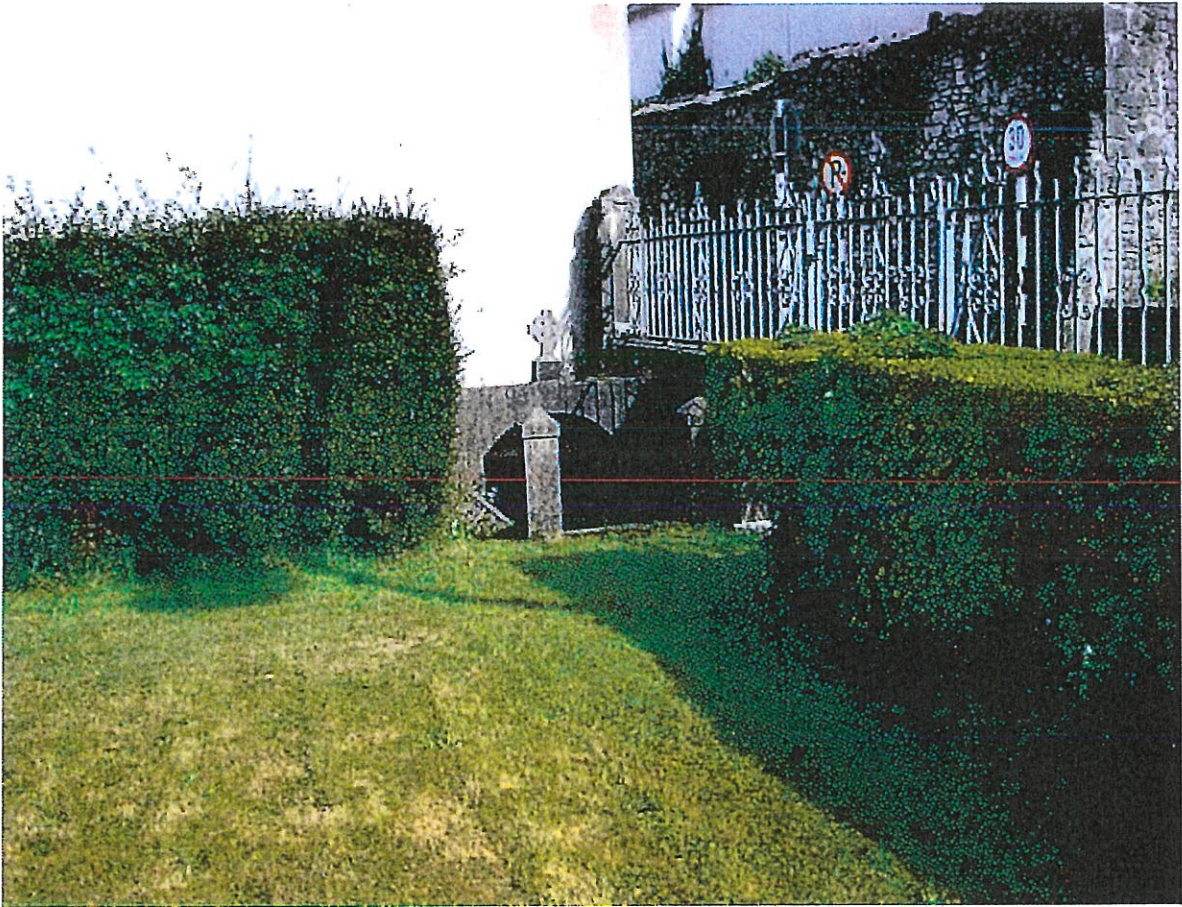


Fig.43

Angel's Well / St.Dominic's Well,
Kilkenny

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.44

Angel's Well / St.Dominic's Well,
Kilkenny,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.45

St.Canice's Well / Kenny's Well,
Kilkenny,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.46
St.Canice's Well / Kenny's Well,
Kilkenny,
Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.47

Toberenan / St. Senan's Well,

Kilmacow, Mairéad Phelan,

2007



Fig.48
The Fishpond Field,
Kilmadum, Ray Brophy, 2016



Fig.49

Trinity Well, Knocktopher Abbey,

Liz Lowry, Pádraig Ó Dálaigh,

2016

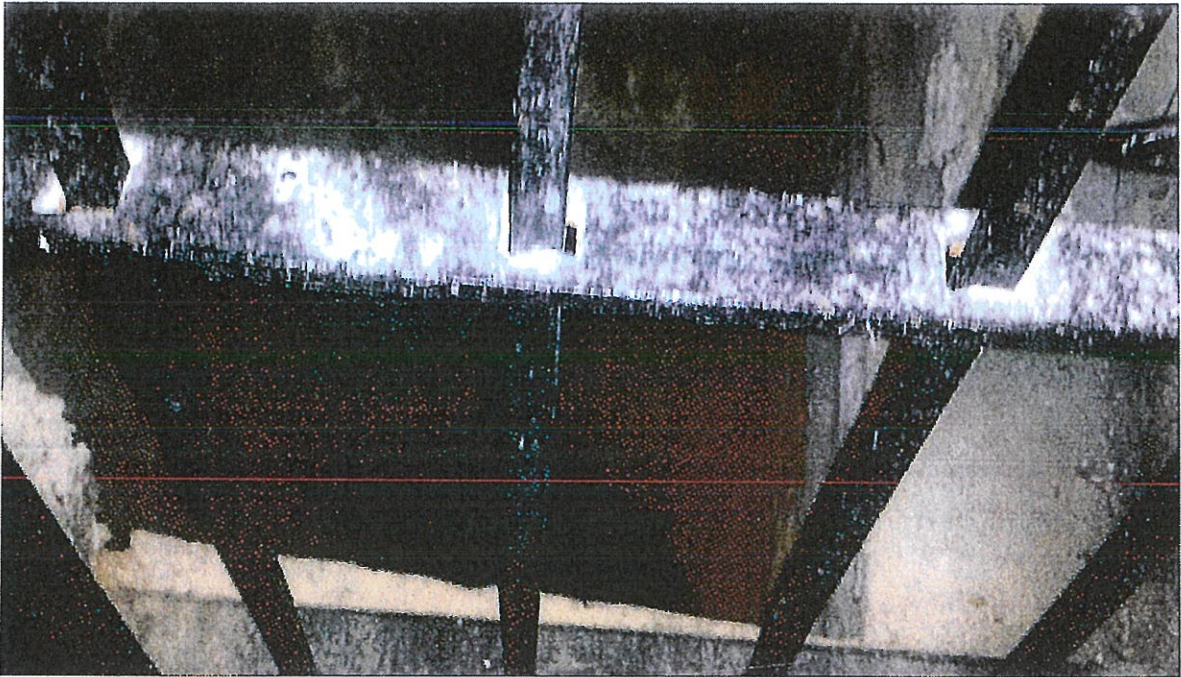


Fig.50

Trinity Well, Knocktopher
Abbey,

Liz Lowry, Pádraig Ó Dálaigh,
2016

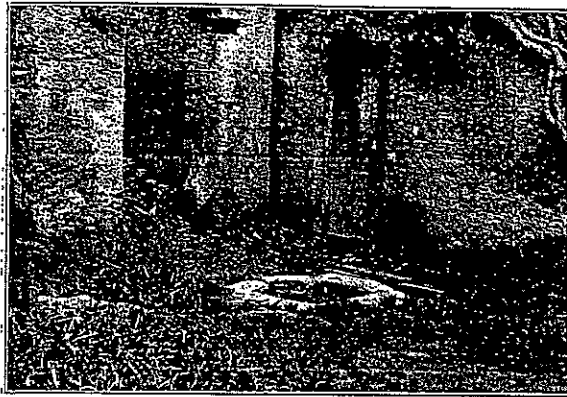


Fig.51

The Flagstones, Kyteler's Inn,
Kilkenny,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016,

(Former location of wells marked
by bucket)



ST. KIERAN'S WELL, KILKENNY.

Fig.52

St.Kieran's Well, Kyteler's Inn,

Carrigan III 103

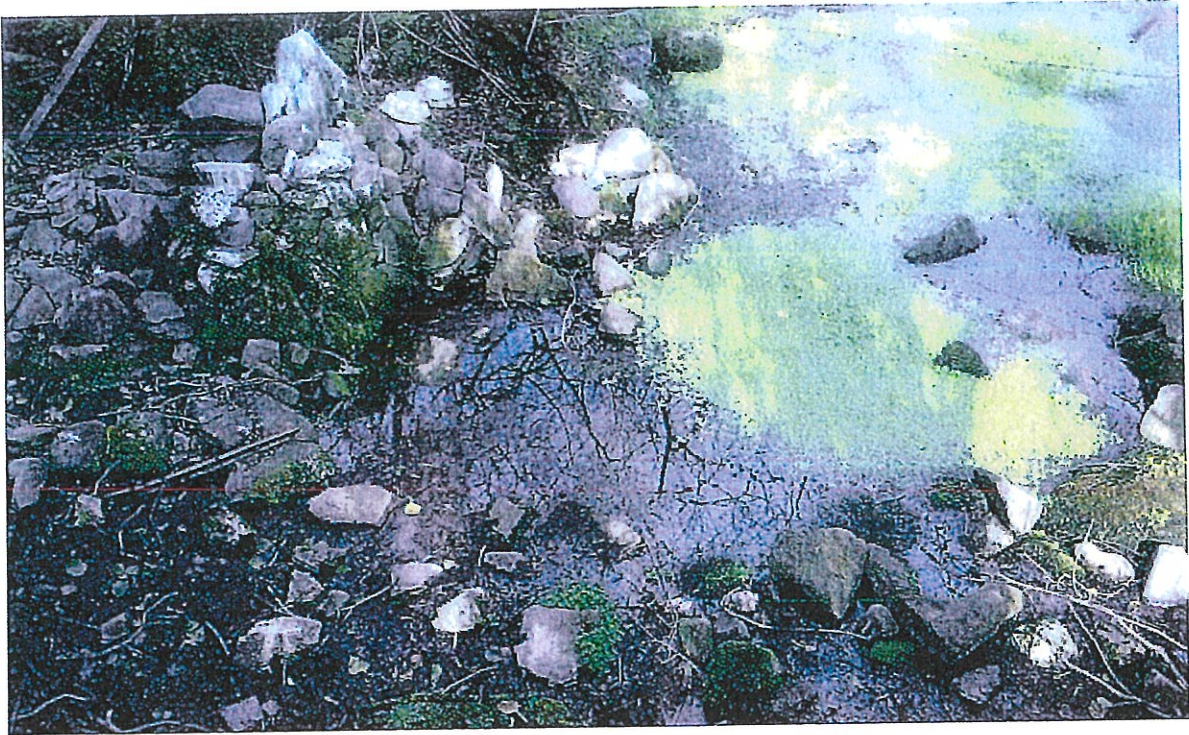


Fig.53

Toberacluggeen, Milltown,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.54

Toberlaghten, Moat,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.55

Toberlaghteen, Moat,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016

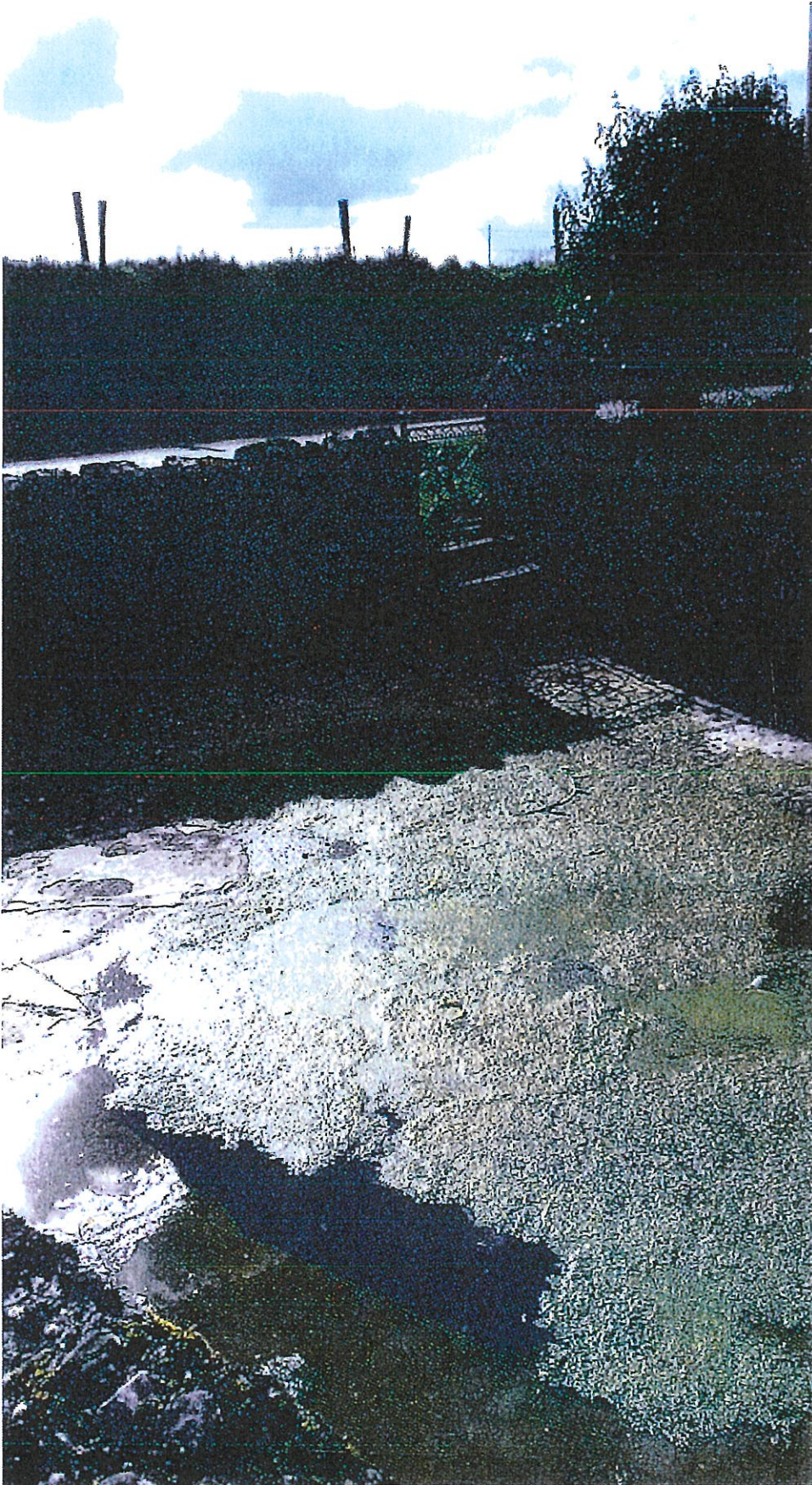


Fig.56

Toberlaghteen, Moat,

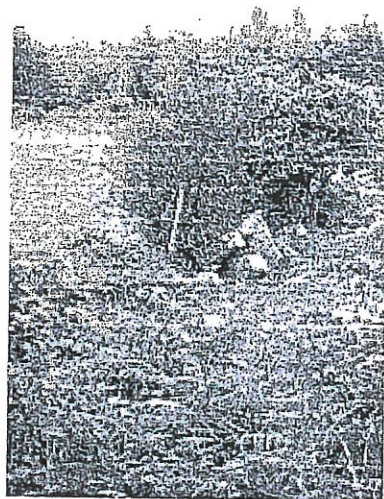
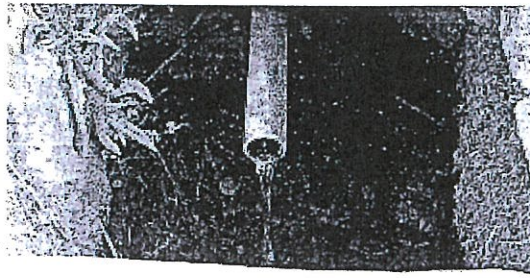
Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.57

Toberlaghteen, Moat,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Saint Moling's Cave

Fig.58

St.Mullin's Well, Mullennakill,
view of well and tree below, the
well and St.Mullin's Cave,
Coolnahau,

[/www.irelandsholywells.blogspot.
ie/2011/09/saint-molings-well-
county-kilkenny/,2011](http://www.irelandsholywells.blogspot.ie/2011/09/saint-molings-well-county-kilkenny/,2011)

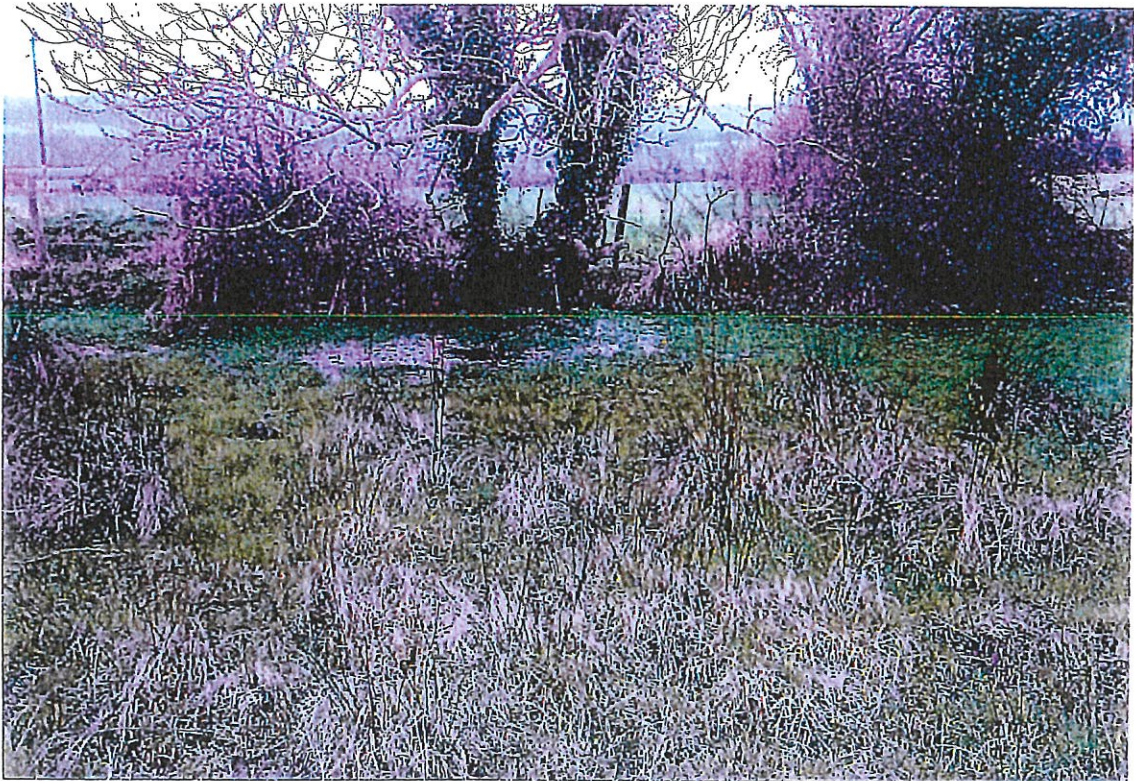


Fig.59

Toberboy, Pollagh,

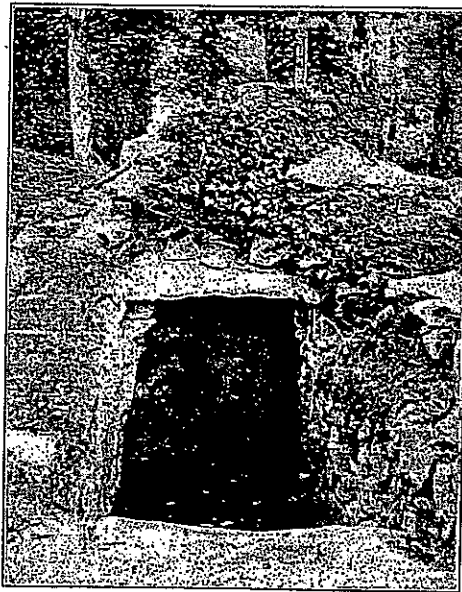
Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.60

Tobernavean, Pollagh,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



ST. FIACHRA'S WELL, KILFERAGH.

Fig.61

St.Fiachra's Well, Sheastown,

Carrigan, III 220



Fig.62

Toberkieran, Stonecarthy,

Ger Mullally, 2016



Fig.63

Toberkieran, Stonecarthy,

Ger Mullally, 2016

(View of well enclosure from the
road)



Fig.64

Toberkieran, Stonecarthy,

Ger Mullally, 2016



Fig.65

Toberkieran, Stonecarthy,

Ger Mullally, 2016

(Flood waters at the well, January
2016)



Fig.66
Kilmog (Holy) Well,
The Racecourse,
Gavan Kearney,
Dermot Kearney,
2016



Fig.67

St.Patrick's Bush / The Raggedy Bush,

The Racecourse,

Gavan Kearney, Dermot Kearney,

2016



Fig.68

The Raggedy Bush, the gate, the
pumphouse and the pump,

The Racecourse,

Gavan Kearney, Dermot Kearney,

2016



Fig.68a

Votive offerings near
St.Managhan's Well,

Leamanaghan, County Offaly,

Dr.Cathy Swift, 2016



Fig.69

Thibberachollikeen, Tobernabrone,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.70

Thibberachollikeen, Tobernabrone,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016



Fig.71

Tobernapeastia (well),
Tobernapeastia (townland),

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016

(Rough boggy area with view of
gate and site)



Fig.72

Tobernapeastia, Tobernapeastia,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016

(View of Well Field from the
roadside)



Fig.73

St.David's Well, Tullaherin,

William Murphy, 2015

Fig.74

Coughlan's Well, Tullamaine,

Fitzgerald (2003), 105



**Water flows again .
at Coughlan's Well**
*Now beautifully restored to its
former glory.*



Fig.75

Connie's Well, Urlingford,

Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, 2016

Holy Wells of County Kilkenny

Map 1



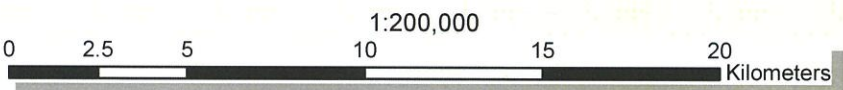
Co. Laois

Co. Carlow

Co. Tipperary

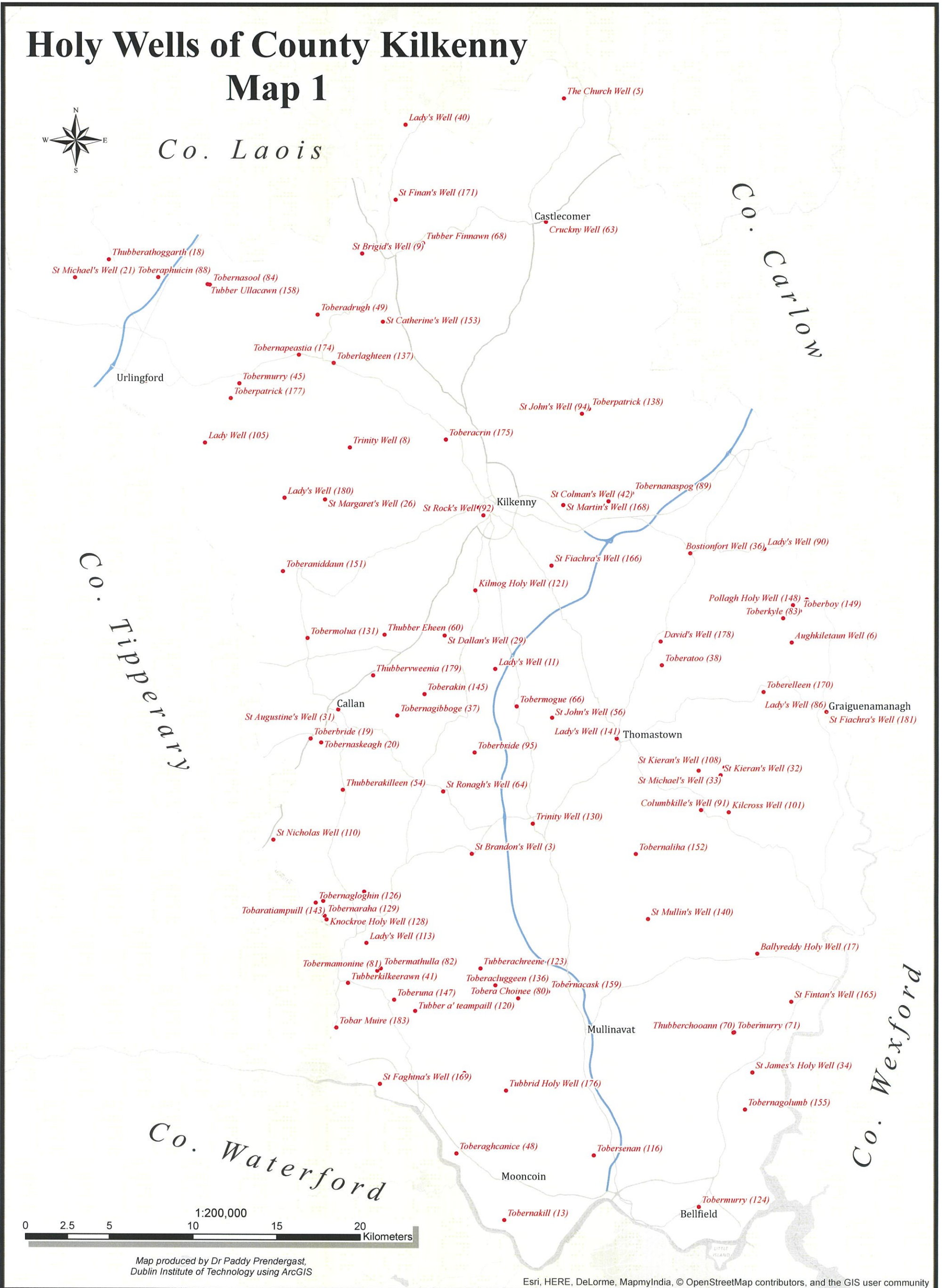
Co. Wexford

Co. Waterford



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Holy Wells of County Kilkenny

Map 2



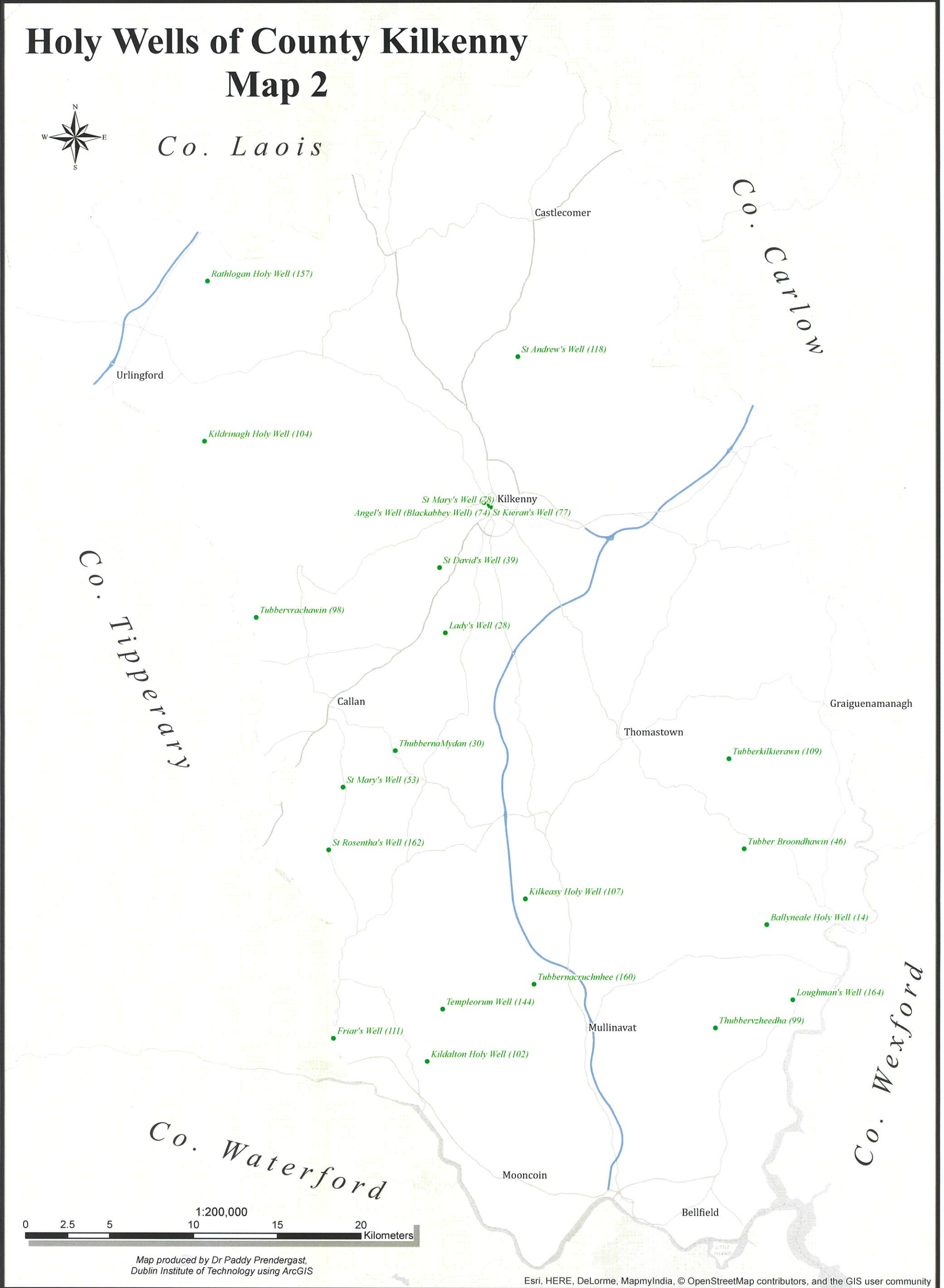
Co. Laois

Co. Carlow

Co. Tipperary

Co. Wexford

Co. Waterford



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Holy Wells of County Kilkenny

Map 3



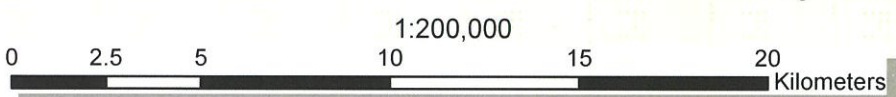
Co. Laois

Co. Carlow

Co. Tipperary

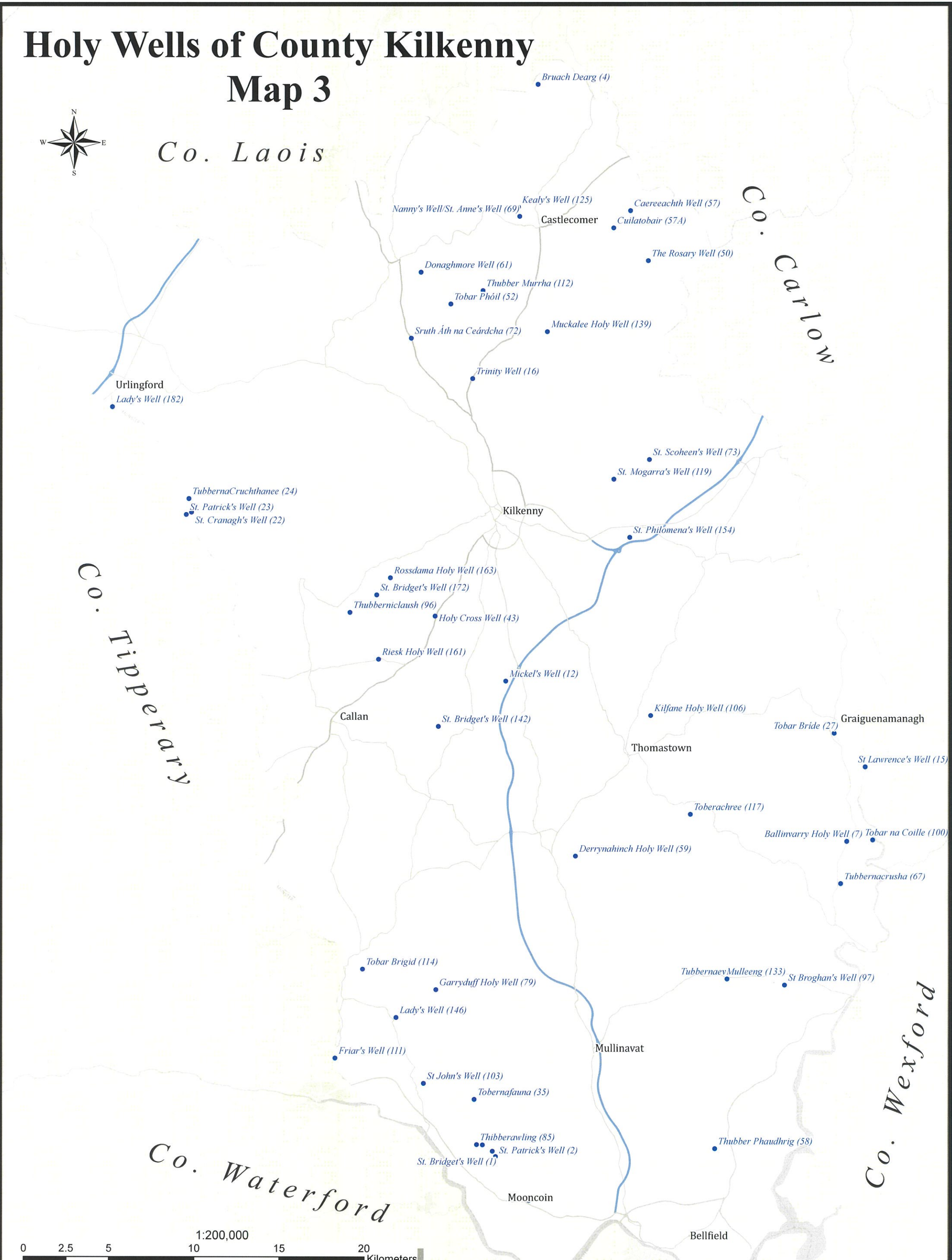
Co. Wexford

Co. Waterford



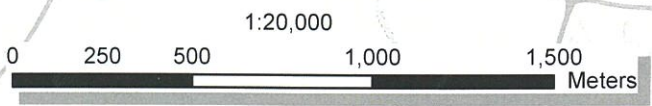
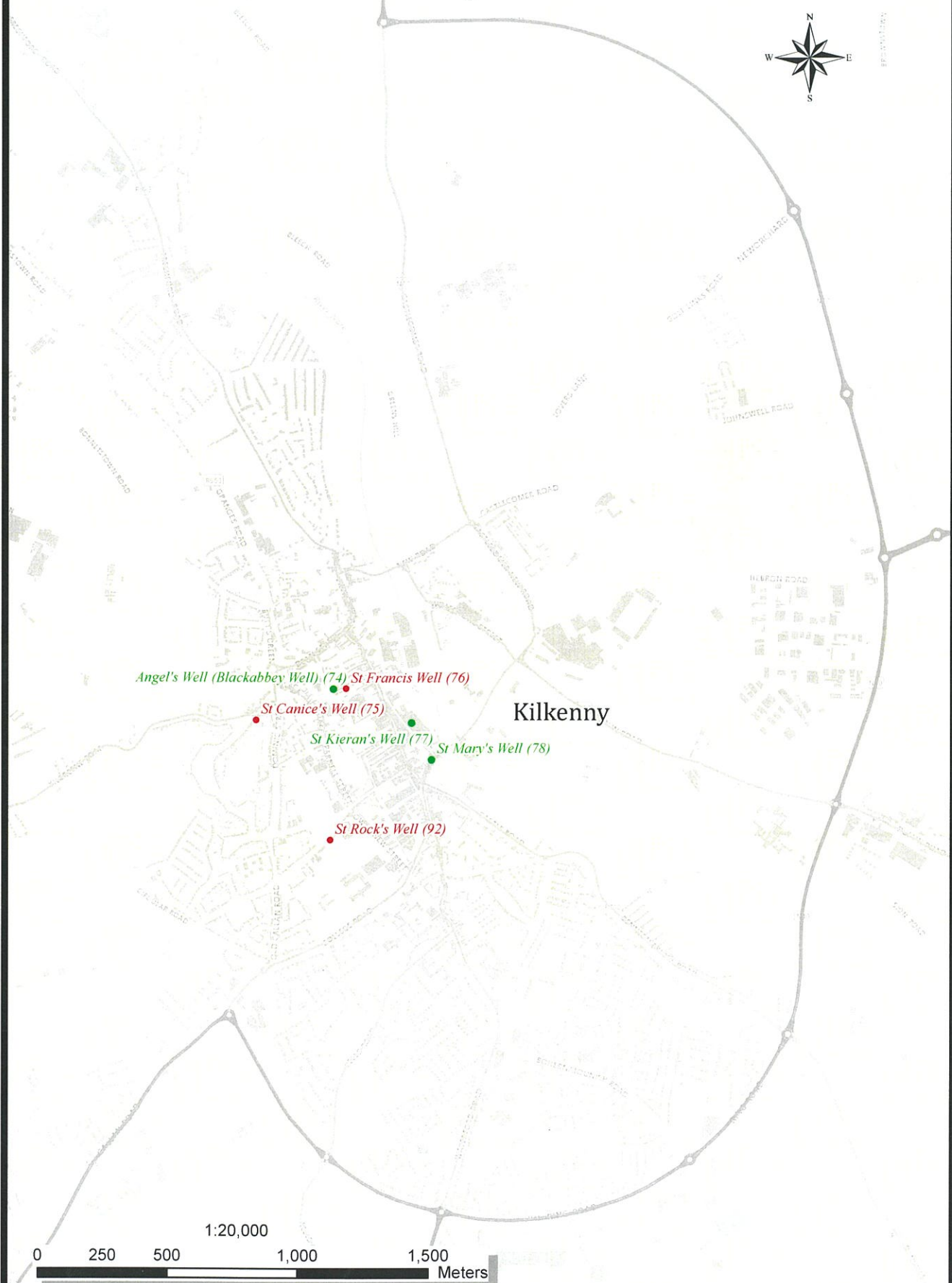
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Holy Wells in Kilkenny City

Map 4



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