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ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE IN IRELAND: THE EARLY ANGLO-NORMAN LORDS

Submitted to Trinity College Dublin

(Department of the History of Art and Architecture)

for the degree of PhD

2010

Jill Unkel

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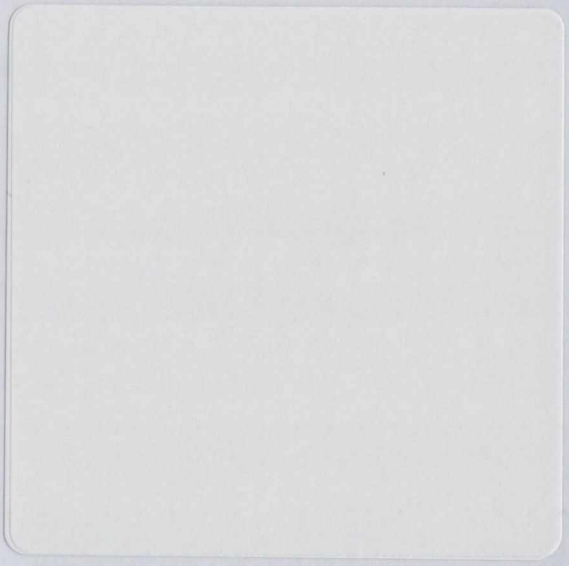

SUMMARY

This thesis explores the relationship between patronage and architecture in medieval Ireland through an examination of the personal histories and experiences of three key patrons – Hugh de Lacy, John de Courcy and William Marshal. The role of the patron is an important factor in the study of the built environment. Their individual stories have left distinct impressions on the monuments of their realms. Their specific links to England and the Continent are keys to the character of the visual landscape of their lordships. This thesis investigates the relationship each of these patrons had to the building programmes they contributed to and how each fits into the wider context of family monuments and the architecture of northern Europe.

The literature review establishes the definition of architectural patronage within the context of recent research. This is followed by an outline of the general historical context for the construction of the architecture under discussion throughout the thesis. In other words, the first chapter illustrates a general picture of Ireland between 1169 (the invasion of Ireland) and 1247 (the partition of Leinster) as well as the individual histories of the three patrons and how they fit into the above historical narrative. The subsequent chapters comprise detailed case studies of acts of secular and ecclesiastical architectural patronage by these patrons. These explorations are divided into three sections focusing on the patronage of each lord, which are again subdivided into secular and ecclesiastical patronage. Chapters two and three explore the relationship between the West Country baron, Hugh de Lacy, and his castle at the centre of his lordship of Meath, Trim, as well as his benefaction of the Benedictine monastery of St. Taurin, Évreux (Eure) with lands in Westmeath (Fore). This is followed by the patronage of John de Courcy in Ulster (chapters four and five), both the construction of his castle at Carrickfergus as well as his patronage of early Gothic ecclesiastical architecture and its relationship to northern England. In the subsequent chapters (six and seven) the numerous castle campaigns of William Marshal and his ecclesiastical patronage in Leinster is examined through the lens of one of the richest men in Wales. The final chapter brings together the conclusions made throughout the thesis and compares and contrasts the contributions of each patron.

This thesis has embraced some aspects of traditional formal analysis but to couple this with a thorough interrogation of the historical context behind the construction of the monuments. This historical context, particularly the familial and cultural landscape that

formed a background to the castles and churches under discussion, has proven vital to casting new light on the buildings themselves. Without understanding the crusading background of the de Lacys, the rich cultural milieu of Marshal or the humble Yorkshire original of de Courcy, their buildings can (and have in the past) only been seen in a half light. In this way, more than any other, this thesis has contributed hugely to our knowledge and understanding of the early architecture of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland. In this way too, it points to the new and right direction for future studies of Irish medieval architecture. It is the multidisciplinary approach that enables a greater comprehension of and new insights into the built landscape of medieval Ireland.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AC	*Annála Connacht, ... (AD 1224-1544)*, ed. A.M. Freeman, (Dublin, 1944).
A.Clon.	*The Annals of Clonmacnoise, Being Annals of Ireland from the Earliest Period to AD 1408, Translated into English, AD 1627, by Connell Mageoghagan*, ed. D. Murphy, (Dublin, 1896).
Adamnanus, *De Locis Sanctis*	Adamnanus, *De Locis Santis*, or Arculf's Narrative about the Holy Places, written by Adamnan, in *Pilgrimage of Arculfus in the Holy Land about the year AD 670*, trans. J.R. Macpherson, (London, 1895). http://chass.colostate-pueblo.edu/history/seminar/arculf/arculfus.htm
ADE	Archives Départmentales de l'Eure (Évreux)
AFM	*Annala Rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the Earliest Period to the Year 1616*, ed. ad trans. J. O'Donovan, 7 vols., (Dublin, 1851; reprint New York, 1966).
AH	*Architectural History*
AHR	*The American Historical Review*
AI	*Archaeology Ireland*
A. Inis	*The Annals of Inisfallen (MS Rawlinson B 503)*, ed. and trans., S. Mac Airt, (Dublin, 1951).
AJ	*Antiquaries Journal*
ALC	*The Annals of Loch Cé: A Chronicle Irish Affairs, 1014-1590*, ed. W.M. Hennessy, 2 vols., (London, 1871; reflex facsimile, IMC, Dublin, 1939).
Alen's Reg.	*Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register, c.1172-1534: Prepared and Edited from the Original in the Registry of the United Dioceses of Dublin and Glendalough and Kildare*, ed. C. McNeill; index by L. Price (Dublin, 1950).
Anal. Hib.	*Analecta Hibernica, Including the Reports of the Irish Manuscripts Commission*, (Dublin, 1930).
Annales Furnesienses	*Annales Furnesienses, History and Antiquities of the Abbey of Furness*, ed. T.A. Beck, (London, 1844).
Annales Monastici	*Annales Monastici*, ed. R. Luard, 5 vols., (RS 36, London, 1864-9).

Cart. des Hosp.	*Cartulaire générale de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310),* ed. J. Delaville le Rouls, 4 vols. (Paris, 1894-1906).
Cart. Haughmond	*The Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey*, ed. U. Rees (Cardiff, 1985).
Cart. Llanthony	*The Cartulary of Llanthony Abbey,* PRO Ms. C 115, A 1-9.
Cart. St. Mary's, Dublin	*The Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin: With the Register of its House at Dunbrody, and Annals of Ireland*, ed. J.T. Gilbert, 2 vols., (RS 80, London, 1884).
CCR.	*Calendar of the Close Rolls, 1272-9, etc., Preserved in the Public Record Office*, (London, 1900-).
CChR.	*Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: 1226-[1516]*, eds. H.C. Maxwell Lyte and A.E. Stamp, 6 vols., (London, 1903-27).
CDF	*Calendar of Documents France Preserved in France*, ed. J.H. Round, (London, 1899).
CDI	*Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland*, ed. H.S. Sweetman, 5 vols., (London, 1875-83).
CDS	*Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London*, ed. J. Bain, vols. 1-4, (Edinburgh, 1881-1986); vol. 5., ed. G.G. Simpson and J.D. Galbraith (1980).
CG	Château Gaillard: Studien zur Mittelalterlichen Wehrbauund Siedlungsforschung, (various, 1967-; Caen, 1980-).
Chartes Longueville	*Chartes du Prieuré de Longueville de l'ordre du Cluny au Diocèse de Rouen Antérieures UA 1204*, ed. P. le Cacheux, (Rouen, 1934).
Chart. Priv. Immun.	*Chartae, Privilegia, et Immunitates, Being Transcripts of Charters and Privileges to Cities, Towns, Abbeys and Other Bodies Incorporate, 18 Henry II to 18 Richard II, 1171-1395*, (Dublin, 1889).
Chart. Duiske	'The Charters of the Cistercian Abbey of Duiske', ed. J.H. Bernard, *PRIA*, 35 (1918-20).
Chart. Lindores	*Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores, 1195-1479*, ed. and trans., J. Dowden, (SHS 42, Edinburgh, 1903).
CIIA	Courtauld Institute Illustration Archives
CIIA, CT	Courtauld Institute Illustration Archives, Companion Text

CJR,	*Calendar of Justiciary Rolls of Ireland, or Proceedings of the Court of the Justiciar in Ireland,* ed. J. Mills, 3 vols, (Dublin, 1905).
CKE	The Catholic Encyclopedia, (1913-14)
CM	Matthew Paris, *Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Santi Albani, Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols., (RS 57, London, 1872-83).
Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum*	Colgan, J., *Acta Sanctorum Veteris et Majoris Scoticae sue Hiberniae Sanctorum Insulae, Tomus Primus ... Januarium, Februarium et Martium ...*, (Dublin, 1948).
Colvin, *King's Works*	Brown, R.A., H.M. Colvin and A.J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Works*, *The Middle Ages*, ed. H.M. Colvin, (London, 1963).
Coucher Book, Furness	*Coucher book of Furness Abbey*, eds., Atkinson, J. C. and J. Brownbill, 2 vols. in 6, (Manchester, 1886-1919).
Coucher Book, Selby	*Coucher Book of Selby, From the Original Manuscript in the Possession of Thomas Brooke*, ed. J.T. Fowler, 2 vols. (Durham, 1891-93).
CPR	*Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1232-47, etc.,* (London, 1891-).
Crown Surveys, 1540-41	*Crown Surveys of Lands 1540-41, with the Kildare Rental Begun in 1518*, ed. G. Mac Niocaill, (Dublin, 1992).
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSQ	Cistercian Studies Quarterly
CWAAST	Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquaries and Archaeological Society Transactions
Delisle and Berger, *Recueil*	Delisle, L.V. and E. Berger, eds., *Recueil des Actes de Henri II, Roi d'Angleterre et Duc de Normandie, Concernant les Provinces Françaises et les Affaires de France*, 4 vols, [*Collection of the Acts of Henry II, King of England and Duke of Normandy, Concerning French Provinces and Issues about France*] (Paris, 1909).
Dialogus de Scaccario	*Dialogus de Scaccario, The Course of the Exchequer and Constitution Domus Regis (The Establishment of the Royal Household), by Richard fitz Nigel*, ed. and trans., E. Amt, (Oxford, 2007).

Diceto	Radulfi de Diceto *Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., (RS London, 1876).
Domesday Book	*Domesday Book; seu Liber Censualis Willelmi primi Regis Angliae ...*, ed. A. Farley, 2 vols, (London, 1783).
Down, Connor and Dronmore	*Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dronmore: Consisting of a Taxation of those Dioceses compiled in the Year MCCCVI*, ed. W. Reeves, (Dublin, 1887).
Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.*	Dugdale, W., *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new edn, eds. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 vols in 8, (London, 1817-30, 1846 reprint).
Dugdale, *Baronage*	Dugdale, W., *The Baronage of England, or, An Historical Account of the Lives and Most Memorable Actions of our English Nobility in the Saxons time to the Norman Conquest, and from thence, of those who had their Rise before the end of King Henry the Third's Reign Deduced from Public Records, Ancient, Historians, and Other Authorities*, (London, 1675-76). [electronic resource: EEBO]
EcHR	The Economic History Review
EHR	English Historical Review
ELC	*The Lancashire Pipe Rolls of 31 Henry I ... and of the Reigns of Henry II ... Richard I ... and King John ... and Early Lancashire Charters of the Period from the Reigns of William Rufus to that of King John*, ed. W. Farrer, (Liverpool, 1902).
English Episcopal Acta, 27	*English Episcopal Acta, 27: York, 1189-1212*, ed. M. Lovatt, (Oxford, 2004).
Episcopal Acts	*Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents Relating to the Welsh Dioceses 1066-1272*, ed. J.C. Davies, 2 vols, (Cardiff, 1946-8).
Extents	*Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions, 1540-1541, from Manuscripts in the Public Record Office, London*, ed. N.B. White, (London, 1943).
EYC	*Early Yorkshire Charters: Being a Collection of Documents Antierior to the Thirteenth Century made from the Public Records, Monastic Chartularies, Roger Dodsworth's Manuscripts and other Available Sources*, ed. W. Farrer (Edinburgh, 1914).
Eyton	Eyton, R.W., *Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II*, (Hildesheim and New York, 1974).

Fac. Nat. MSS	*Facsimilies of the National Manuscripts of Ireland*, ed. J.T. Gilbert, 4 vols., (Dublin, 1874-84).
Fantosme, *Chronicle*	*Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle*, ed. R.C. Johnston, (Oxford, 1981).
Fortress	Fortress: the Castles and Fortifications Quarterly
GC	*Gallia Christiana, in Provincias Ecclesiasticas Distributa, by Scévole de Sainte-Marthe*, ed. P. Piolin, 16 vols, (Paris, 1865).
GEC, *Peerage*	Cokayne, G.E., *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, ed. V. Gibbs, 8 vols., (Exeter, 1887-98), ed. B. Gibbs, *et. al.*, 13 vols., (London, 1910-59).
Gervase of Canterbury	Gervase of Canterbury, *Opus Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., (London, 1880).
Gesta Hen.	Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis, The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, 1169-92*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, (RS 49, London, 1867).
Gesta Stephani	*Gesta Stephani*, ed. K.R. Potter, (Oxford, 1976 revised edn.).
GFF	Grattan Flood, W.H., *History of the Diocese of Ferns*, (Waterford, 1916).
Gloucester Charters	*Earldom of Gloucester Charters: The Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to AD 1217*, ed. Patterson, R.B., (Oxford, 1973).
Giraldus, *Expugnatio*	Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica: the Conquest of Ireland*, eds. A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin, (Dublin, 1978).
Giraldus, *Journey Through Wales*	Giraldus Cambrensis, *The Journey Through Wales and the Description of Wales*, intro. L. Thorpe, (Harmondsworth, 1978).
Giraldus, *Topographia*	Giraldus Cambrensis, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, ed. J.J. O'Meara, (Dublin, 1916).
Giraldus, *Opera*	Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, eds. J.S. Brewer, J.F. Dimock and G.F. Warner, 8 vols., (London, 1861-91).
GND	*Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Oderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni, Books 5-8*, ed. and trans. E.M.C. Van Houts, 2, (Oxford, 1995).
Gormanston Reg.	*Calendar of the Gormanston Register*, ed. J. Mills and M.J. McEnery, (Dublin, 1916).

Grace's *Annals*	Jacobus Grace, *Annales Hiberniae, A Short History of the English People,* ed. R. Butler, (Dublin, 1842).
Gregory of Nyssa	*Gregorii Nysseni Epistulae*, ed. G. Pasquali, 8 vols., (Leiden, 1998).
Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*	Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, 2 vols., (Brepols, 1986).
Gwynn and Hadcock	Gwynn, A. and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland*, (London, 1972).
Harris's Ware, *Antiquities*	Ware, J., *The History and Antiquities of Ireland*, ed. W. Harris, (Dublin, 1764).
HAST	Hawick Archaeological Society Transactions
Henry of Huntington	Henry of Huntington, *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*, ed.. D. Greenway, (Oxford, 1996).
LDE	Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio Atque Procursu istius, hoc Dunhelmensis, Ecclesiae*, ed. D. Rollason, (Oxford, 2000).
L'Histoire	*L'Histoire de Guillaume de Maréchal*, ed. P. Meyer, 3 vols., (Paris, 1891-1901).
History	*History of William Marshal*, ed. A.J. Holden, trans. S. Gregory, 3 vols., (London, 2006).
Hist. St. Peter, Gloucs.	*Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. W. H. Hart, 3 vols., (London, 1863-7).
Historia Pontificalis	*Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. M. Chibnall, (Oxford, 1985).
Hist. St. Peter, Gloucs.	*Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. W.H. Hart, 3 vols., (RS 3, 1863-7).
HMDI	*Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland, AD 1172-1320, from the Archives of the City of Dublin, etc.*, ed. J.T. Gilbert, (London, 1870).
HMSO	His (Her) Majesty's Stationary Office
Hogan, *Llanthony*	Hogan, A., *The Priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda in Ireland, 1172-1541, Lands, Patronage and Politics*, (Dublin, 2008).
Hore, *Wexford*	Hore, P.H., ed., *History of the Town and County of Wexford*, 6 vols., (1900-11).
IESH	Irish Economic and Social History

IHS	Irish Historical Studies
Ir. Excheq. Pay.	*Irish Exchequer Payments, 1270-1446*, ed. P. Connolly, (Dublin, 1998).
Ir. Hist. Docs.	*Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, eds. E. Curtis and R.B. McDowell, (London, 1943, reprint, 1968).
Ir. Mon. and Episc. Deeds	*Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds*, ed. N.B. White, (Dublin, 1936).
Ir. Sword	The Irish Sword: Journal of the Military History Society of Ireland
Irish Pipe Roll	Davies, O. and D.B. Quinn, 'The Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John, 1211-12,' *UJA*, 3rd series, 4 (1941), 1-76.
JAGSNY	Journal of the Geographical Society of New York
JBAA	Journal of the British Archaeological Association
JCHAS	Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society
JDCHS	Journal of the Down and Connor Historical Society
JGAHS	Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
JIA	Journal of Irish Archaeology
JIGS	Journal of the Irish Georgian Society
JKAS	Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society
JLAHS	Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society
JMM	Journal of Manx Museum
JRSAI	Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquarians in Ireland
JSAH	Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
KASJ	Kildare Archaeological Society Journal
Knowles and Hadcock	Knowles, D. and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales*, (London, 1971 edn.).
KSEIAS	Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society
Lanigan	Lanigan, J., *An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, (Dublin, 1822).
Laud MS. Annals	Printed in *Cart. St. Mary's, Dublin*, 2: 303-98.
Leland, *Itinerary*	Leland, J., *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary, in Nine Volumes, Published by Mr. Thomas Hearne* (Oxford, 1770, 3rd edn.).
Lexington	Stephen of Lexington, *Letters from Ireland, 1228-29*, ed. B.W. O'Dwyer, (Kalamazoo, 1982).

LHSJ	Lisburn Historical Society Journal
Liber Primus Kilkenn.	*Liber Primus Kilenniensis*, trans. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, (Kilkenny, 1961).
Mac Niocaill, *Cartae Dunenses*	Mac Niocaill, G., 'Cartae Dunenses XII-XIII Centuries', *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, 5:2 (1970).
Mac Niocaill, *Na buirgéisí*	Mac Niocaill, G., *Na buirgéisí XII-XV aois*, 2 vols., (Dublin, 1964).
MacNiocaill, *Na Manaigh Liatha*	MacNiocill, G., *Na Manaigh Liatha in Éirinn 1142-c.1600*, (Dublin, 1959).
Mag. Rot.	*Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub Regibus Angliae*, ed. T. Stapleton, 2 vols, (London, 1840).
Marlborough, *Chron.*	Henry of Marlborough (Marleburrough), 'Chronicle of Ireland', *Historie of Ireland*, ed. J. Ware (Dublin, 1633); 3:207-23; reprint *Ancient Irish Histories*, ed. J. Ware (Dublin, 1809), 2: 1-23.
Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*	Marténe, E. and U. Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum,* (Paris, 1717).
Med. Arch.	Medieval Archaeology (Society for Medieval Archaeology, London)
Melrose Chron.	*Melrose Chroicle*, http://www.melrosechronicle.co.uk/
Mem. F.	Walbrand, J.R., ed., *Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains, The Publications of the Surtees Society*, 42 (1862); 67 (1876).
Messingham, *Florilegium*	Messingham, T., *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum seu Vitae et Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, (Paris, 1624).
MGH, SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*
Misc. Ir. Annals	*Miscellaneous Irish Annals AD 1114-1437*, ed. S. Ó hInnse, (Dublin, 1947).
Misc. Norman Exch.	*Miscellaneous Records of the Norman Exchequer, 1199-1204*, ed. S.R. Packard, (Northampton, 1927).
Montgomery MSS	Montgomery, W., *The Montgomery Manuscripts: Containing Accounts of the Colonisation of the Ards, in the County of Down, in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James ..., etc.*, (Belfast, 1830).
NAI	National Archives of Ireland, Dublin

NLWJ	National Library of Wales Journal
NMAJ	North Munster Archaeological Journal
OKR	Old Kilkenny Review
O'Laverty, *Down and Connor*	O'Laverty, J., *An Historical Account of the Dioceses of Down and Connor*, 5 vols., (Dublin, 1878-89).
O'Leary	O'Leary, J., ed., *The Most Ancient Lives of St. Patrick Including the Life by Jocelin, Hitherto Unpublished in America, and his Writings*, (Project Guttenburg), http://infomotions.com/etexts/gutenberg/dirs/1/8/4/8/18482/18482.htm
OPW	Office of Public Works
Ormond Deeds	*Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1177-1350*, ed. E. Curtis, (Dublin, 1932).
Orpen	Orpen, G.H., *Ireland Under the Normans, 1169-1333*, (Dublin, reprint, 2005).
OWS	Old Waterford Society
Papal Letters	*Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, 1198-1304, etc.*, ed. W.H. Bliss, *et. al.*, (London, 1893-).
PDANHS	Proceedings of the Dorset Archaeological and Natural History Society
pers. comm.	Personal Communication
PIMNHAS	Proceedings of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society
Pontificia Hibernica	*Pontificia Hibernica: Medieval Papal Chancery Documents Concerning Ireland, 640-1261*, ed. M.P. Sheehy, 2 vols., (Dublin, 1962, 1965).
PR	Pipe Rolls
PR, Cumber., West., Durham	*The Pipe Rolls for the Counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and Durham During the Reigns of Henry II, Richard I and John*, ed. J.H. Hind, (Newcastle, 1847).
PRIA	Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy
PRS	Pipe Roll Society
PSANHS	Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society

PSAS	Proceedingss from the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland
P Suffolk IA	Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History
RAI	Royal Archaeological Institute
RCAHMW	Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments of Scotland
RCAHME	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England
RHC Or	*Historiens Orientaux*, 5 vols, (Paris, 1872-1906).
Rec. Com.	Record Commission
Red Book of the Exchequer	*The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, 3 vols., (London, 1965).
Reg. Gloucs.	*Register of the Churches of the Monastery of St Peter's, Gloucester: A Survey of the Diocese of Gloucester, 1603: Wesleyan Membership in Britsol, 1783*, ed. D. Walker, *An Ecclesiastical Miscellany*, (Publications of the BGAS, RS), 11 (1976), 3-58.
Reg. Rec. Holm Cultram	*The Register and Records of Holm Cultram, (c.1236),* eds. W.G. Collingwood and F. Grainger, (Kendal, 1929).
Reg. Holm Cultram, 1580-1597	*The Registers of Holme Cultram, 1580-1597*, transcr. F.B. Swift, (Penrith, 1948).
Reg. St. Bees	*Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, ed. J. Wilson, (Durham, 1915).
Reg. St. Thomas, Dublin	*Register of the Abbey of St Thomas the Martyr, Dublin*, ed. J.T. Gilbert, (London, 1889).
Reg. Swayne	*The Register of John Swayne, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, 1418-1439*, ed. D.A. Chart, (Belfast, 1935).
RIA	Royal Irish Academy
Rigord	Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, Historiens de Philippe-Auguste, ed. F. Delaborde, 2 vols., (Paris, 1882-1885).
Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*	Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols., (London, RS 51, 1868-71).
Rot. Chart.	*Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati, 1199-1216*, ed. T.D. Hardy, (London, 1837).
Rot. Lib.	*Rotuli de Liberate ac de Missis et Praestitis, Regnante Johanne*, ed. T.D. Hardy, (London, 1844).

Rot. Litt. Claus.	*Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, 2 vols, ed. T.D. Hardy, (London, 1833, 1844).
Rot. Litt. Pat.	*Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, ed. T.D. Hardy, (London, 1835).
Rot. Normanniae	*Rotuli Normanniae, In Turri Londinensi: Johanne et Henrico Quinto, Angliae Regibus, 1200-1205, 1417-18*, ed. T.D. Hardy, (London, 1835).
Rot. Pat. Hib.	*Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium*, ed. E. Tresham, (Dublin, 1828).
RS	Rolls Series
RSLC	Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire
RSAI	Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (formerly Kilkenny Archaeological Society, Kilkenny & South East of Ireland Archaeological Society, Historical & Archaeological Society of Ireland, Royal Historical & Archaeological Society of Ireland)
RSEHEW	Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales
SAH	Society of Architectural Historians
SAL	Society of Antiquarians of London
SANHS	Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society
SAR	Scottish Archaeological Review
SHAO	*Société Historique et Archéologique de l'Orne*
SHS	Scottish Historical Society
Song of Dermot	The Song of Dermot and the Earl, ed. G.H. Orpen, (Oxford, 1892).
Stogursey Charters	*Stogursey Charters, Charters and other Documents Relating to the Property of the Alien Priory of Stogursey, Somerset, now Belonging to Eton College*, eds., T.D. Tremlett and N. Blakiston, (Frome, 1949 for 1946).
TAMS	Transactions of the Ancient Monument Society
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
TBGAS	Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society
TCD	Trinity College Dublin
TCWAAS	Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society
TDGNHAS	Transactions of the Dunfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society
TGAS	Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society

TEGS	Transactions of the Edinburgh Geological Society
Textus Roffensis	*Textus Roffensis*: *Rochester Cathedral Library Manuscript A.3.5., by Ernulf Bishop of Rochester*, ed. P. Sawyer, (Copenhagen, 1957).
THJ	Tipperary Historical Journal
THSLC	Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire
Torigny, *Chronica*	Robert of Torigny, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*□, ed. R. Howlett, 4 vols., (London, 1884-98). □
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
TSAS	Transaction of the Shropshire Archaeological Society
TTSN	Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire
TWAS	Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society
TYPS	Transactions of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society
UCD	University College Dublin
UJA	Ulster Journal of Archaeology
VCH	Victoria History of the Counties of England
Vern. Arch.	Vernacular Architecture
Vetusta Monumenta	*Vetusta Monumenta: Quae ad Rerum Britannicarum Memoriam Conseruandam*, 5 vols., (London, 1767-1906).
WAM	The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine (Devizes)
Ware	Ware, J., *Ancient Irish Histories*, (Dublin, 1809).
WAS	Wexford Archaeological Society
Wightman	Wightman, W.E., *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066-1194*, (Oxford, 1966)
William of Malmesbury	William of Malmesbury, *A History of the Norman Kings 1066-1125*, eds. J. Sharpe and J.A. Giles, (London, 1989).
William of Newburgh	William of Newburgh, *Chronicles, Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, 2 vols, (London, 1887-89).
William of Poitiers	Guillaume de Poitiers, *Histoire de Guillaume le Conquèrant* [William of Poitiers, *History of William the Conqueror*], ed. R. Foreville, (Paris, 1952).
William of Tyre	William, Archbishop of Tyre, *A History of Deeds done Beyond the Sea*, ed. and trans. E.A. Babcock and A.C. Krey, (New York, 1943).
WRJ, JK	*Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch, Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*
WSEIASJ	Waterford and South-East Ireland Archaeological Society Journal (formerly the Old Waterford Society)

YAJ	The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, York)

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INTRODUCTION: The Nature of Medieval Patronage

This thesis will attempt to explore the relationship between patronage and architecture in medieval Ireland. It will do this by examining the personal histories and experiences of three key patrons – Hugh de Lacy, John de Courcy and William Marshal. The role of the patron is an important factor in the study of the built environment. Their individual stories have left distinct impressions on the monuments of their realms. Their specific links to England and the Continent will be investigated as a key factor that established the visual character of their lordships. The study of patronage has only recently begun to appear as an important topic in architectural research. Before the buildings are thoroughly analysed through the unique characters of each of the Anglo-Norman patrons, it is important to understand how art and architecture has been studied as a response to the requirements of the medieval patron.

The act of patronage in the medieval context refers to the bestowal of favours on an individual or community. This includes royal grants to noblemen (of manors and estates or titles and positions), as well as those nobles' awards to their vassals and so forth down the line. Religious endowments also ranged from the foundation of a new abbey, to the bequeathal of various lands, mills or fisheries, to the donation of woods and, on a smaller scale, to the giving of vessels, cloths, manuscripts and other ornaments. Many of these gifts included the provision for, or resulted in the construction of, both secular and ecclesiastical buildings. This act of architectural benefaction can be grouped under the umbrella term of arts patronage. Endowments for the arts also included the commissioning of illuminated manuscripts – contemporary histories, romances and folklore, hagiographies and other religious texts – sculpture – tomb monuments, altars and religious statuary – metalwork – personal ornaments, military equipment and liturgical implements – textiles – embroideries and tapestries – and other interior furnishings – tile-pavements, mosaics, woodcarvings, ornamented glass and paintings. The production of these required two people(s): the patron who requested the item and the craftsman who fashioned it. Both secular and ecclesiastical persons were involved in the employment of masons, sculptors, painters, tilers, weavers, smiths and metalworkers, carpenters and other artisans to create the lavish worlds they inhabited.

The study of architecture, painting, sculpture, metalwork and woodwork is better understood as a result of the fusion of the brief set out by the patron (which could be either specific or general) and how the craftsmen translated it into the proper medium. The understanding of the relationship between these two figures is aided if documentation specifying a patron's desires has survived. Unfortunately, the number of extant documents relating to patronage from the medieval period is limited, and, particularly in northern Europe, the older the item, the less evidence for its production. The majority of references for this period are royal documents and contemporary chronicles or histories. Henry III was notorious for detailing very specific wishes for the construction and ornamentation of his buildings. Many of his building accounts have been brought together in Colvin's *Kings' Works*, one example being Henry's instructions for the depiction of the royal arms on the window shutters of the great hall at Winchester (Hampshire).[1] His writs often delineated specific details as to size of buildings, number of windows and ornamentation. Eames outlined Henry III's accounts for his private apartments at Claredon Palace (Wiltshire).[2] The king's orders included the wainscoting and plastering of walls and the insertion of iron bars and ornamented glass into windows.[3] In December 1252, a glass window was ordered for the queen's chambers, '... to be decorated with representations of the Virgin and Child (*Mariola*) and the queen at the Virgin's feet with clasped hands holding a label with the words 'Ave Maria' on it'.[4]

With regard to architecture, Henry III often delineated specific requirements for the size of rooms and is even recorded ordering his engineers to construct buildings that resembled others. The Archbishop of York, acting as regent in the king's absence, was instructed,

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[1] *Cal. Lib. R., 1226-40*, 405; *1240-5*, 26; *1245-51*, 30, 158; *1251-60*, 343; In 1233 new windows were inserted under the direction of Master Elias of Dereham, *Cal. Lib. R., 1226-40*, 218-9, cited in Colvin, *King's Works*, 861.

[2] Colvin, *King's Works*; Eames, E., 'The Royal Apartments at Clarendon Palace', *JBAA*, 28 (1965), 57-87.

[3] *Cal. Lib. R., 1240-1245*, 223-4, cited in Eames, *op. cit.*, 63.

[4] *Cal. Lib. R., 1245-1251*, 324, cited in Eames, *op. cit.*, 78. The king's chamber was wainscoted and painted green with gold spangles (*scintillis*) (iron stars and crescent moons were found during excavations), *Cal. Lib. R., 1245-1251*, 324, cited in Eames, *op. cit.*, 65. A mural series depicting the siege of Antioch and the duel between Saladin and Richard I was painted above the wainscoting, *Cal. Lib. R., 1245-1251*, 324, 362, cited in Eames, *op. cit.*, 65. The great chamber was painted with representation of the heads of kings and queens in roundels, the four evangelists, the story of St. Margaret the Virgin, the wheel of fortune and the tree of Jesse, *Cal. Lib. R., 1245-1251*, 63, 157, cited in Eames, *op. cit.*, 67. The chapel was also decorated with a cross, statues of Mary and St. John, and a marble altar, in addition, two screens (*sporos*) ordered for the queen's chamber, *Cal. Lib. R., 1245-51*, 269, 321, 324, 362, cited in Eames, *op. cit.*, 78-9.

'... to cause work to go on both in winter and in summer until the king's chapel of Windsor is finished, and to have a high wooden roof made after the manner of the new work of Lichfield, so that it may appear to be stonework (*ita quod appareat opus lapideum*)...'.[5]

While Henry III's mandates were quite specific, other such royal mandates were perhaps not so detailed. Dublin castle offers an interesting example of a general mandate related to the construction of castle architecture. King John ordered the *justiciar* of Ireland to construct a safe place for the custody of the Irish treasure:

'... we command you [Meiler fitz Henry] to erect a castle (*castellum*) there [in Dublin] ... making it as strong as you can with good ditches and strong walls (*cum bonis fossatis et fortibus muris*). But you are first to build a tower (*turrim*), to which a castle and bailey (*castellum et baluum*) and other requirements may be conveniently added ...'.[6]

Despite the lack of available documentation from non-royal patrons, conclusions can be drawn from the existing royal instruction about the nature of patronage in the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries. This underscores the fact that the level of involvement varied depending upon the patron.

Medieval building contracts from non-royal patrons survive mostly from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[7] These are often written in the same vein, delineating detailed instructions, outlining monetary bonds and setting out the duration of the projects. Documents such as these suggest a number of things about patronage in the middle ages. The first is that the patron's role in the production of the arts could have a significant impact on the visual outcome. The second is that building works were completed with internal and external ornamentation. It is unfortunate that so much of this interior decoration has been lost, but the knowledge of its existence acts as a reminder that architecture was not constructed in a vacuum, devoid of any relationship to the other arts.

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[5] '... with wainscoting and painting, and to cause the chapel to be covered with lead; and to have 4 gilt images made in the said chapel, and to have them set in those places in which the king had previously arranged for such images to be placed; and a stone tower at the front of the said chapel, in which may be hung 3 or 4 bells', *CCR, 1242-7*, 39, cited in Colvin, *King's Works*, 1: 868.

[6] *HMDI*, 61; *CDI*, 1: no. 226 (August 1204). Henry III later ordered '... to be constructed, in the castle of Dublin, a hall 120 feet in length and 80 feet in breadth, with glazed windows (*cum fenestris et verinis*) after the manner of the hall of Canterbury', *CDI*, 1: no. 2612 (24 April 1243).

[7] Salzman has colleted the majority of the English building contracts for the medieval period in Salzman, L.F., *Buildings in England Down to 1540: A Documentary History*, (Oxford, 1992). For French contracts see Mortet, V. and P. Deschamps, eds., *Recueil de Textes Relatifs à la Condition des Architectes en France, au Moyen Âge*, (Paris, 1911-29).

Where specific writs are not extant, a contemporary reference or posthumous testimonial can add to our understanding of an individual's involvement. For example, all the 'Lives' agree that Thomas Becket '... had a special taste for beautiful things of the world, be it luxurious dress, choice food, or the splendour and display of his household and entourage'.[8] Furthermore, the French biographer, Garnier of Pont-Ste-Maxenne, described the various objects plundered from the archbishop's palace after his murder. These included a '... good blade, worth the price of a city, and a ring with a very choice sapphire set in it ..., and a great piece of very rich crimson samite; his books were taken and all his writings, and the gold chalice the saint used at mass ..., vestments, clothes, ... spoons, cups, goblets of silver and of refined gold ... ; also all his jewels that he kept so carefully and would not show to everyone ...'.[9] Not only was Becket a collector of fine things, but Nilgen also examined his involvement in the production of manuscripts in her article, 'Intellectuality and Splendour: Thomas Becket as a Patron of Arts'. During his exile in France, Becket employed a number of his clerks in the copying of rare and important texts (some of which still survive).

Often it is the record of what they left behind, or what they donated to various institutions in their wills, that have come down to us in documentary form. Paul, abbot of St. Albans, left '... books, ornaments and vestments to the abbey and he gave the considerable sum of 1000 marks for the rebuilding of the church begun in 1088 ...'.[10] In Golding's article, 'Wealth and Artistic Patronage at Twelfth-Century St. Albans', he discussed the relationship between the abbots of St. Albans and the construction of the monastic buildings. He also highlighted the survival of some of their more portable commissions, such as the St. Alban's Psalter.[11]

In later medieval architecture, patronage trickled down to the lesser nobility. Hoey and Woodcock both examined the influence of lay patronage in later medieval parish

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[8] Nilgen, U., 'Intellectuality and Splendour: Thomas Becket as a Patron of the Arts', *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, eds. S. MacReady and F.H. Thompson, (London, 1986), 145.
[9] *La Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr part Guernes de Pont-Saint-Maxence*, ed. E. Walberg, (Lund, 1922), 191, Garnier's Becket, translated from the twelfth-century *Vie Saint Thomas le Martyr de Cantorbire of Garnier of Pont-Saint-Maxence*, by J. Shirley, (London/Chichester, 1975), 15-6, cited in Nilgen, *op. cit.*, 146.
[10] *Gesta Abbatum*, 1: 63-4, cited in Golding, B., 'Wealth and Artistic Patronage at Twelfth-Century St. Albans', *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, eds. S. MacReady and F.H. Thompson, (London, 1986), 108.
[11] Golding, *op. cit.*, 107-17.

churches.[12] However, even in this period, sources are scarce, named patrons are limited, and the role they played is speculative. Where sources are lacking, a variety of architectural details can be employed to aid in the understanding of the importance of the patron. This can include sculptural ornament, moulding profiles, stone type, and, where applicable, related arts (illumination manuscripts or interior furnishings and fittings). In order for architectural comparisons to be at all significant for the study of architectural patronage, it is necessary to have a good idea of the nature and experience of the named or implied benefactor. Tcherikover's study of the figural sculpture in Aquitaine revealed the link between the fortunes of the St. Jouin de Marnes and Aulnay workshop and the interests of the Vicomtes de Thouars and their vassals.[13] In a similar fashion, Hunt examined the relationship between the 'Herefordshire School of Sculpture' and their patrons. He discussed how the school probably developed under the aegis of the bishops and that the masons were later employed by local secular lords, such as the earls of Hereford, Gilbert de Lacy and Baderon of Monmouth.[14] Hunt regarded the iconography of their sculptural forms as particularly appealing to the knightly classes.

In addition, Zarnecki examined the employment of Tournai stone as a key factor in determining the impact Henry of Blois had on the architecture and sculpture within his sphere of influence.[15] Bond had previously pointed out that, of the eight Tournai fonts that survive in England, the three outside Winchester are in churches that were gifts of the bishop, and thus, most probably the result of Henry's patronage.[16] His use of the

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[12] Hoey, L.R., 'Style, Patronage and Artistic Creativity in Kent Parish Church Architecture: *c.*1180-*c.*1260', *Arch. Cant.*, 115 (1995), 45-70; Woodcock, A., 'Death and the Mermaid: The Carved Capitals at St. Michaels, Horwood (North Devon) and their Patrons', *JBAA*, 160 (2007), 147-64.

[13] Tcherikover, A., 'Aulnay de Saintonage and High Romanesque Figure Sculpture in Aquitaine', *JBAA*, 143 (1990), 77-89.

[14] Hunt, J., 'Sculpture, Dates and Patrons: Dating the Herefordshire School of Sculpture', *AJ*, 84 (2004), 185-222.

[15] Stalley, R., 'A Twelfth-Century Patron of Architecture'; Zarnecki, G., 'Henry of Blois as a Patron of Sculpture', *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, eds. S. MacReady and F.H. Thompson, (London, 1986), 159-72.

[16] Born *c.*1098, Henry of Blois was the son of Stephen, Count of Blois, and a grandson of William the Conqueror. He was appointed to the abbacy of Glastonbury in 1126 and the bishopric of Winchester in 1129. He also served as papal legate in England between 1139-43. He rebuilt Glastonbury, re-established Cluny, founded the hospital of St. Cross, and '... decorated his cathedral with the most precious and varied works of art, from the fonts which still remain to illuminations and enamels and masterpieces of the goldsmith's art which have almost entirely disappeared', quoted by Knowles, D., *The Monastic Order in England*, (Cambridge, 1963 edn.), 289, cited in Zarnecki, 'Henry of Blois', 159-60. The sculptural patronage of Henry of Blois was first examined in, Turquet, J.C., 'Henry of Blois, Patron of Sculpture', (unpublished MA thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1974). Zarnecki has also postulated that Bishop Alexander 'the Magnificent' may have been emulating Henry when he acquired a large Tournai font for Lincoln, Zarnecki, *op. cit.*, 162.

expensive imported stone is understood as a result of his passionate interest in Roman marble. The *Historia Pontificalis* recorded that when in Rome (1149-51) '... he scandalized the Curia by buying pagan statues for his palace in Winchester'.[17] Tournai stone, when polished, resembles Roman onyx marble. Zarnecki also suggested the '... probability that Henry of Blois was not only instrumental in choosing the material for [the tomb of Gundrada], but also provided the sculptor, who had been trained at Winchester and who later worked at Glastonbury'.[18] Henry appears to have also been responsible for the use of Purbeck, a material not employed since Roman times, but increasingly popular in the twelfth century; it was extensively employed at his Wolvesey Palace (1141-54).[19] The Annals of Winchester described Wolvesey as '... a house like a palace with a very strong tower ...'.[20]

The study of architectural patronage is aided by the survival of references to a person's interest or involvement in the process. William of Malmesbury described the pride that Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, took in his buildings as '... unsurpassed within the recollection of our age ...'.[21] He, too, was associated with the commissioning of various crafts, including '... a great many vessels of hammered goldsmiths' work, some of silver, some of gold, artistically and splendidly engraved'.[22] Stalley's article, 'A Twelfth Century Patron of Architecture: A Study of the Buildings Erected by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury 1102-1139', is particularly important because he examined Roger's relationship to both ecclesiastical and secular architecture. William of Malmesbury stated that Roger made '... magnificent dwellings (*habitacula*) on all his estates ...' and Florence of Worcester said that Roger was '... a great builder of castles and fortified mansions ...'.[23] Although modern scholars tend to treat the secular and ecclesiastical worlds separately, Roger's relationship to both castle and church works (see also Henry of Blois) illustrates how this

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[17] *Historia Pontificalis*, 79, 91-4, cited in Zarnecki, *op. cit.*, 160.
[18] Gundrada (or Gundreda) was the wife of William de Warenne, Earl of Surry, both of whom founded the priory of Lewes (Sussex) in the 1070s and both were later buried in the chapter house. In the second quarter of the twelfth century their bodies were moved to the new chapter house after its consecration in 1147. Henry of Blois had introduced certain Clunaic observances to Glastonbury and was represented at there by Robert, a Clunaic monk from Lewes. Both Henry and Robert attended the consecration ceremony at Lewes in 1147. The Tournai tombstone of Grundrada was carved in a style so close to the Glastonbury cloister fragments '... that it must have been executed by the same sculptor'. Zarnecki, *op. cit.*, 167.
[19] *Ibid.*, 168.
[20] *Annales Monastici*, 2: 51, cited in Stalley, 'A Twelfth-Century Patron of Architecture, *Ireland and Europe in the Middle Ages: Selected Essays on Architecture and Sculpture*, (London, 1994), 12.
[21] *Ibid.*, 1.
[22] *Gesta Stephani*, 65, cited in Stalley, *op. cit.*, 1.
[23] William of Malmesbury, 38; *Florence of Worcester*, 2: 113, cited in Stalley, *op. cit.*, 11-12.

was not always the case. It is forgotten that the world of the churchman and that of the secular knight was often and significantly intertwined throughout the medieval period. Men like Henry of Blois and Roger of Salisbury made a greater investment in ecclesiastical architecture than most lay patrons made in the building works at their monastic foundations. This, however, does not discount the influence the knightly class had on the architecture (both secular and religious) of their realm. To this end, one must recall the poignant interest Henry III had in the construction and ornamentation of both his private residences and his religious monuments.

The relationship between building and patron must also be understood as an interpretation of the patron's requirements by the mason(s) and its execution depended upon the craftsman's level of skill and training. Gem has examined the correlation between patron and mason at Winchester Cathedral in his article, 'The Romanesque Cathedral of Winchester: Patron and Design in the Eleventh Century'. He described how the 'grammar' of the architecture was firmly in the Anglo-Norman tradition established at Canterbury, but the '... statements made with this grammar ...' came from outside the Anglo-Norman vocabulary.[24] He concluded that the patron was responsible for outlining the 'brief' while the mason translated it into the language of the Anglo-Norman techniques in which he was trained.[25] This type of explanation was also recorded by Gem at the bishop's chapel at Hereford, where the masons '... translated the German original [basilica at Aachen] into an Anglo-Norman vocabulary'.[26] Thurlby also discussed the collaboration between patron and master mason at Durham Cathedral, whose architectural sources were multifaceted and widespread.[27]

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[24] Gem, R, 'The Romanesque Cathedral of Winchester: Patron and Design in the Eleventh Century', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Winchester Cathedral, BAACT 6*, eds. T.A. Heslop and V.A. Sekules, (London, 1983), 9.

[25] *Ibid.*, 9.

[26] William of Malmesbury recorded the construction of the Hereford Chapel in *Gesta Pontificum*, *Non multo post accepit sedem illam Rotbertus Lotharingus, qui ibi ecclesiam tereti aedificavit scemate, Aquensem basilicam pro modo imitatus suo* (Not long after Robert of Lorraine received the see, and he built there a church of elegant form, having copied for its design the basilica of Aachen), William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, (RS 53, 1870), 300, cited in Gem, R., 'The Bishop's Chapel at Hereford: the Roles of Patron and Craftsmen', *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, eds. S. MacReady and F.H. Thompson, (London, 1986), 93.

[27] Symeon of Durham recorded that '... [Bishop William of St. Calais] ordered the church to be demolished and after he had laid the foundations in the following year, he began to construct another on a nobler and grander scale'. On 11 August 1093, '... the bishop and Prior Turgot, who was second in authority to him in the church, with the other brothers laid the first stones in the foundation. Shortly before, that is on Friday 29

Within the past few decades, the study of patronage has begun to receive more attention from researchers in England and France. Meanwhile, recent endeavours in Ireland have embarked on an examination of the impact of the patron in late medieval Ireland, most notably O'Donovan's thesis, 'Building the Butler Lordship'.[28] Earlier works predominantly focused on 'Irish' arts and Ó Floinn examined the artistic patronage of sculpted stones at Clonmacnoise in the early medieval period.[29] It is, however, not until the early twelfth century, that Irish architecture began to employ sculptural ornamentation, usually in west doorways, chancel arches and east windows. One of the earliest examples is Cormac's Chapel at Cashel (begun in 1127 and consecrated in 1135).[30] St. Bernard wrote in his *Vita S. Malachiae* of Cormac's involvement with the foundation of *monasterium Ibracense*: 'He was himself [the king] entering and leaving with them, anxious and ever keen to help – in dress a king but in spirit Malachy's disciple.'[31] While in reality this may only have concerned the setting of the foundation stone and a general supervision, he was probably instrumental in the introduction of foreign architectural ideas. Cormac's Chapel is marked by the considerable amount of foreign motifs and design details and Stalley has pointed out that most of the motifs could be traced to the West Country.[32] Other ornamentation was derived from western French architecture, such as the column swallower and the arch with human heads, while the square towers flanking the chancel arch may be explained by its dependency on Schottenkirche at Regensburg

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July, the bishop and prior after saying prayers with the brothers and giving their blessing had begun to dig the foundations. While the monks were responsible for building the monastic buildings, the bishop carried out the work on the church at his own expense', *LDE*, bk 4, ch. 8, 128-9, cited in Thurlby, M., 'The Role of the Patron and the Master Mason in the First Design of the Romanesque Cathedral of Durham', *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, eds., D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich, (Woodbridge, 1994), 161-84.

[28] O'Donovan, D., 'Building the Butler Lordship, 1405-1552', (unpublished PhD thesis, TCD, 2007); O'Donovan, D., 'Holycross and the Language of Irish Gothic', *Medieval Art and Architecture in Munster*, ed. R. Stalley (Leeds, forthcoming); O'Donovan, D., 'Callan and Ormond: an architecture of the 'Middle Nation'?', *The March in the Medieval West*, ed., J. Ní Ghrádaigh and E. O'Byrne (Leiden, forthcoming).

[29] Ó Floinn, R., 'Clonmacnoise: Art and Patronage in the Early Medieval Period', *From the Isles of the North, Early Medieval Art in Ireland and Britain, Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Insular Art held in the Ulster Museum, Belfast, 7-11 April 1994*, ed. C. Bourke, (Belfast, 1995), 251-69.

[30] Gem has recently argued that the west doorway at St. Flannan's, Killaloe (Clare) was probably built under the patronage of Muirchertach O'Briain *c.*1100, carved by an Anglo-Norman mason, Gem, R., 'Saint Flannan's Oratory at Killaloe and the Beginnings of Romanesque Architecture in Ireland', *Reform and Renewal - Ireland and Europe in the Early Twelfth Century*, eds. D. O Riain-Raedel and D. Bracken, (Dublin, 2001).

[31] Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Life and Death of Saint Malachy the Irishman*, trans. and annot. R.T. Meyer, (Kalamazoo, 1978), IX (18), 36; cited from the earlier Lawlor text (Lawlor, H.J., *St. Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of St. Malacy of Armacy*, (London, 1920), III, 18 (12), 41), with slight variations in the translation in, O'Keeffe, T., 'Lismore and Cashel: Reflections on the Beginnings of Romanesque Architecture in Munster', *JRSAI*, 124 (1994), 136.

[32] Stalley, R., 'Three Irish Buildings with West Country Origins', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Wells and Glastonbury, BAACT 4*, ed., (London, 1981), 62.

(Bavaria).[33] There were three recorded visits of monks from Regensburg to Ireland, including a Conrad the carpenter who came to Cashel between 1127 and 1137.[34] Foreign ideas also spread through the introduction of reform monasticism, particularly with the arrival of the Cistercians and their architectural planning, introduced by St. Malachy (Máel Máedoc Ua Morgair), archbishop of Armagh (1132-6). Very few Irish Romanesque buildings display such a strong English and French character as does Cormac's Chapel, and instead, local craftsmen gradually merged the new motifs with traditional Irish ornamentation. This fits into the idea discussed above, that the introduction of a new architectural vocabulary into a foreign tongue was often interpreted with a local accent.

Examples of the Hiberno-Romanesque are found in the west portal of Killeshin (Laois), built under the patronage of Diarmait Mac Murchada (King of Leinster, *c.*1133-1171). Manning has suggested that the chancel arch at Kilteel (Kildare) was also built at his direction.[35] Debforgiall (wife of Tigernán Ó Ruairc, King of Bréifne, *c.*1128-72) paid for the reconstruction of the Nuns' Church at Clonmacnoise (Offaly) in 1167, the chancel arch of which also displays the distinct Hiberno-Romanesque character.[36] These figures also played an intimate role in the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, and, concurrently, the introduction of Gothic architecture into Ireland.

Most research on patronage in Ireland has either focused on pre-Anglo-Norman architecture, or is limited to the few royal (John and Henry III) castle works and high-ranking ecclesiastics constructions. The impact of the patron, however small or large, has often been limited to a few fleeting remarks. Leask merely pointed out the similarity between the plan of the Lady Chapel of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin and Salisbury, noting that the Dublin Archbishop, Henry of London, was present at the consecration of Salisbury Cathedral in 1225.[37] Moreover, research, particularly in Ireland, has in the past often been divided, with church architecture relegated to the sphere of architectural historians while castles have been designated the province of archaeologists. Although this has recently been the addressed by several researchers, this is still largely the case.

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[33] *Ibid.*, 64-5.
[34] For further discussion of the connection between Regensburg and Cashel, see *ibid.*, 76-7 n4.
[35] Kilteel was located within territory under the control of his mother's kin, Manning, C., 'Kilteel Revisited', *JKAS,* 18 (1996), 299.
[36] *AFM*, 1167; Ni Ghrádaigh, J., 'But what Exactly did she Give?: Derbforgaill and the Nuns' Church at Clonmacnoise', *Clonmacnoise Studies Vol 2*, ed. H.A. King, (Dublin, 1998), 175-207.
[37] Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, 3 vols., (Dundalk, 1990), 2: 81.

Consider history of art courses, how much more attention is paid to religious architectural verses secular structures. This research focuses not on individual buildings constructed in isolation but on monuments that are part of a larger historical narrative. Gothic architecture in Ireland at the turn of the thirteenth century was an introduction of foreign motifs just as Romanesque had been almost a century earlier. In addition, the Anglo-Normans introduced stone castles and keeps that were unheard of in the Irish landscape. It was undeniably through the Anglo-Norman settlers that Gothic architectural forms made their way across the Irish Sea. However, it was arguably a concurrent relationship rather than a causational one, because just as Romanesque found patrons on the Irish stage, so too would Gothic eventually have been incorporated. Nonetheless, the fortunes of some very important English noblemen were partly responsible for how Gothic architecture took shape in the wake of the conquest. It is these particular relationships that will be examined throughout this thesis.

There are two key elements that require examination when attempting to establish how a piece of architecture came into being. Architectural patronage is the study of the relationship between patron and building or builders. In order to examine the correlation between building campaigns and the person granting the funds for the construction thereof, it is important to have a grasp of both the building and the patron in its wider context. This involves research into the history and experiences of the patron – who they knew, where they were – as well as an examination of contemporary architecture and how each building fits into the general historical narrative. To this end, the following chapter presents an outline of the general historical context for the construction of the architecture under discussion here. The subsequent chapters comprise detailed case studies of acts of secular and ecclesiastical architectural patronage by three key patrons in Ireland, the greatest of the early Anglo-Norman lords, namely Hugh de Lacy, John de Courcy and William Marshal.

CHAPTER 1: PATRONS IN CONTEXT

Historiography

> 'For after a period of preparation which has been long drawn out and has still not brought complete self-confidence, I am moving on to attempt to set out the noble history of your achievements ...'.[1]

This statement marks the introduction to Giraldus Cambrensis' *Expugnatio Hibernica: the Conquest of Ireland*. The historical narrative is centred on Diarmait Mac Murchada, Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare ('Strongbow') and a variety of other aristocrats and knights who sailed from the west coast of the British Isle. Modern historians have debated the terminology of the invaders' 'nationality' for decades. The vocabulary is diverse and varies depending on a number of factors: mother-tongue, ancestry, origin and length of time since the invasion. The men who arrived since 1169/70 have been referred to as 'Anglo-Norman'[2] (Phillips, Frame),[3] 'Cambro-Norman' (Martin),[4] 'Anglo-French', 'Anglo-Irish' (Lydon, Watt, Mac Niocaill)[5] and the 'English of Ireland'.[6] 'English' becomes the agreed proper descriptive of the 'foreigners' some time in the thirteenth century. Complications arise from the fact that the invaders were as diverse a group as the names we give them.

What should be employed to determine the correct vocabulary, geographical origin or 'national' identity? Richter suggested that perhaps it is a question of linguistics; by distinguishing the mother tongue of the group from required second and third languages.[7] Latin was the standard international language and French (Norman-French) was the administrative tongue of the English royal house. Richter suggested that French was 'imposed' upon the court aristocracy, while the mother tongue (*lingua materna*) of this segment of society at the time of the Irish invasion was English, hence the proper

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[1] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 25.
[2] For the purpose of this thesis the term 'Anglo-Norman' will be employed to describe the group of aristocrats and knights that travelled to Ireland during and in the wake of the invasion of 1169-70 unless otherwise denoted.
[3] Phillips, J.R.S., 'The Anglo-Norman Nobility', *The English in Medieval Ireland*, ed. J. Lydon, (Dublin, 1984), 87-104.
[4] Martin, F.X., 'Diarmait Mac Murchada and the Coming of the Anglo-Normans', *A New History of Ireland II: Medieval Ireland 1169-1534*, ed. Art Cosgrove, (Oxford, 1987), 43-66.
[5] Watt, J.A., The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland, (Cambridge, 1970).
[6] Richter, M., 'The Interpretation of Medieval Irish History', *IHS*, 24:95 (May 1985), 292.
[7] *Ibid.*, 292-3.

terminology of the invaders.[8] However, not only was French the administrative language of the English royalty but it was also that of many of the high-ranking invaders and their literature. Examples include the Song of Dermot and the Earl (*La geste des Engleis en yrlande*),[9] the *History of William Marshal* commissioned by his eldest son and the poem paid for by citizens of New Ross to commemorate the construction of their town wall. These certainly imply that French was an extremely important language to the invaders. Not only were many of the high-ranking aristocrats commissioning French language texts but many held estates on both sides of the channel, in both England and Normandy, hence Anglo-Norman.

The gradual synthesis of the Gaelic and colonial societies resulted in the creation of additional vocabulary for these men, such as 'Anglo-Irish', 'Hiberno-English' and 'Old-English'.[10] Contemporary Irish authorities distinguished between *gall* ('foreigners', or 'non-Gaelic speakers') describing the Anglo-Irish and *sasan* ('Saxons') illustrative of the English of England. The term *gall* was even applied to 'Irish-speaking persons of Anglo-Irish stock'.[11] 'We are English to the Irish, and Irish to the English', complained Maurice fitz Gerald in Giraldus Cambrensis' *Expugnatio Hibernica*. Who these men were was even a question to the knights of the invasion and their Irish contemporaries. The distinction between the Gaelic and non-Gaelic Irish society decreased with the 'Gaelisation' of the colonialists. This is the basis of the idea first proposed by Lydon that the settlers saw themselves, and were seen by others, as a 'Middle Nation', just as fitz Gerald had stated. Both Frame and Davies employed the theory of the 'English of Ireland' (being neither English nor Irish) for the study of the formal structures of government.

According to contemporary authors the rationale for the invasion was based on the low opinions of Irish society. The Irish, Giraldus wrote in his *Expugnatio Hibernica*, are '... consistent only in their fickleness, a race of which the only stable and reliable trait is their being unstable and unreliable ...'.[12] He goes on to quote the *Laudabiliter* as papal

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[8] *Ibid.*, 293.
[9] *Song of Dermot*; Mullally, E., *The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland: La geste des Engleis en yrlande: a New Edition of the Chronicle Formerly Known as The Song of Dermot and the Earl*, (Dublin, 2002).
[10] Ellis has pointed out that many of these terms used today have implications of a sense of identity, which did not prevail or did not prevail consistently throughout the medieval period, Ellis, 3 n10. The original poem did not have a title. Orpen gave it its English title: *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*; Mullally translated that title into French: *La gesta des Engleis en yrlande*.
[11] Lydon, J., 'The Middle Nation', *The English in Medieval Ireland, Proceedings of the First Joint Meeting of the Royal Irish Academy and the British Academy, Dublin, 1982*, ed. J. Lydon, (Dublin, 1984).
[12] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 135.

justification for the conquest.[13] He also declared such negative views of the Irish people in his sermon before the archbishop of Dublin on 23 March 1186:'... this nation is the foulest, the most sunk in vice, the most uninstructed of all nations of the earth in the rudiments of the Faith ...'[14] Giraldus was not alone in his low opinion of the Irish or Gaelic people. St Bernard referred to the barbarism of the Irish in his *Vita S. Malachiae*.[15] William of Newburg described Ireland's natives as '... uncivilized, and barbarous in their manners, almost totally ignorant of laws and order; slothful in agriculture, and consequently subsisting more on milk than corn.'[16] He illustrated their sloth and ignorance with their inability to cultivate the soil or develop the country's resources: '*populos habet moribus incultos et barbaros, legum et disciplinae fere ignaros, in agriculturam desides, et ideo lacte magis quam pane viventes.*'[17] William of Malemsbury also noted the absence of tilled land and towns in Irish society, focusing on its dependence on Britain: '*Quanti enim valeret Hibernia si non adavigarent merces ex Anglia.*'[18] It was the opinion of Giraldus and many of his contemporaries that the Irish needed to be disciplined and civilized by the Normans '*in formam simul et normam redacta*'.[19]

While the centuries have done much to correct the misconception of medieval Irish society as inferior, personal opinions are often weaved through the language of historical texts. Modern histories of the medieval period really began with the publication of Goddard Henry Goddard Orpen's seminal text, *Ireland under the Normans*, in four volumes (1911 and 1920). Now nearly a century since the publication of the first volume, much has been added to his interpretation of the past. Modern narratives tend to be coloured by the time in which the author lives and the nature of environment, modern historiographers have noted shortcomings in Orpen's work. Most notably Sean Duffy has discussed the controversial nature of his texts, weaved with loyalist sentiment and opinion. Student marginalia added over the decades range '... from anger and outrage to ridicule and

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[13] *Ibid.*, 144-6; *Pontificia Hibernicai*, 1:15-6; English trans. E. Curtis and R.B. McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents, 1172-1922*, (London, 1943), 17-8; Sheehy, M.P, 'The Bull *Laudabiliter*: a Problem in Medieval Diplomatique and History', *JGAHS*, 29 (1961), 45-70; Norgate, K., 'The Bull *Laudabilitier*', *EHR*, 8 (1893), 18-52.

[14] For the text of the sermon, see *De rebus*, in *Giraldi opera*, 1: 67-71, cited in *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 324-5 n248.

[15] *Vita Malachiae*, I, I; *Opera, Editio Cisterciensis*, Rome 1963, 3: 309; Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Life and Death of St. Malachy the Irishman*, trans. and anno. R.T. Meyer, (Kalamazoo, 1978),107.

[16] William of Newburgh, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howeltt, (RS 82, London, 1884-9),, Book 2.

[17] William of Newburg, (2: 26) 1: 166.

[18] *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, v, 409, ed. W. Stubbs, RS, (London, 1887), 2: 485.

[19] *Expugnatio*, 230.

blasphemy …'.[20] This, he noted, was a reaction to his non-nationalist view that the English were responsible '… for creating the comparative peace and order and the manifest progress and prosperity that Ireland enjoyed, during that period (1186-1315)…'.[21] The theory follows such writers as the twelfth-century historians, William of Malmesbury and William of Newburg, who were clearly biased in favour of the 'English' royal house, writting for 'English' patrons.[22] Although such bias colours the opinion of the historian to his Irish audience, the books are referenced extensively today as pertinent sources for the history of medieval Ireland. In fact, the most recent edition was published in 2005.

Almost two decades after the first publication of Orpen's final volume of *Ireland Under the Normans*, an author with an almost diametrically opposed political agenda published his *History of Medieval Ireland from 1086 to 1513*. The first edition of Edmund Curtis' text was published in 1938. Curtis, unlike his unionist predecessor, was part of a 'Trinity College nationalism subculture' and a strong subtext of Gaelic revivalism is apparent in his work on the *Spoken Languages of Medieval Ireland*.[23] His opinions are made clear by his description of the 'triumph' of the Irish language. He quoted Lynch on his vindication of the language in *Cambrensis Eversus* (1662), which referred to the Irish tongue as surpassing '… in gravity the Spanish, in elegance the Italian, in colloquial charm the French, and equals, if it does not surpass, the German itself in inspiring terror'.[24] Peter Crooks has hailed Curtis for having "pioneered what he understood to be a 'scientific' approach to the history of medieval Ireland".[25] Curtis' transcription and publication (1932-43) of the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1172-1603* (medieval deeds pertaining to the Butler lordship housed in Kilkenny castle) – '… the largest single collection of medieval deeds and records now extant in Ireland' – is one of the greatest additions to the sources for Irish medieval history in the past century.[26] Unfortunately, his nationalist sentiment has tarnished his reputation to some extent in the mind of other historians. Steven Ellis

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[20] Quoting Orpen, *Ireland Under the Normans*, 400, 363, 314, 343, cited in Duffy, S., 'Historical Revisit: Goddard Henry Orpen, *Ireland Under the Normans, 1169-1133* (1911-20)', *HIS*, 32:126 (2000), 246. As Duffy has pointed out the Irish anger toward Orpen's thesis was most likely related to the third Home Rule bill and Orpen's 'allusions to the order, peace, progress and prosperity that flowed from the English connection seemed designed to undermine the case for Irish self-rule', *ibid.*, 247.

[21] *Ibid.*, 246.

[22] William of Malmesbury's second, revised edition of *Gesta regum Anglorum (Deeds of the English kings or Deeds of the kings of the English people)*, was dedicated to Earl Robert of Gloucester, an illegitimate son of Henry I. William of Newburgh was an Augustinian canon from Yorkshire, whose *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* was dedicated to Ernald, Abbot of Rievaulx (Yorkshire).

[23] Crooks, P., 'The Lecky Professors', *Government, War and Politics in Medieval Ireland*, ed. P. Crooks, (Dublin, 2008), 30. Curtis, E., 'The Spoken Languages of Medieval Ireland', *Studies*, 8 (1919), 234-54.

[24] *Ibid.*, 254.

[25] Curtis, E.,'Irish History and its Popular Versions', *Irish Rosary*, 29:5 (1925), 321-9, cited in Crooks, 25.

[26] Crooks, 'The Lecky Professors', 34.

accused Curtis of '... appropriating the past for the Irish Free State'.[27] As this demonstrates, there was certainly a thread of nationalist opinion in his works. Curtis' nationalist sentiment has perhaps damaged his reputation as a historian far greater than Orpen's non-nationalist attitude, illustrated by the far greater degree to which contemporary historians cite Orpen over Curtis. This seems unfortunate considering that nationalist views tended to stress the positives of the Irish as active participants in their history, rather than incompetent spectators to the English rule of Ireland. 'Where the unionist tradition had stressed Ireland's position within the British Isles, the little England across the Irish Sea, the backwardness and instability of Gaelic Ireland, and the benefits which the *pax Normanica* had brought to the island, historians like Edmund Curtis concentrated on such topics as friction between the Westminster and Dublin governments, the Gaelic revival, the Great Earl uncrowned king of Ireland, the blended race, and the fifteenth-century home-rule movement.'[28] Although his personal politics were certainly a factor in his chosen narrative, arguments that viewed cultures as 'other' and therefore backward, the people barbarians and uncivilised, are no more based in reality than any sort of propaganda. Lydon dissented from the modern judgements of Curtis as faulted and consequently ignored by most modern historian, and instead appreciated him as 'a major figure in the historiography of medieval Ireland'.[29]

His successor in the Lecky chair at Trinity College Dublin was A.J. Otway-Ruthven (familiarly referred to by Trinity scholars as the 'Ot'). She took a far more scientific approach to the study of medieval Irish history, meticulously reconstructing 'the record sources for medieval Ireland that had been destroyed by the catastrophic fire in the Four Courts of June 1922'.[30] She asserted in 1967 that the current state of Irish historical study was improved by the '...gradual disappearance of the old crude nationalism'.[31] It is normal for each generation to be critical of the previous generation. Both Orpen and Curtis

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[27] Ellis, S.E., 'The Empire Strikes Back: The Historiographies of Britain and Ireland', *Empires and States in European Perspective*, ed. S.G. Ellis, (Pisa, 2002), 108.

[28] Ellis listed on the unionist side of the argument: Stokes, G.T., *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*, (London, 1889); Orpen, G.H., *Ireland Under the Normans, 1169-1333*, 4 vols., (Oxford, 1911-20); Wilson, P., *The Beginnings of Modern Ireland*, (Dublin, 1912); Dunlop, R., *Ireland from the Earliest of Times to the Present Day*, (Oxford, 1922); Ball, F.E., *The Judges in Ireland, 1221-1921*, 2 vols., (London, 1926). On the nationalist side are, Curtis, E., *A History of Medieval Ireland*, (London, 1923, 2nd edn., 1938); Green, A.S., *The Making of Ireland and its Undoing, 1200-1600*, (London, 1908); MacNeill, E., *Phases of Irish History*, (Dublin, 1919), cited in Ellis, S.G., 'Nationalist Historiography and the English and Gaelic Worlds in the Late Middle Ages', *IHS*, 25:97 (May 1986), 2, 2 n3, 2 n4.

[29] Lydon, J., 'Edmund Curtis, 'A History of Medieval Ireland' (1923, 1938)', *IHS*, 31:124 (Nov 1999), 536.

[30] Reconstructed mostly from records from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, Crooks, 'The Lecky Professors', 38.

[31] Otway-Ruthven, 'Medieval Ireland (1169-1485)', *IHS*, 15:60 (1967), 360, cited in Crooks, 'The Lecky Professors', 44.

were judged by their successors, and so too was Otway-Ruthven. She was criticised for her neglect of the Gaelic Irish.[32] Perhaps it was the result of the nature of her research methodologies; without governmental records akin to those produced by the English royal court and parliaments she deemed the possibility of producing a factual history of Gaelic Ireland impossible. 'Since the Gaelic polity never developed those governmental institutions which led to the production of archives ... we have therefore none of the detailed day-to-day information which would enable us to body out the meagre information given by the annalists'.[33] Still, it cannot be doubted the immense contribution she has made to our knowledge of medieval Ireland through the painstaking study of the record sources.

James Lydon succeeded her in the Lecky chair, continuing its position as a professorship of medieval Irish history. *Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages* was first published in 1972, reprinted in 2003. His attention focused on the military history of the period: 'the organization of war, the problems of transport and supply, finance and purveyance and the repercussions of the war effort on domestic law and order'.[34] Frame raves about Lydon's 'strong, direct, informal style which compels the reader's attention; an eye for the telling detail to exemplify a point and to establish a sense of contact with the individual human being in the past; and an enviable ability to impose a shape upon a confused and still lamentably under-investigated period'.[35] His criticism arises concerning Lydon's over-enthusiastic use of language, with words such as 'vast', 'huge', 'astonishing', 'famous', 'terrific', 'fantastic' and 'fearsome' often overworked.[36]

The recent publication edited by Crooks, *Government, War and Politics in Medieval Ireland*, includes essays by the academics of the Lecky Professorship: Curtis, Otway-Ruthven and Lydon. Crooks describes the works of these historians as 'several of the most influential studies ever undertaken on the social, institutional and political character of the English colony in Ireland between the invasion of the late twelfth century and the act of kingly title in 1541.'[37] While the text focuses on these three key authors, there are other historians that should not be overlooked when if comes to the study of medieval Ireland, in particularly in the political sphere: H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles's *The Irish*

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[32] Crooks, 'The Lecky Professors', 44.
[33] Otway-Ruthven, 'Medieval Ireland (1169-1485)', *IHS*, 15:60 (1967), 365.
[34] Crooks, 'The Lecky Professors', 48.
[35] Frame, R., 'Review: Ireland in the Later Middle Ages', *Studia Hibernica*, 14 (1974), 163.
[36] *Ibid.*, 163.
[37] Crooks, 'The Lecky Professors', 24.

Parliament in the Middle Ages (Philadelphia, 1952) and Robin Frame, *Ireland and Britain, 1170-1450*. Frame's work has contributed to our understanding of the complexities of the relationship between the Dublin and Westminster parliaments, the resident 'Anglo-Irish' lords and the absentee 'English of England'. Most importantly, he acknowledged that the political community in Ireland was neither isolated nor speaking an undecipherable and archaic dialect.[38] While recognising this it is still important to note that, as Ellis has pointed out, 'events clearly showed that royal control over the Dublin administration was inadequate; the spread of Gaelic customs in border areas especially seemed to continue; and a separate parliament, coupled with the increasing local domination of the lordship's separate administrative institutions, provided a strong impetus toward the growth of a distinct Anglo-Irish sense of identity'.[39]

However, these events are generations away from the initial influx of the 'Anglo-Norman' or 'English' aristocracy and the immigration of various other sections of society from England and Wales that would make up the newly formed colonial towns. The impetus for the 'mass' migration came from those men whose initial grants of huge segments of the Ireland is the subject of this thesis. The personal histories of Hugh de Lacy, John de Courcy and William Marshal have been the subject of scholarly books. The de Lacy family was examined by Wightman almost a half century ago, and the limited attention to their Irish estates calls for a new examination. John de Courcy's Irish career has been the subject of articles by both Duffy and Otway-Ruthven, and most recently by Stephen Flanders in his book about the de Courcy family. The best known and most often described knight of the twelfth and thirteenth century is William Marshal, whose contemporary biography commissioned by his son has spawned not only several translations of the original text but numerous modern biographies, most notably Sidney Painter and David Crouch.

Introduction

During the winter of 1169-70, on account of the request of the recently deposed king of Leinster, Diarmait Mac Murchada, a small number of Anglo-Norman knights, with a contingent of men-at-arms, landed on the Irish shores. Diarmait's objective was to reclaim his province. In return for the aid of the Anglo-Normans he promised land and wealth; to Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare (better known as Strongbow) he gave the hand of his

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[38] Frame, *English Lordship in Ireland*, chapter 2.
[39] Ellis, 10.

daughter, Aífe, and the succession of his kingdom. Although only a few men travelled with Mac Murchada in the beginning, within ten years the king of England, Henry II, had granted over half of Ireland to his barons, even though most of his early grants were dependent upon military conquest. However, by the mid-thirteenth century, much of the island was under the control of Anglo-Normans [**Fig 1. 1**].

The eastern half of Ireland was divided into three large land grants, Ulster (consisting mostly of the modern counties of Down and Antrim east of the Bann and Newry rivers), Meath (including the modern counties of Meath, Westmeath and parts of Longford and Louth), and Leinster (reasonably parallel to the modern province). All three lordships were created by 1177, and all three were extinguished by the middle of the next century. Unlike the eastern half of the country, the west was granted out in a more piece-meal manner, to several different barons instead of one great overlord, this is particularly true in Munster. Whereas in Connacht, an early grant was made to Walter de Burgh, it was effectively his son, Richard, who conquered it after his grant of '... all the land of Connacht which William his father held of the King'.[40] Although a speculative grant was made to Richard de Burgh in 1215, he did not begin his conquest until the 1230s.[41] Meanwhile in Leinster, Strongbow had become lord through right of succession after the death of Mac Murchada in 1171,[42] and was confirmed in his lordship when Henry II arrived in Ireland the following year. Strongbow swore to acknowledge that he and his heirs held Leinster in fee of the king and his heirs.[43] Also in 1172, the lordship of Meath was granted to Hugh de Lacy[44] for the service of 50 knights[45] and before 1177 John de

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[40] *CDI*, 1: nos. 653, 654 (1215). In 1193, Cathal Crobderg Ó Conchobhair (king of Connacht, 1228-30, 1231-3) was given terms that probably recognized his kingship with a promise of good behaviour, *ALC*, 1195, cited in Orpen, 213. About the same time, in the reign of Richard I, John made a speculative grant to William de Burgh of Connacht. It is referred to in his subsequent grant to Richard de Burgh (September 13, 1215), quoted above, *Rot. Chart., 17 John*, 218b, cited in Orpen, 214, 364.

[41] Orpen, 'Richard de Burgh and the Conquest of Connaught' *JGAHS*, 7:3 (1911-12), 132. A new grant was issued in October 1234 for the service of twenty knights, *CDI*, 1: nos. 2112, 2189, 2218.

[42] According to the *A. Tig.*, 1171, Mac Murchada died '... through the miracles of Findén and Colomb and the other saints whom he had plundered'. Other annals record that he '... died before the end of the year of an insufferable and unknown disease, for he became putrid while still living, through the miracle of God, Colmcille and Fineen and the other saints of Ireland, whose churches he had profaned and burned some time before; and he died at Ferns, without making a will, without penance, without the body of Christ, without the sacrament of extreme unction, as his evil deed deserved', *AFM*, 1171; *Book of Leinster*, 184; Giraldus, *Expugantio*, 75; *Song of Dermot*, ll. 1728-31.

[43] Giraldus, *Expugnatio,* 89; *Song of Dermot*, ll. 2615-20.

[44] Hereafter, 'de Lacy' will always refer to Hugh de Lacy, first lord of Meath.

[45] *Song of Dermot*, ll. 2725-2730. Giraldus mentions only twenty knights, Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 105. For a general overview of de Lacy in Meath, see Orpen, 171-86.

Courcy had been granted Ulster '... if he could conquer it by force'.[46] The invasion of Ireland, set in motion by the actions of Mac Murchada and Strongbow, was in full swing by the turn of the thirteenth century. It was an occupation accomplished by the creation of estates supported through the construction of castles and benefactions to the Church.

Some of the most famous medieval Irish buildings were erected as a result of the patronage of these early Anglo-Normans. These structures include Trim castle (Meath), Fore Benedictine priory (Westmeath), Carrickfergus (Antrim) and Kilkenny castles, and Tintern (Wexford), Graiguenamanagh (Kilkenny), Grey (Down) and Inch (Down) Cistercian abbeys. Although many of the aforementioned buildings were added to and altered subsequent to their initial construction, much of their original fabric is still visible. While many of these buildings have been discussed before, they have only been examined as individual sites and primarily within the context of Ireland. It is important to point out that these buildings did not exist in a vacuum. More to the point, the architecture constructed within each lordship was quintessentially a network of family monuments. There are two main forms of stone testimonials to these once great families. The first was that built for private or domestic and public or administrative purposes, in other words, the castle. The second, was the architecture built as the result of ecclesiastical patronage, those constructed on lands granted to the church or a monastic house for the salvation of the souls of the patron and his family. Furthermore, not only was the architecture in Ireland built as a network of monuments within their Irish landscape but within a patron's estates as a whole. The manors of these important families often spanned the Angevin Empire – Ireland, England, Wales and Normandy. The proof of these connections can be witnessed in the fact that ecclesiastical patronage often linked one area of a patron's estate to another, across borders and across seas. This thesis is not only an examination of architectural patronage in Ireland *c.*1169-1250, but also how it existed within the context of northern Europe. It is imperative to establish an understanding and draw attention to the relationship between what these patrons did in Ireland and compare it to their building activities in England and the continent. Can the aforementioned connections made by great landholders eight hundred years ago still be observed in the buildings that survived long past the death of their patrons and the demise of the Empire?

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[46] *A un Johan, Uluestere, Si a force la peust conquere; De Curci out a nun Johan*, *Song of Dermot*, ll. 2731-2733. For a general overview of de Courcy's rise and fall in Ulster, see Orpen, 153-60, 194-208 and Flanders, *De Courcy*, chapter 7.

For the purpose of this thesis, it is those buildings, raised by the early Anglo-Norman lords in Meath, Ulster and Leinster that will be examined, by Hugh de Lacy, John de Courcy and William Marshal respectively. None of them began life thinking they would inherit vast fortunes. Hugh de Lacy was from a very important Anglo-Norman family, a family who likely still considered themselves Norman, with extensive lands in the west of England (the honour of Weobley). As a younger son, his elder brother, Robert, was set to inherit the honour although by the time Hugh de Lacy was granted the lordship of Meath, Robert had died and the estates had passed to Hugh.[47] The grant of Ulster to John de Courcy, by conquest, was a great prospect for a knight with little more than a small estate in the north of England. Many of his relations had been minor nobles in the service of the king from the time of the Norman invasion, performing as stewards to English crown. It must have been through this family connection to the royal household that he impressed Henry II to the extent that he was granted the chance to conquer Ulster. William Marshal was a younger son of a minor nobleman, who built up his reputation through the tournament circuit. His expertise eventually brought him into the household of the young king Henry (eldest son of Henry II), and on to the courts of Henry II, Richard I, John and regent to Henry III. He was in his forties by the time he received the hand of Isabel de Clare, daughter of Strongbow. Not only did this marriage afford him the vast lordship of Leinster but the even greater earldom of Pembroke, which made him one of the richest and most powerful men in the west of England, second only to John as Count of Mortain.

These lords employed architecture as a means of solidifying their authority over their new Irish lands. To this end, they built stone castles and endowed independent monasteries, colonising them with monks from English, Welsh, Scottish and Norman houses. At the same time, they also granted Irish lands, churches and tithes to foreign monasteries. What is most interesting about these men is how the landscape of each lordship differed. While they each participated in this general process, differences can be found in the visual representation of their built domains, affected by their own ideas of identity and their diverse family histories.

Moreover, their international careers informed their lives, and quite probably, their patronage. These men lived in a time when travel for the upper echelons of society was

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[47] The de Lacys of Weobley arrived in England in the wake of the Norman invasion of England in 1066. The elder branch of the family, who had accompanied William the Conqueror across the channel, was granted the honour of Pontefract (Yorkshire). For a history of the de Lacy family in England and Normandy, see Wightman.

not only a necessity but a given. It is important to stress the highly international character of Europe in the middle ages in general and specifically within the Angevin Empire. It must be remembered that at this time, the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth century, the Empire was vast, encompassing Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, parts of Gascony, England, parts of Wales and Scotland and from 1169 onward, more and more of Ireland [**Fig 1. 2**]. Many of the barons within the Empire held estates across both channels, in Normandy, England and Ireland. This was a time when travel outside one's own world was a regular event in the life of the upper classes, whether it were on pilgrimage through the Low Countries, Spain and Italy or even across the Mediterranean on crusade to the Holy Land.[48] These men saw more of the world than many modern travellers would assume.

Even after they arrived in Ireland, they did not remain continuously in their new territories but travelled readily between Ireland, England and Normandy. They too spent extended periods in their lordships, conquering, consolidating and colonising. John de Courcy spent most of his time in Ireland between 1177 and 1201/2, although in his case he did not have great landed estates outside Ulster that required his presence. The lords of Meath and Leinster had to travel in order to administer their various manors. These movements kept them in contact with popular fashions in architecture both in England and on the Continent. The differences seen in the buildings endowed and built by the Anglo-Normans were the result of their own personal tastes, affected by current trends. Specifically, the choices made by the Anglo-Normans were affected by what they had seen, what they had heard about, what they were in some way connected with.

While the Anglo-Normans did not begin the tradition of architectural patronage in Ireland (as discussed in the Introduction), they contributed vastly to the visual landscape of the country. In addition, the Anglo-Normans brought with them their own traditions and architectural tastes. The process of architectural patronage began with the supply of land and money; these were given by the patron and can be proven by the grants and charters still extant. What I hope to establish in this thesis is to what extent the patron had a determining voice in their constructions, not only those intended for personal use, but also those utilized by the ecclesiastical beneficiaries of their patronage.

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[48] Crusade was a popular occupation in the late twelfth century for many a young knight. Later, the king of England, Richard I, and many of his entourage went to the Holy Land with the French King, Philip Augustus, and those in his retinue. In fact, in the early thirteenth century Hugh de Lacy II went on crusade after he was forced into exile, although he would later go back to Ireland and once again hold the title, earl of Ulster.

From whatever background these men came, they forged for themselves mighty lordships and within them they built grand fortresses and contributed vastly to the construction of churches and monastic complexes. The aim of my research is to examine the role of the patron and determining what effect these men had on the visual landscape of Ireland. Can their voices be witnessed in the architecture of the monuments that they endowed? Did they really have a say in what was built and can this be determined by the examination of what is left behind in both visual and textual sources? What were their motives behind particular castle structures or the endowment of specific monasteries? Were they involved in the details of decisions, such as plan, design, layout and features? Were they importing materials and masons as well as ideas, and from where? Were they imparting on their buildings a visual representation of their own identities? Also, what links can be drawn between what was built in Ireland and what was built on their estates abroad? While a majority of the early Anglo-Normans in Ireland were strongly connected to the West Country, Northern England and Normandy were equally important in determining the various architectural influences.

Without their arrival, the landscape of medieval Ireland may have taken an entirely different shape. These great barons built much of the architecture of Ireland in the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries. It is, however, the context of their lives, which is integral to the understanding of their built environments. Before the lords of Ireland can be discussed as individual patrons in their own right, they must first be identified within the wider realm of the Angevin world. For this, it is vital to establish how they came to be the early Anglo-Norman lords of Ireland.

Dramatis Personae

Strongbow and Diarmait Mac Murchada

The coming of the Normans has long been proposed as the result of a simmering feud between Tigernán Ua Ruairc of Bréifne (*c.*1128-72) and Diarmait Mac Murchada of Leinster (1126-71). It was a row brought on by Mac Murchada's abduction of Ua Ruairc's wife, Derbforgaill.[49] Although his wife returned, Ua Ruairc allegedly never forgave the affront but was unable to settle the score swiftly. His hatred stewed for fourteen years

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[49] Derbforgaill was the daughter of Murchad Ua Máel Sechlainn (king of Mide, 1152-5). In 1152 Derbforgaill, with her cattle and furniture, was 'carried off', not only of her own accord but also with the consent of her brother, the new king of East Meath, *AFM*, 1152; *A. Tig*, 1152; *A.Clon.*, 1152; *A.Clon.* Diarmait '... kept her for a long space to satisfie his unsatiable, carnall and adulterous lust ...', Orpen, 15.

before he had his revenge, however dramatic the subsequent events were for the history of Ireland. While a very entertaining tale, the decade and a half between the abduction of Derbforgaill and Ua Ruairc's actions of 1166 imply there was more to his attack than a pure act of vengeance. In addition, neither does the abduction explain Ruaidrí Ó Conchobhair's (king of Connacht, 1156-83) conduct against Diarmait. Whatever the underlying reasons, with the aid of the Ostmen of Dublin, Ó Conchobhair and Ua Ruairc drove Mac Murchada from his citadel at Ferns, expelled him from his kingdom and banished him into exile. Diarmait was forced to flee and in his wake, his stone house (*tech cloiche*) at Ferns was demolished along with the wooden defences of his camp (*longport*).[50] The use of the term *cloiche* (stone) when describing his residence suggests that stone domestic structures were constructed in Ireland before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans.[51] However, reference to King Henry II ordering his palace in Dublin to be built in the 'Irish-style' of wattle and daub.[52] While it does seem that the majority of Irish castles were constructed of timber well into the thirteenth century, Irish monasteries were built in stone long before 1169. The implication is that timber constructions were preferred in secular architecture.[53] Moreover, the majority of English castles were of the motte type, a raised mound of earth with a timber tower built atop. There is an abundance of evidence for the plethora of motte (and bailey) castles constructed by the Anglo-Normans well into the later middle ages.[54] It was only the most powerful and wealthy barons who built stone castles. Furthermore, as early as the ninth century, there were

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[50] *A. Tig.*, 1166. The annals also list in the same year that Ferns was burned by Diarmait himself as he fled. The Gaelic term *longphort* (also *longport*, *longpurt* and *longpuirt*) is usually translated as 'fortress' or 'stronghold'. Although it has been suggested that the term described temporary camps built during military campaigns, from about 1200 onwards, the word also meant a more permanent defendable settlement, O'Conor, K., *The Archaeology of Medieval Rural Settlement in Ireland*, (Dublin, 1998), 84.

[51] For arguments related to whether Mac Murchada's stone house was a castle in the same sense as the Norman castles, see O'Keeffe, T. and M. Coughlan, 'The Chronology and Formal Affinities of the Ferns *Donjon*, Co. Wexford', *The Medieval Castle in Ireland and Wales*: *Essays in Honour of Jeremy Knight*, eds. J.R. Kenyon and K. O'Conor, (Dublin, 2003), 135-6 and Sweetman, P.D., 'Archaeological Excavations at Ferns Castle, Co. Wexford', *PRIA* 79C, (1979), 217-45.

[52] References to wattle and daub being the 'Irish style' may simply indicate that those materials were the most readily available. In addition, Henry II's order for the construction in such material clearly acknowledges the '... wider acceptability of timber building at the highest level of society', Highman, R. and P. Barker, *Timber Castles*, (London, 1992), 77. References to Scottish castles built '*in more alpinatum*' (in the style of the Highlanders) have been defined as '*ex domibus magnus super terram constructis*', *pers. comm*, R. Orm. O'Conor acknowledges that '... both fieldwork and the historical sources is that the overwhelming majority of stone castles of pre-1400 date were built by Anglo-Norman lords or the colonial government', O'Conor, *The Archaeology of Medieval Rural Settlement in Ireland*, 77.

[53] The majority of castles were constructed from timber, clay, cob, wattle and daub, thatch and shingle, materials which were and are perishable, Highman and Barker, *Timber Castles*, 17. More importantly, every stone fortress made some use of timber, '... even if there were no actual stone buildings on the site, timber would be employed in roofs, joists and floors, bridges, gateways, and in numerous minor uses. Equally common was the use of timber for shoring and other temporary works associated with ditch diggings, as well as scaffolding, centring for arches, cranes and staging used in the construction of stone buildings', *ibid.*, 171.

[54] Barry, T.B., *The Archaeology of Ireland*, (London, 1999 reprint), 39. For a map of the distribution of surviving mottes, see *ibid.*, fig. 8.

active groups of Irish masons employed by monastic communities and with the arrival of the Cistercians in the twelfth century masons became familiar with a wider range of stone buildings. Would these masons not also have been able to work for secular patrons? Although, in theory, a stone castle or Diarmait's *tech cloiche* could have proved advantageous over a timber fortress, it did not prevent his expulsion from Ireland and in 1167 he sailed east for Wales. He landed at Bristol, a natural choice due to the long-standing trade relations between the Welsh port and Dublin. A few years later, the city of Dublin was colonised with men from Bristol. In addition, the king granted the men of Bristol given trading rights to Dublin.[55] Bristol was also the port from which much of the Dundry stone, quarried in the Severn valley, was imported into Ireland.[56] Dundry stone is a creamy coloured oolitic limestone that was readily employed in dressings and mouldings due to its soft, more easily carved quality. When Mac Murchada reached Bristol, it was in the house of Robert fitz Harding that he took refuge. It is believed that it was in this household that Diarmait began to plot his return to Ireland.

In order to build an effective offensive he first needed to round up a vast number of soldiers, or mercenaries, and for this it was essential to secure the support of someone with the means to supply the military might. It has been suggested that fitz Harding was a long time friend of Henry II, and that it was he who persuaded Mac Murchada to go in search of the king's aid. Diarmait had to leave Wales, sail across the English Channel and travel through the Continent into Aquitaine where he found the king of England.[57] It was there that Diarmait was able to plead his case and in Henry he found a willing ear.[58] Although troubles on the Continent kept the king well occupied, he was able to offer Diarmait an alternative. In return for his submission and oath of fealty, Mac Murchada received letters patent that allowed him to recruit the men of Henry's dominions:

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[55] Henry II's first and second Dublin city charter read: *Quare, uolo, et firmiter precipio, ut ipsi eam inhabitant et teneant illam, de me et de heredibus meis, bene, et in pace, libere et quiete, integer etiplenaire et honorifice cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis quas hominess de Bristowa habent apud Bristowam, et per totam terram meam*, *HMDI*, 1-2.

[56] For a study on the use of this English stone in Irish buildings, see Waterman, D.M., 'Somersetshire and Other Foreign Building Stone in Medieval Ireland, *c.*1175-1400', *UJA*, 33 (1970), 63-75.

[57] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 27; *Song of Dermot*, ll. 258-9. It begs the question, what did Mac Murchada see on his journey? Although, there are references to Irish kings on pilgrimage, how common would it have been for a twelfth-century Irish king to travel through Normandy and Aquitaine? If Mac Murchada had lived longer, would his later architectural patronage have reflected his travel?

[58] If Henry backed a successful Diarmait, he would gain the use of Dublin's '… valuable fleet and that would be a bonus for Anglo-Norman campaigns against Welsh and Scots', Martin, F.X., 'Diarmait Mac Murchada and the Coming of the Anglo-Normans', *A New History of Ireland II: Medieval Ireland 1169-1534*, ed. Art Cosgrove, (Oxford, 1987), 65.

> 'Henry king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, gives his greeting to all his faithful subjects, English, Normans, Welsh and Scots, and all peoples subject to his rule. When you receive this present letter, be advised that we have admitted to out most intimate grace and favour Diarmait prince of Leinster. Wherefore, if any person from within our wide dominions wished to help in restoring him, as having done us fealty and homage, let him know that he has our goodwill and permission to do this'.[59]

With letters in hand, Mac Murchada returned to Bristol where he began to search for such persons. He found the aid he required in a man who would make a lasting impression on the history of Ireland, lord of Striguil and earl of Pembroke, otherwise penned, Strongbow.[60] According to Giraldus, Strongbow was '... a man whose past was brighter than his prospects, whose blood was better than his brains, and whose claims of succession were larger than his lands in possession'.[61] Strongbow probably perceived in this mission both the opportunity to regain the king's favour and the potential to increase his estates. For his aid, Diarmait offered the earl the hand of his eldest daughter, Aífe, and the succession of his kingdom.[62] Flanagan argued that under feudal law, Aífe's dower estates were outside Ireland, although no dower charter is extant. However, after Strongbow's death in 1176, Aífe continued to receive profits from the de Clare estates in England and Wales.[63] Moreover, their children would inherit both the Mac Murchada kingdom of Leinster and the de Clare estates, including the lordships of Striguil and Pembroke.

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[59] *Henricus rex Anglie, dux Normannie et Aquitannie, et comes Andegavie, universes fidelibus suis Anglis, Normannis, Gaulensibus et Scottis, cunctisque nacionibus sue dicioni subditis salutem. Cum presentes ad vos littere pervenerint, noveritis nos Dermitium Lageniensium principem in gracie nostre et benevolencie simum suscepisse. Unde et quisquis ei, de amplitudinis nostre finibus, tanuam homini et fideli nostro, restitucionis auxilium impendere voluerit, se nostrum ad hoc tam graciam noverit quam licenciam obtinere*, Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 26. The *Song of Dermot* only records a verbal promise, not formal letters. Certainly Henry II granted permission for Diarmait to recruit from his vassals, which must have required some form of official notice with the king's seal to confirm his authority.

[60] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 29; *The Song of Dermot*, ll. 240-5.

[61] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 55. Although Giraldus may have been prejudiced against the earl, his portrayal was not likely exaggerated. Earl Richard had of late supported Stephen against Matilda, Henry's mother, in the recent struggles for the throne and was at present out of favour, Orpen, 28-9. William of Newburgh confirmed Strongbow's position, *exhausto fere patrimonio, creditoribus erat supra modum obnoxious; atque ideo proclivius ad majora invitantibus acquievit*, William of Newburg, 167-8.

[62] Rights of succession in feudal law were different form those in Irish law. In Irish law it was unheard of that a man should acquire a kingdom by right of a woman. Every male member of a royal dynasty had the potential to form a lineage or segment within the dynasty, and the number of prospective lineages was quite high, since the Church had not succeeded in establishing the concept of legitimacy. In addition, within the hereditary dynasty the determining factors in succession to kingship were not membership of a particular kindred group but of a particular lineage, and within that lineage the degree of proximity of the candidate to the power base of the previous king. The seizure of kingship by military force was recognized as one of the possible routes to power in the Irish *Fürstenspiegel*, Flanagan, M.T., *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late Twelfth Century*, (Oxford, 1989), 81-8.

[63] In charters, Aífe is often referred to as *comitissa Hibernensis* (countess of the Irish); this is true for her charter to the Benedictine nuns of Ickleton (Cambridgeshire). The Ickleton nunnery held land in Chesterford, which was attached to Strongbow's manor of Chesterford (Cambridgeshire), *ibid.*, 125. The style of her title suggests a ceremonial rather than an official one, as a high ranking member of the people rather than a title holding sway over a territory.

Striguil sat conveniently near the port of Bristol, which, as mentioned earlier, was vital for trade routes between England and Ireland.[64]

Before Strongbow could cross the Irish Sea, he required permission from the English king and so when Diarmait returned to Ireland in 1167, he did so without Strongbow.[65] Strongbow did not join him until August 1170.[66] When he finally landed, he quickly took the city of Waterford[67] and in the wake of that success was married to Aífe '... in the presence of the Anglo-Normans and their Irish allies'.[68] Strongbow was not the first, nor the last of the Anglo-Norman to utilize marriage to secure a greater hold upon his Irish territories. Marriage alliances between powerful families were a frequent occurrence in middle ages, from kings to lords and knights to vassals. The offspring of the marriage of Matilda, daughter of Henry I (king of England and duke or Normandy), with Geoffrey, eldest son of Count Fulk V of Anjou, brought together all of those territories under one overlord, namely the aforementioned Henry II. In Ireland, the powerful lords of Meath and Ulster allied themselves with the king of Connacht and Man and the Isles respectively. They were not the only Anglo-Normans to create powerful alliances through marriage, and most of the high-ranking baronial families were in some way or another related.

Diarmait died in 1171 and was buried at Ferns, leaving Strongbow as his heir, succeeding only a year after he first landed in Ireland.[69] Although left with the inheritance of Leinster, he was not in a strong position to retain it. He was also under pressure from the English king, who had issued a decree in 1170 that required, '... all his subjects in Ireland to return home before Easter on pain of forfeiture and perpetual banishment'.[70] This left the earl in

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[64] *Ibid.*, 120-9.

[65] Strongbow needed to ensure that he would not be in danger of losing his hereditary lands in Normandy, England and Wales so sought official consent for this venture. Diarmait disembarking in August 1167 with one knight, Richard fitz Godebert (a Fleming from Roche Castle, near Haverford (Pembrokeshire)) and a small force consisting of '... only a few men, who crossed over in haste and did not long remain', *Song of Dermot*, ll. 404-19; *AFM*, 1167; Otway-Ruthven, A.J., *A History of Medieval Ireland*, (London, 1968), 43; Orpen, 50. Ó Conchobhair and Ua Ruairc agreed to terms that left Mac Murchada in possession of ten cantreds in his tribe-land (approximately the modern county of Wexford) in exchange for his submission, hostages and some monetary compensation to Ó Ruairc for having carried off his wife, Orpen, 50.

[66] In the winter of 1168-9, Diarmait sent letters to all earls, barons, knights, squires, men-at-arms, common soldiers, horsemen and foot soldiers. These read: 'If anyone wants to have land or money, horses, equipment or charges, gold or silver, I will give him very generous payment; if anyone wants land or pasture, I will enfeoff him generously: I will also give him plenty of livestock and a rich fief', *Song of Dermot*, ll. 420-38. Strongbow was finally given '... leave to trust himself to Fate and Fortune in foreign parts', Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 55, 57. Some say the king's permission may have only been given in jest, but needless to say, Strongbow took his permission and ran with it.

[67] *Song of Dermot*, ll. 1500-15. Strongbow is said to have arrived with fifteen hundred men.

[68] Martin, F.X., 'Allies and an Overlord', 76; *Song of Dermot*, ll. 1528-1539; Giraldus, *Expugatio*, 67.

[69] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 263; *Song of Dermot*, ll. 1728-31; *Book of Leinster*, 39d; Orpen, 81.

[70] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 71; Otway-Ruthven, A.J., *A History of Medieval Ireland*, (London, 1968), 46.

quite a predicament, he was under siege from a substantially large combined Irish force hoping to starve them out of Dublin, a fleet from the Isle of Man blockading the sea to the east and an embargo on exports to Ireland ordered by the king. In addition, he was confronted with members of the Mac Murchada clan contesting his succession, as well as uprisings in Waterford and Wexford. Somehow, Strongbow was able to end the siege of Dublin, subdue members of the Mac Murchada clan with titles and substantial tracts of land and regain the cities of Waterford and Wexford.

Although he was successful in his activities he did not live long to bask in the glory. In 1176, Strongbow's sister, Basilia, sent her husband, Raymond le Gros, an urgent and encrypted letter.[71] It read: 'That large molar tooth, which caused me so much pain, has now fallen out. So I beg of you, if you have any thought for your own future safety or mine, return quickly and without delay'.[72] The molar to which she referred was her brother; she had informed her husband of the Earl's death. It was almost a quarter century before Ireland saw another lord of Leinster land upon its shores. This was due to the fact that Strongbow left no male heir,[73] so his lands were kept in the king's hands until his daughter, Isabel, was married to William Marshal in 1189.[74]

Hugh de Lacy, *dominus Midiae*

In October 1171, sailing from Pembroke with a fleet of 400 ships, Henry II landed in Waterford.[75] During his one and only stay, Henry ensured his rule in several ways. Strongbow was officially granted the kingdom of Leinster for certain fees and the service of 100 knights.[76] Henry obtained the submission of many Irish chieftains and petty kings

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[71] Strongbow had arranged the marriage of his sister, Basilia, to Raymond le Gros in 1173.
[72] Martin, F.X., 'Overlord Becomes Feudal Lord', 109.
[73] Strongbow and Aífe had a son named Gilbert, GEC *Peerage* 10: 357-8, but he died *c.*1185 while he was still a minor.
[74] In the interm, Leinster was divided for administrative purposes into smaller subsections; Dublin was in the hands of Hugh de Lacy and Waterford and Wexford were put under the jurisdiction of Robert le Poer and fitz Audelin respectively.
[75] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 93; *The Song of Dermot*, ll, 2588, 2596; *Gesta Hen.*, 1: 25; Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 2:, 29. Entries in *PR, 17 and 18 Hen II* give details of provisions, equipment, clothing and other items which accompanied the king from England, *CDI,* 1: 1-6. 'A crisis, with international ramifications, had developed over the murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket on 29 December 1170. One consequence was Henry's decision to distance himself from the papal legates, Cardinals Albert and Theodinus, who had travelled to France to demand an explanation, and if necessary an admission of guilt and submission for absolution. Where better for Henry to isolate himself from the two legates than in the *Ultima Thule* [the land of mist and mystery, of wonders and miracles]?', Martin, F.X., 'Overlord Becomes Feudal Lord, 1172-85', *A New History of Ireland II, Medieval Ireland 1169-1534*, ed. A. Cosgrove, (Oxford, 2008), 81.
[76] The kingdom of Leinster excluded the coastal cities of Wexford, Waterford and Dublin, which were retained as royal lands.

and he organized a reform synod at Cashel (Tipperary), with himself at its head.[77] The bishops and abbots of Ireland, present at Cashel, agreed to bring the Irish church in line with the observances of the English church.[78] This act, in effect accepted the supremacy of English church law, as well as English secular law. Finally, he granted the kingdom of Meath to Hugh de Lacy:

> 'Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou … Know that I have given and granted, and by this my charter confirmed, to Hugh de Lacy for his service, the land of Meath, with all its appurtenances by the service of 50 men to him, and his heirs, to have and to hold of me and my heirs, as Murchada [Ua Máel Sechlainn] held it, or any other before or after him'.[79]

Henry left Ireland in April 1172 to face problems in Wales and the Continent. These problems were caused partly by papal legates still in ire over the murder of Thomas Becket and partly from his son, the young king Henry, then conspiring to overthrow his father with the aid of his brothers, his barons in Normandy, and the King of France, Louis VII.[80] Before Henry sailed, he '… gave the custody of the city of Dublin and the castle and the keep[81] to baron Hugh de Lacy'.[82]

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[77] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 97, 99, 100. Neither the Irish annals nor the *Song of Dermot* refers to this synod. Diceto, 1: 350-1, stated that it was held at Lismore and implies it was in the year 1172. Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 2: 31, related that Henry sent his chaplain, Nicholas, and Ralph, archdeacon of Llandaff, with the Irish bishops to hold a council at Cashel. For evidence on the Council of Cashel, see Watt, J.A., *The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland*, (Cambridge, 1970), 39-49; Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 314 n166. Recent restoration work completed in Cormac's chapel revealed that the painting cycle in the chancel overlaid an earlier scheme. Stalley determined that the style of the visible paintings related to English paintings of the 1170s, i.e. The Copenhagen Psalter. He postulated that the paintings were probably completed by English painters at the behest of Henry II, prior to his sojourn in 1171-2. The 'infancy cycle' was a common theme in royal works, probably because it emphasised the role of the Magi. The same cycle is found on the chancel vault of Henry II's private chapel at Petit Quevilly (Seine-Maritime) in Normandy, dated to the 1160s, Stalley, R.A., 'Design and Function: the Construction and Decoration of Cormac's Chapel at Cashel', (unpublished paper from the Cashel conference, 2004). For the wall paintings at Petit-Quevilly, see Stratford, N., 'The Wall-Paintings of the Petit-Quevilly', *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rouen, BAACT 12*, ed. J. Stratford, (London, 1993), 51-9.

[78] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 101.

[79] Orpen printed Henry II's grant of Meath to Hugh de Lacy, Orpen, 105-6, transcribed from the *Gormanston Reg.*, f. 5. The grant was probably made in an attempt to halt any further expansion of Strongbow's territories north, Thunder, J.M., 'The Kingdom of Meath', *JHAAI*, 4th ser., 8 (1887), 516.

[80] Two cardinals, sent by Pope Alexander III, went to Normandy to investigate the death of Thomas Becket, Giraldus *Expugnatio*, 104.

[81] For the purposes of this thesis the terms keep, *donjon* and main or residential tower will be used interchangeably. The keep or *donjon* was a Norman introduction. The term 'keep' was only coined towards the end of the middle ages and was probably derived from the Middle English word *kipe* or 'coup'. English troops during the Hundred Years War apparently likened the round tower at Guines near Calais to that of a wooden barrel, Kenyon, J.R. and M.W. Thompson, 'The Origins of the Word 'Keep'', *Med. Arch.*, 38 (1997), 175-6. Prior to the use of the word 'keep', the same buildings were called 'towers', and more specifically 'great tower' or *donjon*. *Donjon* is derived from the Latin *dominarium*, meaning 'lordship', '… which explicitly linked the structure with the authority of the builder …', Liddiard, R., *Castles in Context: Symbolism and Landscape, 1066 to 1500*, (London, 2005), 47.

Hugh de Lacy descended from the younger branch of the family, the de Lacys of the house of Weobley. The two branches were genealogically traceable back to two brothers, Ilbert and Walter, who gave rise to the Pontefract and Herefordshire branches of the family respectively. The de Lacys [**Fig 1. 3**] hailed from Lassy (Calvados) in Normandy where they held a fee of the bishop of Bayeux, jointly.[83] Ilbert, the first lord of Pontefract and ancestor of the senior branch of the family, accompanied William the Conqueror across the channel.[84] Walter, first lord of Weobley, followed shortly after in the company of William fitz Osbern. The younger brother was given strategic lands in Herefordshire, Shropshire, Gloucestershire and the Welsh Marches, with important castles in Herefordshire at Longtown (or Ewyas Lacy), Ewyas Harold and Clifford, and the Shropshire castle at Ludlow (or Stanton Lacy).[85] Walter's obituary attests to the family's interest in architectural patronage. In 1085, Walter fell to his death from the scaffolding of the church of St. Guthlac in Hereford, allegedly while supervising its erection.[86] Although the document has no eleventh or twelfth century source, it does not preclude the fact that it once existed and it acknowledges at least the desire for particular patrons to be associated with particular buildings.

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[82] Hugh de Lacy was created *justiciar* of Ireland, in charge of the administration and enfeoffment of the king's lands in and around Dublin, *Song of Dermot*, ll. 2711-2714.

[83] A single holding was held jointly by the descendants of Ilbert I and Walter I by the '… Norman tenure of parage, under which land was divided amongst the sons and daughters whilst at the same time remaining a single fee'. Wightman argued that the holding must have been a joint one, otherwise this tenure would not have applied, and the details of the dissolution of the joint fee show that the family link must have been via Ilbert and Walter as sons of the same father. When Ilbert's son, Robert I, was banished from his English estates *c.*1114 the honour of Pontefract was granted to Hugh de Laval (*c.*1118), but King Stephen restored the estates to Robert's son, Ilbert II. This Ilbert had been banished at the same time as his father and was living on their Norman estates. The Pontefract line of the family dissolved with the death of Ilbert II's brother, Henry, and the honour succeeded to a great-grandson (Roger 'Helle') of Henry's sister, Aubry. Roger 'Helle', constable of Chester, took the name de Lacy when he inherited the honour, *PR, 7 Rich I*, 98, cited in Wightman, 55-85. The de Lacy brothers also held a fee at Campeaux (Calvados), for the service of two knights, Green, J.A., *The Aristocracy of Norman England*, (Cambridge, 1997), 44; *Recueil*, 23: 700K-701A; *BBB*, 1: 49; *RBB*, 1: 151; *CDF*, 217, cited in Wightman, 215.

[84] In the next century, the territories built up by the son and grandsons of Ilbert I in Pontefract (Yorkshire) and Clitheroe (Lancashire) would be the basis for estates of the later earls of Lincoln. This branch of the de Lacy family played a very small part in the conquest, expansion and colonisation of Ireland.

[85] Wightman, 132-5. For a recent survey of the castle and history of Ludlow, see *Ludlow: Its History and Buildings,* eds. Ron Shoesmith & Andy Johnson, (Woonton, 2000). Longtown and Ludlow stood at strategic locations for the defence against Welsh invaders into Herefordshire and Shropshire respectively. They also served as bases for English penetration into Wales. In the early twelfth century, the whole honour was known as the fee or honour of Lacy, so that the *caput* was not necessarily Weobley. In the later twelfth century, the honour consisted of three demesne castles at Ludlow, Ewyas and Weobley. In 1242-3 the honour of Weobley consisted of the lands in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, but the fees in Shropshire were only said to belong to the honour of Lacy, dependent on Ludlow, Wightman, 135-6.

[86] Wightman, 168. For the date, see *Hist. St. Peter, Gloucs.*, 1: 73. For the incident, for which there is no extant eleventh- or twelfth-century authority, see Dugdale, *Baronage*, 1: 95, cited in Wightman, 168 n4.

Walter's eldest son, Roger, succeeded him to the honour of Weobley. Within the course of a decade, Roger had been banished and the honour passed to his brother, Hugh.[87] However, Roger's son, Gilbert, was able to re-gain most of the family estates by 1148.[88] Gilbert had at least two sons, Robert and Hugh. Robert inherited the de Lacy manors from his father but by 1162 had died and was succeeded by his brother, Hugh de Lacy.[89] It was this Hugh, the first lord of Weobley's great-grandson, who became lord of Meath in 1172. Giraldus described him as follows:

> '... a swarthy man with small black deep-set eyes, a flat nose, an ugly scar on his right cheek caused by a burn, a short neck, and a hairy, sinewy body. He was short and ill-made in person, but in character firm and resolute, and of French sobriety. He was very attentive to his private affairs, and in office a most vigilant public administrator'.[90]

He proved himself an effective administrator and produced a degree of stability in Meath and Dublin. He gained the respect of the Irish and Anglo-Normans alike, and maintained a successful government, even acting as the king's representative when he met Ó Conchobhair at the River Shannon to discuss terms of peace.[91] Not only did de Lacy set out to consolidate the royal territories but he had his own lordship with which to contend. The latter was probably the more difficult of the two due to the fact that Meath was abutted on its west by the Ó Conchobhair kingship. In fact, after he built his first keep at Trim in 1174, Ruaidrí Ó Conchobhair and the Irishmen of Connacht almost immediately raised it.[92]

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[87] Wightman, 169. Walter had three sons, the youngest, also named Walter, entered the monastery of St Peter, Gloucester at the age of seven and became abbot in 1130. He died in office in February 1140, not 1139, as stated in *Hist. St. Peter, Gloucs.*, 1: 15-17, since the year was 5 Stephen (December 1139 to December 1140), Wightman, 169 n4.

[88] Wightman, 188-89. Gilbert had become a Templar by 1160 and in May of that year witnessed the treaty between Henry II and Louis VII of France, *Recueil*, 1: 253. He soon found his way to Jerusalem, where he attested a charter of Walter of Hereford (Earl Roger's younger brother) to Llanthony, and was last seen in the pages of William of Tyre fighting in the Holy Land in 1163, Cart. Lanthony A I, 1: 13; Willermi Tyrensis, I, 2: 985.

[89] Wightman, 190.

[90] Giraldus does go on to say that, '... although much experienced in military matters, he was not fortunate as a general. After his wife's death he fell into loose moral ways. He was very covetous, and immoderately ambitious of honour and renown', Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 193.

[91] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 95. It is questionable whether Ruaidrí actually submitted to Henry at this time, as other chroniclers stated that Ruaidrí refused to submit. However, if Giraldus' story is accurate, Ruaidrí did not make personal homage to Henry, and he did not leave his territory but forced Henry's two representatives to come to him. Warren discusses the vassal relationship of the king of Scotland to the king of England as analogous with the kings of England to the kings of France. As dukes of Normandy, they did homage to the kings of France, rendered military aid, but refused to pay relief and in cases of dispute would only meet the French king at the Norman border (most commonly under an elm tree in Gisors), see Warren, W.L., *Henry II*, (London, 2000 reprint), 179, 255.

[92] Hugh de Lacy '... fortified a dwelling at Trim and threw up a ditch around it and then enclosed it with a spiked stockade he then placed excellent knights and barons inside the dwelling. Then he placed his fortress

De Lacy was recalled to the King's service in Normandy in 1173, in order to aid in squashing the rebelling of the king's son. Prior to his departure he arranged for the supply of his army in Ireland, and the upkeep of his lordship.[93] He entrusted Hugh Tyrell with the charge of Trim and then '... went to the port to cross over the high seas to England'.[94] It did not take long for the king and his loyal troops to put down the rebellion and de Lacy was back in Ireland between 1174-6.[95] He was called to the king's side once again *c.*1180, this time for his marriage to a daughter of Ó Conchobhair without royal licence. His actions drew the attention of the king on suspicion that de Lacy was attempting to carve out an independent kingdom in Ireland.[96] However, the posthumous interpretation of de Lacy's marriage causing the king ire may be somewhat exaggerated. It is far more likely that Hugh's alliance with the Ó Conchobhairs was an attempt to protect the western borders of his lordship. Even if the marriage agitated the king, de Lacy did not leave Ireland without first fortifying several castles and was again *justiciar* of Ireland in the winter of 1181-2.[97]

Before his death in 1186, de Lacy had so successfully brought Meath under control that all '... the Shannon to the seas was full of castles and foreigners'.[98] Although it was suggested that some of the Irish considered de Lacy ruler of Ireland, others were not so inclined. While supervising the construction of the motte castle at Durrow, he was struck down by an Irishman with an axe. According to the *Cart. St Mary's, Dublin*: 'De Lacy at Durrow instructing an Irishman [foster-son of In Sinnach 'the Fox' Ua Catharnaig, a Meath chieftain] how to use a pickaxe and, as he bent to the ground with the instrument, with his neck exposed at an inviting angle, he received the fatal blow'.[99] Other sources confirm de

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in the charge of Hugh Tyrell', *Song of Dermot*, ll. 3221-3227. The Connacht men then came to the castle and burned it, *ibid.*, ll. 3298-3301.

[93] There is evidence in the Pipe Rolls of between 1176-1179 of his arrangements, *PR, 23 Hen II*, 36; *24 Hen II*, 38, 56; *25 Hen II*, 67, 88, cited in Wightman, 192 n2.

[94] *Al port ala pur passer Vers Engletere la haute mer*, *Song of Dermot*, ll. 3229.

[95] Orpen lists Hugh de Lacy's itinerary: at Canterbury on December 29, 1172, Giraldus, *Opera*, 6: 69. In 1173, he was recorded at Alençon in April, defending Verneuil in July, and at Caen in December. He appears to have been back in Ireland in early 1174, *Song of Dermot*, ll. 3222-31, although was at Rouen in December of the same year. In 1175, he was at Valognes in April, at Northampton in August, and at Feckenham in October. In 1176 he was at Shrewsbury in January and at Winchester in April. He was recorded at Reading in April 1177 and at the Council of Oxford in May 1177, Eyton, cited in Orpen, 171 n3.

[96] Orpen, 172, 177. Giraldus related that de Lacy was strongly suspected of wanting to throw off his allegiance and usurp the government of the kingdom, and with it the crown and sceptre, Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 191. William of Newburgh related that de Lacy was aspiring to rule Ireland, William of Newburg, 1: 239-40. After Prince John's disastrous visit to Ireland he reported to Henry II that de Lacy prevented the Irish kings from sending him [John] either tribute or hostages, *AFM*, 1185.

[97] Orpen, 176; Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 195

[98] *AFM*, 1186; *ALC*, 1186.

[99] *Cart. St Mary's, Dublin*, 2: 305. Other Irish annals and contemporary chroniclers also record his death at Durrow by an Irishman decapitating him with an axe, *ALC*; *AFM*; *AU*, 1186; Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 2:

Lacy's decapitation at Durrow while supervising the construction of a castle. His head, having rolled into the ditch, was not reunited with his body for nearly twenty years. In 1195, Matthew, archbishop of Cashel, and John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, transferred his body to Bective abbey (Meath). For unknown reasons his head was deposited at St. Thomas Abbey, Dublin.[100] After a long dispute, and an appeal to the pope in 1205, his body was reunited with his head in Dublin. The final resting place of his body must have been prized not only for the burial payment and mortuary fee, but also the status of the abbey.[101] Just as his great-grandfather's death was associated with building works, so too does de Lacy's assassination imply an interest in the actual erection of buildings. The raising of a castle had a direct impact on a secular patron because it was from there that he conducted his private and public life. What about monastic complexes and churches, were the patrons intimately involved? It may well have been self-interest that had Walter carelessly walking the scaffolding of St Guthlac's church when he fell, and this interest could well have played a key part in the manifestation of his patronage.

Besides the castle of Durrow and his *caput* at Trim, Hugh was involved in extensive castle building in north Leinster, in and around Dublin, and throughout Meath. De Lacy's own mottes included the seignorial manors at Ratoath (Meath), Clonard (Meath, 1182), Kells (Meath), Drogheda (Louth), Duleek (Meath), Killare (Westmeath), Durrow (Meath), Fore (Westmeath), Kilmore (Cavan) and Nobber (Meath).[102] Near his castle at Fore he granted

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309; *Gesta Hen.*, I, 350, 361; Diceto, 2: 626; William of Newburgh recalls that the news of Hugh's death was welcomed by Henry II, William of Newburg, 1: 239-40.

[100] Grace's Annals, 1195; Laud MS. Annals, in *Cart. St. Mary's, Dublin*, 2: 307.

[101] *Reg. St. Thomas, Dublin*, 348-52. Golding assumed that the reason for a monastery's desire for patronial burials was '… one of straightforward benefactions; that is the monk's thought that possession of their patrons' bodies would lead to increased benefactions from those families, even though he showed that such a belief was largely mistaken and often in the teeth of bitter disputes between the patron and the convent', Golding, B., 'Burials and Benefactions: An Aspect of Monastic Patronage in Thirteenth-Century England', *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. W.M. Ormrod, (Woodbridge, 1985), 64-75. Daniell takes a similar approach in *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066-1550*, (London, 1997), chapter 4. Hall suggested that 'perhaps just as patrons saw their houses as loci of family identity and piety rather than merely the object of charity, so convents saw the burials of their patrons not entirely or even at all in terms of money. Dynastic burial may have been closely associated with the identity of the abbey itself … patronial burials must have been important in establishing the status of the abbey both in terms of affirming the power of that convent's prayers for the dead and in terms of giving the abbot more clout in his secular dealings', Hall, J., 'Croxden Abbey Church: Architecture, Burial and Patronage', *JBAA*, 160 (2007), 91.

[102] Hugh de Lacy gave the tithes of Ratoath to the abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin before 1183, *Reg. St. Thomas, Dublin*, 280, cited in Orpen, 180. Clonard was the episcopal seat of Meath until Simon de Rochford, the first Anglo-Norman bishop of Meath (1198-1224), moved it to Newtown Trim, where he founded the cathedral with Augustinian chapter. Orpen suggests that it was *c.*1200 that the episcopal seat was moved, after the Irish burnt Clonard, Orpen, 201. According to *AU*, in 1176, the castle at Kells was under construction when Cinel Owen razed it, *AU*, 1176. The castle at Drogheda was probably built to protect the coastal entrance to de Lacy's lordship. The castle was first mentioned in 1203, when John gave '… to Nicholas de Verdun the custody of the [castle of the] bridge of Drogheda, as it was in the king's hand and as

the early Irish monastery with its mills to the Benedictines of St Taurin, Évreux (Eure).[103] The very fact that a major endowment was made to a Norman monastery indicates how much de Lacy was tied to his Norman ancestry. While it was not completely unusual for Irish barons to endow a Norman house, it was not typical either. The family's continued association with the house at Évreux is illustrated by the story that Hugh de Lacy's sons spent their exile at the abbey. The anecdote continued that the abbot played a role in the resurrection of the de Lacys' careers.[104]

Although these two sons, Walter and Hugh II, played major roles in the historical narrative of Ireland in the early thirteenth century, Hugh de Lacy had at least five children. Four of these offspring were products of his first marriage to Roheis de Monemue (Rose of Monmouth).[105] His second wife, a daughter of Ó Conchobhair, delivered to him at least one other child, William Gorm. Walter, his eldest son, succeeded to the de Lacy lands in Ireland, England, Wales and Normandy. Although John made a grant of Meath to Walter during the reign of Richard I, Walter did not gain seisin of the Irish estates until 1194 (he was probably a minor at the time of his father's death).[106] De Lacy's son, Hugh II, became earl of Ulster after successfully expelling de Courcy and was involved in excursions in Connacht and Ulster with his half brother, William.

Nicholas's father [Bertram de Verdun] held it', which had been erected by Hugh de Lacy, *CDI*, 1: no. 185. The castle was taken into royal custody in 1210 and never returned but the de Lacy family continued to receive compensation confirming that it was originally a de Lacy castle, *CDI*, 1: no. 952 (13 August 1220); Orpen, 182. Duleek was later an important manor of Theobald de Verdun, who succeeded the de Lacys to the moiety of Meath (being a seignorial manor throughout), Orpen, 181. Killare appears to have been the original principle seat of the lordship of West Meath but was burned in 1187 and replaced by Ballymore Lough Sewdy as the principal seignorial manor, *AFM*, 187, cited in Orpen, 182. Kilmore, near Lough Oughter (Cavan) was restored in Walter de Lacy in 1215, and was at that time a seignorial castle, *Rot. Pat.*, 17 John, 148b, cited in Orpen, 297. Hugh de Lacy had granted the barony of Morgallion (Nobber) to Gilbert de Nangle (or de Angulo), *Song of Dermot*, ll. 3142-3, but the castle reverted to Walter in 1196 and he granted it to his brother Hugh, *Gormanston Reg.*, f. 188, cited in Orpen, 183. For a study of the mottes of the Norman liberty of Meath, see Graham, B.J., 'The Mottes of the Norman Liberty of Meath', *Irish Midland Studies, Essays in Commemoration of N.W. English*, ed. H. Murtagh, (Athlone, 1980), 39-56. For a complete list of the mottes built by Hugh de Lacy, see Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 191, 195. For a discussion of the sub-infeudation of Meath, see Orpen, 180-86.

[103] *CDF*, 1: 105.

[104] For the story on how Walter and Hugh de Lacy fled to France, see *Book of Howth*; Butler, *Trim*.

[105] Hugh de Lacy married first a woman named Rose, the widow of Baderon of Monmouth, who was related to Strongbow, *Reg. St. Thomas, Dublin*, 13, 420. Baderon had been a benefactor of Monmouth priory, and had granted them three forges and the right to use wood for charcoal, Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.*, 4: 596. De Lacy later became a benefactor of the priory and he made a similar grant to the monks at Llanthony, Wightman, 206.

[106] Gormanston Reg., f. 5 dors; For Richard's confirmatory grant, see *ibid.*, f.5, cited in Orpen, 195. '*Walterus de Lacy receipt dominum de Media et Petrum Pipard justitiarium cum suis militibus deprehendit*', Marlburgh's Chron., 1194; *L'Histoire*, ll. 10297-304, cited in Orpen, 195 n6.

John de Courcy, princeps Ultoniae

At the Council of Oxford in May 1177, King Henry increased his grip on Ireland. His youngest son, John, was made *dominus Hiberniae,* excluding only the Ó Conchobhair lands in Connacht. His other major grants included the bestowal of Desmond (Cork) upon Robert fitz Stephen and Miles de Cogan and Thomond (Limerick) to several knights; later in the same year the latter was given to Philip de Braose.[107] Furthermore, it is likely that a speculative grant of Ulster was made to John de Courcy for in that same year he marched north from Dublin and conquered [east] *Uluestere.* De Courcy had arrived in Ireland in 1176 with fitz Stephen and de Cogan (lords of Desmond). The main branch of the de Courcys in England held estates in Somerset, centred at Stogursey. Duffy described him as a '... knight, landless or nearly so, a younger son, and probably illegitimate'.[108] This, however, has been recently disputed by Flanders, who has shown him to be an eldest son but of a cadet branch of the family.[109] His great-great grandfather, Richard de Courcy, was at the battle of Hastings with William the Conqueror and for his service was granted several small manors in Oxfordshire.[110] One of Richard's younger sons, William, established the Stogursey branch of the family [for the de Courcy family tree see **Fig 1. 4**]. He served as a *dapifer* (steward) for Henry I and later increased his wealth to twenty-five knights' fees spread throughout several counties (but centred at Stoke Courcy). This was primarily the result of his marriage to Emma, daughter and co-heiress of William de Falaise of Stoke (Somerset).[111]

John de Courcy's relationship to William, first lord of Stogursey, was that of a grandson. Contrary to pervious interpretations where John was considered the second son of William II, he was, in fact, the eldest son of William II's younger brother, Jordan.[112] He seems to have been almost landless, apart from a small manorial estate in Middleton Cheney

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[107] Desmond was granted to fitz Stephen and Miles de Cogan for the service of sixty knights. The charter is printed in Littleton's Hen II (App. III to vol. v) from Ware, and translated in Harris's Ware, *Antiquities*, 194, cited in Orpen, 163. Thomond was granted to de Braose for the service of sixty knights, *Gesta Hen.* 1: 172; Roger Hoevden, 2: 133-6, cited in Orpen, 164.

[108] Duffy, S., 'The First Ulster Plantation: John de Courcy and the Men of Cumbria', *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland: Essays Presented to J.F. Lydon*, eds. T.B. Barry, R. Frame, and K. Simms, (London, 1995), 3.

[109] Flanders, *De Courcy.*

[110] His great grandfather, Richard de Courcy, came to England with William the Conqueror, *Doomesday Book.* This Richard was identified by Lyte as the one who slain many Englishmen at the battle of Hastings, and is called by the chronicler steward (*le seneschal*) of Courcy.

[111] Lyte, H.C.M., 'Curci', *PSANHS*, 66 (1920), 102; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, 224.

[112] William II de Courcy, died in 1155. For the new genealogy of the John de Courcy, see Flanders, *De Courcy,* 127-65, 181.

(Northamptonshire), which he held via his maternal relatives.[113] For him, as with many a landless knight, Ireland presented an opportunity to gain his own estates and build his fortune. The lands in and around Wales held such prospects only a century earlier. 'By the time of Henry II, however, Wales offered fewer opportunities to the families that had made it a centre of their interests'.[114] For them, Ireland opened up new prospects for fame, land and power and de Courcy fit the description of the heroic adventurer:

> '... fair-haired and tall, with bony and sinewy limbs. His frame was lanky and he had a very strong physique, immense bodily strength, and an extraordinarily bold temperament. From his youth he was a man of courage and a born fighter, always in the front line, always taking upon himself the greater share of the danger'.[115]

Although little is known about his activities in England priory to 1177, his family had long served as stewards and seneschals of the English kings and Norman dukes. A great-uncle, Robert de Courcy (lordship of Courcy-sur-dives and ancestor of both the Courcy family in Yorkshire and in Normandy) was a royal steward to Henry I, a justice of Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, and in 1152 a justice or steward of Henry, Duke of Normandy.[116] Considerable trust must have been laid upon the de Courcys, so it is unsurprising that '... [Henry] gave Ulster to one John providing that he could conquer it by force'.[117] The medieval lordship of Ulster (*c.*1177-1204) consisted chiefly of the modern counties of Down and Antrim, from the east coast to the River Bann. John de Courcy continued to make incursions west of the Bann into Armagh, Tyrone, Derry and even Connacht right up until the end.[118] In the wake of his grant, John gathered a small band of followers, consisting of '... twenty-two knights and about three hundred others ...' and marched north through Meath.[119] When he arrived at Down he took the town almost immediately.[120] His conquest became legendary, a legend, however, that he very likely propagated himself. Silvester of Celidon

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[113] Flanagan, M.T., 'John de Courcy, the first Ulster plantation, and Irish Church Men', *Britain and Ireland, 900-1300*, ed. B. Smith (Cambridge, 1999), 154.
[114] Frame, R., *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369*, (Dublin, 1981), 6.
[115] Giraldus, *Expugnatio,* 179-181.
[116] Lyte, 'Curci', *PSANHS*, 66 (1920), 103-4.
[117] *Song of Dermot*, ll. 2731-2734.
[118] John de Courcy and the English of Ireland made an incursion into Connaught, accompanied by Conchobar Ua nDiarmata Ó Conchobhair (illegitimate son of Ruaidrí, *d.*1189). Conchobar Máenmaige Ó Conchobhair (king of Connacht, 1183-9) assembled all the chieftains of Connaught, who were joined by Domnall Mór Ó Briain (king of Munster, 1168-94), at the head of some of the men of Munster, *AFM,* 1188/ Armagh was plundered by De Courcy and the English of Ireland, *AFM*, 1189. De Courcy and Hugh de Lacy II marched with an army to conquer the English of Leinster and Munster, *AFM*, 1195. De Courcy led an army into Tyrone, where the churches, Ardstraw and Raphoe were plundered and destroyed. He afterwards went to Derry, where he destroyed Inishowen and the country. He retreated after Hugh O'Neill sailed with five ships to Killi [...] in Latharna, burned a part of the town, and killed eighteen of the English, *AFM*, 1198.
[119] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 175.
[120] *AFM*, 1177.

prophesised '... a white knight, astride a white horse, bearing a device of birds on his shield, will be the first to enter Ulaid and overrun it with hostile intent'.[121] His legend was further enhanced with the apparent existence of the 'prophecies' of Columcille, which recounted '... a poor and needy man, a fugitive, so to speak, from other lands [would] come to Down with a small army and capture the place'.[122] De Courcy knew well the power of propaganda; it is told that he himself carried a copy of these prophesies as a '... mirror of his own deeds'.[123]

Conquest required settlement, the establishment of towns and the colonising of them with affable residents. No new estate could be run effectively without willing tenants. As such, more and more Anglo-Normans arrived on Irish shores. Just as de Lacy and Strongbow (and later William Marshal) had granted Irish manors to knights from the areas of England to which they were affiliated, so too did de Courcy.[124] However, unlike Strongbow and de Lacy, who held important manors in the Welsh Marches, de Courcy was an almost landless knight, a *pauperum et mendicum*, who hailed from northern England, where his father administered the de Courcy Meschin estates.[125] When de Courcy began the sub-infeudation of Ulster, he did not invite men from the West Country, as had been the case with much of Leinster and Meath, but rather knights and settlers who came, overwhelmingly, from Cumbria.[126]

There were, however, other instances where de Courcy acted with consistency in relation to the actions of his fellow lords; one such action was his alliance with a powerful family through marriage. About the same year that de Lacy was attempting to ensure his western

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[121] Merlin of Caermerthen wrote in the later fifth century; the prophecies of Columbkille were allegedly written in the sixth century, and read: '... pauper and beggar, a fugitive from another country would come to Down and take possession of the Down ... he chanced to be riding a white horse and he displayed painted eagles on his shield', Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 175. De Courcy's arms were 3 griphs or peires files, crowned, Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 332 n299. On a confirmation charter to the church of St Andrew, William de Courcy IV was marked with a seal showing an eagle, Lyte, 'Curci', *PSANHS*, 66 (1920), 112.

[122] He spoke of a battle were '... the slaughter of the townspeople would be so great that their enemies would wade up to their knees in their blood', Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 177; Lydon, J., *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages*, (Dublin, 2003), 61. There is no evidence that the prophecies ever existed, and were probably fabricated by de Courcy, Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 333 n307.

[123] *Ibid.*, 177.

[124] For the Cambro-Norman and other settlement in Leinster, see Eagar, B., 'The Cambro Normans and the Lordship of Leinster', *Settlement and Society in Medieval Ireland, Studies Presented to F.X. Martin*, ed. J. Bradley, (Kilkenny, 1988). 193-206 and Bradley, J., 'Planned Anglo-Norman towns in Ireland', *The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe: Ireland, Wales, Denmark, Germany, Poland and Russia, 2*, eds. H.B. Clarke and A. Simms, (Oxford, 1985), 2: 411-67.

[125] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 176-7, cited in Flanagan, 'John de Courcy', 154. Flanders, S., *De Courcy, Anglo-Normans in Ireland, England and France in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, (Dublin, 2008), 128-9.

[126] Cumbria refers primarily to the modern counties of Cumberland and Westmorland. For de Courcy's Cambrian associations, see Duffy, 'The First Ulster Plantation', 4 and Lawlor, H.C., 'The Vassals of the Earls of Ulster', *UJA* 4 (1941), 23-6.

borders against the Ó Conchobhairs, de Courcy formed an alliance with Godred, King of Man, by marrying his daughter, Affreca. This marriage not only ensured the aid of the vast fleet from the Isle of Man, it also afforded him a greater support for his expansion, colonisation and consolidation of Ulster. [127]

De Courcy spent nearly twenty-five years as lord of Ulster, building castles and endowing new religious houses, many with, like the men in his retinue, connections to the north of England. His support of the church and consequently the church's support of him were directly related to his success in the north of Ireland. One of his first religious benefactions was the introduction into the cathedral at Down, of Benedictine monks from St. Werburgh, Chester (Cheshire). In 1185, de Courcy granted 10 carucates of land to Chester in order to establish a community of Benedictine monks free from all subjection to Chester.[128] It was unusual for an Irish cathedral to be manned with a monastic chapter. Apart from the Augustinians introduced at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin and the cathedral priory founded by Simon Rochford, bishop of Meath, at Newtown Trim (Meath) in 1202, no other Irish cathedral in the middle ages had a monastic house associated with it. This act enabled him to retain the eminence of the cathedral while creating a community of English affiliation, staffed with churchmen more likely to support his political policies.

In addition, de Courcy changed the dedication of the cathedral from *ecclesia S. Trinitatis de Dun* (The Church of the Holy Trinity of Down) to *ecclesia S. Patricii de Dune* (The Church of St. Patrick of Down). This was part of an attempt to promote the cult of St. Pádraig, an act of propaganda to legitimize his authority. It is recounted that he uncovered the bodies of SS Pádraig, Brigid and Columcille and translated their remains to the new cathedral of Downpatrick in 1185-6.[129] 'John [then commissioned] a new Life of St. Pádraig [written by] Jocelin, [who] was virtually a biographer by profession, but it was

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[127] Through his wife, he could also claim relationship with the lord of Galloway in Scotland, to whose son Duncan he gave extensive lands along the Bann in 1197. His wife was also related to Somerled, the lord of Argyll, who also possessed a fleet, Lydon, J., 'John de Courcy (*c.*1150-1219) and the Medieval Frontier', *Worsted in the Game*, ed. C. Brady, (1989), 45.

[128] William de Etleshale was the first prior of the re-dedicated cathedral and it is said that the monastic cathedral was greatly endowed, *Down, Connor and Dromore*, 1847; Gwynn and Hadcock, 105.

[129] Grialdus, *Expugnatio*, 235. The liturgical office for the 'feast of the translation' came to be held on June 9. *AFM*, 1185 attributed the discovery of the bodies to Bishop Malachy III of Armagh, who held night vigils until the spot that should be dug was revealed to him. The *AU* recorded the bodies found in both 1185 and in 1293 by Nicholas Mac Marlisa. Although both 'discoveries' may well have been fabricated; the first to promote de Courcy as the hero of prophecy, the second to counteract that legend by an anti-English bishop of Armagh, *AFM*, 1193, cited in Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 353 n479.

almost certainly his association with Furness that recommended him to de Courcy'.[130] Jocelin dedicated the book to 'John de Courcy, prince of Ulster', a self-proclaimed prince who even minted his own coinage.[131]

His legendary career is now associated as much with his fall as with his rise. However great de Courcy's achievements were that enabled him to rise from virtual obscurity, he was not able to hold onto his position. It was not his death that brought an end to his rule, although he had no legitimate male heir in any case, but rather the outmanoeuvring of a former ally.[132] Two figures played a key role in de Courcy's downfall: the first was the always suspicious King John, and the second was the ever-ambitious Hugh II de Lacy. It is rumoured that de Courcy criticised the king for the murder of his nephew, Arthur of Brittany, in order to take the question of succession off the table.[133] Whatever the reason, Hugh II successfully conspired to expel de Courcy and for his efforts was girdled with the comital title of earl of Ulster.[134] In May 1205, '... the king by one decree had stripped de Courcy of his lands and created Hugh II earl of Ulster'.[135] Hugh de Lacy was granted:

> 'The lands of Ulster and its appurtenances, to hold as John de Courcy had held it on the day when or the day before Hugh de Lacy defeated him in the field [September 1204], saving to the King Episcopal investiture and rendering to the King the service of one knight for every cantred'.[136]

De Courcy would eventually regain favour with the king and accompanied him to Ireland in 1210 in order to expel the de Lacy brothers.[137] But he would never again regain his lordship and died in relative obscurity before September 1219 when Affreca was granted her dower lands in Middleton.[138]

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[130] Jocelin was a member of the Cistercian community at Furness. Duffy, S., 'First Ulster Plantation', 9. For Jocelin's life of St Pádraig, see O'Leary, J., ed., *The Most Ancient Lives of St. Patrick Including the Life by Jocelin, Hitherto Unpublished in America, and his Writings*, (Project Guttenburg).

[131] Messingham, *Florilegium,* 2; Colgan, ed., *Acta Sanctorum*, 536; *Johanne de Curci regnante in Ulvestree*, Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 4: 162. A hoard of 1115 coins was found near Newry, co. Down in 1857 and 264 of them were pressed with the name of St. Pádraig (*Patricii de duno*) and John de Courcy (*GAONDQURCI*). These are now in the Down Museum, Downpatrick, Dolley, M., *Medieval Anglo-Irish Coins*, (London, 1972), 2-5.

[132] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 181.

[133] Lydon, 'John de Courcy', 45; Lawlor, H.C., 'The Vassals of the Earls of Ulster', *UJA*, 3 (1941), 18.

[134] John de Courcy was allegedly captured in Downpatrick Cathedral, *AFM*, 1203.

[135] De Courcy was still in Ireland until November 1207 when the king granted him safe passage to England to stay with friends, Martin, F.X., 'John, Lord of Ireland, 1185-1216', *A New History of Ireland, II, 1169-1543*, ed. A. Cosgrove, (Oxford, 1987), 136.

[136] Lawlor, 'The Vassals of the Earls of Ulster', 18. A grant to Hugh de Lacy of all the lands of Ulster, '... whereof the King belted him earl; to hold of the King in fee as John de Courcy ... rendering the service of 1 knight for every cantred ...',*CDI*, 2: no. 263 (May 29, 1205).

[137] Irish Pipe Roll

[138] Otway-Ruthven, J., 'Dower Charter of John de Courcy's Wife', *UJA,* 3rd ser., 12 (1949), 78-80.

William Marshal, *dominus Lageniae et comes Penbroc*

When Prince John was created *dominus Hiberniae* he was only ten years old, unable to cross the sea to consolidate his new lordship.[139] His first journey to Ireland took place in 1185, but even then, his ability to fortify his position was unsuccessful. Although his expedition has been considered a failure, even to his contemporaries, he did endeavour to make several landed grants to young knights in his retinue.[140] These enabled him to counterbalance the older invaders with men from his court. The estates were located primarily in the royal demesne of Dublin and in the province of Leinster, its lordship having been vacant since the death of Strongbow in 1176. These awards included a grant to Theobald Walter (ancestor of the Butler family) of approximately the modern county of Tipperary.[141] The very fact that some of the estates imparted upon John's friends were located in Leinster was to prove a problem when the heiress, Isabel de Clare, was married to William Marshal in 1189. John was reluctant to rescind control to William; however, in 1190, through the intervention of Richard I, John conceded on the condition that Theobald retained his grant.[142]

Just as de Courcy made his way as the son of a minor noble, so too did William. His rise from the anonymity of knighthood has proven a greater and longer lasting legend than that of de Courcy before him. Marshal's eldest son, William the younger, commissioned the composition of the first non-royal vernacular biography that survives (*c.*1226): *L'Histoire.*[143] William was a son of John Marshal, the king's marshal in England, by his

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[139] John was created *Dominus Hiberniae* in 1177 at the Council of Oxford.

[140] Giraldus described this first expedition as a failure for several reasons. First, the Irish chieftains allegedly mocked his youth and inexperience. When John arrived in Waterford and was received by several Irish chieftains, instead of greeting them with dignity and acceptance, it is said that the, 'Normans treated them with contempt and derision, and showing them scant respect, pulled some of them about by the beards, which were large and glowing according to the native custom', Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 237, 338 n350; *AFM*, 1185; William of Newburgh, 1: 239-40. John was probably unable to assert his control because of the adept administration and control that de Lacy had already established. He is said to have returned home to his father complaining of de Lacy and his interference. Many of the Irish already considered Hugh de Lacy to be in command when the 'son of the king of the Saxons came', Martin, F.X., 'Overlord Becomes Feudal Lord', 125.

[141] He was the ancestor of the Butlers and the later earls of Ormond.

[142] Richard insisted that Walter should hold his grant as William's vassal, *History*, ll. 9582-9616; Painter, S., *William Marshal, Knight-Errant, Baron, and Regent of England*, (Baltimore, 1933), 80; Crouch, D., *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219*, (London, 2002), 70

[143] The poem was composed by 'Johans' and primarily based on the personal recollections of John of Early, William's squire from 1188. It is interesting to note that the French used in the poem is Continental and not Insular, implying that the Marshal's were still very much attached to their Norman estates at least into the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The only surviving manuscript is located in the New York Pierpont Morgan Library M 888 (formerly Phillipps 25155) and has been published by Paul Meyer *Société de l'Histoire de France*, vols. 255, 268, 304, (Paris, 1891, 1894, 1901). It has been recently translated into English, Holden, A.J., ed., *History of William Marshal*, trans. S. Gregory and historical notes by D. Crouch, (3 vols., London, 2002). William Marshal was also is a prominent character in Shakespear's *King John.*

second wife [**Fig 1. 5**]. The minor land holdings owned by the Marshal family in England passed to William's elder brother John.[144] Although his family held some estates in Wiltshire, he spent much of his youth and young adulthood in Normandy, first as a squire in the household of the de Tancarvilles (a relative on his mother's side). He was later present at the coronation of the young king Henry and entrusted by Henry II as his tutor and counsel.[145] In fact, it was William himself who '... girded the sword of a knight on his young master'.[146] William spent most of his youth travelling the countryside, increasing both his wealth and prestige through his courageous and knightly deeds in tournaments.[147]

Before the young Henry died, he asked Marshal to fulfil his crusader's vow. 'Marshal, you have always been loyal and faithful. I leave you my cross and pray you to carry it to the Holy Sepulchre'.[148] William spent two years in the Holy Land where he became closely associated with the Templars; he was eventually buried in Temple Church, London.[149] Upon his return from crusade, Henry II conferred upon him an estate in Cartmel (Lancashire) in fief.[150] There he founded an Augustinian priory and colonised it with canons from Bradenstoke (Wiltshire), a priory that had been favoured by his family.[151] He further acknowledged his Wiltshire heritage with the retention of two knights, before 1188, from Wiltshire: William Waleran and Geoffrey fitz Robert.[152] About the same time he was given the custody of the minor, John of Early, who later acted as the main informant to William's biographer.[153]

Henry II further improved the Marshal's position with the promise of the hand of Isabel de Clare, the second richest heiresses in England.[154] Although the marriage had not been officially granted at the time of Henry's death, Richard I confirmed the grant upon his

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[144] Although, William came into the possession of the family lands when his brother predeceased him.
[145] *History*, ll. 1939-1948, cited in Painter, *op. cit.,* 31.
[146] *History*, ll. 2084-2092, cited in Painter, *op. cit.*, 35.
[147] He is later in possession of a fife in Flanders and it may have been granted to him during his youthful days at tournament, *Rot. Chart.*, 46a, cited in Painter, *op. cit.*, 49.
[148] *History*, ll. 6891-6911, cited in Painter, *op. cit.*, 54.
[149] *History*, ll. 7275-7295. He purchased two silken cloths that were to serve as cover for his corpse, *ibid*, ll. 18217-18226.
[150] William owed the service of one knight's fee to Prince John for his grant of Cartmel, as Richard had previously given the honour of Lancaster to his brother, to which Cartmel belonged. Benedict of Peterborough, 2: 75; *ELC*, 343-4; *PR, 34 Hen III*, xxxviii, 50, cited in Painter, *op. cit.*, 61, 79.
[151] In fact, it was in the priory of Bradenstoke that his father was later buried, *ELC*, 433-5, cited in Painter, *op. cit.*, 80.
[152] Geoffrey fitz Robert was later his seneschal in Ireland. The foundation charter of Cartmel is lost but copies exist in the British Library, Harley charters 51 H 2, 83 B 38. It mention's William's wife and so must date to after his marriage but before the death of his brother John Marshal, as he is a witness, Crouch, *William Marshal*, 73.
[153] John was the son of William of Earley, a minor baron of Somerset and Berkshire, *ibid.*, 59.
[154] *History*, ll. 8303-8305, cited in Painter, *op. cit.*, 66.

succession.[155] In 1189, William travelled to London to collect his prize, the hand of Isabel de Clare.[156] He married Isabel, '... the good, the fair, the wise, the courteous lady of high degree ...', with all the pomp and circumstance a marriage of such high estate required.[157] His marriage brought him infinitely more castles and estates than would have been the case had he been his father's heir.[158] He came to possess the castles and estates at Orbec and Meullers in Normandy, as well as Usk in the Welsh marches, the lordships of Longueville, Striguil (65 knight fees), Pembroke and Leinster, and all the possessions those entailed.[159] In Normandy, William granted lands to the priory at Longueville in his demesne manor, just as he would later grant Irish lands to monasteries in England.[160] Through one matrimonial ceremony, he went from a minor landholder to a dominant baron in the Welsh Marches and Ireland. His first expedition to Ireland occurred in *c.*1200/01, and it was during this voyage that William found himself in rough waters, promising to found a monastery if he were to survive the crossing.[161] This led to the foundation of Tintern *de Voto* (Wexford), a monastery for Cistercian monks. He was not long in Ireland on his first

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[155] *History*, ll. 8303-8310.
[156] *History*, ll. 9515-6, cited in Painter, *op. cit.*, 76.
[157] *History*, ll. 9537-9550; Painter, *op. cit.* 76; Crouch, *op. cit.*, 63.
[158] Although William had acquired wealth far outweighing that of his brother, William inherited the Marshal family estates and the dignity of the marshal office when his elder brother John died in 1194. These manors included Wexcombe and Bedwin (Wiltshire) and Bosham (Sussex), *Cartae Antiquae*, C 52; Speen (Berkshire), *History,* ll. 10062; *PR, 2 Richard I*, 39: 121; Inkberrow (Worcestershire), *CPR, 1354-1358*, 197; *CPR, 1327-1341*, 337; Upleden (Herefordshire), *Book of Fees*, 100; among some other small holdings, Painter, *op. cit.*, 104.
[159] William took the opportunity to acquire one-half of the honour of Giffard, which comprised half of the barony of Longueville with the castles of Longueville and Meullers and the service of forty or fifty knights. For his Norman estates he owned five knights to the duke's army, Painter, *op. cit*, 78. Pembroke occupied the lowlands between the western arm of Carmarthen bay and St Bride's bay, with certain claims in the highlands north toward the river Teife, *ibid.*, 77 n61.
[160] St-Vaast-d'Equiqueville, *Chartes de Longueville*, 105, cited in Crouch, *William Marshal*, 68. William also gained the smaller manors of Weston (Herefordshire), Chesterford (Essex) and Badgworth (Gloucestershire), *PR, 31-34 Henry II*, cited in Painter, *op. cit.*, 77. William increased his estates by purchasing the demesne manors of Crendon (Buckinghamshire) and Caversham (Oxfordshire) and the service of forty-three knights for the sum of two thousand marks, *Red Book of the Exchequer*, 633. For the Marshal share of the honour of Gifford see Inquisition of 1242-3, *Book of Fees*, 637-1138, cited in Painter, *op. cit.*, 78.
[161] During the summer of 1200 William was the king's chief representative in the district of Pays de Caux in Normandy. *Rot. Normanniae*, 23, cited in Painter, *op. cit.*, 128. Between September 1200 and March 1201 William drops out of the king's entourage. Since he appeared in May 1201 as lord of Pembroke, we can reasonably suggest he must have gone during this hiatus to take the homage from his men. From Pembroke it was a quick crossing to Waterford or Dublin. The Annals of Ireland refer to his crossing through 'a day and a night' of stormy seas, before reaching Wexford harbour and his vow to found a monastery if he should cross safely. In June 1203 the bishop of Ferns dedicated the cemetery of William's other Cistercian foundation in Ireland, Duiske, which he had already made some purchases of land for. He could only have made plans for Duiske in 1200-1, as he could not have been in Ireland in the interim, *Cart. St Mary's, Dublin*, 2: 307-8; Chart. Duiske, 14, 16, 24. The formal foundation charters of Tintern and Duiske are all later, dating between 1207 and 1212, but such delays were not unusual. Further evidence of his stay in Leinster and his contacts with his tenants there may be found in a charter of King John dated 1 March 1202 which confirms to the Leinster baron, Adam of Hereford, concessions in Ireland recently made to him by the Marshal, *Ormond Deeds*, 13-14, cited in Crouch, *op. cit.*, 88 n39.

visit and was not in residence until 1207; in essence, he was a lord *in absentia* for his first eighteen years.

For the last decade of the twelfth century and into the early part of the thirteenth century, William was primarily concerned with his estates in England, Wales and Normandy (although he did send men to Leinster in his interest). One reason for his absence from Ireland was on account of the Third Crusade, led by Richard I of England and Philip Augustus of France. Richard left William and three other barons in charge of the administration and safety of the Angevin Empire.[162] He was later instrumental in negotiations for the king's release from captivity, taken hostage by Leopold, duke of Austria, in 1192 upon his return from the Holy Land. William was particularly active in securing the required ransom.[163] After the king's return to England in 1194, William spent the next five years on his Norman estates, making only three visits to England in order to manage his English affairs. Richard died in 1199, but John's succession was not without its advantages for William, at least in the beginning. It was John who, on the day of, or just prior to, his coronation, girded William with the comital sword, and the title *Comes Penbroc.*[164]

During the first five years of John's reign William continued to be intensely active in Normandy with the defence of the lordship against Philip Augustus. After the loss of Normandy in 1204, most Anglo-Norman barons were forced to choose between the two monarchs. In general terms, they followed their own self-interests, i.e. no baron with greater estates in England went over to Philip and visa-versa.[165] However, William was among several barons with considerable possessions in Normandy and was not easily reconciled to the possible loss of revenue.[166] Marshal asked and was granted permission to

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[162] Benedict of Peterborough, 2: 101, 106; Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 3: 16, 28; Diceto, 2: 83, 91.
[163] A letter was allegedly sent to Philip Augustus by Henry of Hohenstaufen, Holy Roman Emperor informing him of Richard's capture, Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 3: 195-6.
[164] Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 4: 90. The rank of earl's sole pecuniary attribute was his right to the third penny of the pleas in the county court. As Pembroke was a county palatine in which he was entitled to all the proceeds of the government, the comital rank merely increased his prestige, Painter, *William Marshal*, 122. William is listed as *Comes Penbroc* in a charter of King John dated 20 June 1199, *Rot. Chart., 1199-1216*, 79. His only charter where his title differs is that to Bradenstoke priory (the original survives: Wiltshire Record Office Ailesbury/Savernake deeds 9/15/1), where he referred to as *comes Penbrocsir[e]*, Crouch, *William Marshal*, 86 n36. William's grant of the title of *comes* was probably in response to the central role he played in gaining support in both Normandy and England for John, as the younger brother, rather than Arthur of Brittany, son of the older brother, Geoffrey, as candidate for the throne in 1199. The *History* implies that Marshal '... calculated on John's initial weakness ...' as a means of gaining and increasing his power, Crouch, *William Marshal*, 85.
[165] Painter, *op. cit.*, 137.
[166] William made a deal with the French king, he paid the king five hundred marks and surrendered his castles of Orbec, Longeuville and Meullers on the condition that he would have one year to pay homage to

do the required homage to Philip for his Norman territories.[167] Although John had given consent, Marshal's oath of allegiance to Philip aroused John's ire.[168] In attempting to retain his possessions on both sides of the channel, Marshal created for himself an uncomfortable and precarious situation in the English court.[169]

While the king's anger may have persuaded William to travel to Ireland it was also the actions of the Irish *justiciar*, Meiler fitz Henry, in seizing one of his castles, that led William to ask permission to leave for Ireland. With permission granted in 1207, William and Isabel set sail and remained there almost constantly until 1213.[170] John also issued him a new charter for his possessions in Leinster about that time, which lends to the notion that the Marshal was not on the best of terms with the king. The charter imposed restrictions that were not in Richard's grant. By the time William finally took root in Ireland, Walter de Lacy had succeeded to the lordship of Meath and his brother, Hugh II, had become earl of Ulster. William was extremely active during his residence in Ireland, consolidating his Irish province, creating a lucrative and secure lordship. To this end, he was involved in castle building and the creation of new towns. He and Isabel created the port town of New Ross (Wexford), or *Novi Villa Pontis* ('new town of the bridge'), in *c.*1200.[171] In his town, he is said to have founded the parish church of St Mary's, which when construction was '... for Ireland ... of almost cathedral proportions'.[172] He also founded the Augustinian priory of St. John's, Kilkenny and a second Cistercian monastery known as Duiske, now Graiguenamanagh, (Kilkenny). This second Cistercian foundation was colonised with monks from Stanley (Wiltshire), another tangible example of his strong tie to the county of his birth. He did not remain in Ireland until the end of his life and was eventually reconciled with John and returned to his English estates (he was instrumental in putting down the baron's rebellion in 1217). He served and remained loyal to the Angevin

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Philip for his Norman estates. If he either failed to pay or failed to do homage his estates and castles would be forfeit to Philip, *History*, ll. 12891-12898. For the terms of the agreement, see Painter, *op. cit.,* 138.

[167] John even served William with letters of authorization addressed to King Philip, allowing William to do homage for Orbec and Meullers, *History*, 12984-12966; Gervase of Canterbury, 2: 96, cited in Painter, *op. cit.*, 139.

[168] The agreement between William Marshal and Philip of France survives in Paris; its terms mark out what was to lead to King John's anger toward the Marshal, namely agreeing to be Philip's liegeman in Normandy. (Paris, Archives Nationales, J 399 no 5), Crouch, *William Marshal*, 95.

[169] William gave John his eldest son as a hostage in order to calm the king's anger, *History*, ll. 13272.

[170] *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 1: 81, cited in Crouch, *op. cit.*, 100. Unfortunately, this trip cost William dearly, he had to surrender a second son as hostage to the king and after he left England all of his England and Welsh castles were taken into the king's hands, *History*, ll. 14334-5; Painter, *William Marshal*, 147.

[171] Hore, *Wexford*, 48.

[172] Leask, H.G., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, (Dundalk, 1990), 2:85.

house through the successions of Henry II, Richard I, John and Henry III, to whom he served as regent until days before his own death in 1219.[173]

The Conclusion of the Great Lordships

By 1250, the great lordships of Meath, Ulster and Leinster were broken, never again to be as vast and powerful as they had been in the first seventy-five years of the Anglo-Norman occupation of Ireland. By the mid 1240s, most of the heads of the leading Anglo-Norman families in Ireland were dead. The lordships were divided between widows and daughters, passed to their husbands and heirs. The honour of Meath was partitioned after the death of Walter de Lacy in 1241, who was by then blind and in debt. He had three children by his wife, Margaret de Braose: Gilbert (who predeceased Walter) and two daughters.[174] The lordship was divided between his granddaughters (by his son Gilbert), Margaret and Matilda, and through marriage to their children.[175] Margaret, wife of John de Verdun, was given much of (the modern counties of) Westmeath and Longford, as well as the manors of Kells and Duleek.[176] The younger woman, Matilda, and her husband, Geoffrey de Geneville, held the manors concerning the Lordship of Trim, including most of (modern) Meath.[177] Hugh de Lacy II's daughter, Rose, was married to Alan of Galloway *c.*1219.[178]

The earl of Ulster, Hugh II, died shortly after his brother in 1243, also without male heir. He left at least one daughter, Matilda, by his first wife, Leceline de Verdun (sister of Thomas de Verdun).[179] Matilda never inherited Ulster, but was given the castle of Carlingford and the manor of Nobber, as well as other lands in Cooley, Uriel and Limerick by her father upon her marriage to David Fitzwilliam.[180] Although Hugh appears to have had two sons, they either predeceased him or were illegitimate as neither of them

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[173] William sided with the young king Henry during his rebellion against King Henry II, but William would have considered this remaining loyal to his liege lord.

[174] Gilbert's body was buried in the church of the Augustinian canons of Llanthony and in 1234 the castle and honour of Ewias Lacy was granted to his widow, '… to whom they had been assigned in dower', Hillaby, J., 'Colonisation, Crisis-Managament and Debt: Walter de Lacy and the Lordship of Meath, 1189-1241', *Ríocht na Midhe,* 8:4 (1992-3), 40.

[175] Gilbert had married Isabel, daughter of Hugh Bigod and Matilda Marshal.

[176] John de Verdun was the grandson of Nicholas and son of Thomas de Verdun, whose sister was married to Hugh II. The descendants of Margaret and John de Verdon were traced by Murhpy, D., 'The de Verdon's in Louth', *JRSAI*, 25 (1895), 317-28; Synott, N.J., 'Notes on the Family of de Lacy in Ireland', *JRSAI*, 49 (1919), 121; Hillaby, 'Colonisation, Crisis-Management and Debt', 41.

[177] *Ibid.*, 41.

[178] She had in 1217 been placed in the custody of her uncle, Walter de Lacy, *Reg. St. Bees*, x n5. She was still alive in 1237, *ibid.* For further information on Rose of Galloway (né de Lacy), see Stringer, K.J., 'A New Wife for Alan of Galloway', *TDGNHAS*, 3d ser., 49 (1972), 49-55 (52).

[179] Through whom he received his land in Uriel, part of the present county of Louth

[180] Orpen, G.H., 'The Earldom of Ulster', *JRSAI*, 43 (1913), 331; *Gormanston Register*, f 191. Matilda de Lacy died *c.*1280; *CDI*, 2: nos. 1571, 1741.

inherited.[181] The remainder of Ulster was taken into the king's hands, except for the considerable portions held in dower by Emmeline de Lacy (*d.*1276), his widow, including the castles of Antrim and Rath (Dundrum).[182]

William Marshal died in 1219, leaving ten children, five sons and five daughters. Four out of five of the Marshal brothers succeeded their father as lord of Leinster and earl of Pembroke: William the younger (*d.*1231), Richard (*d.*1234), Gilbert (*d.*1241) and Walter (*d.*1245). Anselm (*d.*1245) died within a month of Walter's death and never received the Marshal inheritance. Both William the younger and Richard are recorded as having contributed extensively to the events of the early thirteenth century in Ireland, and continued their father's benefaction to the Church. William established a Franciscan friary and Richard founded a Dominican friary, both in Kilkenny city. All five brothers were dead by 1245 and Leinster was partitioned between William the elder's five daughters.[183]

Hugh de Lacy, John de Courcy and William Marshal contributed vastly to the landscape of medieval Ireland through their patronage of architecture, both secular and ecclesiastic. The physical remains of castles, churches and monastic complexes are a mark of this fact. These early settlers wasted no time securing their stronghold and strategic dominance with the construction of numerous castles, most of which were motte and bailey, earth and timber works. Sites of greater importance were provided with stone castes at an early stage. Just as important as these secular fortresses and almost as abundant were the foundation of new monastic houses, endowing religious institutions with lands and tithes. Where new houses were founded, they were often colonised with monks who hailed from areas around the lord's estates in Normandy, England or Wales. Often times the Norman or English motherhouse was already under the benefaction of the family. The benefaction of religious houses was not new to Norman activities, but rather part of a policy of conquest that was effective following the invasion of England a century earlier. It was also an element of the Norman occupation of the Welsh Marches and Scottish border regions. This thesis does not just focus on the connections they chose to make when they established monasteries or built castles, but rather what impact these choices had on the architectural design, layout, plan and sculptural details of the buildings themselves. Can

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[181] Synnott, 'Notes on the Family of de Lacy in Ireland', 124.
[182] *CDI*, 2: 2073. Emmeline was later forced to marry Stephen de Longespée, *CDI*, 1: no. 2600.
[183] For the partition of Leinster between the daughters of William Marshal and their heirs, see Hall, H., 'The Marshal Pedigree', *JRSAI*, 43 (1913), 1-29.

the voices of the patrons be witnessed in the visual remains of their castles and ecclesiastical benefactions?

Although each in his own right brought a rich ancestral history of travel throughout the Angevin kingdom, each also brought with them an individual experience. John de Courcy, with connections to the north of England, colonised Ulster with knights and churchmen who primarily hailed from Cumbria, Northumberland, Yorkshire and the Border Counties. De Lacy came from the West Country, but probably spent much of his youth in Normandy until his father regained the de Lacy English estates. It may have been his experiences in Normandy that led to his association with the Benedictine monastery at Évreux. While William Marshal was a younger son of a minor nobleman his career was the most thoroughly documented. He was recorded throughout the Empire, and even as far as Palestine. He eventually held estates in Pembrokeshire, Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Herefordshire, Essex, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Longueville, Orbec and Meullers; and he was even in possession of a fief in Flanders.

The arrival of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland marked a turning point in the architecture of the island, in as much as it marked an ethnic shift in the patronage of the buildings erected. Although Irish patrons were well aware of outside architecture, these men brought Irish architecture into direct contact with English and Norman styles. The early Anglo-Norman lords of Ireland brought with them Early English Gothic architecture, through the introduction of new ideas, styles, stone and masons. The international careers and interests of the patrons had an impact on the regional sources of Irish Gothic in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. It was how the current trends were translated in the Irish landscape that was a result of these secular patrons, however indirect. It is the widespread interests of these men, as well as their differing histories, that played a role in the various outcomes of their architectural patronage.

In the chapters that follow, the historical context presented here will be brought forward to inform discussion of the buildings patronised by the *dramatis personae* introduced above. This will begin with an investigation of one of the most famous Anglo-Norman monuments left standing in the Irish landscape, the great keep at Trim (Meath). Through a thorough examination this remarkable castle and other military architecture paid for by the lord of Meath will be placed in its broadest architectural context and will be shown to surpass de Lacy buildings elsewhere. Through close analysis of family history, the

mystery behind the unique design of Trim, which has puzzled castle historians for generations, is unravelled.

CHAPTER 2: THE CASTLE AT TRIM

Introduction

The castle and, in particular, the keep at Trim (Meath) has fascinated historians, archaeologists, and art historians alike. Numerous essays and excavations have done much to alter and add to our interpretation of the structure over the years. Recent castle research has brought attention to the idea that *donjon*s were never conceived as purely military buildings. Under that assumption, the design of Trim is less curious but its unique plan still proves beguiling. One question that always surfaces is where the idea for its shape – a 'Greek Cross' extending from a rectangular core – originates? If the castle is examined outside its historical context, as it has been, then it follows that relevant evidence would be overlooked. It is this failure that has led researchers in the past to miss what may lie behind its distinctive appearance. This limited approach can be summed up in the words of Harold Leask, 'It is obvious that in his short fighting career in Ireland Hugh had not the leisure or the means to embark upon building a permanent structure of mortared stone'.[1] Considering the plethora of motte and bailey castles Giraldus Cambrensis allocated to his patronage [**Fig 2. 1**], it is not only probable but completely within the realm of possibility that time was available for the conception and implementation of a stone castle at Trim. De Lacy built numerous mottes at key locations throughout his lordship (see chapter one). By disregarding the patron, historians have been unable to completely appreciate the unusual arrangement of the keep. When Hugh de Lacy's involvement is accepted then we can begin to examine the chronology, design and function of Trim more accurately. It is only through the exploration of his life and career that the possible origin of the plan becomes clear.

What was the origin or inspiration behind the complex plan of the keep? Why was the keep only completed to the second storey by the time de Lacy received the fatal blow of an axe in 1186? Was de Lacy's intention always a two-storey structure? Was he waiting for a more convenient time to complete the tower to four storeys? On the other hand, were the later phases the concept of Walter de Lacy, added about the time he altered the plan of the mural towers from rectangular to D-shaped? A third option is that the tower was incomplete at the time of Hugh de Lacy's death in 1186. Who was responsible for covering the 'incomplete' tower with a double gable roof? But while the keep is a key

[1] Leask, H.G., *Irish Castles and Castellated Houses*, (Dundalk, 1964), 5.

feature of the castle, there are other questions that should be addressed. When did construction on the stone castle commence? What sections of the castle, beside the keep, were built under the direction of Hugh de Lacy? And most importantly in the study of patronage, what castles had he seen? What was he looking at and can the influence of other patrons, via the standing remains of their castles, be seen in the fabric of de Lacy's masonry fortress?

Trim Castle

Trim castle rests on the banks of the River Boyne [**Fig 2. 2**], providing ready access to its waters: vital for communication, transportation, commerce, and the everyday living of the castle population and the town that grew up around it. The Boyne was navigable from de Lacy's eastern port at Drogheda, and thus advantageous for transportation and communication throughout the lordship and across the sea. Centrally situated within the province of Meath, Trim was also strategically positioned both for its defence and for incursions further west. Payments were made to the archbishops of Armagh for lands around Trim including the site of the bridge.[2] The fact that the site was previously employed by an ecclesiastical organisation, and therefore partially developed, presumably affected de Lacy's choice in the sighting of his *caput*. Such a location provided several advantages. While the monastic community was in residence not only did they control a river crossing but management of the economy would also have been produced with the erection of fishing weirs, mills and a market place – all equipped for de Lacy's appropriation. As the area was partially settled, the town was presumably cleared of a significant amount of forest and shrub, making it easier to construct the castle and Anglo-Norman settlement [**Fig 2. 3**]. The acquisition ensured an easier transition for the planted Anglo-Norman community and a convenient site for the castle. It is at Trim alone, located in the heart of Meath, that de Lacy chose to solidify his authority by replacing his original

[2] A letter from Pope Celestine III (dated to between 1191 and 1198) recorded that the rent of the town at Trim belonged to the abbey and community of St. Mary's, Trim, *Pontificia Hibernica*, 86-8 (no. 30); According to Evans, '... the bishops of Meath received rent from the crown for the manor of Trim down till [*sic*] the same period (1896)', *Trim: its Ecclesiastical Ruins, its Castle, etc., Together with a Collection of Documents not Hitherto Published with Notes of Trim and its Environs for Past Two Centuries*, (Dublin, 1886), 9fn., Butler, *Trim*, 71-2, cited in Potterton, M., *Medieval Trim, History and Archaeology*, (Dublin, 2005), 212, 212 n4. The first mention of a bridge at Trim was in July 1194 when Walter de Lacy granted his burgesses of Drogheda the right of free passage on the Boyne from the sea to the bridge of Trim (*ad pontem de Atrum*), Mac Niocaill, *Na buirgéisí*, v1: 172; *CPR, 1338-40*, 525, cited in Potterton, *op. cit.*, 194 n17. The earliest means of traversing the river would have been via a ford. References for the site of the bridge include payments to the church for a period between 1258 and 1443, for example, *Alen's Reg.*, 89, no. (12); *Reg. Swayne*, 39 no. 426; *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 236, no. 80; *Ir. Excheq. Pay.*, 554, Potterton, *op. cit.*, 194 n20. Payments were certainly made before and after this period, *Irish Pipe Roll*, 22-3; *Crown Surveys, 1540-41*, 57, cited in Potterton, *op. cit.*, 194 n21. These payments indicate that the church at Trim controlled the river crossing from a very early period, *ibid.*, 192-8.

timber castle with a more permanent complex in stone. The castle, now in ruins, may not completely exemplify the vivacity and luxury of what was one of the more unique keeps in Ireland, but it still stands as an impressive monument to de Lacy's might. It is arguably the first stone castle in Ireland, and earlier by decades than the first royal masonry fortresses in the country (either Dublin or Limerick). This only stands to highlight the symbolic importance of de Lacy's fortification and the powerful effect of his patronage.

The castle was not initially built in stone; in fact, the first and second fortifications were earthwork and timber creations.

> 'Hugh de Lacy fortified [his first] dwelling at Trim and threw up a ditch around it and then he enclosed it with a spiked stockade. He then placed excellent knights and barons inside the dwelling. Then he placed his fortress in the charge of Hugh Tyrel. He went to the port to cross over the high seas to England'.[3]

The earliest fortification at Trim was a ringwork (a penannular ditch enclosing a roughly circular area ranging from 45-50 meters in diameter), first suggested by Barry and proven through subsequent excavations.[4] The first two castles were more economical, in terms of time, materials and labour, than their masonry successor. The ditch and stockade acted as the primary line of defence. It is worth noting here that some English castles of the time had a second palisade and embankment enclosure.[5] Timber buildings required less direct instruction from de Lacy, discounting the initial site choice, as noted by the above quotation. De Lacy's constable, Hugh Tyrell, was responsible for Trim's first reconstruction after an attack that destroyed the fortifications. This was standard practice, as most lords would not hang around acting as project manager. As Renn pointed out, 'William the Conqueror, after his coronation as king of England, selected the site for Exeter castle [Devon], although he left the organisation of its buildings to others'.[6]

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[3] The original French text: *E cil de Laci, pus, Hugun, A Trym ferma une meisum E fosse jeta envirun, E pus l'enclost de hireson. Dedens la meysun ad pus mis, Chevalers, baruns de grant pris; Pus commandast le castel En la gard Huge Tyrel. Al port ala pur passer Vers Engletere la haute mer*, *Song of Dermot*, ll. 3220-3229.

[4] Barry, T., 'Anglo-Norman Ringwork Castles: Some Evidence', 300-3; Barry, T., *The Archaeology of Medieval Ireland*, (1987), 46-8; Hayden, A., 'Trim Castle Excavations', 57-8. Charcoal sampling from some posthole infill revealed a radiocarbon date of AD 1167-1216, Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, 232.

[5] In the 1120s Walter l'Espec built an earthwork castle at Helmsley (Yorkshire). It consisted of a large rectangular ringwork surrounded by two circles of 'ditch and embankement', each crowned by timber breastworks, Wilson, P.R., 'Excavations at Helmsley Castle', *YAJ*, 61 (1989), 29-33; Coppack, G., *Helmsley Castle, North Yorkshire*, (London, 1990).

[6] William the Conqueror placed the Sheriff of Devon, Baldwin de Brionne, in charge of the construction of Exeter castle, Renn, D.F., *Norman Castles in Britain*, (London, 1968), 12. Based on extensive earthworks and archaeological investigations, the original design of the motte and some of its timber works have been rediscovered. Exeter had neither motte nor keep but was composed of a large enclosure in the northern angle of the Roman and Anglo-Saxon town. The inner bailey rampart survives and excavations have revealed an

As mentioned above, the original timber works did not stand in place for long. In 1174, immediately after the completion of the castle, Ruaidrí Ó Conchobhair came with a force of men from Connacht and burned it to the ground; Hugh Tyrell, de Lacy's constable in Ireland, then restored it.[7] Ó Conchobhair's motive behind attacking Trim may have been to prove to Henry II and his vassal, de Lacy, that the Irish king could call to his command the great support of the Irish and overwhelm the foreigners.[8] Subsequently, de Lacy's decision to replace the first two timber fortifications with a substantial stone monument was probably a conscious rebuttal, a statement of permanence. It may have been Ó Conchobhair's realisation that the Anglo-Normans were an enduring presence in the Irish landscape that led him to negotiate an alliance with de Lacy, his nearest foreign neighbour. De Lacy married, subsequently, one of Ruaidrí Ó Conchobhair's daughters.

While recent dendrochronology on timber found in the keep has securely dated the stone works to Hugh de Lacy, in the past historians and archaeologists have argued over the date, with suggestions ranging from *c.*1170-1220.[9] Leask and Stalley suggested a date of 1190-1200 based on its design, but Sweetman, after his excavations in the 1970s reasserted the later date of no earlier than 1220 based on his interpretation of the documentary sources.[10] These included evidence that King John signed writs at the '... meadow below Trim castle ...' when he was in residence some time between 1210-1212.[11] Sweetman, therefore, concluded that the keep could not yet have been constructed. However, a twelfth-century reference to a charter witnessed '... outside the door of the bailey of the castle of Acre ...',

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outer bailey on the south side of the enclosure, Blaylock, S. R. and R.A. Higham, 'Exeter Castle', *RAI, Proceedings of the 136th Summer Meeting, Supplement to Arch. J*, 147 (1990), 35-9. For additional information about the castle, see Cherry, B. and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Devon*, 2nd ed., (London, 1989) and Hope, I., 'Exeter', *Current Archaeology*, 141 (1994-5), 348.

[7] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 141.

[8] Most of the Irish princes of Leth Cuinn accompanied Ruaidrí Ua Conchobhair into Meath – the leaders of Meath, Bréifne, Airgailla, Ulster, Cenél nEógain and the Cenél Conaill. Margin contended that if Domnal Ua Briain and Conchobar Máenmaige Ua Conchobhair followed up their victory at Thurles they might have routed Strongbow and, '... in conjunction with the uprisings elsewhere, crushed the Anglo-Norman strongholds in Ireland ... [but] it was still every man for himself ...', Martin, F.X., 'Overlord Becomes Feudal Lord, 1172-85', *A New History of Ireland II, Medieval Ireland 1169-1534*, ed. A. Cosgrove, (Oxford, 1987, 2008 edn.), 104-5.

[9] Potterton, *Medieval Trim,* 211-66; Sweetman, P.D., 'The Development of Trim Castle in the Light of Recent Research', *CG*, 18 (1998 for 1996), 223-229; Condit, T., 'Rings of Truth at Trim Castle, Co. Meath', *AI*, 10:3 (Autumn 1996), 30-33; Stalley, R., 'The Anglo-Norman Keep at Trim: its Architectural Implications', *AI*, 6:4 (Winter 1992), 16-29; McNeill, T.E., 'Trim Castle, Meath: the First Three Generations', *AI*, 147 (1990), 308-336; Sweetman, P.D., 'Archaeological Excavations at Trim Castle, Co. Meath', *PRIA*, 78C (1978), 127-197; Sweetman, P.D., 'Trim Castle Archaeological Excavations', *Ríoct na Míde*, 5:4 (1974), 68-77; Leask, H.G., 'Trim Castle', *Arch. J*, 67 (1960), 179-181.

[10] Leask, *Irish Castles*, 31-4; Stalley, R., *Architecture and Sculpture in Ireland 1150-1350*, (Dublin, 1971).

[11] Sweetman further postulated that because the writs restoring de Lacy's lands of Meath in 1215 and 1216 did not mention the castle at Trim that there was, therefore, not one to mention. Sweetman suggested that construction had commenced by 1220 based on a mandate from 1224, which declared that '... Walter de Lacy is to have hall, houses and chambers in the Castle of Trim ...', *CDI*, 1: no. 1176; Sweetman, 'Trim Castle Archaeological Excavations', 70.

indicates that documents were not always witnessed within the castle even if one did exist.[12] Therefore, those signed by John '... in the meadow below Trim ...' do not preclude the existence of a stone castle there. Moreover, the ongoing programme of conservation revealed fresh evidence about the dating of the various phases of the keep. Oak timbers were discovered within a number of putlog holes [**Fig 2. 4** and **Fig 2. 5**].[13] These logs, either left over from the scaffolding, used to construct the keep, or remnants of hoarding for its defence, were found in three levels of construction. They were subsequently removed and examined in the Palaeoecology Centre of Queen's University, Belfast.[14] Dendrochronology confirmed three phases of construction with the first dated to before 1190. This new evidence provides the appropriate confirmation for the identification of the keep at Trim with the patronage of Hugh de Lacy, first lord of Meath.

It was probably upon de Lacy's return from the Continent in *c.*1175, defending the Angevin Empire against the rebellion of the king's sons in coalition with Louis VII of France, that construction began on the present complex. *Mac Carthaigh's Book* recorded the building of Trim castle in 1176 and may refer to the conversion of the castle into stone.[15] Excavations have led Hayden to believe that the curtain wall and mural towers were begun simultaneously with the keep in the 1170s.[16] Hugh de Lacy's work on the curtain included the west wall with gate tower and north wall with at least three open-backed rectangular mural towers (along the river) [**Fig 2. 6**]. The curtain was built against the exposed rock face, effectively making it impervious to undermining.[17] The curtain averages a height of 8 meters externally and is about 1.8 meters thick.[18] Three rectangular mural towers once lined the east, or riverside, wall. Two of these were open-backed (only one still stands to a maximum height of 12.7 meters) and a larger enclosed rectangular tower stood in the north corner was referred to in a later document as the Magdalen

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[12] *Cart. Castle Acre*, f 5v, cited in Liddiard, R., *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066-1500*, (Cheshire, 2005), 147.
[13] Condit, 'Rings of Truth at Trim Castle', 30-33.
[14] More than a dozen samples of the oak timbers were removed and dated. Close inspection found samples with sapwood still attached, indicating that the logs were not reused and also used shortly after felling, *ibid.*, 32. Three phases of construction were suggested based on the dating of the oak logs; the first timbers being felled before 1184. Three timbers of the second-phase included one with bark still present which was felled in 1195/6. Five of the six timbers of the third phase also still retained their bark, and four had felling dates of 1202 or 1203. For a discussion of the dendrochronology of the keep, see Sweetman, 'The Development of Trim Castle'.
[15] The annals list castles built at the following other sites: Domhnach Seachlainn, Sgrín Coluim Cille, Navan and Cnoghbha, *Misc. Ir. Annals*, 60-1.
[16] The castle and keep were later completed by Walter de Lacy between 1194 and *c.*1210, Hayden, 'Trim Castle excavations', 112-113 (forthcoming), cited in Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, 261.
[17] Sweetman, 'Excavations at Trim Castle', 131; Potterton, *op. cit.*, 247.
[18] *Ibid.*, 249.

tower.[19] The original west gatehouse was a simple rectangular structure with an attached square 'guardroom'. Sometime around 1200 a second, octagonal, floor was added to the gatehouse.[20] A large moat was cut through the rock and presumably doubled as a quarry for the rubble infill of the walls. The use of stone from the site also appears to have been the case at Ludlow (Shropshire), the de Lacy *caput* in England.[21] Although defence was not the only purpose of the keep, it too was built directly on bedrock and set inside the earlier ringwork. The battered plinth was added by Walter de Lacy in the early thirteenth century. These features would have allowed the building to function in times of war, as well as peace. Location, transportation, commerce, revenue, accommodation, administration, judicial management and offensive warfare were all factors that must have been considered during the planning phase. With the curtain wall as the defensive focus, and the transition of the castle to stone in an otherwise wattle and daub landscape, buildings within the bailey, particularly the keep, could be designed with a greater degree of architectural experimentation.

Trim, the keep

In 1186, when de Lacy's neck met the wrong end of an axe, the ground floor and first storey of the keep were complete [**Fig 2. 7**]. His son and successor, Walter, subsequently added two more storeys to his father's *donjon* [**Fig 2. 8**]. The tower consisted of a rectangular core with a smaller rectangular tower projecting from each face. Before reaching the keep, however, a visitor had first to enter the bailey through the west gate tower [**Fig 2. 9**]. The view before him was a massive and unusual *donjon* [**Fig 2. 10**], a structure that when finished was probably rendered and white washed, and crowned with red clay pantiles.[22] He would then cross to the ditch surrounding the keep and over it,

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[19] These three towers and the curtain wall between the middle tower and the D-shaped tower at the end of the south wall were excavated by Hayden, NAI RC 8/29, 500-01, no. 508, cited in Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, 249.

[20] *Ibid.*, 251. McNeill noted the similarity between the octagonal storey at Trim and the south tower at Carlingford (Louth), and identified both as a '... nostalgic repetition of earlier features found at the de Lacy seat at Ludlow', McNeill, 'The Great Towers of Early Irish Castles', *ANS*, 12 (1990), 103; McNeill, T.E., *Castles in Ireland: Feudal Power in a Gaelic World*, (London, 1997), 43. Other octagonal towers survive at several ecclesiastical sites in Ireland, including the Augustinian priories of Inistioge (Kilkenny) and Tristernagh (Westmeath), Leask, H.G., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, 3 vols., (Dundalk, 1990 edn.), 52. For a full list of octagonal towers in Ireland, see chapter seven.

[21] '... stone quarried from the ditch [as well as the cliffs on the other side] was used rapidly to build the curtain walls and towers', Renn, D., 'The Norman Military Works', *Ludlow Castle, Its History and Buildings*, eds. R. Shoesmith and A. Johnson, (Herefordshire, 2000), 125.

[22] Over two tons of concave roof tiles (with small nibs at one end) were found during excavations in the 1900s. Earlier excavations also uncovered tiles, but these were in undateable contexts, Hayden, 'Trim Castle Excavations', 90-1; Sweetman, 'Excavations at Trim Castle', 176-7; Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, 244.

possibly by way of a drawbridge, in order to reach the stairs enclosed in a forebuilding.[23] The tower was entered through a doorway in the first floor of the east projecting-tower.[24] This led to a room (*c.* 5 meters square), which presumably served as a waiting area and porter or doorkeeper's chamber. Here the visitor was probably forced to linger until access to the main hall and its lord was granted. Between the fore-chamber and main hall was a narrow entrance hallway through the thickness of the wall, blocked at both ends by locked doors [**Fig 2. 11**]. Cross bar holes and roll mouldings with a crudely carved doorstop indicate the location of the doorways [**Fig 2. 12** and **Fig 2. 13**]. Inside the main hall, light entered through tall opposing windows at either end of the main body of the keep [**Fig 2. 14**]. Sandstone roll mouldings articulate the arches of each window [**Fig 2. 15**], representing the only decorative details left from the first phase of construction. Most of the external ashlar has been removed, as well as much of the stonework within the embrasures, which may once have contained window seats. The embrasures were wide and would have allowed a great deal of light into the two rooms. Those in the northeast and southeast corners were also cut through to provide access to the north and south towers respectively. Through the northeast and southwest window embrasures access was also gained to the stairs leading to the upper storeys [**Fig 2. 16**].

The present stone wall, dividing the first floor chamber into two, is an addition from a later building phase. However, it must have been divided in some way, possibly with a timber wall, in order to support the double gable roof, the scar of which is still visible [**Fig 2. 17**]. The partition allowed for the creation of a second room that may have served as a private chamber for the lord and his *familia*. The precise function of the chambers in the projecting towers is far from clear, though some must have served as private chambers and a room in the second storey of the east tower was a chapel. Two garderobes were built into the south wall of the west tower, one on the first floor and another above. These confirm that the two chambers (at least one of which was completed by 1186) probably provided private accommodation.[25] McNeill had suggested that the complex internal arrangement of

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[23] Hayden, *op. cit.*, 85; Potterton, *op. cit.*, 246.

[24] Hayden, Sweetman and Potterton have all suggested that a forebuilding was added in the thirteenth century, although most of what survives was rebuilt in the fourteenth century. Originally, access to the first floor entrance was likely to have been through a timber forebuilding. The ditch surrounding the tower had been re-cut prior to stone works in order to move the entrance closer to the northwest corner. There is a possibility that a drawbridge was constructed over the ditch, Hayden, *op. cit.*, 83-4; Sweetman, *Medieval Castles in Ireland*, 65; Potterton, *op. cit.*, 246.

[25] Marshal has noted that the '… *donjon* functioned on three levels. First, it acted as the visible signal of seigneurial authority. Secondly, it acted as a grand residence … Thirdly, it fulfilled the important function of providing an impressive reception suite in which the ceremonies or conventions … could be acted out; these might range from receiving homage to conducting diplomatic negotiations', Marshall, P., 'The Great Tower

the castle was a means of providing for a large number of high-class lodgings.[26] However, complicated arrangements were not unusual and often related to the controlling and limiting of access to the lord.[27] The complexity of internal access was probably a product of the complicated layout of the keep. In addition, stairways constructed during the first phase of building works (the two mural stairways located in the corner turrets) would have affected the means of accessing each additional storey. Most of the side chambers lack garderobes and fireplaces, the two main architectural features that provide concrete evidence of lodgings. A fireplace is found in the second chamber of the main body of the keep. While the base is not keyed into the wall, the upper part is and, although clearly part of the original design, it appears to have been an afterthought.[28] This further suggests the allocation of the west chamber as a private room for the lord. While private accommodation was less important in the last quarter of the twelfth century than it would become by the middle of the next century, the keep at Trim obviously provided plenty of scope for privacy.[29]

Trim, the keep, a chronology

When attempting to determine the chronology of Trim castle it is important to understand the nature of medieval castle building works. There is plenty of evidence to suggest that it was not conducted throughout the year, instead lasting from Easter through Michaelmas; winter often proved too dark and too cold for building campaigns. Urgent work, however, might occasionally be pushed through winter; even night work by candlelight is on record.[30] Evidence suggests that the optimum height per season for church tower building was 3.1 to 3.7 meters (the figure is often given as ten to twelve feet). The assumption is

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as Residence', *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe AD c.800-1600*, eds. G. Meirion-Jones, E. Impey and M. Jones, (Oxford, 2002), 29.

[26] McNeill, 'Trim Castle, Co. Meath; the First Three Generations', 332-3.

[27] At Castle Rising (Norfolk), Knaresborough (Yorkshire), Warkworth (Northumberland), Tattershall (Lincolnshire), and Castle Hedingham (Essex), the control of access to the lord involved the '... creation of a space which [Dixon] would term a holding area, immediately adjacent to a private hall or chamber. Access to the waiting room may be direct, or it may be tortuous ... the purpose of the complex approach was social and not military, and was aimed at friends and other rivals, and not at open enemies: the purpose in part was to convey the grandeur and quality of the castle's owner, and in part put the visitor at a slight disadvantage ...', Dixon, P., 'Design in Castle-Building: the Controlling of Access to the Lord', *CG*, 17 (1998), 55.

[28] Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, 243.

[29] Dixon has noted that '... From the middle of the twelfth century and onward into the thirteenth century there is an increasing trend towards the insertion of small rooms into the older keeps: these presumably indicate the creation of private chambers ... either because of the growth of privacy in lifestyle ... or, in the context more likely, the change of function ... to [include] dwelling houses [for] at least part of the household ... [The castle at Falaise is a prime example with] the addition of a new solar block by Henry II, and the building of a wholly new solar tower in the form of an attached *Tour Philippienne*', Dixon, P., 'The Myth of the Keep', *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe AD c.800-1600*, eds. G. Meirion-Jones, E. Impey and M. Jones, (Oxford, 2002), 11.

[30] Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain*, 19.

supported by records of seasonal work at castle towers, estimated by an expenditure of at least £100 per annum.[31] Based on these figures, the first phase of the keep at Trim (*c.*10 meters; the castle rises to a height of 21 meters) could have been completed within three years. Of course, progress depended on the size of the work force and the degree of focus on the keep versus the curtain. Allowing for the aforementioned factors, it is probable that the keep was, if begun *c.*1175, completed within five years, or *c.*1180. This may suggest that de Lacy never intended to raise the tower past the first storey. Some broken red curved ceramic pantiles were found built into the walls of the keep in the upper storeys and it has been suggested that these were used to roof the earlier phases of the building.[32] Even under the assumption that de Lacy intended to build a three storey keep from the start, the roofing of the building within his lifetime may reflect a desire to use the keep as soon as possible. However, there were at least ten building seasons between the start of construction and de Lacy's death, not even half of that was required for completion of the first two storeys. Perhaps his intention was only ever to construct the keep to the height of two storeys. This would explain why, at the close of a decade of building works, a tower of 21 meters, which could be constructed in six to seven seasons, only reached half height. The tower was, therefore, likely to have been roofed and in use by 1186. If the keep was unroofed when the castle reverted to the crown during Walter's minority, one would expect royal expenditure for timber and roof tiles. Unfortunately, no documents exist to prove the point one way or the other.

The suggestion that de Lacy's *donjon* was originally envisaged as a two storey structure would not be out of step with cases elsewhere, in which early keeps were altered or extended at a later date. The eleventh-century keep at Norham, for example, was originally constructed as a first floor hall against the curtain wall. A third storey was added over part of the hall when the bishop of Durham, Hugh de Puiset, converted the tower for residential use [**Fig 2. 18**].[33] The tower at Huriel (Allier), in the Auvergne region of France, was originally constructed in the twelfth century but heightened either in the later twelfth or early thirteenth century. In addition, Henry II added two storeys to Henry I's *donjon* at Gisors (Eure) between 1170 and 1180. It would have been in keeping with the time for Hugh de Lacy to build a two-storey structure and his son to later have found it inadequate, and consequently built the final two storeys.

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[31] Harvey, J., *The Gothic World*, (London, 1950); Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain*, 25.
[32] Sweetman, 'The Development of Trim Castle', 225.
[33] Dixon, P. and P. Marshall, 'The Great Tower in the Twelfth Century: the Case of Norham Castle', *Arch. J*, 150 (1994 for 1993), 410-32.

These second and third phases, or upper storeys, have been dated to the 1190s and the early thirteenth century respectively. As Walter de Lacy did not gain seisin of Meath until 1194, it is probable that construction did not commence until after this date.[34] Of the three timbers from the second phase, the one that included bark had a felling date of 1195/6, coinciding with the return of Walter to his Irish estates.[35] Four of the six timbers from the third building phase date to 1202 or 1203.[36] Consequently, as little as six seasons separate the two 'phases'. It is therefore possible to suggest that the 'second' and 'third' phases were, in fact, a single build. These dates may also indicate that the timbers from the 'third building phase' were from the wooden hoarding constructed after stone works were completed, even a year or two later. The final two storeys of the castle, therefore, may not have been two separate phases at all, but merely a single phase of construction built between 1195 and 1202. After all, why build a single storey and roof the entire building (there is no evidence of scarring from the second phase roof in the central chamber), only to remove the tiles and timber substructure in order to add another storey two years later?

Hugh de Lacy, the patron

Now that it has been established that Hugh de Lacy initiated construction of the masonry castle at Trim, it is important to examine his career and any impact that it may have had on his Irish *caput*. He inherited the family lands in Herefordshire, Shropshire, Gloucestershire and the Welsh Marches, with several estates in Normandy, before Henry II granted him the lordship of Meath in 1172 [**Fig 2. 19**].[37] He is first found in documented history as a witness to charters dated to the summer of 1155: Hugh de Lacy of Coolmere (near Ellesmere) witnessed William fitz Alan's grant to Haughmond abbey (Shropshire).[38] De Lacy also appears not later than 1158-9 as a witness on a charter to St Werburgh's, Chester (Cheshire).[39] These documents predate his inheritance of the Lacy honour, but there is no

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[34] For Richard's confirmatory grant, see *Gormanston Reg.*, f5; *History*, ll. 10297-304. '*Walterus de Lacy recepit dominium de Media …*' Marlebrugh's Chron, 1194, 20p135, cited in Orpen, 195 n5 and 6.

[35] Sweetman, 'The Development of Trim Castle', 225.

[36] *Ibid.*, 225.

[37] 'Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou… Know that I have given and granted, and by this my charter confirmed, to Hugh de Lacy for his service, the land of Meath, with all its appurtenances by the service of 50 men to him, and his heirs, to have and to hold of me and my heirs, as Murchad [Ua Máel Sechlainn] held it, or any other before or after him', Thunder, J.M., 'The Kingdom of Meath', *JRSAI*, 4th series, 8 (1887), 516.

[38] The canons of Haughmond abbey were granted the advocacy of the church of Wroxeter, *Cart. Haughmond*, f. 236, cited in Wightman, 257 (Appendix B). A second charter of the same year, witnesses by Hugh de Lacy, was signed without any qualifying territorial description. William fitz Alan was the sheriff of Shropshire until his death in 1160, and his son of the same name came of age in 1175, succeeding him as sheriff until his death in 1210, Bartlett, R., *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225*, (Oxford, 2000) 544-5.

[39] *Cart. Chester Abbey*, 79, no. 329, cited in Wightman, 258.

reason to doubt that they all concern this Hugh de Lacy. Occasionally, younger sons were given small manors out of the family lands, but more often than not they had to acquire wealth by becoming vassals of other lords. Wightman has suggested that the 'of Coolmere' refers to a small estate granted to de Lacy, perhaps as a tenant of the aforementioned fitz Alan.[40] De Lacy was, like William Marshal, a younger son, and as such would not have expected to inherit the family fortune. However, also like Marshal, he gained possession of the hereditary estates after the premature death of his elder brother, Robert (*d.c.*1162).[41] Furthermore, he did not forget his early affiliation with fitz Alan. Between May 1165 and his departure for Ireland in 1171 (probably at Ludlow) he arranged for one of his four daughters by his first wife, Rose of Monmouth, to marry William, son of William fitz Alan of Clun (her dower consisted of six of his Shropshire manors).[42]

Although a second son, Hugh would presumably have spent his youth like many of his aristocratic equals, learning the knightly arts, first as a squire and later as a fully mounted knight, honing his skills in tournament, much like the stories told in the biography of William Marshal [see chapter six].[43] Tournament enabled a household knight the opportunity of gaining wealth by capturing other nobles and their horses, the former exchanged for ransom, the latter added directly to their own coffers. The field also offered the prospect of impressing wealthier noblemen who might in turn grant lowly knights manors of their own, thus increasing their rank in society. Considering his father was not in possession of the de Lacy estates in England until 1148, it is more than likely that he spent his youth in Normandy. As he is later seen witnessing a charter of William fitz Alan, at some point he must have served as a household knight in the Welsh Marches, possibly in the retinue of his father or fitz Alan. The Welsh campaigns of his early years no doubt helped to develop his skills in combat, an expertise that proved invaluable following the invasion of Ireland. His life in the Welsh Marches would have taught him a similar type of warfare practised by the Irish, an advantage when it came to life in the Irish Marches of

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[40] *VHC, Shropshire*, 6: 73.

[41] A writ from Henry II addressed to the sheriff of Herefordshire and Hugh de Lacy must date to before 1162, when Thomas Becket ceased to be chancellor, as he is listed as chancellor in the witness list, *Reg. Gloucester*, no. 142, cited in Coplestone-Crow, B., 'The End of the Anarchy to the de Genevilles', *Ludlow Castle*, 35.

[42] These manors consisted of Middleton, Ingardine, Moknhall, Upper Ledwyche, Plaish and Higford, the first four of which had belonged to the Pantulf of Wem in 1086, but Ivo Pantulf exchanged them with Payn fitz John for the chief tenancy of Waters Upton, Coplestone-Crow, B., 'The End of the Anarchy to the de Genevilles', *Ludlow Castle*, 35.

[43] The manuscript has been transcribed into modern French (*L'Historie*) and English (*History*).

western Meath.[44] It was also the knowledge acquired in his youth, conveyed at least in part through his own father, which taught him about castles – locating, planning and building, function and defence. When it came to the art of lordship and knighthood, no doubt he learned much from his father. Gilbert had served at the court of Henry II, a point attested by the fact that he witnessed a treaty between Henry II and Louis VII of France before he joined the Templars and departed for Jerusalem (*c.*1160). I will come back to this point again later on.

At least in the early part of his career, Hugh took an active interest in developing his English estates; he was fined for assarting in both Hereford and Wiltshire in 1169-70 (the fine was later remitted).[45] His vigorous military career is highlighted by the fact that he paid no scutage in 1164-5.[46] A remit of this scutage-type is exempt only in return for military service.[47] This can be explained by his active participation in the campaign of 1165 conducted from a base at Shrewsbury (Shropshire) into North Wales.[48] Shrewsbury was one of a number of royal castles in the Welsh Marches. The Romanesque gateway (with round-headed arch ornamented with a simple roll-moulding) was cut through a straight section of curtain wall, and probably dates to the second half of the twelfth century. The foundations of the entire circuit (an irregular pentagonal enclosure) are likely to date to the same building programme [**Fig 2. 20**].[49] Excavations in 2004 revealed timbers from the hall range that confirmed the date of construction to 1164, although the

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[44] In Ireland, the marches of Scotland and Wales and elsewhere in Europe where a strong centralised government was lacking, most fighting took place between local lords in private battles. Prior to the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, Irish kings fought for dominion over people, rather than to gain possession of land, Simms, K., 'Warfare in the Medieval Gaelic Lordship', *Ir. Sword*, 12 (1975), 98-108. For further discussions of Irish warfare, see Simms, K., 'Images of Warfare in Bardic Poetry', *Celtica*, 21 (1990), 608-19.

[45] *PR 16 Hen II*, 59, 64, cited in Wightman, 192.

[46] Delisle and Berger, *Recueil*, 1:515, 533, 541, 561, 572, cited in Wightman, 193.

[47] Knight's wages, scutage rates and the length of the wartime season fluctuated throughout the twelfth century, Hollister, C.W., 'The Significance of Scutage Rates in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century England', *EHR*, 75 (1960), 577-88. Into the second half of the twelfth century fees owing the service of a knight were assessed at a single rate, despite the disparity in annual landed income for each estate. Henry II's treasurer, Richard fitz Nigel, recorded, '... it sometimes happens that when enemies threaten or attack the kingdom, the king decrees that a payment shall be made, say a mark or a pound from every knight's fee, to provide payment and gifts for soldiers ... this sum, paid as it is according to the number of shields [*scuta*] is called scutage', *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 52, cited in Keefe, T.K., *Feudal Assessments and the Political Community under Henry II and his Sons*, (London, 1983), 24. Richard I attempted to rectify the situation when he ordered his officials to '... determine how many carucates were in each manor and their value, and not to estimate a carucates at a fixed value of 20 shillings, but to evaluate the land according to its productivity', Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 265-7, cited in Keefe, *op. cit.*, 23. For estimates of scutage rates during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see *ibid.*, 215-6 n84.

[48] Wightman, 191.

[49] The first fortress at Shrewsbury was probably built by Roger of Montgomery as earl of Shrewsbury, *c.*1070-83. It was taken into royal hands in 1102 after the downfall of Roger's son, Robert of Belême, Colvin, *King's Works*, 2: 834-6. The tower is mentioned in 1164-6 and small sums were spent on building and repairs in 1164-6, 1172-3 and 1181-1215, Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain*, 311.

current range was rebuilt *c.*1280 by Edward I.[50] Although Shrewsbury is not a great parallel for Trim castle, with the possible exception of the use of simple rolls mouldings, it would have been one of a number of castles that Hugh de Lacy came in contact with in the 1160s.

Hugh's career before coming to Ireland and the castles with which he was familiar give us a better understanding of his work at Trim. However, in order to understand de Lacy's decisions, the culture of those who commissioned castles must first be examined. A castle complex served a multitude of functions and was central to any lordship or baronial grant. It provided residence, an administrative centre, a place for the occasional feast and a place for prayer. As Coulson has pointed out, 'the social purposes of fortresses almost always comprehended and transcended their military function ... [and] few castles were siege-worthy but most were capable of deterring [it] ...'[51] It was a sign of authority '... in an age which attached great importance to symbolism ...', and for this reason it became a prime objective in warfare as well as an active base for its waging.[52] Stocker summed up the idea when he described the castle as 'nailing the valley'.[53] It functioned as a symbol of great wealth and power, of fierce might and pious devotion, of strength and beauty. As an object of display it was often given the epithet *pulchra fortitudo*.[54] The builder hoped to evoke, as Coulson has stated, '... the *moeurs* of chivalry, the life-style of the great and the legends of the past'.[55] The patron, or lord of the estates, knew that his castle spoke of dominance and prosperity to all those around. It was an elite few who patronised masonry architecture in a society dominated by a military aristocracy and in whom the ideals of their society were embedded from an early age. Each nobleman would have spent his youth learning the knightly arts; instructions included not only the skills of a mounted knight, the mark of European military campaigning, but also the tactics of siege warfare and administration of estates. The quintessential knightly education is manifest in the Carolingian proverb: 'You can make a horseman of a lad at puberty, after that never'. [56]

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[50] Ralegh Radford, C.A., 'The Medieval Defences of Shrewsbury', *TSAS*, 61:1 (1957-60), 15-20.
[51] Coulson, C., 'Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture', *JBAA*, 82 (1979), 74.
[52] Brown, R.A., *English Castles*, (London, 1976, 3rd edn.), 27; Eales, R., 'Royal Power and Castles in Norman England', *Anglo-Norman Castles*, ed. R. Liddiard, (Woodbridge, 2003), 41-68; Kenyon, J.R., 'Fluctuating Frontiers: Normanno-Welsh Castle Warfare *c.*1075 to 1240', *Anglo-Norman Castles,* ed. R. Liddiard, (Woodbridge, 2003), 247-58; Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain*; Fernie, E., *The Architecture of Norman England*, (Oxford, 2000).
[53] Stocker, D., 'The Shadow of the General's Armchair', *Arch. J*, 149 (1992), 415-20.
[54] Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England*, 49-50, fn.
[55] Coulson, 'Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture', 74.
[56] Southern, R.W., *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953), 82; Brown, *English Castles*, 20.

The stone castle remains as the visual culmination of knighthood and lordship, a symbol of the wealth and might of the upper most echelons of this military aristocracy.

The nature of the society meant that travel was essential, if for no other reason than to come to the military aid of your overlord. In de Lacy's case, he answered to the king of England. What this requirement did was enable men like de Lacy to witness first hand the architectural programmes of both the crown and his fellow barons, throughout the Angevin Empire. The examination of de Lacy's career put him in the vicinity of a number of interesting constructions. He was exempt from the sum of fifty-one and a quarter marks, owed by him, for his aid in 1168. This service may refer to a number of operations, including the Breton (north-west France) campaigns of 1168-9, those in Auvergne (central France) in 1167-9, or campaigning in Wales in the aftermath of expedition of 1165. Wightman postulated that it was the latter because Hugh was a Marcher lord with the knowledge of the conditions of this particular border warfare.[57] However, as he was later on campaign in Normandy during the young king Henry's rebellion, we cannot discount his military service on the Continent in the 1160s.[58] One castle of note in the Breton region is Château Fougères (Ille et Vilaine). The arrow loops in the rectangular gate tower are set out along different verticals in each successive storey, which produced the effect of alternation [**Fig 2. 21**].[59] The same appearance was created with the arrow loops in the northeast mural tower at Trim [**Fig 2. 22**]. While such an arrangement of arrow loops is not limited to these two castles, the example allows for the acknowledgement that the castle at Trim drew upon a number of sources. If de Lacy was involved in the Breton campaigns of 1168-9, he would have been with Henry in June 1168 at the castles of Dinian and St. Malo, Heddé, Becherell and Tintiniac (Tintigny), as well as Léon and Aleth, all in the vicinity of Fougères [**Fig 2. 23**].[60]

Not only do we know that de Lacy was in Normandy during 1173, but the very fact that he came into possession of several Norman estates in the 1160s suggest that it was not his only excursion. In addition, his father was not in possession of the Welsh Marcher estates until 1148 and therefore, Hugh most probably spent his young life on the Continent.

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[57] Delisle and Berger, *Recueil*, 1:515, 533, 541, 561, 572, cited in Wightman, 193.

[58] The young king Henry, son of Henry II, was crowned king of England on 14 June 1170 and re-crowned together with his queen in 1172. The young king was also titular duke of Normandy and count of Anjou. Disillusioned with his nominal authority, he rebelled against his father in 1173 and again in 1183 with the aid of King Louis VI of France. 'At least thirty-two texts of the young king's charters, ten of them originals, plus two synopses and a paraphrase of one of his letters, still survive', Smith, R.J., 'Henry II's Heir: The Acta and Seal of Henry the young king, 1170-83', *EHR*, 116:466 (April 2001), 297, Appendix, 314-26.

[59] For a more detiled discussion of arrow loops see chapter 6 on the Marshal castles.

[60] Eyton, 115.

Moreover, the fact that he never paid scutage proper attests to the fact that he was continuously involved in military service throughout the Empire.[61] One of his most notable successes was during the siege of Verneuil in the early 1170s. It was there that de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp defended the castle against the besieging forces of Louis VII, a siege for which Louis had imposed a '... ruthless universal tax upon his people regardless of rank'.[62] Not only a competent warrior, de Lacy also proved himself a successful administrator. His organisational skills enabled him to spend the greater part of his time in Ireland from 1172 onward and yet he retained in demesne a valuable amount of land in the Welsh Marches.[63] When recalled to the king's service in 1172, he did what any competent overlord would do by making careful arrangements for the administration of his lordships and the supply of his armies during his absence.[64] In the end, he was to prove an efficient *dominus*, able to maintain his hereditary estates while conquering new territories, his authority maintained through the erection of castles, patronage of the church and a strategic marriage alliance. Before his death in 1186, de Lacy had so effectively brought Meath under control that all '... the Shannon to the seas was full of castles and foreigners'.[65]

His service in the court of Henry II has left documented evidence for a number of places he visited. It is known that de Lacy visited the formidable Norman keeps at Caen and Rouen, built by the Conqueror or his successors.[66] De Lacy was with the king at Rouen in 1173 and at Caen, Pont-Audemer, Valognes, and Cherbourg either in 1173 or 1175.[67] His travels with the court certainly brought him in contact with the latest fashion in castle and keep design, both directly and indirectly. This would have included the knowledge of a number of variations in keep design, differing from the earliest known Norman castles, with rectangular keeps.

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[61] Walter de Lacy paid scutage on only three occasions, Wightman, 196.
[62] Diceto, 1: 372, cited in Strickland, M., *War and Chivalry: the Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066-1217*, (Cambridge, 1996), 207
[63] Poole, A.L., *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216*, (Oxford, 1955, 2nd edn.), 310-13, cited in Wightman, 209-10.
[64] There is evidence in the Pipe Rolls of 1176-1179 of his arrangements: *PR, 23 Hen II*, 36; *PR, 24 Hen II*, 38, 56; *PR 25 Hen II*, 67, 88, cited in Wightman, 192.
[65] *AFM*; *ALC*, 1186.
[66] The great tower at Rouen was deliberately destroyed by Philip Augustus and replaced with a cylindrical tower, '... in order to supplant an object of Norman loyalties', Coulson, C., *Castles in Medieval Society: Fortresses in England, France, and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages,* (Oxford, 2003), 85. Rouen does not seem to have been enclosed until 1202 when in February of that year, King John ordered it to be done, *Rot. Litt. Pat.,* 25a, cited in Coulson, *op. cit.*, 85. Philip constructed towers at Paris, Dourdan (Essonne), Chinon (Indre-et-Loire), Gisors (Eure), Rouen (Seine-Maritime), Falaise (Calvados), Vernon (Eure) and Laon (Aisne), Ritter, R., *Château, Donjons et Palaces Fortes*, (Larousse, 1953), 55-7.
[67] Delisle and Berger, *Recueil*, 2:28, 30, 35; Eyton, 178, 187, cited in Wightman, 194.

The earliest example of a variant of the traditional rectangular tower is Amaury de Montfort's (count of Évreux, 1118-37) *donjon* at Houdan (Yvelines) [**Fig 2. 24**].[68] The keep is particularly interesting as it offers a parallel for the plan at Trim. It has four towers of equal size projecting from a larger core, however, at Houdan each of the elements is cylindrical. Houdan reaches a height of 25 meters and is 15 meters in diameter not including the four turrets, each 4.8 meters in diameter. The castle lies southeast of Évreux and de Lacy may have become aware of the unusual design while visiting the abbey of St. Taurin, Évreux (Eure). He later founded the Benedictine monastery at Fore for the monks of Évreux. Also located in the centre of France is the French royal keep at Étampes (Essonne). It offers another examples of a keep with four cylindrical towers, only here they do not extend from a central structure but form a quatrefoil plan [**Fig 2. 25**]. Héliot and Rousseau date the *Tour Guinette* at Étampes to the 1130s-40s, and the patronage of both Louis VI *le Gros* (*r.*1108-37) and Louis VII (*r.* 1137-80).[69] This *donjon* is particularly intriguing because a quasi-quatrefoil plan was later employed for the keep at Pontefract (Yorkshire), the *caput* of the elder branch of the de Lacy family (early thirteenth century) [**Fig 2. 26**]. It suggests that both branches of the family were interested in the application of unusual designs. The English crown, under the direction of Henry II, also made use of unique keep structures. The *donjon* at the royal fortress of Gisors (Eure, 1161-80) has an octagonal core with a rectangular buttress at each corner, which are each, in turn, offset externally at each floor [**Fig 2. 27**].[70] Gisors was one of the many ports of call for de Lacy in 1173, during which time he was also recorded at Quévilly and Nonancourt.[71] It was probably through the actions of Henry II that the polygonal or

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[68] Gardner, S., 'Influences of Castle Building on Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Paris Region, 1130-1150', *The Medieval Castle: Romance and Reality*, eds. K. Reyerson and F. Powe, (Kendall, Iowa, 1984), 119 n23; Harmand, J., 'Houdan et l'Evolution des Donjons au XII Siècle', *BM*, 127 (1969), 187-207. Héliot also agrees on a date of between 1110 and 1125 for the *donjon* at Houdan, built by the lord of Montfort when he became count of Évreux, Héliot, 'L'Evolution du *Donjon* dans le Nord-Ouest de la France et en Angleterre au XIIe Siècle', *BACTHS*, 5 (1969), 164-5.

[69] Héliot has dated the royal tower at Étampes to between 1130-1150, *ibid.*, 166; Héliot, P. and P. Rousseau, 'L'Age des Donjons d'Etampés et de Provins', *BSNAF* (1967), 289-308; Héliot and Rousseau, 'L'Age des Donjons', 293-95; Gardner, S., 'Influences of Castle Building on Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Paris Region,' 104. Marquis, L., *Étampes, La Ville et ses Environs, Monuments et Ruines, Plans, vues et Promenades, Trente Croquis Dessinés et Autographiés*, (Paris, 1873).

[70] According to Héliot the keep at Gisors should belong to the period between 1161 and 1177, Héliot, *op. cit.*, 170. Mesqui has attributed both Gisors and Dover (Kent) to Henry II *c.*1180 based on the similarities between the arrow loops. He employed the same argument for Château-sur-Epte (Eure, *c.*1180), Mesqui, J., *Château et Enceintes de la France Médiévale, De la Défense à la Residence, 2: la Residence et les Elements d'Architecture,* (Paris, 1993), 253. The tower at Gisors was probably finished by 1190. The triangular embrasures of the arrow loops suggest a slightly later date, similar to Chinon, Mesqui, *op. cit.*, 254. Arrow loops were constructed in the Plantagenant castles of Gisors and Chinon (*c.*1190-1205), *ibid.*, 264. See also Gravett, C. and D. Nicolle, *The Normans, Warrior Knights and their Castles*, (Oxford, 2007) 131. For Gisors, see also Mesqui, *Châteaux Forts et Fortifications en France*, 186-9, 226-7.

[71] Hugh de Lacy was not in France in 1178, as Delisle suggested, because he was by then back in Ireland. Neither could the charters date to 1189 because he was dead by that date, Delisle and Berger, *Recueil*, 2: 82,

complex geometrical tower found fruition on the English side of the channel. While these unusual towers were built to a variety of plans, French designs tended toward more cylindrical forms, as at Étampes and Houdan, while in England they were often more angular. St. George's Tower at Oxford is a rectangular tower with an unusual diagonally set stair turret and a series of offsets, the lowest of which forms a transom to a round-headed window [**Fig 2. 28**]. It has been attributed to between 1165 and 1169.[72]

De Lacy travelled extensively through England both on his way to Normandy and on his return. He was in England by Christmas 1172, as attested by his attendance at the first public festival of St. Thomas of Canterbury on 29 December 1172. There he reportedly rebuked the archbishop for '... expressing himself rather too strongly'.[73] On what matter we are left in the dark but presumably the archbishop spoke against the king and his excessive use of royal power. Located in the Kentish countryside, down the road from Canterbury, is the unusually shaped keep at Chilham, begun during the 1171 building season and completed in 1174 [**Fig 2. 29**]. Its octagonal ground plan is attributed to Fulbert de Lucy,[74] who received the castle on the condition that he supplied a garrison for Dover castle.[75] De Lacy had presumably returned to Ireland in 1174 – he is recorded fighting against O'Rourke in that year.[76] He may once again have passed through Kent on his return trip to Ireland; the tower at Chilham was almost completed by then. These examples display the numerous variations of the standard keep design that Hugh de Lacy may have known.

His travels both with the court and with his own retinue gave him ample opportunity to study the latest modes of castle building and architectural fashions. Military techniques and the strategy behind the placement of fortresses, as well as their design, would have been discussed amongst the upper echelons at court throughout the Angevin Empire. He was often in the company of Henry II and discussion and debate about the most

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85, 87, 88, 90, 95, cited in Wightman, 194. Other documents which suggest an itinerary for Hugh de Lacy are less definitely dated, such as those that indicate he was with the court at Bonneville-sur-Touques (Calvados, 1165 or 1173), Chinon (1165, 1167, or 1173), Le Vaudreuil (Eure, 1166 or 1173), Quévilly (Seine-Maritime, 1170 or 1173), Delisle and Berger, *Recueil*, 1:515, 533, 541, 561, 572, cited in Wightman, 193.

[72] Brown, R.A., 'Royal Castle-Building in England, 1154-1261', *Anglo-Norman Castles*, ed. R. Liddiard, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2003), 169; Colvin, *King's Works*, 771-775.

[73] Giraldus, *Opera*, 7: 69, cited in Wightman, 191.

[74] For a discussion of Richard de Lucy's role as justiciar, see Amt, E., 'Richard de Lucy, Henry II's justiciar', *Medieval Prosopography*, 9:1 (1988), 61-87.

[75] The *PR* documents indicate that building works had started in 1171 and that the castle was garrisoned by 1173. Additional work was carried out in 1175, 1193 and 1197, and a bridge and allures were repaired in 1199, Oswald, C.A., *Chilham*, (Derby, 1975), 4, 6. Fulbert de Lacy later assumed the surname de Dover.

[76] *AFM*, 1173, cited in Wightman, 191.

appropriate forms for the design of castles must surely have occurred on a regular basis. While at court he would have conversed intimately with the king and his fellow nobles over various matters of state. Just as the king and his vassals would have discussed strategy for the fortification and siege of castles, they also, presumably, discussed the latest techniques of castle planning and construction. It may have been during his time in Normandy in 1173 that de Lacy conceived of the plan for his unusual keep at Trim. It was, therefore, not only the designs he saw in person, but also those on the tongues of the royal retinue that informed the design of his own castle. Not only was the period around the construction at Trim marked by the proliferation of the polygonal or complex geometrical tower, but also royal expenditure on new stone fortresses was at a high point. The Pipe Rolls in existence for thirty-three years of Henry II's reign delineate building works at some ninety sites at a cost of just under £21,500.[77] Funds were spent on both timber and stone castles, on their repair and maintenance and on the construction of entirely new sites. The period immediately prior to the erection of de Lacy's castle (*c.*1154-75) saw royal works on no less than twenty-nine English strongholds and of these at least ten included the construction of new stone towers.[78] It is significant that the '... building and repair of Marcher castles in this period was not a severe burden upon the Exchequer,' and was compensated by the commissioning of castles by Marcher barons, responsible for the protection of their border estates.[79] The de Lacy lordship was in this region, and Gilbert de Lacy was involved in building works at Ludlow shortly after his English lands were restored to him.[80] It is also significant that out of the ten new royal castles underway during this period, most did not involve the construction of polygonal or complex geometrical towers. While variations on the standard rectangular keep plan were under construction at the time, more often than not, keeps were constructed along conventional lines. This only goes to highlight the role the patron must have played in the design of a castle when the keep was built to an unusual and unique plan, such as the case at Trim.

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[77] Brown, 'Royal Castle-Building in England, 1154-1261', 134.

[78] The majority of royal expenditure on castle works (1154-1216) was devoted to the improvement of existing fortresses. The construction of new castles was primarily found in conjunction with the acquisition of new territory, Brown, 'Royal Castle-Building in England, 1154-1261', 141. In the frontier region of the southeast, royal works were carried out at Arundel (Sussex), Chilham (Kent), Dover (Kent) and Canterbury (Kent); in the north at Scarborough (Yorkshire), Wark (Northumberland), Newcastle-on-Tyne (Northumberland) and Bowes (Durham); at the inland castles of Nottingham, Windsor (Berkshire), Winchester (Hampshire), Orford, (Suffolk), and Richmond (Yorkshire); and finally, in the Welsh Marches at Bristol (Gloucestershire), Gloucester, St Briavel's (Gloucestershire), Worcester, Hereford, Shrewsbury (Shropshire) and Bridgenorth (Shropshire), *ibid.*, 136-7.

[79] *Ibid.*, 137.

[80] Gilbert de Lacy's father, Roger, was banished from their English estates in 1096. As a result, his brother, Hugh inherited, Wightman, 169. Roger retired to Normandy and attained high office under Duke Robert between 1100 and 1106, *ibid.*, 171. Gilbert spent most of the years of the troubles between Stephen and Matilda attempting to regain his family estates and after the succession of Henry II, proved successful.

While he continued to build the more traditional rectangular tower, the few polygonal or complex geometrical keeps built under the direction of Henry II are significant for the understanding of Trim. The most noteworthy royal castle of this type was at Orford (Suffolk) [**Fig 2. 30**]. The entire complex was completed in a just eight seasons (1166 to 1173).[81] It was built to counter the political aspirations of Hugh Bigod, who possessed extensive lands in that area of Suffolk. The keep itself (the only remaining building within the complex) is composed of three rectangular towers projecting from a cylindrical core. Reminiscent of Houdan and a precedent for the design of Trim is the idea of towers projecting from a central space, large enough to contain chambers or other features, i.e. not merely ornamental buttresses. Although the castle at Orford provided a royal military stronghold against one of his lesser-trusted barons, the keep was not fundamentally a defensive structure. In fact, Heslop has shown that this polygonal tower, rather than protecting the keep from the dangerous undermining to which the corners were so often vulnerable, provided its would-be attackers with an additional two corners for picking and mining.[82] Furthermore, the only way the towers would have provided flanking fire was if the castle's defenders left themselves exposed to their besiegers; they would have had to peer '... over a merlon at the outermost corner to see even a fraction of the main face of the next tower'.[83] Having withstood Bigod's attacking forces almost immediately after its completion, the castle proved itself able to deter siege warfare. However, the keep itself appears to have functioned primarily as a royal residence. Each projecting tower had a separate and useful purpose, encasing a garderobe shoot, the spiral stair and the chimney flue [**Fig 2. 31**].

While this is not the case at Trim, where each tower contains medium sized chambers, a parallel can be drawn between Orford and another de Lacy family castle, the keep at Longtown (Herefordshire) [**Fig 2. 32**]. It too has three projecting buttresses, which housed

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[81] The keep and bailey at Orford were constructed in just eight seasons, for a total cost £1413 9*s* 2d. The construction of the '... great fosse round the castle of Orford with palisades and brattices ...' was probably hastened by the outbreak of a rebellion led by Hugh Bigod, who attacked this royal fortress in 1173-4. After Bigod's rebellion was quashed he was stripped of his lands and an order was made to raze all his castles, Brown, 'Royal Castle-Building in England, 1154-1261', 144; Colvin, *King's Works*, 769-771. Hugh Bigod was later able to buy back his estates and castles from Richard I, when the latter was in need of cash for the Third Crusade.

[82] William de Albini occupied Rochester castle in September 1215. King John personally led the siege of the castle, which is one of the most famous in medieval military history, during which his engineers dug a surface mine, which brought the southeast corner tower down. For a discussion of the keep, see Goodall, J., 'The Great Tower of Rochester Castle, *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rochester, BAACT 28*, eds. T. Ayers and T.W.T. Tatton-Brown, (Leeds, 2006), 265-99.

[83] Heslop, T.A., 'Orford Castle, Nostalgia and Sophisticated Living', *AH*, 34 (1991), 41.

the garderobe shoot, the spiral stair and a chimney flue [**Fig 2. 33**].[84] Walter de Lacy was particularly active in Herefordshire between 1214 and 1228 and would therefore have had ample opportunity to direct the construction of the keep.[85] Cylindrical keeps became prevalent in the Welsh Marches during the early thirteenth century, but polygonal or complex geometrical towers had all but vanished from new constructions by the second quarter of the century.[86] While this does not discount Walter entirely, the parallel functional use of the external buttresses or turrets (towers) at the royal castle at Orford (built in the 1160s), suggest that the keep at Longtown dates to the later twelfth century, and therefore to the impetus of Hugh de Lacy or his father, Gilbert de Lacy. This is based on the carved ornament in the first floor window of the tower. The voussoirs of the arch are each decorated on both the soffit and face with rosettes within roundels surrounded by a ring of billets [**Fig 2. 34**]. Similar ornamentation is found in the north doorway at Lullington (Somerset). Stalley described the inner order as '... ornament looking vaguely like ravioli'; the distinctive medallion is also found at Sarum (Wiltshire) and in the clerestory of Malmesbury (Wiltshire). [87] Comparisons with Old Sarum and Malmesbury suggest a date of between the 1130s and the 1160s for the ornamentation, however, there are several examples that have been dated to the 1170s and 1180s and the rosettes are, therefore, not the most useful means of dating the building.[88]

The construction of a number of polygonal or complex geometrical *donjon*s at English castles that coincide with work at Trim include the unusual eleven-sided castle at Tickhill (Yorkshire), built between 1179-82; Conisbrough (Yorkshire), dated to the early 1180s;

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[84] Newcastle and Ewyas Lacy were both mentioned in the *PR* for 1187, but these documents may be referring to the castles at Longtown and Ponthendre, Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain*, 231. A timber motte and bailey was probably begun at Longtown in the time of William fitz Osbern (1067-1071). Remfry suggested a number of patrons for the construction of Longtown: Hugh de Lacy (*c.*1162-86), Walter de Lacy (*c.*1194-1241) and William de Braose (*c.*1200-08). His suggestion of de Braose was based on de Braose's keep at Skenfrith (Monmouthshire, *c.*1201), with a single cylindrical buttress much like those built at Longtown, Remfry, P.M, *Longtown Castle, 1048-1241*, (Worcester, 1997), 2.

[85] Remfry, *Longtown Castle*, 33.

[86] Renn, D.F., 'The Round Keeps of the Brecon Region', *Arch. Cam.*, 110 (1961), 129-43.

[87] Stalley suggested that the same sculptor who worked on the north doorway at Lullington was also employed for some work at Old Sarum cathedral. The medallion ornament is also found at St. Cronan, Roscrea (Tipperary), Stalley, R., 19-20, 22.

[88] Rosettes were employed in many West Country churches including St. Andrew, Bredwardine (Herefordshire, nave doorways, on two faces of the lintels, first quarter twelfth century), St. Peter, Bromyard, (Herefordshire, chancel north doorway impost blocks, 1174-86), St. Mary Magdalene, Eardisley (Herefordshire, fragment, *c.*1120), St. John the Baptist, Beckford (Worcestershire, nave south doorway, capital, *c.*1160-75), St. Michael, Bockleton (Worcestershire, nave north doorway, *c.*1160s), St. Giles, Bredon (Worcestershire, loose circular cross head, *c.*1190), St. Nicholas, Earl's Croome (Worcestershire, east chancel window, *c.*1155-60), Holy Trinity, Eckington (Worcestershire, west doorway, between chevron), St. John the Baptist, Eldersfield (Worcestershire, south doorway), Netherton (Worcestershire, nave north doorway, last quarter of the twelfth century), St. Mary, Elmley Castle (Worcestershire, fragment south nave wall), St. Laurence, Queenhill (Worcestershire, fragment set in wall), etc. *CRSBI*

and the slightly later octagonal keep at Odiham (Kent), 1207-12.[89] Conisbrough was, like Orford, composed of a central round core with rectangular projecting towers, six rather than three. Goodall has included Conisbrough and Chilham as '... true comparisons to Orford ...' based on the fact that they, unlike Tickhill and Odiham, have passages and chambers built into the walls.[90] However, none are a match for the Greek Cross built at Trim. Most polygonal or complex geometrical towers, built during a relatively short period in castle construction, were without exact copies. The very nature of the polygonal tower allowed for greater scope in terms of external appearance. Patrons who chose unique forms might have followed a royal lead – Étampes and Orford – but personal taste and experimentation appears to have encouraged the proliferation of unorthodox ideas. It is within this cultural environment that de Lacy's keep at Trim must be addressed. What emerges, from a study of contemporary *donjon*s, is a prevailing concern among the military elite for demonstrating a 'cleverness' in castle design, a cleverness that would not have gone unnoticed at court. It constituted a 'one-upmanship' that has transcended time. It was an approach that often placed more emphasis on the exterior polygonal or complex geometrical design than the convenience of regular interior space. At Trim castle, however, the two requirements were balanced, the need for conventional square rooms and the wish to create an arresting exterior appearance. This was accomplished with the tower that appears to have taken its corner turrets and slid them around the keep forty-five degrees.

The de Lacy castle at Ludlow

Increasingly, the curtain wall with its mural towers became the focus of defence. Without this development the luxury of designing a multi-angular or polygonal centrepiece would not have become possible. The remains of Hugh de Lacy's curtain wall at Trim indicate the construction of at least three mural towers in addition to the gate tower. The first castle to site its mural towers (all open-backed bar the gate tower) systematically around the curtain in order to command the whole circuit was the royal castle at Dover.[91] However,

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[89] In 1178 and 1180 over £120 was spent on '... the work of the tower of Tickhill', *PR, 25 Henry II*, 25; *26 Henry II*, 76, cited in Colvin, *King's Works*, 844-5. For a brief discussion of the castle at Tickhill, see Walker, S.H. 'Tickhill Castle', *TTSN*, 41 (1938 for 1937), 91-4.

[90] Goodall, 'Chapter 6, The Early Angevin Castle, 1154-1199', (forthcoming), 5.

[91] The three mural towers along the inner bailey wall mirror the effect of the three pilaster buttresses built against the face of the keep, which created the semblance of a double keep, similar to those at Gisors (Eure) and Farnham (Surrey), Goodall, J., 'The Key of England', *Country Life*, 193:11 (18 March 1999), 47. Dover contained the first dated twin-towered gatehouse in English architecture. Other twin-towered gatehouses were constructed at Pevensey (Sussex) and Farnham, both dated to *c.*1200, Goodall, J., 'In the Powerhouse of Kent', *Country Life*, 193:12 (25 March 1999), 113; Goodall, 'The Key of England', 46. The cylindrical twin-

since construction at Dover did not commence until 1181, de Lacy must have looked elsewhere for a castle with multiple mural towers. Fortunately for him, he did not have to look very far. When Hugh inherited the de Lacy estates he came into the possession of a number of castles in England, the most important of which was located at Ludlow (Shropshire), with its pre-existing large stone complex.[92] Here, the cliffs offered a natural defence, which was improved by cutting a ditch into the natural rock.[93] Leland described the castle buildings as '... hemmeth in a Part of the Towne and standeth on a stronge Rocke well diched betwixt *Corne-Gate* and *Mille-Gate*'.[94] Ludlow was a unique design for its time, and still stands today with several unusual features. The construction of more than a single flanking tower was abnormal in castle designs before the mid-twelfth century; Ludlow was constructed with four (aside from the gate tower).[95] It has been suggested that the nearest parallel for Ludlow was the curtain wall at Richmond (Yorkshire). It was built under the auspices of Alan the Red, first Norman holder of the Honour of Richmond (1071-1099).[96] A number of rectangular towers are built into the curtain wall, one of which has chamfered exterior angles, similar to the Pendover and North-West Towers of Ludlow.[97] Richmond can also be compared with Ludlow because at both castles the original gate tower was later converted into a residential keep. The *donjon* at Ludlow was originally built flush against the curtain wall but when Gilbert de Lacy improved the

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towered gatehouse at Chepstow is now dated to *c.*1190 based on archaeology and dendrochronology, see chapter six.

[92] Most of de Lacy's castles do not have much surviving masonry. Robber trenches indicate that at one time there was a shell wall and a twin-towered gatehouse at Ewyas Harold, *PR,* 1187-9, cited in Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain*, 342. For Weobley, see Clark, G.T., 'The Castle of Ewias Harold', *Arch. Cam.*, 4th series, 8 (1877), 116. The motte was probably surmounted by a shell keep, either circular or many sided, with towers or a gatehouse indicated by circular pits, *ibid.*, 118. A limestone kiln on the south side of the castle, near the line of the entrance, indicates that there were masonry buildings on the site, and Leland, in whose time much of the castle was standing, mentions the Chapel of St Nicholas, of which all trace is also lost, *ibid.*, 120. 'There is a village by the Castle callyd *Ewis Haralde*, in the whiche was a Priorie or Cell of Black Mones translatyd from Dulesse Village a Myle and upper on the Broke', Leland, *Itinerary*, 8: 52, f 84b. Clifford (Stanton Lacy) had a shell wall at the top of the motte, studded with round towers. The foundations of a rectangular keep survive, Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain*, 144.

[93] The bailey at Ludlow was quadrant shaped with a radius of 70 meters. It is similar to earlier castles overlooking major river-crossings, such as Barnard, (Durham), Goodrich (Herefordshire), Wigmore (Herefordshire) and Monmouth, Renn, 'The Norman Military Works', *Ludlow Castle*, 125.

[94] Leland, *Itinerary*, 4: 95, f 179b.

[95] The castle dates to the eleventh century, Renn, 'The Norman Military Works', 125. The gatehouse survives along with the same type of square 'open gorge' mural towers found at Framlingham (Suffolk) and Sherborne (Dorset). Early surviving gatehouses with contemporary mural towers of a different type are found at Richmond (Yorkshire), Newark (Nottinghman) and possibly at both Sarum (Wiltshire) and Manorbier (Glamorgan), Brown, *The Architecture of Castles*, (London, 1984), 28; White, P., 'Changes to the Castle Keep', *Ludlow Castle*, 139.

[96] In 1071, William the Conqueror granted Richmond to Alan Rufus, Count of Penthièvre (Brittany). The planning and construction of the town was contemporary to the castle and the rather triangular shape of the castle precinct sits within the circular shape of the town like a '... slice of cake', Goodall, J., 'Richmond Castle, Yorkshire', *Country Life*, 197:20 (15 May 2003), 149.

[97] Renn, 'The Norman Military Works', *Ludlow Castle,* 126-7; Peers, Sir C., *Richmond Castle, Yorkshire*, (London, 1984), 3.

design in the mid-twelfth century, it was extended beyond the exterior face of the curtain [**Fig 2. 35**].[98] It was probably Duke Conan IV of Brittany who transformed the gate tower at Richmond in the 1160s [**Fig 2. 36**]. Precedents for this type of modification include the royal castles at Bamburgh (Northumberland)[99] and Carlisle (Cumbria).[100] It may be important that Richmond was located near the lands of the elder branch of the de Lacy family, centred at Pontefract (Yorkshire).[101]

The most unusual building in the castle at Ludlow was the circular chapel built by Gilbert de Lacy and dedicated to the military order of the Templars [**Fig 2. 37**]. In order to understand the significance of this act of patronage in relation to the keep at Trim it is necessary to return briefly to the symbolic function of twelfth century castles. And the symbolism was at times quite specific. Dover castle, for example, was designed not merely as a fortification but as a unique display of political propaganda. It was a grand piece of architecture that cost the crown nearly £6000 over seven seasons [**Fig 2. 38**].[102] It stands at the shortest crossing point between England and the Continent, a vital position described by Matthew Paris as 'the Key to England'.[103] The strategic location played an important role in its design, but there were other important factors behind its construction, namely, the growing anti-monarchical cult of Thomas Becket. Dover is located on the

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[98] Renn, 'The Norman Military Works', *Ludlow Castle*, 126; White, 'Changes to the Castle Keep', *Ludlow Castle*, 142. The historical context suggest a date for major building works at Ludlow to either *c.*1139 (the time of the great siege) or the private war between Gilbert de Lacy and Joce de Dinan (1148-56), Renn, 'The Norman Military Works', *Ludlow Castle*, 133.

[99] Work on the tower at Bamburgh was carried out in 1163-4, '... *in operatione turris de Baenburc* ...', *PR, 10 Henry II*, 1, and again in 1167-8, '... *in operatione castelli de Baenburc* ...', *PR, 14 Henry II*, 169, cited in Colvin, *King's Works*, 554-60. The keep was begun by Earl Henry during the reign of King Stephen and would account for certain resemblances to his father's keep at Carlisle, Colvin, *King's Works*, 554-60.

[100] There were two principal eleventh-century gateways that led to the town. Three rectangular towers were built along the original stone curtain wall, *ibid.*, 595-600; Goodall, 'Richmond Castle, Yorkshire', 149. Others examples of castles with square towers built alongside entrance doorways are found at Bridgend (Glamorgan), Kenilworth (Warwickshire) and Lydney (Gloucestershire), Renn, 'The Norman Military Works', *Ludlow Castle*, 133. At Richmond, the eleventh century entry arch was encased in the twelfth century tower. Both Pevensey (Sussex) and Portchester (Hampshire) towers encase earlier buildings, whilst the country house at Castle Acre (Norfolk) lined rather than encased the great tower of *c.*1140, *ibid.*, 133.

[101] The elder branch of the de Lacy family also arrived in the wake of the Norman invasion of England and held estates in Yorkshire centred at Pontefract (Yorkshire) and Selby (Yorkshire), where Henry de Lacy built a castle soon after 1143. It was besieged within a week of building commencement, *Historia Selebiensis Monasterii* in *Coucher Book, Selby*, 1: 33, cited in Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain*, 307-8. A castle was mentioned at Clitheroe (Lancashire) in 1123-4, *EYC*, 3: 1486; Clark, G.T., *Medieval Military Architecture*, (London, 1884), 1: 397-402; cited in Renn, *op. cit.*, 146. The rectangular keep with turrets was probably built by Roger de Lacy (1177-94), McNulty, J., 'The Endowment of the Chapel of Saint Michael in Clitheroe Castle', *THSLC*, 91 (1939), 159-63; McNulty, J., 'Clitheroe Castle and its Chapel: Their Origins', *THSLC*, 93 (1941), 45-53 quoting *Monasticoni* 5: 533, cited in Renn, *op. cite.*, 146.

[102] The castle was garrisoned within three years of construction works having commenced, and by 1185-6 work was undergoing on the '... girdle around the Tower'. Maurice *Ingeniator* was named as the engineer of works at Dover between 1182-86. He is also found working on Newcastle, prior to his post at Dover (1172-77), Goodall, 'The Key of England', 45.

[103] '*Clavis Angliae*', *CM,* 28.

road to Canterbury cathedral, where a new chancel was completed between 1180-84, while work at Dover began in 1181. Goodall has argued, convincingly, that Dover represented a '... visible assertion of Henry's power...[an] answer to Becket's cult as suggested both by [the] astonishing scale on which it was conceived and by [the] form and detailing of its centrepiece, the keep'.[104] The symbolic associations behind the castle were echoed in the visual detail. The elaborate forebuilding served a ceremonial role, as a contemporary twelfth-century ground floor doorway makes the elaborate entranceway technically superfluous.[105] Above the ground level doorway, in the second storey, was a doorway that seemingly led to nowhere (now converted into a widow), which probably acted as a dais,[106] or balcony, presumably for royal appearances.[107] The forebuilding itself contained two chapels, the upper one for the king's private use, and the lower one for 'the public'. Both had identical moulding profiles and decorative motifs, although the upper chapel is vaulted. More importantly, the cut stone details from these chapels are paralleled at Canterbury cathedral, supporting Goodall's argument. He has even suggested that one of the chapels was dedicated to Thomas Becket as '... a calculated act of appropriation'.[108]

With this in mind, the relationship between Ludlow, Gilbert de Lacy, Hugh de Lacy and the keep at Trim can be examined. The chapel of St Mary Magdalene was unusual from its very conception, as detached stone-built chapels in English castles were rare in the early Middle Ages, and the only other known examples to be identified are at Pevensey (Sussex) [**Fig 2. 39**],[109] Hereford[110] and Castle Rising (Norfolk) (it was either the parish church displaced by the castle or the chapel of an earlier dwelling).[111] It is important to note that

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[104] Goodall, 'In the Powerhouse of Kent', 110.

[105] The grand entrance as a phenomenon is first seen as early as *c.*930-940 at Doué-la-Fontaine (Maine-et-Loire). When the burnt out ground floor hall was converted into a towered keep it was provided with a timber forebuilding, Boürd, M. de, 'De l'Aula au Donjon: les Fouilles de la Motte de la Chapelle à Doué-la-Fontaine (X-XI Siècle)', *Arch. Med.*, 3 (1973), 5-110, cited in Marshall, P., 'The Ceremonial Function of the *Donjon*', *CG*, 20 (2000), 141.

[106] The castles at Richmond and Newcastle both have a dais with a balcony.

[107] Goodall, 'In the Powerhouse of Kent', 111.

[108] The chapels at Dover have Romanesque not Gothic features, Goodall, *op. cit.*, 112. Saint's cults associated with John de Courcy are discussed in chapter four. Unfortunately, further development of lordly devotion to particular saints and saints' cults and their influence on patronage is outside the scope of this thesis.

[109] At Pevensey a two-cell rectangular structure with a north aisle was demolished in 1250 when a new chapel was constructed.

[110] The chapel of St Marin *in castello de Herefordia* was a three-cell building, built in the later eleventh century to replace a timber church as part of St Guthlac's Minster. It was left standing to serve the castle when the religious site within the bailey was abandoned in favour of a new location east of city after 1140. It survived until the eighteenth century, supplanted as the principal castle chapel in 1233 by the new chapel in Henry III's great tower.

[111] A three-cell chapel was built at Castle Rising, while the established chapelry for the castle served only until the later twelfth century, Liddiard, R., 'Castle Rising, Norfolk: a 'Landscape of Lordship'?', *ANS*, 22 (2000 for 1999), 169-86. Fernie briefly discusses the chapel in *Architecture of Norman England*, 222-23.

Ilbert de Lacy founded a chapel dedicated to St. Clement in the bailey of Pontefract castle.[112] It too was a detached structure, apparently constructed on top of an earlier Saxon building, with an addition of an apsidal chancel in the second half of the twelfth century. It was constructed at the impetus of either Ilbert de Lacy II or Henry de Lacy.[113] The plan of the chapel at Ludlow was quite exceptional – the circular form falls into a class of churches that took inspiration from the *anastasis* of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Imitations of the Holy Sepulchre not only existed in great numbers but were also dependent on a model that was (and still is) preserved. Despite this fact, buildings that imitated the original are surprisingly varied in form.[114] According to medieval contemporaries, it seems that '... approximate similarity of the geometrical pattern evidently satisfied the minds of the medieval [man]... to the medieval eyes anything that had more than four sides was approximately a circle'.[115] The form of the *anastasis* rotunda may not have been copied precisely, but the military orders of the Templars and Hospitallers often adopted its centralised plan. Examples of the centralised plan are found near Ludlow at the Templar church of Garway (Herefordshire). However, the church at Garway appears to post date Ludlow, since Henry II did not grant those lands to the Templars until the 1180s.[116] However, both St. Giles in Hereford, founded between 1141-1155, and Temple Church in London, which moved to its current location in 1161 and was consecrated in 1185, offer contemporary or, in the case of St. Giles, earlier examples of a centralised nave.[117] Christopher Wilson believes Temple Church, London was erected in

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[112] The chapel was dedicated during the reign of William I, Holmes, R., ed., 'Dodsworth Yorkshire Notes: the Wapentake of Osgoldcross', *YAJ*, 12 (1893), 52 (12, 42-77); Holmes, R., The Foundation of St. Clement's in the Castle of Pontefract (*Mon. Ang.* 659, 660)', *YAJ*, 14 (1898), 147-57. The Cluniac priory of St. John's was given custody of St. Clements' chapel, Holmes, 'The Foundation of St. Clement's'; Roberts, I., *Pontefract Castle, Archaeological Excavations 1982-86*, (Leeds, 2002), 71.

[113] A coin from Stephen's reign (1135-49) was found in the make-up deposits of the raised eastern end of the chancel, Roberts, *Pontefract Castle*, 86.

[114] Krautheimer, R., 'Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture', *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art*, (London, 1969), 117.

[115] Gregory of Nyssa described the plan of an octagonal church as forming '... a circle with eight angles ...' although he apologised for his somewhat loose terminology, *Gregory of Nyssa*, f. 76, cited in Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, 119. To Arculf (who visited the Near East in the seventh century) the octagonal church of the Ascension of the Mount of Olives, the Imbomon, was a 'rotunda' and so too was the complicated plan of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Arculf's plan is found in Adamnanus, *De Locis Sanctis*, f. 219, cited in Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, 119.

[116] The Knights Templars did not arrive in England until 1128 when the first house was established in London – the church of Holy Sepulchre in Cambridge is unlikely to pre-date *c.*1130, Coppack, G., 'The Round Chapel of St Mary Magdalene', *Ludlow Castle*, 150. For a history of the Knights Templars in Wales, see Rees, W., *A History of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh border, Including an Account of the Templars*, (Cardiff, 1947).

[117] The Priory of St. John of Jerusalem in Clerkenwell, outside the north wall of London, founded in the second quarter of the twelfth century by Jordan Bricett, was also built with a round nave, Clapham, A.W. and W. Godfrey, *Some Famous Buildings and their Story*, (London, 1913), 165-78. Hamer has corrected the date of St. Giles from the document assigning lands in 1158, Hamer, E.R., 'Patronage and Iconography in Romanesque England: The Herefordshire School in Context', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 1992), cited in Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England*, 192.

the 1160s.[118] Other examples of churches dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre include Simon de Senli's church at Northampton and David I's now lost foundation at Roxburgh.[119] The chapel at Ludlow, like many Templar churches, simulated the original martyrium of the Holy Sepulchre. It was presumably built in the 1150s under the direction of Gilbert de Lacy.[120] A blind arcade runs around the interior wall of the chapel at Ludlow, supported on trumpet scallop capitals with a variety of incised ornament [**Fig 2. 40**]. The arches alternate between roll mouldings and chevron, echoed in the doorway and chancel arch. Gilbert's devotion to the Military Orders is further indicated by his grant to the Templars of the manor of Temple Guiting in Gloucestershire.[121] Later, he took up the cross as a Templar, travelled to the Holy Land, and was there immortalised by William of Tyre.[122] He is mentioned one last time, in September 1163, helping to defeat the Saracen leader Nur-al-Din at the Castle of Kar (Tripoli).[123] William of Tyre described his participation as follows, 'Gilbert de Lacy, a nobleman of high rank, an experienced warrior and commander of the Knights Templars in those parts, led this expedition'.[124] In fact, Gilbert

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[118] *pers. comm.*, R. Stalley. Wilson, C., 'The Second Twelfth-Century Temple Church: Southern England's First Gothic Building?', (paper delivered at the conference entitled: 'In Despight of the Devouring Flame': The Temple Church in London, 14 June 2008).

[119] Little is known about Roxburgh, except that it is mentioned in a charter of Dryburgh Abbey. Northampton was probably the inspiration behind David I's foundation, *pers. comm.*, R. Orm. The upper storey of Northampton was rebuilt *c.*1375, the north aisle was added *c.*1200 and the north doorway *c.*1170-80 but the original fabric belongs to *c.*1110, *CRSBI, Holy Sepulchre, Northampton, Northamptonshire*; *Inventory of Historic Monuments in the County of Northampton*, (London, 1985), 5: . The arcading of the nave distinguishes an aisle circumventing the central space, more akin to Temple Church, London, than the blind arcading of the chapel at Ludlow. More importantly, it was founded after Simon de Senlis' return from the First Crusade in 1099, associating it with other rotundas dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre in England. In addition, it was always a parish church, probably for personal commemoration, this being the most likely similarity between the Northampton foundation at that within the castle grounds at Ludlow. Other round churches which no longer exist include those at Holborn, Bristol, Dover, Asleckby and Temple Bruerne (Lincolnshire), *CRSBI, Holy Sepulchre, Northampton*.

[120] The architectural detailing of the church at Ludlow is not earlier than the 1120s or 1130s but would make more sense if it dated to the 1150s and the patronage of Gilbert de Lacy, Coppack, G., 'The Round Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene', *Ludlow Castle*, 145-54.

[121] For Gilbert's grants of lands and other facilities in Ewyas Lacy to the prior at Ewyas Harold, see Walker, D., ed., 'A Register of the Churches of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester', *An Ecclesiastical Miscellany*, (1976), nos. 139 and 140 and for those to Abbey Dore (Herefordshire), which had been founded in 1147, see Dungale, *Mon. Ang.*, 5: 555, charter 10. He also gave his assent to an exchange of lands in Castle Frome between the prior of St Guthlac's and Walter FitzHingan (StGC, f. 151, no. 190), cited in Lees, B.A., ed., *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185 with Illustrative Charters and Documents*, (London, 1935), 47.

[122] Shortly after Christmas 1159, Gilbert left his estates to his son Robert and set out for Palestine, *PR, 2-4 Hen II*, 170; Delisle and Berger, *Recueil*, no. 141, cited in Coppack, 'The Round Chapel of St Mary Magdalene', *Ludlow Castle*, 150.

[123] Walker, D., 'A Letter from the Holy Land', *EHR*, 72 (1957), 665, where a letter to the king from Walter of Hereford, then at Jerusalem, is witnessed by *fratribus Templi* Gilbert de Lacy and Warin de Mountchesney, Coplestone-Crow, B., 'From Foundation to the Anarchy', *Ludlow: Its History and Buildings*, 34.

[124] The passage goes on to say that, '... he was assisted by the two great men named above [Godfrey, surnamed Martel, brother of the count of Angoulême, and Hugh de Lusignan the elder, surnamed Brown, both had come from Aquitaine on pilgrimage and after they had accomplished this had gone to Antioch], by Robert Mansel who commanded the Galensians on that expedition, and by some other knights'. The defeat of

was not the only member of the de Lacy family who patronised the Templars. Both Walter and Hugh de Lacy II, sons of the first lord of Meath, as well as Matilda de Lacy (daughter of Walter) established churches for the military orders in Ireland.

The design of the castle

The chapel at Ludlow and Gilbert de Lacy's devotion to the crusades may shed light on what may have lain behind the use of the Greek Cross as the basis for the plan of the keep at Trim. As recent excavations revealed at Trim, the keep and the curtain wall were converted to stone at the same time, and as such the might of the curtain wall enabled the patron greater scope for the *donjon*, in terms of design. De Lacy was certainly aware of the most recent siege and defensive techniques in castle construction and he would have also been aware of the symbolic role a castle held. Heslop observed, '... that the form [at Orford] was not primarily devised with military requirements in mind'.[125] If it had a symbolic function, then what is the meaning of its design: why the 'Greek Cross' [**Fig 2. 41**]?

The *anastasis* had long been emulated in church constructions, not just by the military orders from the time of the First Crusade. Many early Christian *martyria* – buildings raised over the site of a martyr's grave – also evoked the plan of the *anastasis*. Copies of the *anastasis* took a variety of forms, including oval, polygonal or cross-shaped. It was the idea behind the plan that was important – the medieval theory of symbolic significance – '... its dedication, or relation of its shape to a specific dedication or to a specific religious purpose'.[126] The *martyrium* of St. Babylas, Kaoussié (Antioch), begun in AD 379, is an example of a Greek Cross plan [**Fig 2. 42**]. The church consisted of four arms of equal length extending form the central square. The central space served as the chancel, sheltering the altar, the grave of the saint, and graves of two of his successors to the episcopal throne of Antioch.[127] Its model had been, as Krautheimer has pointed out, Constantine's Church of the Apostles, and it '... shows the progressive absorption of the

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Nureddin must have been in 1163 at the very latest, Lundgreen, F., ed., *Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden*, (Berlin, 1911), 99-100; Babcock and Krey, *William of Tyre*, 2, book 19: 8, 306. Translated from '... *Fuerunt autem huius expeditions duces Gillibertus de Laci, vir nobilis et in armis exercitatus, preceptor fratrum militia Templi in partibus illis, et magni duo predicti viri et Robertus Mansel, qui Galensibus in eadam expeditione preerat, et alii pauci*', *Guillaume de Tyr, Chronique*, 2, book 19: 8.

[125] Heslop, 'Orford Castle', 41.

[126] Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture', 115.

[127] A pyramidal timber roof presumably surmounted the central square and the side arms were lower, aisleless and were also covered with timber roofs, Krautheimer, R., *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, (London, 1989, 4th ed.), 75.

martyrium plan as a regular church type'.[128] At a time when so much emphasis was placed on the symbolism of form, can it really have been a coincidence that de Lacy chose a form associated with church design when his father built a centralised church dedicated to the Templars within his castle at Ludlow?

Furthermore, many Templar churches, built on the centralised plan, often employed six supports; eight and twelve also appear as important numbers in medieval construction. These figures were a means of reproducing '... an important feature of the Rotunda at Jerusalem: carried on twenty supports, viz. eight piers and twelve columns'.[129] When we examine the plan of Trim, both the numbers twelve and twenty appear prominent; it has twelve corners and twenty exterior surfaces between the corners. If the design was deliberately linked with the Greek Cross, as it appears to be, why was such a connection made? Crusaders adopted the cross as a symbol of their affiliation during the First Crusade. Pope Innocent II initiated a policy of sewing a red cross upon the tunic of a crusader. Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, and first ruler of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, adopted an equal armed cross, with four smaller crosses between the arms, as the coat of arms of the kingdom.[130] In an early thirteenth century copy of the *Histoire d'Outremer*, by William of Tyre, Godfrey is depicted leading his men, with several equal armed crosses upon his shield [**Fig 2. 43**].

There is no record of Hugh de Lacy having ever travelled to the East, so how could he then have developed an interest in the Greek Cross? The form itself was not unknown in the west but its association with eastern architecture and crusaders is found on artefacts and monuments throughout Europe. A Greek Cross is engraved upon the twelfth-century effigy of the crusader Gerard I, Count of Vaudemont, and his wife, found in the Chapelle des Cordeliers, Nancy (Meurthe-et-Moselle) [**Fig 2. 44**]. It stands forward of his breastplate, as a symbol of his having 'taken up the cross'. Another example is found on the shield of a Knight Templar in the twelfth-century frescos in the Templar church of Cressac-sur-Charente (Angoulême) [**Fig 2. 45**].[131] Coincidentally, the fresco series commemorated the actual battle at La Boquea where Gilbert de Lacy was a commander. Although there is no evidence that de Lacy had ever been to either church, there is no

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[128] *Ibid.*, 75.
[129] Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture', 123.
[130] Riley-Smith, J., 'The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon', *BIHR*, 52 (1979), 83-86; Murray, A.V., 'The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon as Ruler of Jerusalem', *Collegium Medievale*, 3 (1990), 163-78.
[131] The fresco series depicted scenes of battles, and perhaps the famous battle of La Boquea in 1163 at the foot of Krak des Chevaliers (Syria). The Templars did not build it, but it was certainly employed as a place a refuge for them.

reason to discount the possibility that he saw similar monuments elsewhere. The Greek Cross was a well known symbol, but its association with crusaders could have become familiar to de Lacy through portable artefacts such as coins and seals, like those from Antioch [**Fig 2. 46**] and Jerusalem [**Fig 2. 47**]. Furthermore, de Lacy did not have to look very far for the employment of the symbol; one of the capitals in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene in the de Lacy castle of Ludlow is carved with two equal armed crosses on the trumpets of the scallops [**Fig 2. 48**]. A man whose father was not only an avid builder, but also a supporter of the Templars and a crusader who famously defeated Nur-al-Din might have quite deliberately conceived the Greek Cross plan of Trim. The plan, once decided, was easily laid out on the ground using ropes and pegs. Although multifaceted, each unit was based on the square. The diagonal of the central square was employed to determine the size of the smaller rectangular side towers.[132] In fact, by being based on the square rather than the circle, the design at Trim would have been easier to execute than polygonal castles with more complex geometrical shapes.

Conclusion

Hugh de Lacy initiated the construction of a castle complex in the province of Meath, along the Boyne River. Work began *c.*1175 with the building of both the curtain wall and keep. The west gate tower and at least three mural towers along the riverfront were completed by 1186 when de Lacy died. Ludlow had been built with four mural towers, not including the gate tower, in the curtain defences. De Lacy came into possession of this castle, the most important of the de Lacy English strongholds, in the early 1160s. It must have conditioned the way he thought about castle design when he was later faced with the task of erecting the castle at Trim. His many travels brought him into contact with numerous other fortresses and these too must have played a role in the development of his plans for Trim. For a relatively short period, from about the mid twelfth century to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, keeps of various plans were the height of fashion. A number of distinct and never repeated shapes were developed by what appears to have been a clever and competitive court centred elite. It was within this world that de Lacy built the Greek Cross plan at Trim castle.

The Greek Cross was a common symbol but it was often associated with church architecture, particularly in the east, and with the crusades. The military orders often

[132] Stalley has discussed the geometry of the keep in 'The Anglo-Norman Keep at Trim: its Architectural Implications', *AI*, 6:4 (1992), 16-19.

employed centralised plans in their church designs. As Krautheimer has explained, the centralised plan, whether oval, polygonal or Greek Cross, mimicked the form of the *anastasis* in Jerusalem. Trim is essentially a square keep with four projecting towers. The logical and more orthodox solution would have been to incorporate them at the corners and turn them into angle turrets. Perhaps their location at the sides allowed for larger chambers, but perhaps too the layout offered a very different overall form – the cross. If any centralised plan would have produced the same effect, then why not build a cylindrical tower like the chapel at Ludlow? What de Lacy eventually built at Trim appears to have been a compromise between contemporary polygonal or complex geometrical keeps (the unique design), traditional rectangular castles and an enigmatic symbol often associated with the crusades.

In an age marked by experimentation in keep design, with a variety of polygonal and geometric shapes under construction, it is no surprise to find de Lacy building yet another unique structure. What becomes clear, upon examination of his life and family, is that there was more behind the plan of the keep than the desire to create an unusual design. It is not surprising, given the extent of his father's devotion to the Templars and crusades – his financial support, architectural patronage and religious devotion – that de Lacy chose the Greek Cross as the basis for his keep at Trim castle [**Fig 2. 49**]. It would not be surprising to find that at least some of the various shapes employed at other unique *donjon*s throughout northern Europe also held some symbolic meaning. Perhaps by examining their patrons the significance may reveal itself.

This chapter has detailed the rich architectural symbolism with which de Lacy architecture was imbued and suggested new research directions in the analysis of castle architecture. This includes an examination of the patron as well as his past in an effort to produce a greater understanding of the relationship between patron and building. Can the religious architecture sponsored by the de Lacy family also be a witness to the impact of secular patronage? In the following chapter the religious foundations of Hugh de Lacy will be subjected to the same rigorous contextualisation as has been exercised above.

CHAPTER 3: HUGH DE LACY AND THE BENEDICTINES

Introduction

Between 1172, when Henry II granted the lordship of Meath to Hugh de Lacy, and the latter's death in 1186, de Lacy established a priory cell at Fore (Westmeath) [**Fig 3. 1**] for the Benedictine monks of St. Taurin, Évreux (Eure). While this is the only one of his Irish religious foundations to have contemporary standing masonry, it was not an isolated act of patronage. Some of the most important endowments, in terms of contemporary architecture, were his grants to the combined Augustinian houses of Llanthony Prima (Monmouthshire) and Secunda (Gloucestershire). This included the establishment of administrative cells at Colp (Meath) and Duleek (Meath). While early endowments from the de Lacy family at the beginning of the twelfth century enabled the establishment of a priory at Llanthony, it was the Irish revenue gained through Hugh de Lacy's patronage that stimulated the rebuilding of the abbey [**Fig 3. 2**]. As the result of damage caused to several Irish houses during his military campaigns in Meath, de Lacy paid for the re-foundation or rebuilding of the Augustinian priories at Kells (Meath) and Trim (Meath).[1] In addition, he became a benefactor of the Irish Cistercian monastery at Bective (Meath) [**Fig 3. 3**] and the Anglo-Norman Augustinian house of St. Thomas the Martyr, Dublin. After de Lacy's beheading these two houses disputed the rights to his body (and head), which presumably came with a mortuary fee in compensation for perpetual prayer.[2] Somehow his body was interred at Bective, while his head was transported to Dublin and that is how it remained until 1205 when the case was ruled in favour of the Augustinian house and his head was once again reunited with his body.[3]

Unlike other Anglo-Norman lords, such as William Marshal and John de Courcy, de Lacy neglected the Cistercian Order almost summarily in favour of the Augustinians and Benedictines. According to Giraldus Cambrensis, in the late twelfth century the Rule of

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[1] John, as Lord of Ireland, issued a confirmation charter to Kells in 1192. The original charter for Trim is not extant but references in the Irish Llanthony charters suggest the abbey was restored or rebuilt before 1188-91, suggesting Hugh de Lacy was the patron, due to the fact that Walter did not gain seisin of his Irish estates until 1194, Gwynn and Hadcock, 181, 196.

[2] See chapter one, note 60.

[3] De Lacy was beheaded in 1186 while observing building works at Durrow castle, Gwynn and Hadcock, 128, 172; *Reg. St. Thomas, Dublin*, xiii, xv. For the decree in relation to the body of Hugh de Lacy see, *ibid.*, 348-51 and *Cart. St Mary's, Dublin*, 2: 305. His death is recorded by numerous annals, *A. LochCé*, 1186; *AFM*, 1186; *AU*, 1186; Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 2: 309; *Gesta Hen.*, 1: 350, 361; Diceto, 2: 626; and William of Newburgh, 1: 239-40, who says that the news of Hugh's death was welcomed by Henry II.

St. Augustine '... was preferred to all others ...'.[4] Additionally, his peers tended to establish new priories or abbeys in Ireland colonised with monks from English houses. De Lacy, on the other hand, appears to have granted manors and tithes only for the benefit of foreign houses, not for the creation of new ones. What often resulted was the foundation of what is referred to as an administrative cell. A cell was not an independent conventual priory, but rather a community of administrators. These were often composed of only a few monks, established in order to supervise the collection of rents and other income. As Matthews has explained, the two or three monks in such establishments were '... little more than custodians intent on sending the revenue to its mother house'.[5]

When Walter de Lacy gained seisin of his father's lordship, he confirmed and increased the endowments to both Llanthony and Évreux.[6] The de Lacy family maintained ties with St. Taurin's as witnessed by a story told about the de Lacy brothers, Walter and Hugh, who, after King John expelled them from Ireland, took refuge at the abbey. It is said that while participating in menial work their identity was discovered by an abbot who interceded with the king on their behalf.[7] While the tale is more tall than true (it was William Marshal who was instrumental in reviving Walter de Lacy's career), the story reflects the value the monastery must have placed on its association with them.[8]

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[4] Giraldus, *Journey Through Wales*, 101. Giraldus related a conversation between Fulk, '... a virtuous and holy man ...', and King Richard regarding the 'humble and modest life' of the Augustinian canons over all others. 'Fulk told the king, "You have three daughters and as long as they remain with you, you will never receive the grace of God. Their names are Superbia, Luxuria and Cupiditas". Richard replied, "I have already given these daughters of mine away in marriage. Pride I gave to the Templars, Lechery I gave to the Black Monks and Covetousness to the White Monks",' *ibid.*, 105.

[5] Matthew, D., *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions*, (Oxford, 1962), 51. The majority of Norman houses had only estates [in England] run by single monks as bailiffs, Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales*, 40.

[6] Hugh de Lacy II, earl of Ulster, confirmed the church of St. Peter, Drogheda, to both houses of Llanthony, *c.*1200-05, together with the church of Weobley in England, '... as my brother Lord Walter de Lacy had confirmed them', Hogan, A., *The Priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda in Ireland*, (Dublin, 2009), 67.

[7] The story goes on to say that Walter de Lacy was so grateful to the abbot for helping to restore him to his former lordship he granted the abbot's nephew, John Fitz Alured, the lordship of Dengyn. Furthermore, he brought monks from St. Taurin and gave them farms and the cell called Foure, Laud MS Annals, printed in *Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin*, 2: 311. The story is also reproduced in the *Book of Howth*, 121; *Grace's Annales*; etc. The original endowment was given by Hugh de Lacy, lord of Meath, *CDF*, 1: 105. The witnesses of this charter compare with those on de Lacy's grant to William le Petit, *Song of Dermot*, 310. Walter de Lacy increased the endowments, Orpen, 254, 254 n43, 254 n44.

[8] Walter also founded a cell at BeyBeg (Meath) for French Cistercians from Beaubec (Seine-Maritime), a preceptory for Knights Hospitallers at Kilmainhambeg (Meath) and a priory for nuns at Ballymore, Loughsewdy (Westmeath). Hugh de Lacy II established a house for Hospitallers at St. John at Ards, Castleboy (Down), a hospital or hospice of St. Brigid, Kilixby (Westmeath), and two Franciscan friaries, one at Carrickfergus (Antrim, *c.*1232) and the other in Downpatrick (*c.*1240). Margaret de Lacy, one of Walter's daughters, was named as the patron of a convent for nuns at Gageborough (Offaly) and two houses for Knights Templars – Kilsaran (Louth) and Templetown or Cooley (Louth), Gwynn and Hadcock.

What makes de Lacy's choice of St. Taurin's so interesting is that by the end of the twelfth century Norman Benedictine houses were no longer the beneficiaries of the sizeable religious endowments that often followed large secular grants. That being the case, what led him to make such an endowment? If Fore was initially established as a cell then why was the monastery built in stone and was there precedent for such building programmes at monastic cells? This raises the question of the date of the existing buildings at Fore and the extent to which the architecture goes back to the late twelfth century. While the church and cloister were truncated in the fifteenth century, can the original layout be reconstructed? How does it fit into the context of Early Gothic architecture? Are there any architectural relationships between Fore and its Norman mother house? Does the design relate to contemporary Irish or English buildings? As the medieval reconstruction at Llanthony Prima was stimulated by de Lacy's endowments, is there a relationship between these two de Lacy benefactions?[9] Finally, we need to establish whether de Lacy was in any way responsible for the building works at his monastic foundation in Westmeath?

Two of the monastic houses patronised by the de Lacy family rank highest in prestige in terms of both manorial endowments and their architectural connections with Ireland. These were the Augustinian monastery at Llanthony Prima and the Benedictine house of St. Taurin, Évreux. In order to better appreciate the relationship these two churches had with Irish building works, it is important to give a brief history of each house and set in context the relevant architecture.

Llanthony Prima

Llanthony Prima was originally a small foundation housed in the '... humble chapel of St. David the Archbishop, *c.*1108'.[10] It drew part of its original community from the Augustinian houses of Merton (Surrey), St. Botolph's, Colchester (Essex) and Holy

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[9] Hugh de Lacy, lord of Meath (*d.*1186), was described by Giraldus as the greatest benefactor of Llanthony, Hogan, *Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, 23-4. The abbey was initially established by William, a knight of Hugh de Lacy (*d.c.*1115), and a chaplain of Queen Maud called Ernisius. These endowments enabled Llanthony to be instituted as a priory of Augustinian canons, *ibid.*, 24-5. Hugh de Lacy (*d.c.*1115) was described as the founder in a bull of Innocent II dated to 1131, Cowley, F.G., *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066-1349*, (Cardiff, 1977), 30; Brooks, *Llanthony*, v.

[10] Hugh de Lacy (*d.c.*1115) was the '... first to support the new foundation at Llanthony in Wales by the generous gift of tithes and benefices in the lands situated within his demesne', Giraldus, *Journey Through Wales*, 100; Hogan, *op. cit.*, 23.

Trinity, London.[11] According to Giraldus the community at Llanthony was impoverished until they were '... endowed with land and church benefices ... by Hugh de Lacy [*d.c.*1115], its original lord and master'.[12] It was his great nephew and namesake, the first lord of Meath, who increased the endowments with lucrative manors in Ireland. In fact, with the exception of Hugh Tyrell and Gilbert de Nangle, all of the knights known to have been granted land in Meath by de Lacy gave the tithes of their manors to Llanthony.[13] It was the revenue from those estates that enabled the complete reconstruction of the monastic complex.

Llanthony was the first Augustinian house on Welsh soil and its social standing may have influenced de Lacy's willingness to add to his family's original endowments. The abbey's history became more complicated when Welsh raiding in the area ravaged their lands and buildings. The Welsh were, according to a chronicler of the house at the beginning of the thirteenth century, '... savage, without a religion, vagabonds, and delighted in stealth; they had no settled abode, but removed as wind and weather inclined them'.[14] His description is not dissimilar from contemporary Anglo-Norman attitudes to the Irish. Giraldus described the Irish as, '... a wild and inhospitable people. They live on beasts only and live like beast ... a most filthy people, steeped in vice, of all peoples they are the least instructed in the rudiments of the Faith'.[15] This negative attitude toward the local populace was no doubt provoked by Welsh (and Irish) destruction of newly founded Anglo-Norman religious houses. The Anglo-Normans themselves, however, were not above the tactic, as witnessed by de Lacy's aforementioned re-foundation of two early Irish Augustinian houses in Meath. In 1136, due to the desolation at Llanthony, a temporary location was established for the community at what would become Llanthony Secunda (Gloucestershire).[16] The Gloucestershire house was suppose to act as temporary

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[11] Cowley, *op. cit.*, 43. Green does not list Llanthony as one of Merton's daughter houses, Green, L., *Daughter Houses of Merton Priory*, (Morden, 2002). However, Llanthony was not established as a daughter of Merton, it was only that canons from Merton created a part of the original Augustinian community.
[12] Giraldus, *Journey Through Wales*, 100.
[13] Hogan, *Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, 66.
[14] Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.*, 6: 128, translation from Atkyns, R., *Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire*, (1712), 263.
[15] For the entirety of his, see Giraldus, *Topographia*, 5: 148-53, 164-5; chapters 10, 19 and 20; Giraldus, *Journey Through Wales*, 100.
[16] Llanthony's second prior, Robert de Bethune, who later became bishop of Hereford (*r.*1131-1148), requested that the community be transferred to a more secure location. Milo, earl of Hereford, granted them a temporary site but when it came time to return to Wales several of the brethren refused. Llanthony Secunda was confirmed as a separate house in 1137, Brooks, *Llanthony*, v. In 1205 the houses were formally separated but an equitable division of assets was not reached until 1213. Llanthony Prima remained autonomous until 1481 when it was made a cell of Secunda by Edward IV, Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales*, 32.

accommodation, but circumstances as they were, two communities eventually sprouted and divided. The separation had consequences for the Irish estates granted by Hugh de Lacy and confirmed by Walter who, along with his brother, had increased them.[17]

At the time of de Lacy's initial endowment the possessions of the two Llanthony houses were inextricable linked.[18] Together their property included the Irish estate of Colp, a cell established to farm and manage their Irish manors, as well as the churches of St. Michael and St. Cianán at Duleek.[19] As Walter explained:

> 'Hugh de Lacy, my father, had assigned to the said canons for the good of his soul, with the assent of certain archbishops and bishops of Ireland and with the consent of their chapters, before he enfeoffed his free men in Ireland, lands which he had conquered in Ireland ...'.[20]

Hogan dated the initial Llanthony charters to as early as 1172. However, she later suggested that de Lacy's earliest charters relating to the allocation of tithes in Meath to Llanthony and the establishment of cells at Colp and Duleek were dateable to *c.*1174.[21] As a result of the judgement in response to the detachment of the two Llanthony houses in 1204-05, Colp became the centre of Llanthony Prima's Irish manors, while Llanthony Secunda was granted the houses at Duleek.[22] While the priory at Duleek became one of the richest monasteries in Ireland, the community appears to have remained a small one.

While neither Irish cell retains any buildings of early date, the endowments are important because the revenue allowed for the reconstruction of the Monmouthshire house.

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[17] Walter's minority ended in 1189-90 when he gained possession of his English and Norman estates. However, he did not received full seisin of Meath until 1194, Hillaby, Joe, 'Colonisation, Crisis-Management and Debt: Walter de Lacy and the Lordship of Meath, 1189-1241,' *Ríocht na Mídhe*, 8:4 (1992-3), 7-8.

[18] For Llanthony's Irish estates see the recently published work by Hogan, *Llanthony Prima and Secunda*. For a short history of the abbey of Duleek, see Cuffe, P., 'The Priory of Duleek,' *Ríocht na Mídhe*, 3:1 (1963), 29-32. For a study of the manors, lands and tenants of the two cells, see Simms, A., 'The Geography of Irish Manors: the Example of the Llanthony Cells of Duleek and Colp, County Meath, with an Appendix by John Bradley,' *Settlement and Society in Medieval Ireland: Studies Presented to F.X. Martin, OSA*, ed. J. Bradley, (Kilkenny, 1988), 291-326. She incorrectly described Duleek as a grant to Llanthony Prima and Colpe as the cell established by Secunda. The initial grant was to both monastic houses and when they split the reverse was the case.

[19] '... in the same vill of Duleek [the canons] obtained the parish church of St. Cianán, bishop and confessor for their own use ... They have one or two of their same brothers serving the said church as proctors and they and two parochial chaplains and four clergy celebrate divine service daily in a loud voice in the church', Brooks, *Llanthony*, 289-311: 295 (charter 98), cited in Hogan, *Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, 102, 347-60. Hogan transcribed the Latin, *ibid.*, 102 n43.

[20] '*... Hugo de Lacy pater meus, quibussdam archiepiscopis et episcopis Hibernie cum suis capitulis assensum prebentibus, priusquam liberos hominess suos in Hibernia infeodasset pro anima sua eisdem canonicis assignaverat de terra sua quam conquisivit ...*' Brooks, *Llanthony*, 83 (charter lxviii), cited in Hogan, *Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, 49n28.

[21] Hogan, *Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, 21.

[22] The stone church of St. Cianán was granted to St. Michaels's, Duleek. It is located about half a mile to the south, where the ruined chapel, gatehouse, etc., remain in the grounds of Duleek House, Gwynn and Hadcock, 173.

Llanthony Prima is characteristic of West Country architecture of the late twelfth century. An account by Giraldus, probably published in 1191, recorded the church as, '... roofed in with sheets of lead and built of squared stones, which are admirably suited to the nature of the place'.[23] The choir, transepts and crossing of Llanthony belong to the last quarter of the twelfth century. The impetus for rebuilding came from the influx of tithes between *c.*1174 and 1205, initiated by Hugh de Lacy. Thurlby has suggested that 1186 marked the end of the first campaign, as far as the change in design in the eastern bay of the nave [**Fig 3. 4**], but acknowledges that '... such a change may simply have marked a liturgical division'.[24] Their Irish revenues seems to have been temporarily taken into royal hands in 1186 and were not returned until at least 1198.[25] This may have resulted in a temporary pause in construction, but not perhaps one visible in the standing architecture. The rebuilding of Llanthony is important for Ireland as it relates to the contemporary construction of the cell at Fore (discussed below).

St. Taurin, Évreux

The second important house to receive the special attention of de Lacy was the Benedictine monastery of St. Taurin, Évreux. It was granted '... all the churches of Fore and the titles of the honour of that ville ... and the mill at Fore which is called St. Fechin's mill and the wood near that ville for the habitation of the monks'.[26] The monastic complex at Fore is situated across the valley (now the modern road) from the early Irish church [**Fig 3. 5**].[27] The priory of St. Taurin's initially sent a small contingent of monks to Ireland in order to set up a monastic cell. Their mission was to supervise the collection of rents from their

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[23] Giraldus, *Journey Through Wales*, 96.

[24] Thurlby, M., 'The Early Gothic Fabric of Llandaff Cathedral and its Place in the West Country School of Masons', *Cardiff: Architecture and Archaeology in the Medieval Diocese of Llandaff*, eds. J.R. Kenyon and D.M. Williams, (BAACT 29), 73.

[25] The canons, men, land, churches and tithes and all the possessions of Llanthony were still in the custody and under the protection of John, as count of Mortain, as late as 1199, Hogan, *Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, 243: 90 (1189-99).

[26] His grant is printed in *CDF,* 105; Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 193. The charter read, ' ... *commorantibus ecclesias Fore et decimas de honore eiusdem ville et decimas de Tyrebegan et totum Tyrefeihred in dominio suo et molendinum in Fore quod dicitur molendinum sancti Fisquini et nemus iuxta eandem villam ad habitatione monachorum quod appellatur seculum nemus*'. It has been translated as, 'All the churches of Fore and the tithes of the honour of that ville and the tithes of Tyrebegan and all Tyrefechred in his (own) demesne and the mill at Fore which is called St Fechin's mill and the wood near that ville for the habitation of the monks that is called the eternal wood', Sheehy, M.P., 'Cairteacha Mean-Aoisecha do Mhainistir Fhobhair, Xii-Xiii Céad', *Seanchas Ardmhacha,* 4 (1961), 174. For an examination of the named places in the charter, see Masterson, R., 'The Church and the Anglo-Norman colonisation of Ireland, A case study of the priory of Fore,' *Ríocht na Midhe*, 11 (2000), 59.

[27] The early monastic site was one of several abbeys founded by its namesake in the seventh century. Numerous abbots of Fore were recorded in the annals, as well as bishops or abbot-bishops, *AU*; *AFM*, 750, 766, 871 and 930. There was a succession of *coarb*s of Feichin recorded until 1163, with two mentioned after the Anglo-Norman invasion, in 1230 and 1249 (probably titular), *AU*; *AFM*; Gwynn and Hadcock, 36.

Irish estates and send excess income back to Évreux. In 1343, it was recorded that Fore had a prior, a Frenchman named William Tessone (granted part of the revenue to support himself), five monks and a servant, presumably French as well.[28] However, unlike most cells, this community was afforded the great luxury of a modest but expensive stone church and, most unusually, stone domestic ranges. While there are several examples of English monastic cells with the revenue to build stone structures, this was not the case in Ireland. Additionally, the size of the present monastic complex is misleading, [**Fig 3. 6**] since the monastery was re-built to its present reduced dimensions in the second half of the fifteenth century (*c.*1470).[29] Its original late twelfth-century manifestation was significantly larger. The priory's alien status during the Hundred Years War led to the house and revenue being confiscated a number of times.[30] This eventually resulted in the convent being made independent of its mother house in 1449. It became fully conventual in 1454.[31]

The unique survival of the priory structures at Fore may have been a result of the specific arrangements made by de Lacy in his initial endowment. But what led him to grant Irish manors to this specific Benedictine house? After all, the de Lacys hailed from Lassy (Calvados), 120 kilometres west of Évreux (Eure). His relationship with the abbey may have been initiated through his association with the bishops of Évreux. A charter dated to Christmas 1173, sealed at Caen, in favour of the nuns of St. Mary, Lisieux (Calvados), is witnessed by both Giles, bishop of Évreux, and Hugh de Lacy.[32] In the following year, about December 1174, he was in the company of Giles' successor, Egidius, at Rouen

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[28] Gwynn and Hadcock, 106.

[29] The date is based on the stylistic evidence of the cloister arcade, Dr. D. O'Donovan, *pers. comm.*

[30] The properties of alien priories were seized numerous times throughout the Hundred Years War, and such was the case at Fore in 1343 and again in 1344 when the prior, William Tessone, had to account to Irish exchequer for the priory's income and pay £1 17s. The remainder of the house's income was allotted for the support of the prior, four monks and a servant, Ó Clabaigh, C., 'The Benedictines in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland', *The Irish Benedictines: A History*, eds. M. Browne and C. Ó Clabaigh, (Dublin, 2005), 102.

[31] Gwynn and Hadcock, 106; Ó Clabaigh, 'Benedictines in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland', 93. 'Even before the fall of Rouen [King John] began to survey the value of the Normans' English lands, and either at this time or later the lands were seized and the export of revenues forbidden'. Some houses were able to pay a fine for the return of their lands but only enough for the upkeep of the monks living in England. By 1242, when Henry III failed in Poitou, he seized any surviving Norman ecclesiastical lands in England, Matthew, *Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions*, 72-3, 75. For a discussion of the effect of the Anglo-French war on the alien priories, see *ibid.*, 72-107 and Heale, M., *The Dependent Priories of Medieval English Monasteries*, (Woodbridge, 2004). Thomas discussed the fate of alien priories during the reign of Henry IV and the different practical results it had on each priory, Thompson, B., 'The Laity, the Alien Priories and the Redistribution of Ecclesiastical Property', *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1992 Harlaxton Symposium,* ed. N.J. Rogers, (Stamford, 1994), 19-41.

[32] The abbey is known as the Convent of *Notre Dame de St. Désir*, Eyton, 178.

(Seine-Maritime).[33] Additionally, in July 1173, he and Hugh de Beauchamp defended the castle at Verneuil against King Louis.[34] Évreux lies southwest of the river Eure between La Vaudreuil (where de Lacy is also recorded) and Verneuil.[35] De Lacy's position at court established relationships with other high-ranking officials, such as the bishops of Évreux, through whom he probably become familiar with the Benedictine monastery.

The abbey of St. Taurin is thought to have been founded on the site where, in the beginning of the seventh century, Bishop Landulf found the relics of St. Taurin and there built a chapel.[36] The early history of the abbey is obscure, with little more known than the names of a number of abbots listed in the registers. In the tenth century, Robert the Magnificent, Duke of Normandy[37] (and father of William the Conqueror), granted the abbey to Fécamp (Seine-Maritime) as a dependent in exchange for the independence of Montivilliers (Seine-Maritime).[38] The stone church at Évreux dated initially to the second quarter of the twelfth century, although it has gone through a number of medieval and early modern transformations, alterations and additions.[39] It is composed of an aisled nave of four bays, transepts each with a single apsidal chapel, a crossing tower and a chancel of

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[33] A charter, dated at Rouen, to the Abbey of Jumieges, is attested by Rotrold, archbishop of Rouen; Henry, bishop of Baieux; Egidius, bishop of Évreux; Earl William de Mandeville; Richard de Humet, constable; Reginald de Courtenay, Robert Marmion; Richard de Camvill; Hugh de Cressi; Seiher de Quinci; Reginald de Pavilli; William Malvoisin; Richard de Vernone; Hugh de Lacy; Hugh de Longchamp; Robert de Stuteville; Alured de St. Martin; Gilbert Malet; and Gerard de Camville, Eyton, 187.

[34] *Ibid.*, 175.

[35] De Lacy is recorded at La Vaudreuil probably in 1173, Delisle and Berger, *Recueil*, 1: 515, 533, 541, 561, 572, cited in Wightman, 193.

[36] Wilkels, B., *French Cathedrals, from Drawings Taken on the Spot by R. Garland, with an Historical and Descriptive Account*, (London, 1837), 135.

[37] William of Jumièges described Robert's unsuccessful attempt to intervene in England on behalf of Edward and Alfred, who had lived at the ducal court since 1014, *GND*, 79 (6: 9 (10), 11 (12)). When William the Conqueror was still at a young age, Robert went on pilgrimage, travelling as far as Jerusalem and Constantinople and died in July 1035 at Nicaea on his return journey. William of Malmesbury stated that he was poisoned, William of Malmesbury, Book 3: 5, cited in *GND*, 43 (6: 12 (13)). William also tells us that William the Conqueror sent a mission to Nicaea in 1086 to bring his father's body back to Normandy, but William died when the mission was en-route and the body of Robert I was interred in Italy. On the pilgrimage and death of Robert I, see E.A. Poncelet, trans., 'Translatio Sancti Vulganii', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 23 (1904), 268-69, cited in Haskins, C.H., 'The Materials for the Reign of Robert I of Normandy,' *EHR*, 31:122 (April 1916), 257-268.

[38] Haskins, C.H., 'Knight Service in Normandy in the Eleventh Century,' *EHR*, 22:88 (October 1907), 636. The monks of Évreux struggled unsuccessfully throughout the rest of the century to regain their independence (finally lost in 1106), Le Patourel, J., *The Norman Empire* (Oxford, 1976), 279-318. For the charter exchanging dependencies, see Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, 1: 154, cited in Haskins, C.H., 'The Materials for the Reign of Robert I of Normandy,' *EHR*, 31:122, (April 1976), 265 (10). Patourel has argued that the monastery of St. Taurin was key to Norman expansion in post-Conquest England, Le Patourel, J., *The Norman Empire* (Oxford, 1976), 279-318. It has been suggested that the abbeys of St. Taurin and Bernay were established as outposts by the dukes in areas where Rouen's authority was expanding, Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity*, 70.

[39] The most extensive alterations inside the church occurred in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but the most prominent exterior feature, the neo-classical façade, was added to the truncated nave in the eighteenth century, along with a doorway in the south transept that blocked twelfth-century lancets.

three bays with a polygonal east end [**Fig 3. 7**].[40] The earliest fabric is found at arcade level on the north side of the nave, the west crossing piers and the south transept.[41] The earliest addition to the church occurred as a result a fire in 1193/4, when Philip Augustus is said to have '... burned the city, slaughtered the citizens, destroyed the churches and carried off the sacred relics'.[42] After the treaty of Gisors, Richard I decided to restore the abbey in order to strengthen his hold on Evrecin.[43] In 1195, Richard confirmed the abbey's charter and increased its endowment with many churches and estates including property in Cotentin (Cherbourg Peninsula) and Lieuvin (Eure).[44] The portal on the south wall of the nave was probably paid for out the money gained from these new possessions.[45] A small tympanum and lintel are framed by two archivolts, one of foliage, resting on two pairs of colonnettes [**Fig 3. 8**]. Both the 1195 donation and stylistic evidence suggest a *terminus post quem* of 1195 for the portal. Clark has placed it in a sequence of late twelfth-century portals that included Mantes (Yvelines, north portal begun, *c.*1170-75; central door, 1175-80)[46], Rouen (lateral portals of west façade, *c.*1180-90)[47] and Lisieux

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[40] 'Evidence in the design of the piers, as well as the details in the north aisle, suggests that St. Taurin at Évreux ... [was] patterned after the cathedral ... [intended with a] three-storey, vaulted main elevation without gallery or clerestory passage'. The positioning of the nave piers and the plan of the north side-aisle at St. Taurin follow that of the cathedral, Clark, W.W., 'The Nave of Saint Pierre at Lisieux: Romanesque Structure in a Gothic Guise,' *Gesta*, 16:1 (1977), 33, 37 n38.

[41] The arcade of the north elevation is composed of chamfered arches in two orders, with a three-quarter round column supporting the soffit, flanked by two angle rolls on the outer order. On the south side of the piers are composed of groups of five attached columns supporting the vaults, Taralon, J., 'L'Ancienne Église Abbatiale de Saint-Taurin d'Évreux,' *CAF*, 138 (1980), 266-99; Kibler, W.W. ad G.A. Zinn, *Medieval France*, (London, 1995), 329.

[42] *Rigord*, 1: 127; Robert of Auxerre, *Recueil des Historiens de France*, 18: 261. Howden recorded the order of events, 3: 255, cited in Powicke, F.M., *The Loss of Normandy, 1189-1204: Studies in the History of the Angevin Empire*, (Manchester, 1961 2nd, revised edn.), 97-8, 191; Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 3: 255, explains why Philip sacked Évreux: '*Hac autem fecit eo quod cives Ebroicenses, relicto eo, reverse fuerant ad fidem et servitium domini sui regis Angliae*'. For Philip's destruction of the city and the abbeys of St. Taurin and St. Sauveur, see William of Newburgh, 2: 418-9; Rigord, 127; *Melrose Chron.*, 49; Annals of Anchin, *MGH, SS*, 6: 431-2, cited in Power, D., *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Century*, (Cambridge, 2004), 423 n50.

[43] Taralon, J., 'L'Ancienne Église Abbatiale de Saint-Taurin d'Evreux,' *CAF*, 138 (1980), 266-99, cited in Hoey, L.R., 'A Problem in Romanesque Aesthetics: The Articulation of Groin and Early Rib Vaults in the Larger Churches of England and Normandy', *Gesta*, 35:2 (1996), 176 n47.

[44] In 1195, Richard I issued a general confirmation of the abbey of St. Taurin, Évreux that mentioned possessions at Longueville, near Vernon (Calvados) and Pacy (Eure), although they were in French hands at the time, Power, *The Norman Frontier*, 44. The donation of 1195 is discussed and documented by Lapeyre, A., *Des Facades Occidentals de Saint-Denis et Chartres aux Portails de Laon, Etudes sur la Sculpture Monumentale dans l'Ile-de-France et les Régions voisins au XIIe Siècle*, (Paris, 1960), 254-56.

[45] On Évreux and its dating problems, see *ibid.*, 254-56, cited in Clark, 'The Central Portal of Saint-Pierre at Lisieux', 53. The lintel, added later, had scenes of the life of St. Taurin, who may also have been represented on the trumeau, Bonnefant, *L'Église Saint-Taurin d'Evreux et sa Chasse*, 46-49. Clark's dating of the south portal was based on the stylistic similarity between the lintel and the reliquary, Clark, *op. cit.*, 58 n62.

[46] Bony dated the beginning of the Mantes north portal to *c.*1170 and divided the central portal into two phases: the first included the lower parts (*c.*1175-80); the second includes the tympanum and voussoirs (*c.*1190-95), Bony, J., 'La Collégiale de Mantes,' *CAF*, 104 (1946), 163-220, exp. 175-9. Sauerländer added five years to Mantes north and the first phase of Mantes central (*c.*1175 and 1180 respectively), Sauerländer, W., 'Die Marienkrönungsportale von Senlis und Mantes,' *WRJ, JK*, 20 Köln 1958 (1958a), 161-2.

(begun *c.*1185).[48] It is unfortunate that so little late twelfth century architectural embellishment survives at Fore, because the south portal at Évreux would have provided an interesting alternative comparison for its architectural sources. Richard was not the only English king to have a high regard for the abbey at Évreux. On 2 April 1203, an abbot of St. Taurin's acted as an mediator between King John and the count of Alençon, even though by then Évreux lay in French territory.[49] Clearly the abbey had a strong link with the royal family and would explain the benefaction it received from de Lacy, as a high-ranking member of the court, after receiving a large tract of new estates.

The Benedictines

The great Anglo-Norman magnates in Ireland regarded the foundation of religious houses as integral to the process of conquest, colonisation and consolidation. Monastic houses were useful tools in the development of agriculture and commerce, as well the administration of newly acquired estates.

> 'The religious houses of England and Normandy were among the earliest beneficiaries of the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland, they were granted large tracts of newly conquered lands, tithes and right of appointment to benefices in the new lordships ... These foundations helped secure a baron's grip on newly conquered territories, rendering them more attractive to settlers and colonists, in theory, bolstering local economy through exploitation of resources ...'.[50]

The above comment by Ó Clabaigh illustrates the general picture of ecclesiastical patronage in Ireland following the Anglo-Norman arrival.

Well into the reign of Henry I, the majority of barons in England still regarded Normandy as their home and continued to focus their bequests on Norman religious institutions. As a result, a vast amount of lands and tithes were granted to abbeys in Normandy and the adjoining provinces, which led to a rapid growth of dependent priories and cells.[51] Following the conquest of England, very few independent Benedictine houses were

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[47] Lapeyre cited and summarized the more important opinions about the dates of the lateral portals of Rouen, Lapeyre, *op. cit.*, 242. Krohm dated the west façade sculpture to before 1200 without giving a detailed analysis, Krohm, H., 'Die Skupture der Querhausfassaden an der Kathedrale von Rouen,' *Aachener Kuntsblätter*, 40 (1971), 83.

[48] Specific stylistic sources are difficult to find as so much figure sculpture is missing from Lisieux and Rouen and so little decorative elements remain at Évreux, Clark, 'The Central Portal of Saint-Pierre at Lisieux', 54.

[49] *Rot. Pat.*, 27 (2 April 1203). The count made several grants to the abbey on 13 April, ADE, H 793, fols. 62v-63r, no. 33, cited in Power, D., *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries*, (Cambridge, 2004), 430

[50] Ó Clabaigh, C., 'Benedictines in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland', 92.

[51] Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales*, 11.

founded. In fact, only seven new houses were established between 1066 and 1102.[52] Between 1150-1200, thirty-four Benedictine monasteries were founded or re-dedicated in England and Wales, but again only eleven were independent (one abbey, ten priories), the rest were alien priories, cells, priory cells and granges.[53] In the second half of twelfth century, most Benedictine houses in England were founded as small farming and administrative cells, and few housed more than five monks at any given time.[54] What is clear is that when Benedictine monasteries received the patronage of the knightly class, it was more often than not a means of creating dependent administrative communities organised primarily for the management of foreign manors.

Benedictine monasteries and priories were expensive to establish. They required extensive arable land in populated areas as they maintained themselves on the rents from their tenants, in much the same way as their baronial patrons.[55] The predilection for Benedictine patronage amongst the aristocracy was probably related to their relative social standing and the nature of their disposable resource base as much as anything else.[56] As Luxford has noted that it was probably the characteristics of a particular house that appealed to the patron; its sanctity, antiquity, and the connection to their ancestry.[57] On the other hand, the Augustinians sustained themselves with the tithes of their parishes and Cistercians could be endowed with less desirable pasturelands in out of the way locations. 'Unlike the Augustinians who worked in a parish, or the Cistercians who worked in the fields, the Benedictines were still the social elite of the monastic movement'.[58] Most Benedictine houses employed servants for menial jobs and such was the case at Fore.[59] For these reasons, by the mid twelfth century, Benedictine houses had fallen out of favour with the Anglo-Norman military elite. Consequently, when the English arrived in Ireland the majority of the landed aristocracy endowed Cistercian and Augustinian houses. Dependencies tended to be directed toward English monastic houses, despite the fact that some of these men still held extensive lands in Normandy. This lack of concern with

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[52] The independent Benedictine abbeys were as follows: Battle (Sussex, 1067), Selby (Yorkshire, *c.* 1070), Shrewsbury (Shropshire, 1083), Chester (Cheshire, 1093), Spalding (Lincolnshire, 1074), Colchester (Sussex, 1095) and Tewkesbury (Gloucestershire, 1102), Knowles and Hadcock, 52-8.

[53] This is in contrast to Cistercian foundations during the same period, where thirty-one of the forty-three houses were independent abbeys. These figures are derived from Knowles and Hadcock.

[54] Marett-Crosby, A., 'The Norman Reinvigoration', *Monks of England: The Benedictines in England from Augustine to the Present Day*, ed. D. Rees, (London, 1997), 93.

[55] For the life of the Cistercians, see Stalley, *The Cistercians Monasteries of Ireland*, (London and New York, 1987).

[56] *pers. comm.*, R. Oram.

[57] Luxford, J., *The Art and Architecture of English Benedictine Monasteries*, (Woodbridge, 2005), 209.

[58] Masterson, 'The Church and the Anglo-Norman Colonisation of Ireland', 62.

[59] Gwynn and Hadcock, 106.

Normandy was no doubt mainly a result of the generations that lay between the Norman conquest of England and the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland. By that time only the very apex of the aristocracy held almost equal ties on both sides of the Channel.[60] New Benedictine and Cistercian foundations in Ireland were more often than not daughter houses of English monasteries.[61]

Compared with the fourteen Benedictine houses (including dependent cells and hospitals) established in the first 50 years after the invasion (1169/70-1220),[62] twenty-seven Cistercian and thirty-nine Augustinian monasteries were founded.[63] Anglo-Norman patrons founded only ten of the new Cistercian abbeys (i.e. less than half), while they account for the establishment of the majority of the Augustinian monasteries.[64] Conversely, all of the Benedictine foundations established during this same fifty-year period were derived from Anglo-Norman patronage, even if these grants were relatively small. When the Anglo-Normans came to establish themselves in Ireland, they followed their peers in England. Those who also held estates in England tended to patronise monasteries within proximity of them. While five of the fourteen aforementioned Benedictine foundations were established initially as conventual priories, only one survived until the Dissolution – Castleknock (Dublin). It is interesting to note that of the few medieval Benedictine houses in Ireland, only two are still in use – Downpatrick (Down) and Ross Carbery (Cork), although in neither case does the fabric reflect the original form. John de Courcy attached a community to the cathedral at Downpatrick before 1183.[65] Ross Carbery was dependent on the German Abbey of St. James', Würzburg (Bavaria), and was, therefore, not affected by the alien status of the French houses.[66] While some of the thirteenth century architecture survived the restoration at

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[60] Of the few Benedictine houses established in Ireland by the Anglo-Norman lords in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries only two were dependent on Norman houses, Fore (Westmeath) and St. Andrew's in Ards (Down), the latter was co-dependent with Stogursey (Stoke Courcy) in Somerset.

[61] Augustinian houses were rarely dependent, and when they were they were more often connected to other Irish houses.

[62] For a list of the medieval Benedictine monasteries in Ireland, see Gwynn and Hadcock, 104-8.

[63] The figures were derived from Gwynn and Hadcock and include failed houses and cells but not re-foundations of earlier sites.

[64] Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 12. The number of Augustinian foundations is derived from Gwynn and Hadcock.

[65] In 1183, de Courcy granted 10 carucates of land to Chester Abbey in order to establish a Benedictine priory in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Down, free of all subjection to Chester. According to Ware, secular canons were expelled in order to make room for the English brothers, Gwynn and Hadcock, 105.

[66] Nehemias Scotus, a monk of Würzburg, founded the priory of St. Mary's *c.*1218, when he was appointed bishop of Ross. There was never a bishop of Ross of that name, but a monk of that name was bishop of Cloyne (*d.*1148). St. James' was founded in 1138, Gwynn and Hadcock, 107-8. Bishop Lynch of Killala wrote after 1650, '... the nave and tower were levelled, the choir and two chapels remaining intact ...'. The

Downpatrick in 1792, the church at Ross Carbery is post-medieval.[67] Substantial late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century architecture remains at only two Benedictine sites – the aforementioned Downpatrick and de Lacy's foundation at Fore.[68] No cloistral buildings have as yet been uncovered at Downpatrick, which leaves Fore as the only Benedictine priory with a surviving medieval monastic complex (although altered in the fifteenth century). Furthermore, the foundation of Fore, as a cell of a Norman Benedictine priory, falls into a rather archaic tradition of ecclesiastical patronage, prevalent after the invasion of England a century earlier. Fore was an unusual foundation for its time, one of a small number of Benedictine houses and a minority of alien priories founded in Ireland after 1169. Although several other Benedictine houses were endowed by the Anglo-Normans, most were farming cells or hospitals established in towns, the majority of which proved unsuccessful.

Grant recorded that, 'many of the Benedictine houses in Normandy were still quite recent foundations in the twelfth century. They were well-endowed, usually well run, and retained the close interest of the founding family'.[69] It was not until Norman families began to identify themselves with their new homes in England, that they founded monasteries independent of Norman ties.[70] Those who continued to grant estates to Norman abbeys and priories must have had some desire to align themselves with Normandy. De Lacy's foundation at Fore linked him to a century old tradition of imposing Norman communities upon the native population. Masterson noted that from the twelfth to the fourteenth century the '... monks at Fore were viewed, and saw themselves, as part of the Norman family, whether in Ireland, England or Normandy itself and they supported the political aims of their benefactor and fellow Normans'.[71] The Benedictines at Fore were seen as foreigners, '... to the Irish it was English but to the English it was French'.[72] By patronising a Norman house, de Lacy was underlining not only his Norman heritage but also his own past. His strong Norman identity may have been the result of time spent there in his youth and throughout his career. It is important to remember that it was not until

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present building dates to 1612 and was extensively rebuilt after 1641, with restorations carried out in the nineteenth century, *ibid.*

[67] For a discussion of the restorations at Downpatrick, see Rankin, J.F., *Down Cathedral: the church of Saint Patrick of Down*, (Belfast, 1997), chapter 9.

[68] Simms, A., R. Gillespie and H.B. Clarke, eds., *Irish Historic Towns Atlas, Vol. 2: Maynooth, Downpatrick, Bray, Kilkenny, Fethard, Trim*, (Dublin, 2005).

[69] Grant, L., *Architecture and Society in Normandy, 1120-1270,* (London, 2005), 29.

[70] Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions*, 28.

[71] Masterson, 'The Church and the Anglo-Norman Colonisation of Ireland', 61.

[72] Masterson, R., 'The Alien Priory of Fore, Co. Westmeath, in the Middle Ages,' *Arch. Hib.*, 78.

1148 that his father acquired the de Lacy ancestral estates in England, resulting in a Norman military education for Hugh de Lacy.

The Benedictine Priory (cell) at Fore

Although the charter for Fore is undated, it was probably granted subsequent to Hugh's 1173 expedition to Normandy. It is dedicated to both St. Fechin (the local saint) and St. Taurin (the Évreux saint).[73] At first glance, the mother house and its priory cell in Ireland are not architecturally related. The Norman house is aisled, with an apsidal east end and is delineated with a plethora of sculptural details. Fore is a single celled nave-chancel church with limited sculptural detailing, the epitome of austerity, with the domestic ranges laid out to the south [**Fig 3. 9**]. However, the two churches may not have so little in common as initially appears. Before addressing the architectural connections between mother and daughter house it is necessary to examine the medieval remains at Fore. The centuries of decay, reconstruction, deterioration and restoration have altered the appearance of the original complex but its initial manifestation can be surmised. The church was never a large space, internally measuring 6.87 x *c.*28.39 meters. The length was reduced in the later Middle Ages when a residential tower was built into the west end, giving the new church an internal length of 23.5 meters. The diminution may have been a response to damages caused during the fourteenth century: '... the Scots were in their house and did great damage to their charters and as a result there have suffered great damage'.[74] The priory was attacked again in the next century (1412 and 1417), when the Uí Fhearghail and Uí Raghallaigh families burned two of the priory's granges, as well as the town.[75]

Although the original church was a single space, the chancel was distinguished from the nave by three steps, and these no doubt mark the position of a choir screen. Architectural embellishment was evidently limited and very little remains. The chancel was lit with three graduated and deeply splayed round-headed lancets in the east wall [**Fig 3. 10**]. All three have hollow chamfers on the rear arch and are chamfered externally and rebated for wooden framed glass; the holes for glazing bars were probably added later. The width of the rear arch of the central window measures 2.02 meters, while the flanking windows are slightly narrower at 1.8 meters each. Originally, the east windows had a steep bottom

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[73] Gwynn and Hadcock, 107.
[74] Connolly, P., 'Irish Material in the Class of Chancery Warrants,' *Anal. Hib.*, 36 (1995), 135-61, cited in Hogan, *Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, 182.
[75] Gwynn and Hadcock, 106.

splay that sat on a torus-moulded stringcourse, some of which remains *in situ* [**Fig 3. 11**].[76] In the north wall are the remains of two round-headed windows with deep splays, although the fabric suggests that the windows have been much modified. The internal central splay is fitted with ashlar (probably modern) while the remainder of the light is surrounded with roughly blocked masonry [**Fig 3. 12**]. The assumption that they have been altered is also suggested by the fact that the remaining twelfth-century windows in the church have ashlar surrounds, whereas these do not. The dimensions of these windows (2.81 meters with internal splay) match neither the lancets in the east wall nor the south nave clerestory windows (*c.*1.4 meters with internal splay) suggesting that they may have been enlarged at a later date. This is the case with several of the clerestory windows as well. In fact, only three small round-headed clerestory windows survive intact. A blocked doorway is found in the west end of the now west tower and two trumpet scallop capitals are build into the walls of the said tower. The scar of the pitched roof is visible at both ends of the church. It appears that the original angle of the roof was reconstructed when the west tower was added, as both it and the change to the angle of the roof is visible on the exterior of the west tower as well as the east end of the church. In England, twelfth and thirteenth century roofs were usually constructed at a very steep pitch with eaves projecting away from the walls in order to prevent damage from drainage.[77] Two rows of corbels projecting from the south wall of the chancel also indicate the change to the roofline.[78] At some point subsequent to the addition of the west tower the pitch of the roof was decreased. When, in the later Middle Ages, sheets of lead replaced clay tiles in the covering of buildings, the angle of the roof needed to be reduced. This is due to the fact that lead sheets would often distort and slide off a steeply pitched roof.[79] The fact that both the steep pitch and later change in angle are visible on the west tower suggest that the tower was probably added in the fourteenth century, before the change in roof profile became necessary, perhaps as a result of the damage cause by the Scots. The change to the roof pitch may have been part of a renovation programme necessary as a consequence of the aforementioned Irish raids in the fifteenth century.

The very simplicity of the layout would tend to discount any influence of the Norman mother house. However, St. Taurin's had two other cells, one in Worcestershire at Astley

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[76] Leask, H.G., *Fore, Co. Westmeath: National Monuments in the Charge of the Commissioners of Public Works: St. Fechin's Church, the Town Gateways, and the Benedictine Priory*, (Dublin, 1938), 29.
[77] Stearne, J., *The Archaeology of Medieval England and Wales*, (London, 1985), 89.
[78] Leask, *Fore, Westmeath*, 29.
[79] Greening-Lamborn, E.A., *The Story of Architecture in Oxford Stone*, (Oxford, 1912), 164-65; Stearne, *The Archaeology of Medieval England and Wales*, 89.

[**Fig 3. 13**] and the other in Glamorgan at Llangenith [**Fig 3. 14**]. Significantly, both were built in stone and both were originally single celled nave-chancel churches, although the chancels were architecturally distinguished from their naves. The simple planning arrangements of these stone built churches suggest a consistency of thought that presumably emanated from St. Taurin. Certainly, each successive group of monks sent to administer each new cell had spent at least several years in Évreux and the relatively small scale of each monastic cell must have been in some way limited by their mother abbots. The ability to construct such administrative centres in stone, however, speaks to the generous donations lavished upon the Norman Benedictine house. If not for such extensive farmland from which to draw rents, revenue for building works would not have been available.

There are a number of late-twelfth century single celled monastic churches in Normandy without architectural division between chancel and nave, the abbey church of Notre-Dame-du-Parc in Rouen (Seine-Maritime), a Grandmontine house founded by Henry II *c.*1170, being one example [**Fig 3. 15**]. Grant dates the Grandmontine house to the 1190s. It was covered with a stone barrel vault, where Fore was roofed in timber; but this does not discount the parallel. Within both castle design and church architecture, French buildings tended toward stone vaulting while comparable buildings in England, Wales and Ireland were covered with timber. Both de Lacy and the bishops of Évreux were witnesses of numerous royal charters during the reign of Henry II, the founder of the small house in Rouen.[80] Henry II originally wished to be buried in a Grandmontine house, presumably the mother house of the Order.[81] There is also evidence that Geoffrey Plantagenet issued a charter from Notre-Dame-du-Parc in December 1207.[82] Regardless of the fact that the Norman house was of a different order, it gives evidence that simple single-celled stone churches were not out of the ordinary at important monastic complexes at the time.

Fore is relatively modest in scale, even in Ireland where churches tended to be constructed proportionally smaller than their English equivalents. However, one comparable building is the near contemporary Augustinian church at Kells (Kilkenny) [**Fig 3. 16**]. This priory was founded by Geoffrey fitz Robert in 1193 and the first church measured *c.*29 meters

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[80] Grant, *Architecture and Society in Normandy*, 113; *Mag. Rot.*, 2: 309-10, xxix-xl; Gillingham, J., *The Angevin Empire*, (London, 2001, 2nd edn.), 59; Gillingham, J., *Richard I*, (London, 1999), 301-5.
[81] *English Episcopal Acta, 27*, lviii
[82] *Ibid.*, *27*, lvii, no. 60.

east to west.[83] Fitz Robert initially had difficulty recruiting English canons, but eventually four arrived from Bodmin (Cornwall) to establish the daughter house.[84] The original building has been dated to *c.*1200, constructed under the impetus of Hugh le Rous who was later accused of putting the interests of this house ahead of those of his see.[85] Empey has suggested that the wording of the charter, dated to between 1204 and 1206, probably indicated that the chancel, if not the whole church, was completed at the time.[86] The church was cruciform but the original transepts were each a single bay and the nave was unaisled. These two examples of monastic churches built on a relatively modest scale suggest that there was every possibility that Fore was intended to house a full community as well (discussed below).

Some of the only remaining features of the church at Fore are the windows that line the north, south and east walls. Triplets of lancets, generally graduated, became popular for the articulation of flat-ended façades in the last quarter of the twelfth century. The origin of the tall lancet is obscure, but some of the earliest English examples are found at Romsey (Hampshire, south transept), Malmesbury (Wiltshire) and Abbey Dore (Herefordshire). By the 1170s numerous examples are found in Canterbury Cathedral (Kent).[87] Graduated, round-headed lancets are found early in the twelfth century in the east end of the priory of Ewenny (Glamorgan), built between 1116-26.[88] They later become standard in West Country architecture of the last quarter of the twelfth century. The east façade of the Augustinian monastery of Llanthony Prima was presumably one example, although the

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[83] Gwynn and Hadcock, 181-2. The confirmation charter (1204) indicated that much of the east end of the church was by then completed, Carrigan, W., *The History of the Diocese of Ossory*, 4 vols., (Kilkenny, 1981 reprint). Geoffrey was married twice, first to Basilia, sister of Strongbow and widow of Raymond le Gros, and second to Eva de Bermingham, widow of Gerald FitzMaurice. He was also Marshal's seneschal of Leinster from 1204 to 1208. While the priory was granted some 600 acres, it was the tithes of 42 chapels and churches that accounted for three-quarters of the total annual revenue, Empey, A., 'The Augustinian Priory of Kells: An Historical Introduction', *Kells Priory, Co. Kilkenny: Archaeological Excavations by T. Fanning and M. Clyne*, ed. M. Clyne, (Dublin, 2007), 4.

[84] He initially appointed four priests to conduct the liturgy in St. Kieran, and they were housed in cabins or cells (*habitacula*) around the church. One of the first four men from Bodmin was Hugh le Rouse, who went on to become the first Anglo-Norman bishop of Ossory (*c.*1202), *ibid.*, 4.

[85] *... diversa bona in dicto monasterio perpetravit, nihil in sede episcopali*, Graves, J. and J.G.A. Prim, *The History, Architecture and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny*, (Dublin, 1857), 32, cited in Empey, *op. cit.*, 4.

[86] *CDI*, 1: no. 30, cited in Empey, *op. cit.*, 4-5.

[87] Fergusson, *The Architecture of Solitude*, 96 n18.

[88] William de Londres was first mentioned in 1116 and was dead by 1126, bookending the construction and subsequent dedication of the church. A confirmation grant by King Stephen in 1138 lists Ewenny as belonging to Gloucester Cathedral, *Hist. et Cart.*, 224-5. Furthermore, Maurice de Londres, son of William, granted the church of St. Peter to Ewenny, 'in order that a convent of monks might be formed', *Hist. et Cart.*, 75-6, trans. Radford, C.A.R., *Ewenny Priory*, (London, 1967, 6th edn.), 7; cited in Thurlby, M., The Romanesque Priory Church at St. Michael, Ewenny', *SAH*, 47 (1988), 282-3. The date of construction is considered a bit of a paradox, for the entire argument, see Newman, J., S. Hughes and A. Ward, *Glamorgan (Mid Glamorgan, South Glamorgan and West Glamorgan)*, (Harmondsworth, 2001 reprint), 343-6.

east wall was remodelled at the end of the thirteenth century when geometric tracery was inserted.[89] A pair of lancets, topped with a small oculus, is found at the end of the south transept [**Fig 3. 17**]. In contemporary churches where the transepts are punctuated by pairs of lancets, the east wall was often lit by a triple of graduated lancets (for example, Graiguenamanagh (Kilkenny)). This suggests that a triplet of graduated round-headed lancets originally lighted the east façade at Llanthony. The impetus for rebuilding at Llanthony was more than likely the result of the bestowal of Irish manors by de Lacy on the canons (*c.*1171-86 for the east end). This would also suggest the strong likelihood that the contemporary endowments to St. Taurin resulted in the construction of the monastic complex at Fore. Due to the fact that graduated triplets were common from at least the 1170s into the thirteenth century, they are not a reliable means of narrowing down the date for construction at Fore. Triple lancets became standard in Irish Gothic following its introduction with the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. By the last decade of the twelfth century, at Inch (Down) and Grey (Down), the lancets were pointed. This could suggest that construction at Fore commenced prior to the 1190s, or during de Lacy's lifetime (*c.*1173-1186), coeval with work at Llanthony. However, round-headed lights were employed in both east and west walls of the Irish Cistercian foundation at Jerpoint (Kilkenny). While the east lights were replaced in the fourteenth century with a traceried window, the west wall retains its original lights, which were not completed until *c.*1200-1210. The retention of round-headed arches into the twelfth century, when pointed arches were more common, was probably the consequence of the monks' interest in creating an overall consistency throughout the articulation of the church [**Fig 3. 18**]. In addition, round-headed lancets are found in conjunction with pointed lancets at Graiguenamanagh, throughout the church. Round-headed lights survived until at least the 1230s. However, when they are found in later buildings, they are more often than not used in conjunction with pointed arches. The lack of pointed lights at Fore suggests a late twelfth century date, rather than one into the early thirteenth century.

Remnants of three small clerestory windows, in the south wall at Fore, are found within the 'chancel' (now blocked), in the west end of the nave [**Fig 3. 19**] and in the west tower (also blocked). The clerestory windows, like the chancel lancets, are round-headed with simple

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[89] As mentioned above, Thurlby has suggested a date of between *c.*1171 and 1186, with which I tend to agree, Thurlby, 'The Early Gothic Fabric of Llandaff Cathedral', 73. The entire church was examined by Lovegrove, but the examination is somewhat dated. However, he probably correctly pointed out that the east windows were later removed for the insertion of a traceried window, Lovegrove, E.W., 'Llanthony Priory, Monmouthshire', *Arch. Cam.*, 99:1 (1946), 67-8.

external chamfers; the rear arches are constructed with plain ashlar blocks. The window in the chancel was probably blocked in the fifteenth century when the cloister was rebuilt; the scar of the cloister roofline crosses the blocked window on the exterior wall [**Fig 3. 20**]. At some point the nave clerestory was altered to allow for the insertion of two wider windows (*c.*3.3 meters internally). One exterior jamb, chamfered and rebated for glass, of a twelfth century window was reused in one of these windows [**Fig 3. 21**]. Based on the length of the nave, the width of the surviving windows and the distance between then, it is possible to deduce the original design of the clerestory. If all the clerestory windows were equidistant from each other (*c.*1.4 meters) then, in its original late-twelfth century form, six windows illuminated the south wall of the church.

This type of simple clerestory was fairly common in twelfth-century churches including a number of Benedictine cells in England, such as Ewenny and St. Mary's, Chepstow (Monmouthshire) [**Fig 3. 22**]. Both have an intriguing relationship with the priory at Fore because they were initiated as cells and later became full priory communities. Fore's sister cell at Astley was also lit by a row of small round-headed windows in the clerestory [**Fig 3. 23**], both north and south (although only a single southern window survived the addition of the nave aisle and Lady chapel). Astley was founded by 1086 when the monastery of St. Taurin, Évreux, held the manor of Astley '... quit and freed from all dues belonging to the king, as was granted by King William himself when Raif [Ralph] gave it to the saint'.[90] According to *Domesday*, the abbot of St. Taurin held the manor of Astley from Ralph de Todeni.[91] The ornamentation is much more elaborate here than at Fore, with a sculpted chancel arch and south porch. The exterior wall is demarcated with semicircular buttresses separating the bays and a corbel table of grotesques. The south doorway projects slightly from the nave wall, a common feature in Worcestershire churches of the early to mid

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[90] *VCH, Wore.*, 1: 310, 329; Domesday Book, 1: 176. The gift had been made with the consent of King William, *CDF*, 106.

[91] *VCH, Worcs.*, 2: 180. During the reign of Edward III, Astley, like Fore, was seized as an alien priory, *ibid.*, 2: 181; 1: 310; 4: 232-237. Unlike Fore, which was made independent in the fifteenth century the manor of Astley continued to share its history with the priory until the Dissolution. *VCH, Worcs.*, 2: 180-2. This was one of the alien priories suppressed and confiscated by order of Parliament at Leicester in 1414, Habington, *Survey of Worcs.*, 2: 14, cited in *VCH, Worcs.*, 2: 182; Pevsner discusses the outward-pointing chevron that becomes popular in the third quarter of the twelfth century (Astley, Beckford, Castlemorton, Earl's Croome, Pirton, Queenhill, Rock, Shelsley Walsh), Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Worcs.*, 19, 20-1, 25-6, 50, 62-3. The aisle was rebuilt and widened by Harvey Eginton in 1837-8 but its windows and much of the church belong to restoration of 1903-4 by Rev. M.B. Cuckle, who rebuilt the chancel east end and south porch. Most fittings are 1903-4, *ibid.*, 114-15.

twelfth century.[92] The simplicity of the ornamentation and the lack of surviving details at Fore makes comparison to its sister cell difficult.

Another possible twelfth-century window at Fore was built into the east wall of the west tower [**Fig 3. 24**]. This window has an external hollow chamfer, like those in the east façade. While none of the remaining clerestory windows have hollow chamfers it is possible that this came from the late twelfth century complex, the remaining tower windows are distinctively later in character [**Fig 3. 25**]. The majority of the windows in the tower, with ogee trefoil heads, probably date to the fifteenth century. However, the round-headed window in the tower may also be later based on the fact that the head is made of just two stones, a characteristic of later medieval architecture in Ireland. The fact that this window is centred under the original, steeply pitched roof, suggests that it was added as the new gable window in the fourteenth century (as already noted) when the tower was first constructed. Meanwhile the pointed-ogee window in the west wall of the tower might be the location of the original gable window of the twelfth century church [**Fig 3. 26**]. In addition, below the pointed ogee window is another small window (the carved stones have been removed). This was probably the location of a larger twelfth century lancet, indicated by two things. The first is the fact that the (rather awkward) chamfered offset does not extend to the small light on the south side. The second is the straight scar below the window might suggest that original base of a taller light.

Due to modern restorations most of the north wall was completely rebuilt *c.*1870. The Saturday Magazine from October 1837 illustrated an engraving of Fore abbey with three tall round-headed windows in the north wall [**Fig 3. 27**].[93] The east windows are depicted as pointed lancets so there is a sense of artistic licence but the basic elements are essentially accurate. A current photograph of the same view confirms the probable accuracy of the engraving [**Fig 3. 28**]. This seems to indicate that the north wall was lit by at least three tall lancets, although from what period of construction they come from is unclear. A few courses of an additional structure are visible on the north side of the nave, running from just west of the choir to the west end of the nave (*c.*18.7 meters). This annex is divided internally into two uneven sections, east and west. The foundations are bonded to the church and so is a small section of wall attached to the west façade. There, the

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[92] Doorways with slight projections are found in the Worcestershire churches of Stoulton, Abberley, Beckford, Blockleton, Hampton Lovett, Holt, Priton, Rochford, Rock, Eastham, and Knighton, Pevsner, N., *The Buildings of England: Worcestershire*, (London, 2007 reprint), 20-1.
[93] The Saturday Magazine, 339, (Oxford, October 14, 1837), 145-46.

masonry is distinct from the remainder of the façade, which suggests that the walls were reworked when the buildings were added. The questions remain, when was it added and what was its function? Leask said that when much of the north wall was rebuilt, it obliterated a doorway leading to a 'north chapel', but he limits the 'chapel' area to the east half of the building.[94] There is no reason to believe that the building was added in two phases, since there is no distinct break in the north wall at the point of the north-south dividing wall. There are two possibilities for the function of the space. One, it was an added sacred space, like a chapel or more likely, due to the fact that it runs from the west façade to the chancel, a north aisle. Two, it was an added secular space built subsequent to the addition of the west tower or even after the dissolution of the monastery when the complex reverted to secular use. Many single aisle churches were given similar extensions in order to provide extra altar space.[95] This was the case at Astley, where an aisle was added to the north side of the church *c.*1160 and a Lacy Chapel, against the chancel, somewhat later. There is every possibility that the building at Fore was added as a sacred space during the life of the monastery based on the fact that this type of addition was common in smaller churches. In Ireland, this is particularly true at friaries beginning in the late thirteenth century. The internal width of the addition measures 3.9 meters, just over half the width of the nave (6.87 meters), a common aisle to nave proportion. However, the possibility must remain just that, particularly because the stair turret of the west tower extends into the space. (Although, it is possible that when the west tower and turret were added that the north 'aisle' was truncated to a smaller 'chapel' sized space.)

While at first glance it might seem that the only cut stone in the church is associated with the windows, several other features shed light on the original appearance of the buildings. In fact, the church is rather unusual for having very early stone fixtures. An ambry and piscina are contained within twin niches with round-headed chamfered arches [**Fig 3. 29**]. The stone fittings in the cell at Astley are a latter insertion with twin trefoil-headed niches contained under a square hood. At Llangenith there is only a plain square niche containing the piscina. There are earlier examples of stone fittings in Irish churches, some which even predate the coming of the Anglo-Normans. The sedilia at Jerpoint is probably the earliest example in Ireland, dated by Stalley to *c.*1160-70 [**Fig 3. 30**].[96] It is composed of three

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[94] Leask, *Fore, Westmeath*, 30.

[95] For the addition of aisles to smaller (parish) churches in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century see: Morris, R., *Churches in the Landscape*, (London, 1989), 287.

[96] Moss thinks that the sedilia could be much later, Moss, R., *Romanesque Chevron Ornament*, (unpublished PhD thesis, Dublin, 2001).

round-headed niches, ornamented with chevron. At Boyle (Roscommon, east end *c.*1161-70) the sedilia is a single undivided arched recess. While a few stone furnishings are found in pre-invasion churches, Fore appears to have one of the first examples of a piscina and aumbry in an Anglo-Norman context. Other early examples are found in the Cistercian houses of Grey (*c.*1200), Inch (*c.*1185-90) and Graiguenamanagh (*c.*1210).

At the other end of the church at Fore, now the west tower, is a blocked round-headed doorway located in the west wall of the tower [**Fig 3. 31**]. It is not in line with the centre of the wall but probably served as a twelfth-century entrance to the nave. The relieving arch is intact but some of the arch and south jamb are now missing. It was probably blocked by the time that the west tower was added, when a different entrance was presumably inserted in a position more suitable for defence. A small building abutted the north side of the west façade of the tower and perhaps this served as a forebuilding, through which access to the new entrance was gained. In 1864, Du Noyer sketched the round-headed doorway [**Fig 3. 32**] and the moulding profile of the north jamb. The north jamb consists of a very simple hollow and angle roll [**Fig 3. 33**]. The doorway is somewhat confusing due to the fact that the moulding changes at the turning of the arch into a simple angle roll and continued like this on the remaining stones of the south jamb.

The most common moulding employed between *c.*1140-1240 was the angle roll.[97] An early example of the quirk hollow and angle roll is found in the West Country abbey of Malmesbury, of about 1160. The west door of Strata Florida (Ceredigion. *c.*1201) employed the angle roll in each of the six continuous orders. The continuous order, often alternating with non-continuous orders, was typical of West Country architecture of the late twelfth century.[98] As already mentioned, West Country parallels are not surprising considering de Lacy's connection to the area, both in terms of the ancestral estates and his ecclesiastical ties. The angle roll flanked by hollows was employed rather extensively in England by the early thirteenth century. One example includes the retrochoir arches at Winchester Cathedral (Hampshire, *c.*1200-20).[99] What appears to be the case at Fore was that the original doorway was surrounded by a continuous angle roll, like the south jamb

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[97] Morris, R.K., 'An English Glossary of Medieval Mouldings: With an Introduction to Mouldings *c.*1040-1240', *AH*, 35 (1992), 8.

[98] The continuous order, usually alternating with non-continuous orders are found in the doorways of Glastonbury (Somerset), Worcester, St. Mary's, Shrewsbury (Shropshire), Bredon (Worcestershire); in main arcades at Worcester, Glastonbury and Llandaff (Cardiff); in the triforium of Worcester, Llanthony, Wells (Somerset) and St. David's (Pembrokshire); and in the clerestory of Glastonbury Lady Chapel, Brakspear, H., 'A West Country School of Masons', *Archaeologia*, 81 (1931), 6-7.

[99] Morris, 'An English Glossary of Medieval Mouldings', 9.

and arch. At some point subsequent to the original construction the north jamb was replaced with an angle roll and quirk hollow. However, this again does little to narrow down the date of the church to any more than between *c.*1175-1240.

Within the church there are a few other bits of sculptured stone that may shed some light on the early architectural history of the building. Built into the north and south walls of the west tower are two trumpet-scallop capitals [**Fig 3. 34**]. They have thick roll necks and presumably had square abaci (now missing), suggesting that they once sat on three quarter engaged columns. These were probably reset during the construction of the west tower, but from where they came is uncertain. They were either from a doorway or the original cloister arcade. The twelfth-century cloister at Mellifont (Louth) had twin scallop capitals (*c.*1150-1200) [**Fig 3. 35**]. However, if they were from the cloister, you would imagine that other pieces of the cloister would have been found built into the later buildings. Scallop capitals were popular in West Country architecture of the late-twelfth century.[100] 'In the lower Severn valley area, the scallop capital was popular in the decades *c.*1160-1200 in the milieu of the 'West Country School', with Worcester as an important centre'.[101] Both scallop and trumpet scallops are found at Fore's sister cell at Astley, the latter employed in the north arcade from *c.*1160 [**Fig 3. 36**]. Here the arcade is composed of semi-circular arches in two orders, supported on circular piers sitting on double roll bases and square plinths, with trumpet scallop capitals with thick neck rolls and octagonal abaci.[102] In Ireland, double trumpet scallop capitals are found in the transept chapels of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin (*c.*1186-1200) [**Fig 3. 37**]. Although the trumpet scallop went out of fashion by the turn of the century, there are some examples of its use as late as *c.*1215-20 at Boyle (Roscommon). The use of the trumpet scallop in Ireland does not appear to narrow down the date of construction at Fore to any more than the fifty year period between *c.*1173-1220. However, Fore's relative proximity to Dublin and its association with Anglo-Norman patronage, and therefore direct impact from the West Country, might suggest that the use of trumpet scallop capitals belongs to the same period as its usage at Dublin. This would follow more logically than an Anglo-Norman

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[100] Bond, F., *Gothic Architecture in England, an Analysis of the Origin and Development of English Church Architecture from the Norman Conquest to the Dissolution of the Monasteries*, 2 vols., (London, 1905), 1: 413-414; Brakspear, H., 'A West Country School of Masons,' *Archaeologia*, 81 (1931), 12.

[101] Morris, R.K., 'Early Gothic Architecture at Tewkesbury Abbey', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Gloucester and Tewkesbury, BAACT*, 7 (1985 for 1981), 96.

[102] Other West Country churches that employed the scallop and trumpet scallop capital include St. David's (Pembrokeshire, *c.*1180), the west nave of Worcester, the east transept of Hereford, the north aisle of Lichfield (Staffordshire) choir, under the tower of Cheltenham (Gloucestershire), and other Welsh border churches including the de Lacy monastery of Llanthony Prima, Bond, F., *Gothic Architecture in England*, 414.

foundation belonging to a group of monuments built in the west of Ireland, where an English vocabulary was channelled through the east slightly later and interpreted with an Irish vernacular.

Again, we can look to the West Country building of Llanthony Prima for trumpet scallop capitals, found throughout the chancel, crossing, nave and chapter house, mostly sitting atop triple rolls with half octagonal abaci. The closest parallel is found in the first bay of the nave where trumpet scalloped corbels carry the soffit of the arch with square abaci (*c.*1186) [**Fig 3. 38**]. The trumpet scallop capital is also found in the Benedictine priory of Little Malvern (Worcestershire) [**Fig 3. 39**]. It too is *ex situ* but appears to have come from a nook-shaft while similar capitals *in situ* are located in the tower and porch. The loose capital is damaged but retains its large hollow chamfered square impost. Two brethren, Jocelin and Edred, the first and second priors respectively, founded the priory dedicated to St. Giles in 1171, which would suggest that construction was contemporary with Fore.[103]

While both Llanthony and Little Malvern offer decent West Country parallels, the connection between Évreux and Fore may here be interlinked through another West Country church, Fore's sister cell at Astley. Among the earliest fabric *in situ* at St. Taurin's are the lower storeys of the south transept, including a blind arcade on the west and south façade (probably blocked windows) [**Fig 3. 40**]. Upon one of the nook shafts is a scallop capital [**Fig 3. 41**]. Astley is also, as mentioned, ornamented with numerous scallop capitals on both the chancel arch and south porch [**Fig 3. 42**], and trumpet scallops on the nave arcade. While the scallop capital was universally employed in West Country architecture, it is still interesting to find the type employed at the Norman mother house and its cell, and later the trumpet scallop at two of its cells. Scallop and trumpet scallop capitals had gone out of fashion by *c.*1190-1200, having been replaced for the most part by stiff leaf and moulded capitals. Apart from Christ Church, no other Irish church patronised

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[103] However, Simon, bishop of Worcester (1125-50), issued a charter by which he ' … granted, confirmed and decreed that Little Malvern and the church of St. Giles [and there placed] monks for Worcester in their room and choose the prior of Malvern in the chapter of Worcester', Habington, T., *A Survey of Worcestershire*, ed. J. Amphlett 2 vols., (Worcesreshire, 1895-9), 2: 193, as quoted in Bryer, R.J.W., *Not the Least, The Story of Little Malvern*, (Worcestershire, 1993), 30. It is likely that the foundation mentioned in 1171 was, in fact, a re-foundation after the first failed. Little Malvern had at least twelve monks and a novice in 1323 and had a dependency in Ireland at Castleknock, Knowles and Hadcock, 69. Hugh Tyrell, lord of Castleknock, founded the Irish abbey *c.*1185, but it was Henry, archbishop of Dublin, who gave the priory there to Little Malvern in 1219, *ibid.*, 105. However, Tyrell had granted a grange, land and a mill, along with several churches, etc. to the priory of Little Malvern before 1199. It was de Lacy who gave the lordship of Castleknock to Tyrell, the same said man who was in charge of the first reconstruction at Trim as de Lacy's representative in Ireland during his absence. It may not be coincidental that Tyrell founded a small Benedictine priory in emulation of his lord.

by the Anglo-Normans employed the trumpet scallop. This lends further plausibility to the suggestion that the construction of Fore coincided with both Llanthony and the transepts at Christ Church, or between *c.*1173 and 1200.

Because it is unlikely that these capitals came from the cloister, and that only two survive, they probably came from either side of a single ordered doorway. Considering the simplicity of the west doorway and the remaining windows and fixtures of the church, the doorway ornamented with trumpet scallop capitals presumably came from the domestic ranges, the most likely places being the chapter house or the original refectory. This also suggests that the building programme at Fore was relatively fast paced, which, considering the simplicity of the church, is unsurprising.

There is limited evidence for the reconstruction of the original cloister and ranges, however, some conclusions can be drawn by examining the fabric of the buildings themselves. The foundations of the earlier buildings indicate a different layout from what currently exists. The original cloister area was larger (*c.*18.28 x 25.9 meters) than its present form (16.50 x 16.41 meters) [**Fig 3. 43**]; it was more rectangular with larger domestic buildings, particularly the chapter house and dormitory. The alterations to the cloister are visible in the changes to the stonework and the awkward abutting of later walls. The location of the original south range (including the refectory, kitchen (and oven) and possibly the calefactory and mills) is revealed by foundation uncovered through excavations [**Fig 3. 44**]. The stonework of the new south range changes abruptly where it sits against the wall of the new south end of the east range [**Fig 3. 45**]. This was probably the result of how the new south range was constructed. The new refectory was built north of the original and then the east range was truncated, which explains why the stonework of the east range is different from the new south range. The remainder of the east range appears to have been more or less re-used in the reduced cloister. Meanwhile, the west range also shows several signs of alterations, including the addition of a second storey. The scars of the original lower roof and the later higher roof are visible in the south wall of the west tower [**Fig 3. 46**]. There are several factors that reveal that the west range was later enlarged into the cloister and raised an extra storey. The original nave wall did not extend to its current height. The height was increased when the west tower was added (in the fourteenth century). In addition, the centre of the upper pitch is east of the lower roof, which demonstrates that the east wall was moved. This is also illustrated by the fact that

the new east wall cuts across the pitch of the original pentice roof over the cloister walk, as well as the relieving arch of the doorway into the nave [**Fig 3. 47**].

The size of the twelfth-century cloister was comparable to the Cistercian houses at Bective and Mellifont. The cloister at Bective measured 24.38 meters north x 17.67 meters east [**Fig 3. 48**], while Mellifont measured *c.*26 meters north by 28.65 meters. Amongst the Cistercian cloisters in Ireland, Bective and Mellifont lie somewhere in the middle of the range, neither the largest nor the smallest.[104] This is significant in that both monasteries provided accommodation for full communities of at least thirteen and a prior; in fact, Mellifont housed 100 monks and 300 lay brothers.[105] This supports the hypothesis that Fore was intended to house a sizeable community and was perhaps planned as a conventual house. Bective is also significant because, while it was a pre-Norman foundation, Hugh de Lacy became a benefactor subsequent to his arrival. It was at Bective that his head lay for almost ten years before it was reunited with his body in St. Thomas', Dublin.

When the house was made conventual the domestic ranges were reduced in order to provide more appropriate spaces for the small community. Leask attributed the reconstruction to the prior, William Crose. Before his appointment, he was responsible for the encastellation of priory lands, described by the king as a 'farmer' who '... erecting at his own charge and expense many strong castles to the great relief and comfort of His Majesty's liege subjects'.[106] He was appointed prior by papal provision in 1440 and was probably in office when the priory was made independent (1449) and, finally, conventual (1454).[107] However, a mid century date seems relatively early for the design of the cloister arcade and it may therefore have been the work of his successor, the arcade having been recently dated to *c.*1470.[108] The decision to reduce the size of the cloister underlies the fact that the original layout would have easily accommodated a full community of monks, which was perhaps the criterion at the outset. It would not have been the only Benedictine cell that was converted for use as a priory early in its life. Such was the case at Cogges (Oxfordshire) where the founder, Manasses Arsic, increased the original endowments to

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[104] These and other dimensions for Cistercian cloisters are found in Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 54.
[105] Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 13.
[106] Leask, *Fore, Westmeath*, 22.
[107] Ó Clabaigh, C., 'Benedictines in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland,' 103.
[108] The cloister arcade has been dated to *c.*1470, Dr. D. O'Donovan, *pers. comm.* For a larger discussion on fourteenth and fifteenth century architecture in Ireland see, O'Donovan, D., 'Building the Butler Lordship, 1405-1552', (unpublished PhD Thesis, TCD, 2007).

Fecamp '... so that it could have become a fairly large monastery'.[109] Walter de Lacy confirmed his father's grant of '... all the gifts both of lands and other ecclesiastical endowment ...' and increased the bequest with gifts of his own.[110] Walter's extension of his father's original grant may have been designed to increase the size of the community in much the same way.

Fore was not alone as a dependent priory cell with substantial buildings constructed as a direct result of the initial foundation. Several alien priory cells in Wales founded in the wake of the Norman invasion were granted to Benedictine houses. St. Michael's, Ewenny and St. Mary's, Chepstow survive with substantial medieval fabric.[111] Ewenny was initially established as a priory cell dependent on St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester. It is particularly interesting as a comparison to Fore for three reasons. First, the de Lacy's had a long-standing link with Gloucester, to which Ewenny was appropriated. Gloucester received the patronage of Walter de Lacy, first lord of Ludlow, when in 1084 he founded a collegiate Benedictine church in Hereford, dedicated to St. Peter. Seventeen years later (1101) his son, Hugh (great uncle of the first lord of Meath) granted the church to Gloucester with the intention that it should become a dependent priory.[112] It is also interesting to note that Walter is said to have fallen to his death from a ladder while inspecting building works at St. Peter's. Second, in 1141, Maurice de Londres increased the endowment to Ewenny on the condition that the house would accommodate '... a convent of at least thirteen'.[113] Lastly, the church appears to have been designed as a

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[109] Monks arrived from Fécamp in 1103. Duke Robert had placed the monks at St. Taurin directly under the rule of Fécamp in the eleventh century, Knowles and Hadcock, 87.

[110] Walter's grant augmented his father's endowments by adding eleven parishes in Bréifne sometime before 1224, *CDF*, 106. The endowments were examined in an article by Masterson, 'The Alien Priory of Fore, Westmeath, Middle Ages', 73-79.

[111] Robinson, D.M., *The Cistercians in Wales, Architecture and Archaeology 1130-1540*, (London, 2006), 40.

[112] Bishop Robert de Bethune united the collegiate church of St. Guthlac, in the castle of Hereford, with St. Peter's priory, Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.*, 3: 621; *Hist. et Cart., Glouc.*, 1: 84, cited in Knowles and Hadcock, 67. In 1130, Walter de Lacy, who had entered the monastery under Abbot Peter at the age of seven, was unanimously chosen as the abbot of Gloucester. *ibid.*, 1: 15. In the Domesday Survey the possessions of the convent in Gloucestershire also included the manors of Boxwell, Buckland, Aldsworth, Hinton, Highnam, and Preston, of the old endowment, Ledene of the gift of Walter de Lacy, Duntisbourne, of the gift of his wife, Domesday, 165b; *Hist. et Cart., Glouc.*, 1: 92, 73. Walter de Lacy gave two carucates in Ocle Pychard (Herefordshire), and one ville in Weobley (Herefordshire) to St. Peter's, Hereford, Fleming, R., *Domesday Book and the Law, Society and Legal Custom in Early Medieval England*, (Cambridge, 2004), nos. 733, 737.

[113] Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales*, 15-16, drawing on *Cartae Glamorganica*, 4:2265-6 and *Episcopal Acts*, 2:644. See also Davies, J.C. Ewenny Priory: Some Recent Found Records', *NLWJ*, 3 (1943-4), 135-6; Nicholl, L.D., *The Normans in Glamorgan, Gower and Kidweli*, (Cardiff, 1936), 79-80. For confirmation of Maurice's gifts by Robert, earl of Gloucester, see *Gloucester Charters*, 73-4, 87-8. On the priory in general, see Turbervill, J.P., *Ewenny Priory: Monastery and Fortress*, (London, 1901); Orrin, G.R. *Medieval Churches of the Vales of Glamorgan*, (Cowbridge, 1988), 145-60; Newman, J., *The Buildings of*

substantial cruciform building from the beginning, i.e. prior to de Londres' increased endowment.[114] The community at Fore was also constructed with an entire monastic complex in stone despite the community's dependent cell status. In fact, Fore has the most extensive remains of any medieval Benedictine monastery in Ireland.

Conclusion

The simplicity of the church and the lack of sculptural detail at Fore suggests a relatively short building programme, completed by the turn of the century (*c.*1173-1200). Despite its non-conventual status, both church and claustral buildings were constructed in stone from the initial foundation. The church itself remained relatively small in comparison to contemporary churches in the area, such as the Cistercian foundation at Bective, although the cloister garths were similar in size. However, the small scale of the church can be compared with the Augustinian house at Kells, and with the Grandmontine house at Rouen, both of which housed full communities. Additionally, the size of the domestic ranges implies that it was intended to provide accommodation for more than a few monks and a servant (the occupants of the community in the fourteenth century). Examples of cells with full communities include Monk Sherborne (Hampshire) and the alien priory at Stogursey (Somerset). Henry de Port founded the former during the reign of Henry I; and by 1183 the latter was large enough to send a prior and six monks to Ireland when John de Courcy founded St. Andrew's, Ards (Down).[115]

An examination of the remaining features in the church provides evidence for the possible original layout of the building [**Fig 3. 49**] and its interior appearance. It was a single vessel church with a triplet of round-headed graduated lights in the east wall, at least three window in the north wall of the nave, and a line of six windows in the south clerestory, all round headed. A round-headed doorway was provided in the west façade. At some point subsequent to the initial foundation, a long aisle-like space was added to the north side of the nave. Finally, trumpet scallop capitals, found in the west tower, suggest that at one time an ornamental doorway was positioned somewhere in the complex. The presence of trumpet scallop capitals gives weight to the hypothesis that construction was coeval with work on the east end of Llanthony Prima, *c.*1173-86 or at least with work in the transepts at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin (*c.*1186-1200). The interior ornamentation may well

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Wales: Glamorgan, (London, 1995), 343-7, cited in Robinson, D.M., *The Cistercians in Wales: Architecture and Archaeology 1130-1540*, (London, 2006), 304 n42.

[114] See n38.

[115] Knowles and Hadcock, 90, 92; Gwynn and Hadcock, 108.

have created an entirely different picture of the church from what is now visible. It has some of the earliest stone fixtures in Ireland, probably the first in an Anglo-Norman foundation. Above the piscina and ambry in the south wall are traces of paint; double red lines indicate that the walls were once painted to look like ashlar masonry.[116] This type of painting is typical of ornamentation in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries and is also found at the Cistercian house at Grey, as well as the Marshal Tower at Chepstow (*c.*1213-19). The church was no doubt embellished with woodwork, a choir screen, choir stalls and altars (perhaps even made of stone).[117] Not only was the nave disrupted and shorted with the insertion of a west tower but also a good amount of reduction and alteration is visible in the cloister and domestic ranges.

According to the list of possessions at the Dissolution, Fore was a relatively rich community. At the time of the suppression the priory was surrendered by William Nugent and in April 1540, was granted to Matthew Kyng with all its possessions spiritual and temporal for twenty-one years.[118] Fore's possessions included '... certain castles or tower, and other houses and buildings of stone in sufficient repair ...' with 240 acres of arable, mountain and moor with a total value of the manor, £75 4s 8d,[119] its spiritual possessions were worth £101.[120] The generous endowments of both Hugh de Lacy and his son, Walter, guaranteed the sustenance of the community, which may have been intended to accommodate a full house monks with their servants. The de Lacys' patronage allowed for the construction of a masonry monastic complex, with all the fittings and furnishings required of a large community, although the church itself was modest.

Considering the fact that the first monks arrived from Normandy, one might have expected to find a plan or stylistic features that relate to the mother house. However, it is often the case that there are very few obvious correlations between mother houses and their dependencies. This is generally a result of the fact that the mother house often pre-dated

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[116] At Fore the paint is found above the stone fixtures. At Grey it is located above the south window in the chancel, pointed out by Ann Hamlin, Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 278 n80. For an overview of surviving medieval wall paintings in England and Wales, see Rosewell, R., *Medieval Wall Paintings in English and Welsh Churches*, (Woodbridge, 2008).

[117] It is rare to find medieval choir stalls in northern Europe that date to before the fourteenth century. In England, a complete set survives, dated to after 1236, at Salisbury Cathedral, and possible fragments from choir stalls, dated to *c.*1240, survive at Peterborough Cathedral. Additionally, a complete set of choir stalls, albeit almost entirely nineteenth century reconstructions, is found at Rochester Cathedral (dated to before *c.*1227, based on a cathedral document that records), '*intoritus in novum chorum*', Tracy, C., 'The Early-Thirteenth-Century Choir Stalls and Associated Furniture at Rochester Cathedral', *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rochester*, eds. T. Ayers and T. Tatton-Brown, (Leeds, 2006), 130.

[118] *Extents*, 274.

[119] *Ibid.*, 271.

[120] *Ibid.*, 273.

the foundation of the daughter house by several decades. The limited architecture at Fore is such that it is hard to define a context but parallels can be found in the West Country abbey of Llanthony Prima, also built substantially with de Lacy endowments. Furthermore, some comparisons can be made with St. Taurin's West Country cell at Astley and the Welsh house at Llangenith. Despite de Lacy's generous contributions to the community, the scanty remnants of the priory leave open the question of his interest in these building works. The lack of standing remains at his religious foundations contributes to a picture of a man, who was probably preoccupied with castle construction. He took a keen interest in the construction of his personal residence at Trim and while sculptural detail is minimal or has been removed, the use of the continuous angle roll at Trim and Fore might imply a tentative connection, though this should not be given too much credence, given the fact that the angle roll is one of the most common mouldings of Romanesque and early Gothic architecture. The remains at Fore are so undiscerning that it is almost as likely that local masons built the complex as masons from either the West Country or Normandy. However, there is no reason to doubt that like his contemporaries in Leinster and Ulster, he encouraged the immigration of mason from in and around his ancestral estates: English masons who brought local knowledge and practice with them. This is more apparent at Trim due to the very obvious lack of local masons trained in the art of monumental secular architecture. However, while the founding monks travelled from the continent, there is every reason to suggest that the masons were as likely to have been brought from Normandy as encouraged to travel from the West Country in order to build the Benedictine monastery. Walter de Lacy, the first member of the de Lacys in Hereford was said to have died after falling from the scaffolding while inspecting building works at one of his religious foundations. Hugh de Lacy, first lord of Meath, met his end while examining the construction of a castle at Durrow. While there is absolutely no way of knowing if this latter de Lacy had any interest in the construction of churches, he was responsible for the unusual benefaction of a Norman Benedictine house. This and his obvious relationship with building works at his castle in Trim may imply that he had a more than average interest in the design of buildings he was funding. Despite the austerity of the remains at Fore, the survival of the monastic complex suggests that perhaps it was a comfortable home for the monks from Évreux. The substantial remains of early Gothic work at Llanthony and the stone complex built at Fore both demonstrate the generosity of Hugh de Lacy's religious patronage.

These two chapters have uncovered a great deal about the architectural patronage of Hugh de Lacy, a man whose fortunes rose well above what he could have ever expected in his youth. His position as a high-ranking nobleman in the English court had a dramatic impact on the monuments of his Irish lordship. In the next two chapters the architecture of a man whose fortunes were primarily linked to his Irish estates will be discussed. This will reveal how the different life experiences and status of John de Courcy were responsible for the unique architectural landscape of Ulster.

CHAPTER 4: THE ROCK OF DE COURCY

Introduction

John de Courcy did not possess vast estates in England like those commanded by his contemporaries, the de Lacys and the Marshals. Although he was the eldest son of a noble, he came from a cadet branch of the family with little or no prospect of inherited land. As a result, his conquest and colonisation could not be funded with English revenue, nor could he rely on a retinue already bound to him through English knights' fees. Moreover, neither he nor his father was previously linked directly to the construction of stone castles. He did not possess an ancestral estate like Hugh de Lacy at Ludlow, with its complex of buildings complete with gate tower-cum-residential keep, curtain wall with mural towers and round chapel. Nor was he a proficient castle builder like William Marshal, with his important castles at Chepstow, Pembroke and Usk. A further point of distinction, which appears to have made an important impact on the architecture of his realm, was the fact that de Courcy did not hail from the Welsh Marches, although an elder branch of the family held estates centred at Stogursey (Somerset).[1] Rather, he was reared in the north of England, where his father administered his uncle's Meschin estates [**Fig 4. 1**], bordering both the Rumilly honour of Skipton and the de Lacy honour of Clitheroe and Pontefract.[2]

Significantly, '... de Courcy drew most of his tenants from estates with which he was in regular contact as a result of his family relationships'.[3] The names that appear in his charters seem mostly to have come from the North, which suggests that those knights, who followed him from Dublin, were presumably the same said men whom he had known from his youth, perhaps having participated together in earlier campaigns in northern England.[4]

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[1]For the Stogursey de Courcys, see chapter one and, Flanders, S., *De Courcy, Anglo-Normans in Ireland, England and France in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, (Dublin, 2008), 46, 53.

[2] The de Lacys at Pontefract were cousins of the de Lacys at Ludlow and Meath, see chapter one.

[3] 'Almost thirty locations in England and southern Scotland can be associated with ... tenants of John de Courcy in Ulster. The majority of them fall within the territory of the barony of Copeland, in close proximity to manors known to have been part of the honour of Skipton, or land inherited by Alice Paynel [daughter of William III Paynel and Alice de Rumilly, who married second William II de Courcy, and who married Richard de Courcy, son of Robert II de Courcy] ... All of his tenants may have come from lands held by his cousins or other relations for the evidence is far from complete or comprehensive ... Those places were linked to his Courcy family by lineage, ownership, marriage or political relationship. John's lordship of Ulster was a family business', Flanders, *De Courcy*, 130.

[4] The following vassals are listed in John de Courcy's charters: John de Courcy, Reginald, bishop of Connor, Roger de Cestria (*i.e.*, Roger de Courcy of Chester), Adam Amerarius, William de Courcy, Richard filius Crouce, Richard Masculus, Roger de Dunsford, Henry Clement, Jordan de Courcy (brother of John), Brian de Schelers (or Scalers), William de Schelers (his son), Joceline de Angulo, Roger...? de Costa (possibly Roger de Curci de Cestria), William and Henry de Coupeland, Radulf Martel, Stephen Locardus, Roger and Gilbert de Croft, Helia de Cestria (? Elias of Chester), Roger Poer, Marshall, Henry Purell, William Savage, William

When de Courcy marched north, accompanied by (his alleged brother-in-law) Almaric de St. Lawrence, Roger le Poer and some number of the Dublin garrison, he advanced to Down, the ancestral seat of the titular Irish king, Mac Dunn Schléibhe.[5] This decision, as well as his subsequent actions, indicates the planned nature of his invasion and ultimate occupation. His organisational skills lead to the conclusion that, while he was nearly landless in England, his education as a knight in the twelfth century was exemplary.[6]

He was in no way a reticent lord; everything about his lordship – from his subjugation of Ulster to his exploitation of the land, from his support of the church to his encouragement of the propaganda of his victory, from his establishment of castles and towns to the construction of their buildings – was the work of a well-educated noble. He issued charters to the church, to new monastic houses and to his vassals, themselves ranked as barons.[7] He established a *caput* for the administration of his lordship at Carrickfergus (Antrim), a port town that provided a base for the management of trade and commerce. He was allowed to mint his own coinage, and had his own court officials, probably even his own historians.[8] Among those named in his retinue were his seneschal, Richard fitz Robert, the constables, both Roger de Courcy of Chester and Henry Purcell, his marshal, Roger Poer (presumably the same said Poer who accompanied him from Dublin), and a chamberlain named Adam.[9] From 1177 until 1204 he was left to his own devices, suggesting both Henry II and Richard I felt his alleged self-proclaimed 'principality' was no threat to their sovereignty. It was only during the reign of King John that he found himself in disfavour, a position that led to his expulsion from Ulster and temporary exile in France.[10] But he was not alone in finding himself on the wrong side of John. This king's ill temper also came down upon William Marshal, Walter and Hugh II de Lacy and, most unfortunately,

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Saracen, Philip de Hasting, Simon Passelew, Walter de Logan, Richard de Dundounald and Reinard his brother, Lawlor, H.C., 'The Vassals of the Earls of Ulster', *UJA*, 3rd series, 3 (1940), 17.

[5] Mac Dunn Schléibhe is called Dunlevus by Giraldus and appears as Macdonleue in the *Song of Dermot*, Orpen, 155, 155 n9.

[6] For a more in depth discussion of the military actions of de Courcy in Ulster, see Flanders, *De Courcy*, chapter 7.

[7] *CDI*, 1: no. 225.

[8] Giraldus ends his descriptions of John de Courcy with the note that he was leaving '… [John de Courcy's] mighty exploits to be unfolded more fully by his own historians …', Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 181.

[9] The *inspeximus* of this charter in Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.* was transcribed from *Pat Roll*, 31 Ed III, p2, m11. It lists Richard fitz Robert, Roger de Courcy of Chester and Adam the chamberlain as witnesses. In another charter, Henry Purcell was listed as his constable, Roger Poer as his marshal and Adam as his chamberlain. Among the hostages given to King John for John de Courcy are the sons of William Savage, William Hach' [Hacket] and William Saracen, who were probably among his most trusted barons, Orpen, 159-60.

[10] De Courcy may have accompanied King John to Ireland in 1210 and during the barons' war of 1216, he might have been sent to protect Winchester from the threats of Louis of France, Flander, *De Courcy*, 165.

the family of William de Braose.[11] Far from incurring the ire of the pervious two kings, he had been left in charge of the Irish government, as *justiciar* from *c.*1185/6 to *c.*1189, just as his fellow lords, Hugh de Lacy I of Meath and Strongbow of Leinster, had before him.[12]

It is not his acts as royal official that this chapter will focus on, but rather his secular architectural patronage. When de Courcy chose the location of his *caput*, where he solidified his authority through the construction of a stone castle, he did not opt for an established site, such as Down. According to archaeological evidence, the settlement at Carrickfergus was an entirely Anglo-Norman construct, contrasting strongly with the *capita* of both William Marshal, lord of Leinster, and Hugh de Lacy, lord of Meath. Both Marshall and de Lacy constructed the 'centre' of their realms at places associated with early Irish monasteries [see chapters two and six]. The attraction of a location where a community had, to some extent, developed the agriculture and fishing industries, milling, trade and commerce, must have been a factor in the appropriation of their particular sites. Significantly, both Marshall and de Lacy chose inland towns, which were located more centrally within their individual lordships. Kilkenny and Trim were, however, navigable from the baronial ports of New Ross and Drogheda respectively. Marshal and de Lacy each chose a previously settled ecclesiastical site, and converted it into a secular *caput*. De Courcy, on the contrary, opted for an entirely new coastal settlement.

While he chose Carrickfergus as his *caput*, he also handed over the chief seat of the kings of Uladh (or Ulidia) to the church. In this single stroke he ensured that the Mac Dunn Schléibhe family could not reinstate their claim to the small Irish sub-kingdom of Dál Fiatach without incurring the 'wrath of God'.[13] Although the 'Mound of Down',[14] lying to

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[11] William de Braose owed a large sum of money to King John and was either unwilling or unable to pay. Orpen suggested that, having been Arthur of Brittany's custodian before he was handed over to Hubert de Burgh, that William de Braose knew more about Arthur's fate than we do. De Braose fled to Ireland with his family. King John followed Maud de Braose and her sons, William and Reginald, to Carrickfergus. Alan of Galloway was Duncan of Carrick's cousin once removed (Alan was great-nephew of Duncan's father). Duncan of Carrick was captured Maud and her son, William, but Hugh II de Lacy, earl of Ulster, and Reginald were able to escape. William de Braose fled to France and died in exile, his wife and eldest son did not meet such a peaceful fate. They were held at Corfe Castle (Dorset) where they slowly starved to death, Orpen, 246, 253.

[12] As *justicia regis* he '... made a vigorous thrust into the most remote parts of the country, the regions of Cork and Connaught', Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 243; Orpen, 194.

[13] Downpatrick presented an excellent strategic position. 'The marshy terrain reduced the likelihood of an army reaching the hill unnoticed. The narrow neck of connecting high ground could be easily defended by a relatively small number of warriors and it confined any attackers to a narrow front, robbing them of any numerical advantage ... The town may have formed a *train*, a secular settlement associate with the *rath*, the religious enclosure which also contained the ruling lord's house and household ... [Flanders suggested that the Mound's location north of Cathedral Hill] suggest that, even if there is an earlier structure at its core, it

the north of the cathedral, has been suggested as a secular motte built by de Courcy following his grant to the church,[15] the Irish Pipe Roll of 1211-12 makes no mention of a castle. Wages were paid to ten men-at-arms and twenty foot soldiers '... who kept the city and district of Downpatrick ...', but not to the garrison of a castle.[16]

Whether or not there was an Anglo-Norman fortification alongside the cathedral, his defence of the lordship is without question. Giraldus tells us that, '... he fortified all parts of Uliad with castles built in suitable places, and not without a great deal of toil, short rations and endurance of many dangers, settled it and established conditions of utmost peace and stability'.[17] Although he built numerous castles, the most impressive of them, that remains as a visual symbol of his lordship, was built at Carrickfergus. It is notable as the earliest and most important of the Ulster masonry castles. Its place as the largest is demonstrated by the sheer size of the physical remains, echoed in the size of its garrison. The Irish Pipe Roll for 1211-12 accounts for the allowances of ten knights, sixteen men-at-arms, five crossbowmen, one chaplain, four watchmen and four door-keepers.[18] It is worthwhile considering whether or not the number of doorkeepers had any relation to the number of doors, and therefore the number of locked gates. At Windsor castle (Berkshire), records list a number of key holders, including a gatekeeper, 'keeper of the tower gate of the castle', 'keeper of gate and buildings of the park', and 'keeper of the gates, doors and houses of the inner ward'.[19] Most records of gatekeepers list one name at any given time. This indicates that if key holders had apprentices or assistants they were probably not important enough to be listed in royal accounts or if paid at all, it was out of the gatekeeper's wages. What the number of doorkeepers at Carrickfergus appears to suggest

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was built, developed, adapted or expanded by John de Courcy as a motte-and-bailey castle', Flanders, *De Courcy*, 137-139, 149.

[14] Parkinson has noted the difficulty in assigning the motte at Down to John de Courcy is the '... almost entire absence of any reference to the Castle at Down in any early document'. Neither is there a reference in the Patents taken out by Lord Cromwell as well as the Itinerary written by Father McCana in 1643. The 1708 'Survey of the Town of Downpatrick' referred to the 'Castle Quarter', which Parkinson suggests may relate to the fortified mansion built by Thomas Cromwell, earl of Ardglass, and destroyed in the spring of 1641-2. The *A. Inis* stated that de Courcy '... erected a strong fort of stones and clay at Down, and drew a ditch or wall from sea to sea'. Parkinson concluded that while it is plausible that de Courcy erected some fortifications here, there is no evidence he did so, Parkinson, R.E., 'The Castle of Down', *UJA*, 3rd series, 3 (1940), 57-63.

[15] Brannon, N., 'Achaeological Excavations at Cathedral Hill, Donwpatrick, 1987', *Lecale Miscellany*, 6 (1988), 3-9.

[16] *Irish Pipe Roll*, 59.

[17] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 181.

[18] These numbers are recorded for the dates 25 July 1211 to 25 March 1212. The following year, from Easter to Michaelmas, payments are paid to six knights, fifteen men at arms, three crossbowmen, one chaplain, four watchmen and four door-keepers, *Irish Pipe Roll*, 61.

[19] Rickard, J., *The Castle Community, The Personnel of English and Welsh Castles, 1272-1422*, (Woodbridge, 2002), 95-6.

is the sheer size of the castle by 1210. This may imply that there was more to the castle than the inner ward and its *donjon*. The castle guard at Carrickfergus was at least twice the size of those at any other Ulster castle including Antrim, Dromore (Down), Moycove (Down), Ardglass (Down), Carlingford (Louth) and Dundrum (Down).[20] The implication is not only the size of the castle but of its importance. It may be the luck of its history that much of the early masonry has been left unchanged, however, the execution of a stable and functional design cannot be discounted as a factor of its survival.[21]

McNeill, in his examination of Carrickfergus castle, has proposed ten periods of building works.[22] Of these, he assigned three to the establishment of the medieval castle [**Fig 4. 2**]. He attributed only the first, or inner ward, to the time of John de Courcy (*c.*1177-1204). It comprised a simple angular curtain wall of roughly pointed oval shape with a rectangular *donjon* built into the north and west walls. No gate tower or mural towers existed from this period of construction. Several late twelfth-century windows in the curtain indicate the location of at least one other building abutting the curtain. The second phase, or middle ward, is usually dated to the attention of the crown (*c.*1216-23). This included the introduction of several mural towers, two open-backed rectangular towers and an enclosed rectangular tower in the east corner. Finally, the third phase of construction, or the outer ward with its twin-towered gatehouse, McNeill has assigned to the patronage of either Hugh de Lacy II (*c.*1226-1242) or the de Burghs (after 1264).

How does McNeill support his assertions and is he correct? Can a reasonable alternative chronology be proposed? By examining the evidence, a valid yet different hypothesis might come to light. In 1204, when de Courcy was finally and permanently expelled from Ulster, what was the state of construction? By exploring the castle in its context, as a monument 'designed' by a knight from the north of England, can we say anything different from what is already surmised? How does the castle align with the overall appearance of early Anglo-Norman castles in Ireland and England? I will suggest, in the next chapter, an architectural connection between the early Anglo-Norman churches in Ulster and those in

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[20] Barry, T., *The Archaeology of Medieval Ireland*, (London, 1999, reprint), 56.

[21] Peers reported that the castle was in a bad state of repair in 1559. He spent £200 on the castle, McNeill, *Carrickfergus Castle, County Antrim*, (Belfast, 1981), 47. In 1565 he employed 100 to work on the castle and in 1568 he built a kitchen. McNeill has dated the gun ports to 1561-7, *ibid.*, 48. In 1714, McSkimm built a barrack at considerable cost (demolished in 1802). McSkimin recorded that fifty feet of south curtain collapsed in 1754 and had not been repaired in 1760; repairs took place in 1761. In 1793 the keep was converted for use as a barrack and the outer walls were repaired and fitted with guns. In 1815, the keep was vaulted in brick, *ibid.*, 49. For a longer discussion of later medieval and modern works on the castle, see *ibid.*, 45-51.

[22] *Ibid.*

northern England. Is such a connection also valid for de Courcy's castles? Is there any relationship between the architecture of the castle and that of his ecclesiastical foundation in the same town? Can any reasonable conclusions be made about the extent to which John de Courcy shaped the structure of the castle at his *caput*?

John de Courcy and the incastellation of Ulster

According to Giraldus Cambrensis, all parts of Ulster were overwhelmed with fortifications [**Fig 4. 3**]. In fact, at least eighteen castles were built by or for de Courcy in the last quarter of the twelfth century. They girdled '... the entire sea-coast and river of Lough Coyne from Dundrum to Ath-na-cleidhe (now Annacloy) on the Marches; with another at Clough to guard the mountain passes from Iveagh ...'.[23] Records exist for the construction of castles at Down and Castleskreen (Down), Mount Sandall (Derry) near Cill Santain (Coleraine, mentioned in 1197) – from which raids were conducted into north County Down and Inishowen annually until 1200 – and Coleraine itself; the so-called Crown Rath near Newry (Down), with others built at Antrim, Donaghadee (Down), Holywood (Down) and Dromore, as well as Castlereagh (Down) and Clough (Down).[24] Another castle is mentioned at Magh Cobha (probably Ballyroney, Down, built in 1188), from whence 'foreigners' made incursions into Tirowen.[25] The majority of Ulster castles were motte and bailey constructions, topped with timber towers and surrounded by palisading.[26] Works carried out at the various sites by King John confirm that there were a number of timber structures within each enclosure. Several sites had extensive building works that included granges, bridges, barns, palisades, towers and halls. At Antrim a grange and barn were repaired, as well as the bridge and the paling of the castle.[27] A new bridge, hall and four 'bretesches', along with other buildings were provided at Dromore;

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[23] Hanna, J.W., 'The Anglo-Norman Families of Lecale, in the County of Down', *UJA*, 1 (1853), 92. For a discussion of the castles in County Down, see Lockwood, F.W., 'Anglo-Norman Castles of County Down', *JRASI*, 23 (1893), 168-78.

[24] The list of castles is taken from Orpen, 158. Mount Sandell is mentioned in *UJA*, 1197, cited in McNeill, T.E., *Anglo-Norman Ulster, The History and Archaeology of an Irish Barony, 1177-1400*, (Edinburgh, 1980), 6.

[25] Maycove was mentioned in *UJA,* 1188. 'Magh Covha was the name of the plain extending from Dromore to Newry inhabited by the tribe of Ui Eathach Cobha ... Perhaps the great motte at Dromore represents de Courcy's castle. The castle of 'Maincove' is mentioned in the confirmation by Innocent II of de Courcy's charter to St Andre of Stoke', *Papal Letters*, 1: 17. It was rebuilt in stone, *AU*, 1252; *CDI*, 2: no. 124, and demolished by Brian O'Neill in the following year, *AU*, 1253; It was restored *c.*1260, *Irish Pipe Roll, 45 Hen III*, in *Fac. Nat. MSS,* pt. 2, pl. 73, cited in Orpen, 197 n19.

[26] The Pipe Rolls record the payment of one knight, one chaplain, ten men-at-arms and six unarmred men and for those who lived at the castle, as well as twenty foot soldiers who lived at Carlingford after the departure of the army, *Irish Pipe Roll*, 59, 65-6.

[27] The guard at Antrim castle consisted of two knights, twelve armed arches and six foot-soldiers, *Irish Pipe Roll*, 55.

and at Moycove a new bridge, hall, granary and palisade were built.[28] Specific reference was made to the tower at Ardglass and a large tower and small turret at Moycove, suggesting that the timber works here were rather elaborate.

Of the Ulster castles where stone structures exist, apart from Carrickfergus, only the curtain wall at Dundrum can reasonably be assigned to de Courcy [**Fig 4. 4**]. Excavations have not revealed footings for any other stone buildings within the simple multi-angular inner ward.[29] This indicates that if other buildings were constructed, as they likely were, they were built in timber. A double latrine in the curtain wall provides evidence for the location of one such earlier structure. It was presumably razed when the round tower was constructed.[30] Stylistically, the keep coincides with the fashion for round towers that began in the late twelfth century. King John would have been a contender as patron, except for the fact that recorded crown expenditure at Down was minimal. While de Courcy had sufficient resources, castles contemporary with Hugh de Lacy II – such as his brother's work at Trim, the Marshal castle at Pembroke, and the round tower at Clough Oughter (assigned to the patronage of William Gorm de Lacy, Hugh's half brother)[31] – suggests that the keep at Dundrum dates to the time of Hugh de Lacy II, either *c.*1205-1210 or *c.*1227-1243.[32] Just as Clough was built to guard the mountain pass, Dundrum was positioned so that, '… whether a traveller takes the route over the Newry pass and then skirts north of the Mournes between them and Slive Croob, or crosses Carlingford Lough by ferry [as existed in the 1180s] and then round south of the Mournes, he must pass the

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[28] Pay was made for the maintenance of two knights, one chaplain, sixteen men-at-arms, six servants, one cook, two watchmen, two door-keepers and one storekeeper at Dromore. Estover was paid for the keep of six unarmed servants at Moycove and an unnamed number in the garrison, *Irish Pipe Roll*, 57-8.

[29] The nature of the early defences, whether of masonry from the beginning a replacement of an original earth and timber structure, remains without clarification, Waterman, D.M., 'Excavations at Dundrum Castle', *UJA*, 3rd series, 14 (1951), 20-1, 23. For additional discussions of the castle at Dundrum, see Goddard, G.H., 'Dundrum Castle, County Down, Identified with the 'Castrum de Rath', *JRSAI*, 39 (1909), 23-9 and Waterman, D.M., 'The Water Supply of Dundrum Castle, Co. Down', *UJA*, 27 (1964), 136-39.

[30] McNeill, *Anglo-Norman Ulster*, 7.

[31] Clough Oughter (referred to as the castle of Crannog Ó Raghallaigh) was captured by Ó Raghallaigh with the help of William Marshal the younger's knights in 1233, which suggests that the castle was completed by *c.*1220. Two phases of construction have been delineated – 1. the first two storeys and 2. the completion of the tower to height and Manning has proposed William Gorm de Lacy was responsible for the construction of at least one if not both phases, Manning, C., 'Clough Oughter: a Medieval Island Castle in County Cavan', *Arch Ire*, 7 (1999); Manning, C., 'Cough Oughter Castle', *Breifne* 8:1 (1989-90), 20-61; Kirker, S.K., 'Cloughoughter Castle, County Cavan', *JRASI*, 5th series, 1:1 (1890), 294-97.

[32] In May 1226, the king committed to the custody of Walter de Lacy the castles of Carrickfergus, Antrim and Rath' and all the land which Hugh de Lacy held in Ulster as well as all the land that Hugh held of Walter including the castles of Rathour' and Le Nober, which he had in marriage to Leceline, daughter of Nicholas de Verdun, and the castle of Carlingford. At the end of three years they should be returned to the king unless during that time Hugh obtained the king's good grace, *CDI*, 1: nos. 1371, 1372, 1373 and 1374. On 20 April 1227, the king informed the justiciar of Ireland, Geoffrey de Marisco, and Walter de Lacy to restore all lands and castles to Hugh de Lacy, *CDI*, 1: nos. 1498 and 1988.

rock on which Dundrum castle existed'.[33] The relatively small walled enclosure sits atop a steep hill, and from there, commands an impressive view of the surrounding terrain that includes Carlingford Lough [**Fig 4. 5**].

De Courcy was not content with merely developing an assemblage of strategically located military outposts. He was also keen to highlight the relation of the lordship to its Irish past. De Courcy was conscious of the '... Irish ancestry of the principality he ruled'.[34] He refers to his territory in two charters as bounded from '... the water of Danart to the water of Carlingford'.[35] Curiously, the name given to the focal point of his lordship – Carrickfergus – appears to have its origins in the fifth century Irish king of Dalriada, Fergus Mor.[36] According to the legend, upon his return from Scotland, Fergus drowned not far from the port now called *Carraig Fhearghasa*, or the 'rock of Fergus', i.e. Carrick Fergus.[37] Bell had suggested the name to be rather a corrupted and Latinised version of the Irish phrase *Carraig na Farige* meaning 'rock of the sea'.[38] However, the association of Fergus with the town was well known and in the seventeenth century the Duke of Ormond enquired as to the location of the body of Fergus.[39] Furthermore, once the story of Fergus Mor Mac Erc is examined, the reason for the association of the town's name with this son of Niall of the Nine Hostages becomes clear.[40] It is his relationship with St. Pádraig that illuminates the correlation between town and king. Fergus granted to Pádraig lands upon which the latter built an abbey and church. Following the grant, Pádraig prophesised Fergus' rise to kingship. He became the king of Dalriada and moved the seat to Scotland, in effect, becoming the first Scots King to reign over Dalriada. It was not out of character for de Courcy to seize upon legend in order to validate his conquest. He appropriated the prophesies of both Silvester of Celidon, who spoke of a white knight on a white horse with

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[33] McNeill, *Anglo-Norman Ulster*, 7. The ferry is mentioned in Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.*, 6 (2): 1124. Ferry crossings were not doubt highly lucrative and strategically important. Those that crossed the river Quoile and Strangford Lough were valuable gifts and de Courcy granted them to the Benedictine community at Downpatrick, while retaining the crossing between Strangford and Portaferry for himself, Flanders, *De Courcy*, 138.

[34] 'The lands he conquered were in east County Down and south County Antrim, with outposts in Mount Sandal/Colerain and west Down. They are the lands of the tribes he is known to have defeated, Dal Fiatach and Dal nAraide, while he left alone the Ui Echach Cobo and Ui Tuirtre: the latter, at least, are known to have beaten him in battle', McNeill, *Anglo-Norman Ulster*, 15-16.

[35] '... *ab aqua de Lenart ad austrum* ...', Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.*, 6 (2): 1124; Orpen, G.H., 'The Fitz Geralds, Barons of Offaly', *JRSAI*, 44 (1914), 52., cited in McNeill, *Anglo-Norman Ulster,* 16.

[36] Fearghus Mor in Early Modern Irish Gaelic *c.*1200-*c.*1700, Fergus Mor in Old and Middle Irish Gaelic *c.*700-*c.*1200.

[37] Bell, J., 'A Conjecture as to the Origin of the Name of Carrickfergus', *UJA*, 5 (1857), 137.

[38] Bell, 'A Conjecture as to the Origin of the Name of Carrickfergus', 138.

[39] The request was made during his visit to the castle in 1666, O'Laverty, *Down and Connor*, 3: 10, quoting the *Montgomery MSS.*

[40] *AFM,* 498; O'Leary.

a banner of birds, and the Irishman, Columba, who foretold of his triumph at Down. De Courcy is said to have carried a copy of Columba's divinations everywhere he went.[41] De Courcy supported and encouraged the cult of St. Pádriag. His devotion led him to discover and then translate the body of Pádraig, along with those of SS Columcille and Brigid, to the newly re-dedicated Downpatrick cathedral. De Courcy was perhaps attempting to further validate his pre-destined supremacy by associating his *caput* with Fergus, whose kingship was foretold by the legendary saint. Bearing in mind his propensity for the appropriation of legend, it is not surprising for de Courcy to have literally built his *caput* upon the notoriety of another. In fact, in the *Life of St. Pádraig*, commissioned by de Courcy, a whole chapter is given to the detailing of the prophecies of St. Pádraig for Fergus and his children:

> 'And after a short space, according to the prophecy of the holy man, did Fergusius obtain the government of all that country, and his seed ruled therein for many generations'.[42]

One can only suppose that de Courcy was hoping to imitate the legend of Fergus in his own portended conquest: that his seed might 'rule for generations'. The appropriation of legend to underpin one's right to power or position was employed by his contemporaries. Roger of Howden recorded Richard I's gifting of King Arthur's sword Caliburn (Excalibur) to Tancard, king of Sicily (6 March 1191).[43] According to Warren, 'Roger juxtaposes a number of contentious issues around the gift of Caliburn, all dependent on Richard's sovereign authority: namely, Richard's designation of Arthur of Brittany as his heir, William's constitutional authority in England, and Tancred's contested accession in Sicily.'[44]

Carrickfergus castle, a new chronology

Upon a volcanic rock outcrop, extending into Belfast Lough, where the legend of St Pádraig, the first Scots king of Dalriada and John de Courcy come together, stands the castle of Carrickfergus, or the 'Rock of Courcy', as it could be named. Leask categorized Carrickfergus as a 'Castle with Rectangular Keep', along with those at Trim (Meath) [see

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[41] A book containing the exploits of de Courcy written in Latin is referred to in the colophon on the *Book of Howth*, 117, 'This much that is in this book more than Camerans [i.e., Giraldus Cambrensis] did write of was translated by the Primate Doudall in the year of Our Lord 1551 out of a Latin book into English, which was found with O'Neill in Armaghe', Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 333-4 n309.

[42] O'Leary.

[43] *Gesta*, 2: 159, cited in Warren, R.M., 'Roger of Howden Strikes Back: Investing Arthur of Brittany with the Anglo-Norman Future', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 21 (1998), 261 and Gillingham, *Richard*, 141-2 n 4; See also Mason, E., 'The Hero's Invincible Weapon: an Aspect of Angevin Propaganda', *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood III*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey, (Woodbridge, 1990), 121-37.

[44] Warren, 'Roger of Howden Strikes Back', 263.

chapter two], Adare (Limerick), Maynooth (Kildare), Athenry (Galway) and Greencastle (Down) (which is more like a hall house, proportionally wider than it is tall).[45] Most of the aforementioned castles post-date Carrickfergus, which was arguably the first stone castle in Ireland, although recent dendrochronological dating at Trim has distinguished it as coeval with its Ulster counterpart. It is telling that Leask was willing to acknowledge the attribution of Carrickfergus to John de Courcy, '*Conquestor Ultoniae*' (1180-*c.*1204), but was unwilling to assign the keep at Trim to Hugh de Lacy.[46] De Lacy was the far more powerful baron and the one whose family already owned stone castles.

Having sufficiently established himself in eastern Ulaid, de Courcy effected an alliance with Godred Óláfsson, king of Man, through marriage to the latter's daughter, Affreca (*c.*1180).[47] By 1183, the house of Premonstratensian canons de Courcy had founded in Carrickfergus was developed to a point that the prior was already in residence, acting as a witness to de Courcy's charters. This suggests that the town was well developed by that time. It also implies that immediately after his successful military campaigns of 1177-78, de Courcy began to solidify his lordship. Presumably, this included construction on the stone castle.[48] The earliest stonework found in the monastic church coincides with the first phase of construction at the castle (*c.*1178-86). The choir arcade is composed of large round columns supporting a simple chamfered pointed arch in two orders. The capitals of the north aisle are simple bell shaped with thick roll necks, while the south arcade has two sculptured capitals, one with trumpet scallops [**Fig 4. 6**] and the other with low relief foliage. Such sculptural detail can be paralleled at several Irish Cistercian late Romanesque houses. At Boyle (Roscommon, *c.*1175-80) the south nave arcade has octagonal scallop capitals set on round piers, with a round-headed arcade. The nave arcade at Baltinglass (Wicklow, *c.*1160-70) is furnished with low relief, scallop capitals on alternating round and square piers supporting a simple pointed arch. Similar features are also found in the east end of the nave at Jerpoint (Kilkenny, *c.*1170-80).[49] In addition, Stalley has pointed out several English comparisons, most notably the eastern most bay of the nave of Abbey Dore (Herefordshire), which offers a fine likeness to the work at

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[45] Leask, H.G., *Irish Castles and Castellated Houses*, (Dundalk, 1964), 27-40.
[46] Leask, *Irish Castles*, 28.
[47] For a longer discussion of the Manx-Ulster relations, see Oram, R., *The Lordship of Galloway*, (Edinburgh, 2000), 104-8.
[48] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 175-79; Orpen, 153-60; Flander, *De Courcy*, 137-47.
[49] Concave scallop capitals are found in some early work at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, dated by Stalley to *c.*1186-1190. The concave or trumpet scallops are a major feature of the West Country School between 1180-1200, Brakspear, H., 'A West Country School of Masons', *Archaeologia*, 81 (1931), 1-18.

Carrickfergus [**Fig 4. 7**].[50] Similarities occur both with the use of trumpet scallop capital and the low relief foliage details.[51] While Abbey Dore is a West Country building, many details within the church have been compared to northern architecture, such as Fountains (transepts and crossing tower, 1170), Melrose (transepts), Rievaulx (transepts), Sawley (Yorkshire, transepts), York Minster (waterleaf capitals, 1154-81), St. Andrews Cathedral-Priory (Fife, waterleaf capitals, 1162), Kirkstall (crossing tower) and Roche (transepts and nave, *c.*1170).[52] These comparisons offer a starting date of construction at Carrickfergus Premonstratensian priory of *c.*1178-90. With construction at the priory under way at an early date, it suggests that there was no reason to doubt that building works were not being pursued with equal diligence at the castle.

While McNeill's dating of the first phase of work at the castle is convincing, his suggestion that the second phase (the middle ward) should be ascribed to the crown is open to question. His rationale lies with the recorded allowance of £100 yearly to William de Serland for castle works.[53] However, in June 1216, the king sent a mandate to the justiciar to '... cause the king's castle of Carrickfergus to be well fortified, taking into the kings hand the outward bailiwick'.[54] The mandate clearly states that the outward bailwick should be taken into the king's hands and that implies it already existed. From 1217-1223, de Serland was granted £100 a year for building works, for a total of £500. In 1224, his

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[50] 'In Cistercian abbeys the first signs of English influence appear in sculptural details – scallop capitals, for instance – and by *c.*1160-70 the cylindrical pier, much favoured in English Romanesque, had been adopted at Baltinglass ...', Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 84-92.

[51] Major buildings works on the abbey church at Dore began *c.*1173 when Walter de Clifford made substantial grants to the church, Harrison, S. and M. Thurlby, 'An Architectural History', *The Definitive History of Abbey Dore*, eds. R. Shoesmith and R. Richardson, (Logaston, 1997), 46. The earliest fabric of the building appears to be in the north transept, crossing and part of the western bay of the presbytery; the two eastern bays of the presbytery and the ambulatory are generally agreed to be from a later phase of construction, *ibid*, 47. Details, such as the trumpet scallop capitals in the north transept and crossing support he *c.*1175 date, comparable to the western bays at Worcester Cathedral (traditionally dated to after the fall of the 'new' tower in 1175), *ibid.*, 49. The presbytery extension has been attributed to the work of Abbot Adam after he took office in 1186, *ibid.*, 56. This suggests that the north transept, crossing and eastern bay of the nave should belong to the period *c.*1173-*c.*1186. The eastern most bay of the nave is similar in character to the fabric in the crossing, while fragment from the vault bosses of the nave display a character established by English seals in the 1260s and 1270s, Heslop, T.A., 'English Seals in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400*, eds. J. Alexander and P. Binski, (London, 1987), 316-9, and probably mark the completion of the nave during the abbacy of Thomas Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford (1275-82) who was present at the consecration, *ibid.*, 56.

[52] Harrison and Thurlby, *op. cit.*, 45-62.

[53] The *Irish Pipe Roll* records minor sums spent on the construction of a new granary but repairs were relatively minor, mostly to the kitchen and windows of a chamber (115s 6d = £5 15s 6d), less than what was spent at Moycove (£11 8s 6d) and Carlingford (£10 12s) castles, which were themselves only timber works, *Irish Pipe Roll*, 55, 57-8, 65. The old granary may have been destroyed during a short siege in order to persuade de Lacy's men to surrender. 'John made a great concentration of his forces here, both by sea and by land, and the castle soon surrendered. A large number of ... feudatories [and retainers] of the de Lacys were taken prisoners in the castle and deprived for the time of their lands ... Upwards of thirty are mentioned by name in the Rolls ...', Orpen, 252, 253 n39.

[54] Close, 18 John, *p.* 1, *m.* 8; *Fine* Rolls, 17-18 John, *p.* 1, *m* 1, cited in CDI, 1: no. 697-8.

successor was given only £20 yearly for two castles, which implies that the works undertaken by de Serland were for the most part completed by then. Additionally, McNeill has suggested that the two-light window in the gatehouse chapel dates to *c.*1200 [**Fig 4. 8** and **Fig 4. 9**], but presumes that the work in which it is housed post-dated 1223, or perhaps as late as 1264. He argued for the resolution of these conflicting dates by explaining that the window surrounds are 'ill-fitting' and therefore reused from an earlier chapel, but from where exactly he does not specify.[55] The twin-light window in the second storey of the *donjon* is almost a meter too narrow for the window to have come from there (1.6 meters verses 2.45 meters). The windows of the chapel are ornamented with simple stiff-leaf capitals [**Fig 4. 10**], square abaci, mid-shaft rings and double roll-moulded bases. Although the round-headed lights would, in an English context, suggest an early date, in Ireland this is not always the case. The nave clerestory at Graiguenamanagh (Kilkenny), belonging to the period *c.*1230-50, is ornamented with twin-light round headed windows with nook shafts and moulded arch heads [**Fig 4. 11**]. The use of round arches is not a reliable method of dating. The capitals themselves, however, are similar to work in the upper transept arcade and clerestory of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, which Stalley has dated to *c.*1190-1200, with short capitals and square abaci. The correct solution might be what McNeill suggested, that the window was inserted in the gatehouse when it was constructed, taken from an earlier chapel. Documents from 1210 confirm that there must have been one as pay was recorded for a chaplain. However, the record of £500 for work must refer to a significant building programme going on between 1216-23 and comparison with other twin-towered gatehouses in Ireland imply that construction should not be dated to before *c.*1210 (discussed below).

Furthermore, an examination of other royal works in Ireland reveal additional reasons to associate the outer ward with King John. Twin-towered gatehouses were built at the royal castles of Limerick [**Fig 4. 12**] and Dublin [**Fig 4. 13**], where construction presumably began after King John's expedition to Ireland in 1210 [see chapter six]. Goodall has suggested that John's work at both Limerick and Dublin were a response to William Marshal's prominent fortress at Kilkenny [**Fig 4. 14**].[56] All three of these castles were designed as quadrangular enclosures with round towers at each corner and a cylindrical twin-towered gatehouse. This type of gatehouse is first seen in England guarding the entrance to the lower bailey of Marshal's castle at Chepstow (*c.*1189). At both Marshal

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[55] McNeill, *Carrickfergus Castle*, 45.
[56] *pers. comm.*, J. Goodall.

castles the gatehouses are distinguished by the fact that one tower is significantly larger than the other [**Fig 4. 15**], while the gatehouses at Carrickfergus [**Fig 4. 16**], Dublin and Limerick [**Fig 4. 17**] have towers of equal size. Typical of gatehouse defences, the entrance arch at both Limerick and Carrickfergus are protected by a portcullis, murder hole and arrow loops (the gatehouse at Dublin is known only through antiquarian drawings and excavations). What makes it more convincing as crown work is not just the similarity between royal castles but that when de Serland was granted £100 yearly, he was also commanded to admit and receive the justiciar, Geoffrey de Marisco, who was to counsel him in the fortification of the outer bailey. Three mandates relating to the fortification of Carrickfergus date from January 1216, June 1216 and February 1217.[57] Two other important pieces of information can be surmised by these mandates. The first is the fact that Geoffrey de Marisco, as justiciar of Ireland, was advising the constable on how to fortify the castle. As justiciar, he was based in Dublin and as such was involved in, if not directly at least had direct knowledge of, the castle under construction at Dublin (currently dated to 1213-*c.*1230). Additionally, de Marisco was a tenant of William Marshal, who, at the time of the third mandate in February 1217, was the regent to the king. It may indeed have been the royal works at Dublin and Limerick, mimicking the Marshal work at Kilkenny, that led to the construction of a twin-towered gatehouse at Carrickfergus.

If, therefore, my hypothesis is correct and the outer ward was the work of the crown, we then have a *terminus post quem* for the construction of middle ward of *c.*1210. Consequently, the middle ward can be attributed to either the first occupation of Hugh de Lacy II (1205-1210) or between the completion of the inner ward and John de Courcy's expulsion from Ulster (*c.*1187-1204). Hugh de Lacy's brother, Walter, continued building works at Trim castle, including the construction of several D-shaped mural towers and a round gate tower with rectangular barbican [**Fig 4. 18**]. Furthermore, the supposed work of Hugh II at Greencastle (Down) included the curtain wall with two D-shaped mural towers along the north side of the perimeter [**Fig 4. 19**]. Round towers at Dundrun (Down) [**Fig 4. 20**] and Clough Oughter (Cavan) have been attributed to members of the de Lacy family; the former has been attributed to Hugh II, and the latter to his half brother, William Gorm.[58] The de Lacy keep at Longtown (Herefordshire, *c.*1180s) is essentially a round tower with three semi-cylindrical buttresses. The de Lacy work of the thirteenth century appears to focus more on the application of round towers and D-shaped mural towers. The

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[57] *CDI*, 1: nos. 674, 697 and 760.
[58] For William Gorm's patronage of the castle, see note 31.

middle ward at Carrickfergus was built with rectangular mural towers, a single enclosed tower and two open-backed towers. This type of tower is more typical of castle works between the 1170s-1190s, such as Dover (Kent) [**Fig 4. 21**] and Framlingham (Suffolk) [**Fig 4. 22**] castles. Royal work at Dover began in 1181 and the Pipe Rolls for 1185-86, described the construction of the bailey wall as 'the girdle around the Tower'.[59] Framlingham, on the other hand, was indirectly the result of Richard I's preparations for the Third Crusade. His requirement for large sums of cash enabled Roger Bigod to re-acquire his estates and castles in 1189 by making a large contribution to the royal coffers. Henry II had stripped him of his lands after his participation in the rebellion of 1173-74. Among Bigod's castle projects was the construction of the inner bailey at Framlingham with its ring of open-backed towers, paralleled at such buildings as Orford (Suffolk, 1165-73) and Windsor (1171-74).[60] It is also important to remember that Dover castle was a coastal fortress, built to protect the nearest landing point between England and the Continent. It was a complex that commanded the appellation: 'Key to England'.[61] The epithet, or the sentiment behind it, was sure to have been known by de Courcy. Dover offers a parallel for the work at Carrickfergus, and the addition of the mural towers may have emulated the royal work at Dover. The open-backed rectangular towers are also found further north, the perimeter of Durham castle (Northumberland) being one example. The bailey wall in this case was probably built under the direction of the bishop of Durham, Hugh de Puisset (1153-95) after 1189 when he was appointed earl of Northumberland.[62] By 1186, several mural towers at Trim were already complete, including the west gate tower, an enclosed rectangular tower at the north corner and two open-backed rectangular towers along the riverside. When Walter took over work at Trim in 1194, the D-shaped form was adopted in place of the rectangular form. This suggests that at least in the context of English and Irish castle construction, the middle ward at Carrickfergus could date to the 1180s or 1190s, which implies that it was in fact the work of de Courcy, after he had completed the inner ward and keep [**Fig 4. 23**].

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[59] *PR, 32 Henry II* (1185-6) 36, 187, cited in Goodall, J., 'Chapter 6: The Early Angevin Castles, 1154-1199', *Castles*, (forthcoming), 15.

[60] The Pipe Roll records the expenditure at Windsor for '... the wall around the king's houses', Goodall, 'Chapter 6: The Early Angevin Castles, 1154-1199', 14, 18-9.

[61] Matthew of Paris coined the name, Goodall, J., 'The Key of England', *Country Life*, 193:11 (18 March 1999), 45.

[62] Hugh de Puisset (or Pudsey) was a nephew of both Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, and King Stephen. After a fire that destroyed at least two halls at Durham Castle, Hugh built a new domestic range along with other work including two new perimeter walls with open backed towers. Hugh also added the Galilee porch and donated a new shrine for the body of St. Cuthbert's principal historian, the Venerable Bede, to the cathedral priory, *LDE*, 323, cited in Goodall, 'Chapter 6: The Early Angevin Castles, 1154-1199', 8. Puisset's predecessor, Bishop Flambard, founded Norham. Puisset undertook to restore the castle at Norham by command of the king and evidently extended and enlarged the castle at Tweed, *ibid.*, 9.

Castles were erected on an additive process, and such was the case at most royal sites, Dover being a prime example. Henry II built the inner bailey and keep, while King John added the D-shaped twin-towered gatehouse. The castle received a second ring of stone defences during the reign of Henry III. Several northern castles are clear illustrations of this tendency. The castle at Chester was originally built under the direction of the earl of Chester in *c.*1200, most notably the entrance gate called Agricola's Tower (Ranulf Meschin, lord of Carlisle and later earl of Chester). Henry III later spent £1,717 on additions that included the raising of the outer bailey and its flanking towers. Although documents more often reveal royal expenditure, baronial castles can display a clear sequence of work. Where documentation is lacking, archaeology, architecture and dendrochronology aid in determining a progression of building campaigns. The most useful example is the Marshal castle at Chepstow. William Marshal began an extensive building campaign in 1189, which included the addition of the lower, middle and upper bailies, with work progressing east to west [see chapter six] [**Fig 4. 24**].

There are distinct parallels between the outer gatehouse at Carrickfergus and King John's castle at Dublin and Limerick, as well as Marshal's work at Chepstow and Kilkenny. The open-backed towers in the middle bailey of Carrickfergus are comparable to castle works under construction between the 1170s and 1190s (at Dover and Trim). This suggests that the middle ward was in fact the work of de Courcy, as part of a continuous campaign of construction that was initiated with the inner bailey and later expanded. In seeking to establish a more precise chronology for the works at Carrickfergus, it is important to form some estimate of the length of time that was required for the various phases of construction. For some of the royal works in England, where there are good documentary records, reasonable estimates can be made about rates of progress. Keeps could range in size, with average keeps measures *c.*20 meters square. Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Northumberland), covering 18.9 x 17 meters at ground level and reaching a height of four storeys, is an example of one such tower [**Fig 4. 25** and **Fig 4. 26**].[63] Construction began after the movement of the seat of the sheriff of Northumberland from Bamburgh to Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1168, and has been dated to the period between 1172 and 1177.[64] At 25 meters high and measuring 17.7 x 17.8 meters (south), the keep at Carrickfergus falls

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[63] Brown, R.A., *English Castles*, (Chippenham, 2004), 48. Pounds, N.J.G., *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales, a Social and Political History*, (Cambridge, 1990), 20.

[64] HKW, 2: 746. For drawings of the building before its restoration see the series of 1817 drawings engraved in *Vetusta Monumenta*, 5, (London, 1835). The originals are in the Society of Antiquaries of London Library, cited in Goodall, *op. cite.*, 9.

into this category [**Fig 4. 27**]. Newcastle offers the closest parallel and can therefore be used as a measure against which Carrickfergus should be compared.

If we also take as a measure the often-quoted approximation that a tower could be raised by 3.1-3.7 meters (10-12 feet) in a single season, Carrickfergus would have taken an estimated eight seasons, not unsurprisingly analogous with Newcastle. Two offsets are found along the north wall, at 2.6 meters and 5.4 meters, and may indicate seasonal stoppages, equating to four seasons for the completion of the curtain [**Fig 4. 28**].[65] However, offsets are not uncommon in castle construction and are often the external mark of the internal storeys [see chapter six]. In fact, rather than indicating seasonal stoppages or alterations in construction as has been suggested, these offsets are far too regular and narrow to be anything other than a deliberate design feature built along the original inland façade of the castle. Nonetheless, the height of the tower still suggests an estimated eight seasons for its completion. Consequently, the eight-year approximation is also probable for construction of the entire inner ward. If we use an outside figure of nine years (presumably, inclusive of a year for clearing the site, setting out the foundations with posts and ropes, and the digging and laying thereof), then we can assume an approximate date of construction for the inner ward of *c.*1178-1186.

If these dates are an accurate estimate, then de Courcy had a further seventeen years for the addition of the middle ward before his expulsion in 1204. It is therefore quite possible that the middle ward was the work of de Courcy. After re-examining the building works undertaken by King John in Ireland following his second visit in 1210 – at Limerick and Dublin – the likelihood that royal expenditure was spent on the outer ward at Carrickfergus is more plausible. The middle ward of Carrickfergus – the additional area included a mural tower to the east, and two open backed towers, one to the north and another to the west – is paralleled at English castles of the last three decades of the twelfth century. It enclosed the remaining east side of the rock outcrop and extended the castle slightly to the north and about two meters to the west. The relatively small area makes it even less likely to have been the 'outer bailiwick' that King John referred to in his mandate from 1216. Additionally, the small area of construction suggests that costs would not have been quite as high as the area enclosed in the outer ward. Excavation reports have confirmed that the middle ward was a single build. The east tower was rebuilt in 1814, but investigations suggest that the reconstruction included only the battlements and perhaps the uppermost

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[65] McNeill, *Carrickfergus Castle*, 22.

floor.[66] The basement of the east tower is replete with arrow loops, three each under a single opening in the east and north walls; a further three loops were cut through the south wall and a single one in the west [**Fig 4. 29**].[67] Considering the height of the east tower (*c.*11 meters), construction could have been completed in about four seasons. There was plenty of opportunity for the work to be conducted under the direction of de Courcy. A desire for more space was one reason to enclose the middle ward. This, however, seems less likely when considering the fact that the wall was only seven meters from the inner curtain. It was more likely built in order to set the keep back from the outer wall.

As far as the size of the castle is concerned, the inner ward is rather small, measuring only *c.*47 x 27 meters at the southern end.[68] The curtain wall that circumvents it is almost two meters in thickness and reaches a height of almost nine meters from ground level to wall walk [**Fig 4. 30**]. The present entrance to the inner ward is a nineteenth century construct; to the south of the opening are the remains of a door jamb in Cultra stone [**Fig 4. 31**], and while McNeill has not suggested its original function, it may have belonged to an earlier opening.[69] What it may imply is that the original entrance was in almost the same location as the current one. McNeill has placed the original entrance along the east wall of the curtain. A drawing of the castle from 1567 [**Fig 4. 32**] and a plan from 1685 [**Fig 4. 33**] both depict the entrance to the inner ward along the east wall. The now-blocked arch is constructed of brick, which implies it was part of later medieval works.[70] The original masons made use of local stone – both coursed basalt and dolerite rubble was collected off the shore.[71] Presumably, much stone was gathered during the levelling of the outcrop on

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[66] McSkimin, S. *The History and Antiquities of the County of the Town of Carrickfergus* (Belfast, 1823, 2nd edn.), 165; McNeill, *Carrickfergus Castle*, 29.

[67] McNeill, *op. cit.*, 29.

[68] It appears de Courcy knew that a fresh-water well could be dug on the outcrop because it was topped with a light layer of soil, which supposedly supported vegetation.

[69] McNeill, *op. cit.*, 19. Presumably, the castle was equipped with the same buildings that any other manorial estate required: dovecot, stables, chambers, kitchens, storage, and most importantly accommodation for the numerous members of the castle community, which included but was not limited to the lord and his family, knights, archers, men-at-arms, constables, serjeants, chaplains, porters, gate keepers and keepers of the park, goal, arms, etc., clerks, controllers and surveyors, master of works, smiths, minters, carpenters, masons and other craftsmen, stewards, deputies, porters, gardeners, watchmen and various other servants. Lack of space may have required the construction of many of these buildings in the outer ward. It is also possible that a certain amount of landscaping was also a feature of the castle and outer areas, including kitchen gardens, orchards, ponds, larger park-like gardens, other water features, religious buildings, rabbit warrens, mills and settlement. However, as Liddiard has pointed out '… the presence of all these elements and their precise spatial arrangement obviously varies immensely from site to site', Liddiard, R., *Castles in Context, Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066 to 1500*, (London, 2005), 98.

[70] For a discussion of possible window openings along the inner curtain wall and their later destruction by the later insertion of gun ports, see McNeill, *Carrickfergus Castle*, 47-8.

[71] For the most comprehensive archaeological description of the castle and a summary of all three excavations, see *ibid.*, 19.

which the castle now stands. A similar method was employed at Trim Castle where the rock removed to create the moat was reused as rubble for the castle walls. The quoin stones in the west curtain wall were cut from red sandstone up to a height of three meters and thereafter creamy-yellow Cultra stone was employed.[72] This suggests the Cultra quarry (across Belfast Lough) was opened after the first year of construction, assuming that an average of 3.1-3.7 meters of wall is possible in a single season.[73] The use of Cultra stone for quoins, loops and windows also implies that the jambs of the original opening to the inner ward would have been cut from this creamy-coloured stone.

Due to the small and unusual shape of the inner ward, the northwest corner of the enclosure was probably the only suitable location for the tower. Fitting it against the corner allowed for maximum use of minimal space. The keep is also built with local stone; both red sandstone and Cultra stone were employed for the dressings and quoin stones. Various excavation reports have proposed that irregularities in the keep suggest the scheme was far from planned at the beginning. 'When de Courcy began with the curtain wall, minus the Cultra stone, he appears to have been prepared to expend resources on the construction of the wall without a concept of the finished appearance'.[74] While other details suggest that the design was altered during construction, this does not presuppose the absence of a coherent scheme. While a detailed design drawing in a modern sense is not probable, it is clear from the preparation of de Courcy's conquest that he was a man who was nothing if not prepared.[75] Additionally, a basic scheme – direction, height, location and dimensions – must have been provided before laying the foundations.

No preparatory drawings are known from the twelfth century.[76] Additional documentary evidence for the preparatory nature of castle design comes down to us from the great builder Henry III. He was deeply involved not only in the construction but also in the decoration of his private lodgings and other buildings for his personal use. While specific

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[72] *Ibid.*, 19.
[73] Barry, *The Archaeology of Medieval Ireland*, 113.
[74] Ó Néill, J. and R. Louge, *Data Structure Report, No. 8: Investigations at Carrickfergus Castle, Co. Antrim*, AE/02/106, (2002), 14.
[75] 'In the 1170s … the kingdom of Dál Fiatch, of which Downpatrick formed the capital, was a small, but relatively well-organised maritime territory with a good infrastructure, but devilled by factional divisions and dynastic rivalries within the ruling kin group … The kingdom was evidently a prize worth winning and John de Courcy's subsequent campaign demonstrated that he not only understood his target, but that his plans for conquest were well researched and well organized', Flanders, S., *De Courcy*, 139.
[76] Elaborate works usually required preparatory diagrams and illustrations; the builder allegedly worked out the plan of a ninth century crypt at Saint-Germain d'Auxerre in wax. There are documented references to patrons sending emissaries to study other buildings: in 1026 the bishop of Arezzo provided his architect, Maginardo, with cash to visit Ravenna, Stalley, R., *Early Medieval Architecture*, (Oxford, 1999), 116.

details could be worked out *in situ* in less complex architectural structures, a basic plan was required before foundations were dug and buildings were then marked out on the ground with poles, ropes, cord, measuring rods and lime to mark the edges, as well as compasses and squares.[77] The laying of foundations acted as a large-scale blue print, which in turn could not be executed without at least some sense of the building in three dimensions.

Apart from the *donjon*, McNeill's reconstruction of the inner ward displays room for four timber buildings erected against the curtain wall [**Fig 4. 34**]. He proposed that one was a first floor hall and another a chapel. Any castle required a number of specifically designated buildings including a granary, barn, stables, kitchens and cottages, although they did not need to all be located within the inner ward. The Pipe Roll from 1211-12 indicates that at least a granary, kitchen and chamber were part of the buildings at Carrickfergus. The repairs to a chamber window may refer to one of the two lights in the east wall of the curtain. Each has a window seat and the location does suggest the presence of a first floor hall [**Fig 4. 35**].[78] The existence of several other 'original' windows in the south wall, cut or blocked by the opening of gun ports and difficult or almost impossible to clearly identify, are given as proof the for other timber buildings. McNeill proposed that one of these openings established the location of a chapel.[79] Is it from here that his suggested window in the gatehouse came? It seems unlikely that a single southern window would light a chapel especially when the hall was allocated two. If this was the location of an earlier chapel, why would the south wall not have been lined with lights all at the same elevation?

Many castles incorporated chapels within the keep itself, generally in the upper floors of the forebuilding. Examples include the apse-ended Norman castles at the Tower of London and the work of Henry II at Dover [**Fig 4. 36**]. Other chapels were built into one of the rooms of the *donjon* but London and Colchester are unique for having an apsidal east wall. Where chapels were built as separate buildings within the castle complex, they took on a variety of forms that included round chapels, such as St. Mary Magdalene at Ludlow (1150s), or the apse-ended Norman chapels at Pontefract (St. Clement, apse added

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[77] Foundation were dug to bedrock if possible and wooden piles were sunk in marshy ground, Coldstream, N., *Masons and Sculptors*, (London, 1991), 40. A manuscript dated to the first half of the eleventh century displays two men with a measuring staff (Cotton MS Cleopatra C VIII, BM, London), Binding, G., *Medieval Building Techniques*, (Stroud, 2001), fig. 266.
[78] McNeill, *Castles in Ireland*, 26.
[79] McNeill, *Carrickfergus Castle*, 22.

in the mid twelfth century), and Edinburgh (St. Margaret). Although the chapel at Edinburgh has but a single round-headed lancet in the east wall, three further windows are found in the south wall and the chapel is elaborated with a fine ornamented chancel arch [**Fig 4. 37** and **Fig 4. 38**].[80] The chapel seems to have been built in the second quarter of the twelfth century. However, Fernie has suggested because of the lack of parallels for a free-standing chapel on this small scale and the lack of original masonry on the entire north face, that it may have formed part of a larger secular structure, such as a 'Great Tower'.[81] Edinburgh, may not have had an isolated chapel after all. A later stone chapel is found at the Scottish castle and Kildrummy (Aberdeenshire, *c.*1225-40) [**Fig 4. 39**], lit by a row of three lancets in the east wall. The structure, while a separate entity, is incorporated into the curtain wall. What becomes apparent with the examination of chapels built in castles is the elaboration of ornament, at the very least the importance of light. The assumption is that if the building along the south curtain had been intended as a chapel, the masons at Carrickfergus would have made more effort to incorporate external windows.

The Keep

The most important building within the inner ward was the keep. It was raised three storeys above a basement, to a height of 25 meters.[82] It measures approximately 17.7 x 17.1 meters.[83] The two sides of the castle not integrated into the curtain wall are longer and thinner than those that are. This was probably a result of the movement of the east wall in order to allocate more space between the hall and the forebuilding. The inner two walls contain the entrance and the larger lights, only narrow loops adorn the north and west walls.[84] Typical of twelfth-century keeps, the entrance was in the first floor through a now lost forebuilding (a similar arrangement as at Trim). Until recent archaeological excavation were undertaken at the entrance (July 1993), evidence for the existence of a forebuilding survived only as a single jamb stone from an arch projecting from the keep. 'When post-medieval debris was removed from the top of the stairway, dressed Cultra stones were uncovered … [and] it became clear that the whole flight of medieval steps

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[80] The chapel measures 3 meters wide with a nave at 4.87 meters and a chancel at a further 3 meters.
[81] The keep at Bamburg (and to a lesser extent Richmond) had an apse-ended chapel on the first floor, Fernie, E., 'Early Church Architecture in Scotland', *PSAS*, 116 (1986), 401-2.
[82] Leask, *Irish Castles,* 28; McNeill, *op. cit.*, 22.
[83] However, the walls are irregular and measure from the north wall around clockwise: 17.0, 17.7, 17.8 and 17.4, *ibid.*, 22.
[84] The larger windows in the first and some in the second storey were enlarged at a later date, probably when the stone dividing walls were added.

survived. The remains of nine steps were exposed … [but] the medieval stairway consisted of eleven steps in all'.[85]

The construction of the keep against the curtain wall was no doubt a way of maximising the area available for the inner ward, and a number of parallels for this exist. The baronial *donjon* at Norham (Northumberland) is one such example.[86] The placement of the tower along the curtain also provided for the possibility of waste disposal outside the castle walls. At Carrickfergus the garderobes expel out of the castle complex and thus improve the sanitation of the castle. Those at Norham may have disgorged into the moat that once surrounded the castle. Other keeps that form part of the curtain wall include the gate tower-cum-residential keeps at both Richmond (Yorkshire) and Ludlow (Shropshire). However, these are examples of gate towers that were later converted for residential use, rather then the planned construction of a keep against the curtain wall. The conversion at Richmond has been dated to the 1160s and was influenced by its predecessors, the royal castles of Bamburgh (Northumberland) and Carlisle (Cumbria).[87] Although Ludlow was built in the Welsh Marches rather than the Scottish borders, the senior branch of the de Lacy family held estates centred at Pontefract (Yorkshire), where a polygonal keep formed part of the curtain wall. No doubt, the reason behind the location of the keep at Carrickfergus was a product of the relatively small size of the rock outcrop. Furthermore, the keep was protected by the addition of the middle and outer wards. This would almost certainly have been the case at most castles where important buildings abutted the curtain; an outer line of defences was constructed for the protection of those features, even if this primarily consisted of a moat or timber barbican.

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[85] Donnelly, C. and P. McCoey, *Carrickfergus Castle, Co. Antrim, J415873*, (Environment Service, Historic Monuments and Buildings, DoE (NI), 1993:004).

[86] Norham was unusual for its time with a vaulted basement below two floors (a third floor was added in the fifteenth century). The first castle at Norham was constructed by Bishop Ranulph Flamband *c.*1121, Lomas, R., *County of Conflict: Northumberland from Conquest to Civil War* (East Linton, 1996), 20. Part of the first floor hall was reused in the later keep. Bishop Hugh de Puiset's building campaign (early twelfth century) included the enlargement of the hall with the addition of a third floor on the south side of the block in order to accommodate a private chamber. In addition, the ceremonial chamber was converted to a private first floor hall. Works were completed by 1174 when Henry II took the castle into his own hands, Dixon P. and P. Marshal, 'The Great Tower in the Twelfth Century: The Case of Norham Castle', *Arch J*, 150 (1993), 410-32 (413). For a detailed examination of the castle, see Pearson, T. and S. Ainsworth, *Norham Castle, Northumberland, Survey Report*, Archaeological Investigation Report Series AI/25/2002, (Swindon, 2002).

[87] See chapter 2 n94, n97 and n98

The spiral staircase in the keep at Carrickfergus is located in the southeast corner buttress, and allowed access to both the ground and upper floors.[88] A thick spine wall, echoed in the first and second floor chambers, divided the ground floor. However, the dividing walls on the upper storeys, as well as the arch over the third floor chamber, are later insertions. Each cuts into the embrasure of a loop [**Fig 4. 40**], which suggests that while these floors may have received internal support from the outset the present arrangement was at least an afterthought. It is possible that the original plan was to shore up the upper floors with a central pillar, such as the one that is found in the tower at Richmond [**Fig 4. 41**]. Another possibility was that the floors were supported only by cross beams, but that noticeable sagging or cracking of the timbers required the later insertion of solid dividing walls. McNeill has suggested that the sheer distance between the walls – the floor beams spanning some eleven meters – indicate that the later medieval stonewall was preceded by a wooden 'arcade' or 'dividing wall'.[89] Arches supporting the flooring of keeps are found at the castles of Scarborough (Northumberland) and Hedingham (Essex) [**Fig 4. 42**].[90] While, Carrickfergus is not unusually small, neither is it as massive as the *donjon* at Scarborough. In addition, not many average size keeps are found without spine walls, although several possible Northern examples do exist: Appleby (Westmorland)[91] – where the cross-wall is a later insertion – Brough (Westmorland) [**Fig 4. 43**] and Brougham (Westmorland) [**Fig 4. 44**].[92] The lower storeys of the keep at Brougham have often been dated to *c.*1175 but may not have been constructed until Robert de Vieuxpont came into possession of the castle in 1214.[93] The central space is marginally less that the internal span at Carrickfergus, measuring less than 10 meters. The lack of internal division, at least in stone, is a feature of a number of great halls, including those at Chepstow and Scolland's Hall at Richmond castle. These examples certainly suggest the possibility that Carrickfergus was not originally designed with dividing walls.

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[88] Access to the wall walk is also found in the northeast corner of the third storey chamber. A large modern staircase was constructed in the northeast corner of the central space and has created a skewed image of the central chambers because they reduce the space by almost a quarter.

[89] McNeill, *Castles in Ireland*, 24.

[90] Its scale suggests that Aubry de Vere III (*c.*1110-94) commission the keep at Hedingham, after he became the first earl of Oxford in 1142, Dixon, P. and P. Marshall, 'The Great Tower at Hedingham Castle: a Reassessment', *Fortress*, 18 (1993), 16-23.

[91] The Historical Monuments Commission has dated the tower to *c.*1170 or shortly before Hugh de Morville's forfeiture in 1173, Colvin, *King's Works*, 1: 553.

[92] Henry II erected Peveril between 1175-77 for just £175, Goodall, 'Chapter 6: The Early Angevin Castle, 1154-1199', 13.

[93] Nineteenth century visitors were impressed by the octagonal central column, which has since disappeared, Summerson, H., *Brougham and Brough Castles*, (London, 2006), 16-20.

The division of space in itself is not an indication of the function of a chamber but the presence of fireplaces and garderobes usually signify the residential use of a building. These features are, time and again, all that remain of the conspicuous display of privacy. There have been various discussions about the 'myth of the castle' and whether or not a *donjon* served as a residence. The lack of latrines and fireplaces is frequently cited as evidence to differentiate residential towers from those that may have served a primarily symbolic and ceremonial function. Examples used for the defence of this argument include the great baronial towers at Chepstow (Monmouthshire) and Hedingham because they do not have the necessary domestic furnishings.[94] The argument suggests that nobles lived in houses in the courtyard below the tower. At Carrickfergus, however, a number of latrines are located throughout the building, including a double latrine reached through a short stair in the south wall of the first floor [**Fig 4. 45**]. The first floor was entered through the now lost forebuilding and probably accommodated guards and a door-keeper. The double garderobe implies that privacy was not a necessity for the inhabitants of this chamber. On the other hand, both second and third storeys supplied the comforts of private latrines and warmth from fireplaces, that on the second floor has roll-moulded jambs [**Fig 4. 46**]. These amenities suggest lodgings for more important members of the household. The highly emblematic tower at Trim was also provided with two private garderobes, both within the south wall of the west tower. The sheer number of garderobes at Carrickfergus indicates the use of the tower for residence. Additionally, the inclusion of large round-headed windows in the south and east walls of the upper floors suggests the spaces became more important with each successive floor [**Fig 4. 47**]. It is probably no coincidence that larger windows are built through those walls that are not part of the curtain. Also by enlarging these windows the builders maximised the amount of natural light entering each chamber. A single twin-light round-headed window (the central pier is modern) is found in the east wall of the second floor [**Fig 4. 48**]. Twin-light windows are often found in Romanesque castles of the early to mid twelfth century, such as the tower at Hedingham.[95] A more contemporary example is found in the keep at Brough where a rather crude twin-light window is built into the first floor. The central pier is externally carved with two large rolls in the corners and is surmounted by a crude cushion capital [**Fig 4. 49**]. While most keeps with decorative windows have more than a single

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[94] Dixon, P., 'The Myth of the Keep', *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe AD c.800-1600,* eds. G. Meirion-Jones, E. Impey and M. Jones, (Oxford, 2002), 11.

[95] There is no documentary evidence for the construction of this castle but multiple chevron mouldings suggest a date between the 1120s and 1160s, Fernie, E., *The Architecture of Norman England*, 80-82; Dixon and Marshall, 'The Great Tower at Hedingham Castle', 16-23.

ornamental light, the irregularity of the twin-light at Carrickfergus perhaps suggests that this area of the chamber may have served a special purpose. Its location in the east wall may indicate the possibility that the area was screened off and performed the function of a private household chapel, until a second chapel was constructed in the gatehouse. It too was ornamented with a twin-light window. As early as 1210, King John makes reference to servants of the chapel, so there must have been a building or chamber where they preformed mass.[96] In addition to the private garderobe and fireplace, the third storey chamber was provided with at least two windows in each wall, those in the south probably had window seats. The remaining medieval stonework suggests that the upper chambers, particularly the uppermost one, were for the private use of the lord when in residence – de Courcy's immediate *familia*. It is clear that at Carrickfergus, with four garderobes, two of which were private, two fireplaces and larger windows in the upper chambers that the tower served as a residence for its patron and lord.

A final feature that should be mentioned is the original roofing of the tower. A double height ceiling in the third floor of the keep may indicate the original presence of a gallery, demarcated by joist holes in the east and west walls. McNeill has reconstructed an octagonal roof due to the fact that the internal offset on which the roof was carried lies below the springing of squinches. These squinches supported the angle turrets, two of which survive 3.75 meters above the wall walk (the top 50 cm of which was rebuilt in the nineteenth century).[97] He further suggests that because the joist holes do not line up across the walls that the floors were supported on a central pier. However, McNeill has also pointed out that in certain round towers the beams were '... not always parallel to each other, nor are they particularly uniform in size'.[98] This arrangement is found in numerous round towers, including the County Down castle at Dundrum [**Fig 4. 50**]. What is most significant is the fact that the joist holes are below the level of the arch, supporting the fact that the arch was a later insertion. Presumably a wall walk connected the corner turrets along the inner edge of the castle walls. Whatever the internal arrangement of roof supports were, it would certainly make more practical sense for the roof itself to extend at the wall walk into a pyramidal shape in order to prevent rainfall collection between the roof and upper storeys. The spout holes at the level of the wall walk would resolve the requirement for drainage.

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[96] *CDI*, 1: no. 406.
[97] McNeill, *Carrickfergus Castle*, 27.
[98] McNeill, T.E., 'Squaring Circles: Flooring Round Towers in Wales and Ireland', *The Medieval Castle in Ireland and Wales*, eds. J.R. Kenyon and K. O'Conor, (Dublin, 2003), 101.

When finished, the roof was probably covered in red clay tiles, like those found during excavations at Trim. The exterior is also marked on the west, north and part of the east wall by a chamfered stringcourse between the second and third floors [**Fig 4. 51**]. The southeast and southwest corners are demarcated with exterior buttressing, which through offsets become flush with the walls before the height of the turrets [**Fig 4. 52**]. The corner turrets were purpose built to house the staircases and latrines in order to maximise the amount of liveable space in the main chambers [**Fig 4. 53**]. Locating the stair in the curtain wall would have required the hollowing out of the main line of defence at the town entrance to the castle. Although the latrine shoots project from the west curtain wall, they eject to the north of the wall walk and the lough would have provided a natural defence against scaling [**Fig 4. 54**] (this is now reclaimed land and serves as the car park). Just as the north façade of the keep, at the town entrance to the castle, was ornamented with a stringcourse and offsets, the buttresses and large windows mark the harbour faces of the tower. With larger windows and projecting buttresses this façade appears to have been specifically 'designed' with the intention of being viewed from the sea, a noticeable feature from the harbour. When completed, the tower was probably rendered and white washed, along the lines of the white tower at London, nicknamed *La Tour Blanche*. The image of Carrickfergus that begins to appear is one of an imposing monument, designed with its audience in mind.

Carrickfergus castle in the context of Northern English castles

When ships entered the harbour, the south façade of the castle was the first thing that came into view. Carrickfergus was not only the *caput* of de Courcy's 'principality'; it was also a main port of call for traders across the Irish Sea. The location of the castle suggest that de Courcy was interested in impressing those voyagers, whether traders or aristocrats, travelling from England, Scotland, the Isle of Man, north Wales and Dublin. Just as Dover provided a '... memorable and conspicuous feature ...' to any visitor from across the Channel, so Carrickfergus provided a similar impression to those who sailed across the Irish Sea.[99] Several castles line the northeast coast of England, including Henry II's fortresses at Bamburgh and Scarborough (1160s) [**Fig 4. 55**]. Porchester (Hampshire, twelfth century), constructed on and within an earlier Roman fortification, and Walton

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[99] When Gaucher de Châtillon, a noble of north-western France, came to visit England, Bertram de Criol, constable of Dover, was directed to 'take him into that castle and show it off to him in eloquent style so that the magnificence of the castle shall be fully apparent to him, and that he shall see no defects in it, *CCR, 1247-51* (1922), 8, cited in Coulson, C., 'Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture', *JBAA*, 132 (1979), 74-5.

(Suffolk) castles, were also coastal strongholds. There is also evidence that coastal fortresses were built by baronial families. Castle Sween (Argyll and Bute), situated on the entrance to Loch Sween, takes its name from the ancestors of the McSween, Suibhne. Excavations have revealed five phases of construction dated to *c.*1200, the early thirteenth century, *c.*1300, the fifteenth century, and the sixteenth-seventeenth century; the earliest work being a small quadrilateral enclosure.[100] The numerous baronial families built coastal fortresses in Scotland and northern England. These include the earls of Dunbar (Dunbar, East Lothian), the lords of Galloway (Cruggleton, Dumfries and Galloway), the earls of Carrick (Turnberry, Ayrshire), the Stewarts (Dunoon, Argyll; Renfrew and Rothesay, Argyll and Bute) and the various lineages descended from Somhairle of Argyll, who constructed such fortifications at Loch Ranza (Ayrshire), Skipness (Argyll and Bute), Dunstaffnage (Argyll and Bute), Aros (Argyll and Bute), Mingary (Lochaber) and Tioram (Lochaber).[101] The setting of de Courcy's *caput* on the coast, rather than a more central location, certainly has precedent in his native region of the British Isle.

While there were a number of coastal castles that predate Carrickfergus, inspiration may also have come from some inland examples. While it would have been tempting to look toward Ireland for parallels, stone castles of the Anglo-Norman type were unheard of in the early Irish landscape [see chapter one]. Carrickfergus and Trim (Meath) were among the earliest stone castles built in Ireland. Where Trim has a gate tower built of stone, Carrickfergus appears to have lacked a gate tower until the addition of the outer ward. With the addition of the middle ward, however, three mural towers were added for the defence of the castle. Early drawings indicate that the middle mural tower either abutted the entrance arch or enclosed the gate [**Fig 4. 56**]. The assumption is that the middle ward was an early addition constructed in order to accommodate the need for mural towers, encircle the east side of the outcrop, and protect the landward approach to the castle.

As models for Carrickfergus were almost nonexistent in Ireland, it is to England that de Courcy must have looked for inspiration. Artefacts uncovered during excavations confirm that trade from Carrickfergus was conducted mainly with northwest England and Scotland, a contrast with ports further south. The royal ports of Wexford, Cork and Waterford, and the baronial harbour towns at Drogheda and New Ross traded primarily with Bristol and

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[100] Ewart, G. and J. Triscott, 'Archaeological Excavations at Castle Sween, Knapdale, Argylle & Bute, 1989-90', *PSAS*, 126 (1996), 517.
[101] *pers. comm.*, R. Oram.

southwest France.[102] 'Ready access to men, munitions and victuals [were] almost certainly shipped directly across the Irish Sea by de Courcy's friends in Chester and from the ports of Cumbria, Galloway and Man'.[103] Anglo-Norman Ulster was easily accessible, in a maritime world, from the southern Isles, Galloway, Cumbria, the Fylde and north Wales [**Fig 4. 57**].[104] Carlisle was also a port of call. When John fitz Philip of Carrick attempted unsuccessfully to provision the castle against Edward Bruce in 1315, he was blown off course and forced to land at Carlisle where he sold the shipment of corn meant for the castle garrison.[105] However, de Courcy's obvious and deliberate connections to the north of England, southern Scotland and the 'border territory' suggest that it is to this region that we should look for parallels for the castle at Carrickfergus. As he drew his retinue from the North, and endowed northern monastic houses with Irish lands, it is to the North that we now turn.

While polygonal towers were a feature of late twelfth-century secular architecture, they are all but absent from castles in the North. The line of fortresses that run along the Northumberland border from Richmond to Carlisle were all built with rectangular keeps. These include Brough, Bowes [**Fig 4. 58**], Barnard, and Brougham, with additional royal works at Scarborough, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Bamburgh.[106] Henry II was probably responsible for the strengthening of Carlisle in the 1160s, with the addition of a rectangular gate tower.[107] Bamburgh also received a new gatehouse and two rectangular towers *c.*1169-70.[108] Henry II's keep at Scarborough is comparable to the *donjon* at Brough [**Fig 4. 59**]. This was presumably the work of Hugh de Morville's son under the direction of Henry II (1171-2) when some £224 of royal funds was spent on the castle.[109] The keep

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[102] Early finds include a thirteenth century annular broach (Joymont) and a thirteenth century gold finger ring set with an amethyst (33 High Street), Simpson, M.L. and A. Dickson, 'Excavations in Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim, 1972-29', *Med Arch*, 25 (1981), 88-9. Excavations also uncovered the early town defences, comprising '… an earthen bank supported by a wooden palisade inside a ditch *c.*4 meters wide', *ibid.*, 82.

[103] Duffy, S., 'The First Ulster Plantation: John de Courcy and the Men of Cumbria', *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland*, eds. T.B. Barry, R. Frame and K. Simms, (London, 1995), 26.

[104] From Galloway it was easy to access the heartland of the kingdom of the Scots '… through the Southern Uplands to the central Scottish plain … Similarly, coastal transport easily moved southwards from Galloway across the Solway Firth to the coastal lowlands of Cumbria and on the Fylde … The control by the honour of Skipton of the Aire Gap was of strategic importance not only to the Lacy family but to all those requiring communication from north Yorkshire and beyond to north Lancashire and Cumbria', Flanders, S., *De Courcy,* 131.

[105] *HMDI*, 334-5, 340-3, 347-8, cited in McNeill, *Carrickfergus Castle,* 3.

[106] Brown, *English Castles*, 47.

[107] McCarthy, M., Summerson, H., Annis R., *Carlisle Castle*, English Heritage Archaeological Report 18 (London, 1990), cited in Goodall, 'Chapter 6: The Early Angevin Castle, 1154-1199', 9.

[108] The inner bailey is likely associated with fines levied in 1169-70 for failing to assist in works to the castle, *PR, 16 Henry II*, 51-2, cited in Goodall, *op. cit.*, 9.

[109] As towered keeps tend to cost upwards of £500 or more, de Moreville probably spent some of his own money on the castle, *PR, 18 Hen II*, 55; *19 Hen II*, 2. The garrison at Brough defended the castle against a

itself was erected upon the foundations of an earlier tower that had been surrendered by the garrison and set on fire during William the Lion's invasion in 1173-74. It is built two storeys above ground level and had a first floor entrance. The basement, presumably employed for storage and detention, was reached by way of a spiral stair located in the northeast corner buttress. Shallow clasping buttresses mark each corner and offsets externally demarcate each floor. The second offset supports ornamental pilasters on the north and south faces. As discussed earlier, no spine wall divided the central chamber, and each floor must have been supported only on timber joists. In many respects, it is a contemporary and comparable keep to Carrickfergus, even down to the fact that the curtain wall was originally built without mural towers. Other late-twelfth century rectangular keeps that could be seen as precursors include the keep at Middleham (Yorkshire), built by Robert fitz Ralph in the second half of the twelfth century, and the Northumbrian *donjon* at Norham [**Fig 4. 60**].[110] The latter was rebuilt after 1157 by the bishop of Durham, having been destroyed in 1138.[111] Appleby was probably also the work of Hugh de Morville, who held the castle between 1157 and 1171 [**Fig 4. 61**]. Situated beside the river Eden, it was built two storeys over a basement. Royal subventions may have contributed to the expense of the stone buildings.[112]

Many of these northern castles played an important role in Scottish relations with the English crown. King Stephen of England had granted the earldom of Northumberland (Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland) to Prince Henry, son of King David I of Scotland.[113] In addition to these territories both the county of Durham (the palatine lordship of the bishops) and north Lancaster can also be included as areas dominated by David, although they were not part of the official grant from Stephen. Malcolm IV succeeded as king of the Scots in May 1153 on the death of his grandfather at Carlisle, having been named king-designate following his father's death in 1152 (at which time William had been presented as heir tot eh earldom of Northumberland). William was earl from 1152 until his elder brother surrendered the Northern Counties to Henry II at Chester

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siege by William the Lion in 1174, Fatosme's *Chronicle*, sections 150-6; 109-13; Lott, B. 'Seigneurial Hierarchy and Medieval Buildings in Westmorland', *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe AD c.800-1600,* eds. G. Meirion-Jones, E. Impey and M. Jones, (Oxford, 2002), 102.

[110] Brown, *English Castles*, 47.

[111] A further £700 of royal funds was spent on this and Tweedmouth castle (Durham) between 1208-12, Renn, D.F., *Norman Castles in Britain*, (New York, 1968), 257-8, plan 260.

[112] The castle is first mentioned in 1173, Fatosme's *Chronicle*, verse 152. Moreville was one of Thomas Becket's assassins, R.S. Ferguson, 'The Earthworks and Keep of Appleby Castle', *CWAAST*, 8, (1886), 386-93.

[113] Blackburn, M, 'Coinage and Currency', *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, ed. E. King (Oxford, 1994), 192; Barrow, G.W.S., 'King David I, Earl Henry and Cumbria', *CWAAST*, 99 (1999), 122.

in 1157. According to Brown, Malcolm surrendered the northern counties and with them '... at least the fortresses of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Bamburg and Carlisle, together with, presumably, Appleby, Brough, Wark and Warkworth ...'[114] In 1165, William succeeded his brother to the Scottish throne and subsequently became a key figure in the rebellion of 1173-74. The wavering loyalties of Odinel de Umfraville and his fortifications at Alnwick and Prudhoe played vital rolls in the suppression of the uprising. Although only fragments of the former still stand, it had been converted to stone by *c.*1170 and it was there that Odinel captured the Scottish king. Prior to his capture, William had besieged Prudhoe castle, which survives in a much greater state of preservation.[115] It was one of three de Umfraville castles that had stone fortifications in the mid twelfth century, and by 1170 Prudhoe had a rectangular gate tower built along the curtain wall.[116] The keep, Goodall asserts was '... an architectural product of de Umfraville's triumphant and lucrative part in the capture of William the Lion and the ransom of knights in his entourage'.[117] Prudhoe is particularly noteworthy as a comparison for Carrickfergus because its buttresses are also offset into the face of the tower prior to the apex of the turrets, and they are not built against every corner [**Fig 4. 62**].

It is clear that while polygonal keeps found expression in Wales, the Welsh Marches and central and southern England, they remain almost nonexistent in the North.[118] These northern examples are the castles that would have become known to de Courcy during his formative years. Many of them are marked by a keep of simple rectangular construction, two or three storeys built over an unlit basement with a first floor entrance, corner turrets and corner buttressing. Decorative elements include simple round-headed windows, external string coursing and offsets, and several have fireplaces and latrines marking them as more definitively residential. Many of these complexes included the construction of masonry built first floor halls and towered gates. This same series of buildings was

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[114] Torigny, *Chronica*, 192. For Appleby and Brough, see *PR Cumb., West., Durham*, xviii-xix, xliii-xlv. Wark, which the Scots had destroyed in 1138, was re-fortified by Henry II, Brown, R.A., 'A List of Castles, 1154-1216', *Castles, Conquests and Charters, Collected Papers*, (Woodbridge, 1989), 92.

[115] 'Richard de Lucy had succeeded in turning Odinel's allegiance away from William of Scotland ... Jordan Fatosme, *Chronicle* (1174/5), was an eyewitness to the events of 1173-4 and stressed the importance of Odinel to both kings ... In 1173, William divided his army and marched to Anwick, where before the castle he was attacked by the English led by Odinel, who came upon them unawares while the king was at dinner, with his helmet off. William, pinned down by his slaughtered horse was captured and led away to imprisonment in Richmond', Fatosme's *Chronicle*, ll. 1163-79, cited in Keen, L., 'The Umfravilles, the Castle and the Barony of Prudhoe, Northumberland', *ANS*, 5 (1982), 172-73.

[116] Goodall, 'Chapter 6: The Early Angevin Castle, 1154-1199', 11.

[117] *Ibid.*, 12.

[118] There are, however, several examples of polygonal towers in Yorkshire, Tickhill and Conisborough are contemporary with Carrickfergus, while Pontefract and York post-date the Antrim castle.

eventually constructed at Carrickfergus, although the hall was always a timber construction. However, the first phase included the construction of only a stone keep and curtain wall. When the middle ward was added, the lack of gate defence was corrected with the addition of a rectangular tower and two other open-backed mural towers; one of the latter presumably protected the entrance.

The possible origin of the masons

A final point that should be addressed is the question of the provenance of the workforce. Pottery found during excavations at both Carrickfergus and Downpatrick has pointed to the fact that local kilns produced ceramics with affinities to those found in the Chester area; similarities include features such as the neck, rim and handle.[119] This is unsurprising considering the fact that de Courcy clearly created a connection between Chester and Downpatrick through the introduction of a monastic community to the Irish cathedral from St. Werburgh's, Chester. According to William of Malmesbury, Chester had established trade with Ireland by the end of the eleventh century.[120] Salmon exports to Chester probably came from the Irish North and West, due to the fact that the eastern Irish ports did not export to Chester.[121] According to the *Lauds Annals*, in 1204 John de Courcy attempted the journey from Chester fifteen times, but was thwarted by dangerous winds.[122] Chester clearly offers a distinct possibility for the origin of masons working in Antrim in the last quarter of the twelfth century. However, other locations in the North also traded with Ulster, including ports in Cumbria and Galloway. Perhaps by investigating the ecclesiastical architecture in Carrickfergus, some light may be shed on the origin of masons working at the castle.

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[119] Mallory, J.P. and T.E. McNeill, *The Archaeology of Ulster from Colonization to Plantation*, (Belfast, 1991), 267.

[120] O'Neill, T., *Merchants and Mariners in Medieval Ireland*, (Dublin, 1987), 27. '... the port of Chester appears to have been the main trading partner with Ireland from 920s to the 970s, and although it remained significant in the eleventh century, the Severn estuary seems to have been increasingly important for Irish traders'. The Viking towns became re-oriented with southern England, including London, Gloucester, Exeter and Cambridge. 'The change has been linked to the political decline of northern England and the increased significance of trade across the English Channel', Downham, C., 'England and the Irish-Sea Zone in the Eleventh Century', *ANS*, 26 (2003), 56-7. In addition, see Wallace, P.F., 'The Economy and Commerce of Viking Age Dublin', *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa, Teil IV: Der Handel der Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit,* ed. K. Düwel *et al.*, (Göttingen, 1987), 200-45; Gwynn, A., 'Medieval Bristol and Dublin', *IHS,* 5 (1946-7), 275-86.

[121] The Boyne and Liffey rivers probably supplied the markets of Dublin and Drogheda. The Bann was a famous salmon fishery, which probably produced great sums of revenue for de Courcy and all who were given fishing rights within, O'Neill, *Merchants and Mariners*, 40-1. References to exports of wool from Carrickfergus also exist, *ibid.*, 61-2.

[122] *Ibid.*, 117.

The monks at de Courcy's religious foundation in Carrickfergus hailed from the Scottish Premonstratensian house at Dryburgh, probably the earliest house of its kind in Ireland.[123] The brethren in this order acted as priests who served local parishes and performed pastoral work, but also practiced a monastic community-based life following the rule of St. Augustine with some borrowings from the Cistercian tradition. The provision of pastoral care for his new settlement, and perhaps a chaplain for the castle, may have been the reason the order appealed to de Courcy. The abbey was originally dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, although the medieval remnants now form part of the local parish church dedicated to St. Nicholas. The differing dedications appear confusing, but could be explained by multiple dedications; such was the case at the house of the same order at Beeleigh by Maldon (Essex), dedicated to both SS Mary and Nicholas.[124] However, a letter written by Reginald, bishop of Connor, to Henry III *c.*1220 records the endowment of the church of St. Nicholas to the Abbot and Canons of St. Mary's, Carrickfergus.[125] It is possible that the dedication was altered between the time that the canons moved to Woodburn in the fourteenth century and the time that the local church was rebuilt and converted for parochial use by the fifteenth century.[126]

Much of the original stonework was lost in the centuries subsequent to the initial building works. However, parts of the medieval church remain *in situ*, the earliest being the chancel arcade, which was only rediscovered and revealed in 1907.[127] Thomas Paps 'Freemason' appears to have encased the arcade within the chancel walls in 1614 for Sir Arthur Chichester, the date of which is recorded on a memorial plaque within the church. The fact that the mother house lies in Scotland implies the possibility that the master mason had

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[123] De Courcy appears to have established a second colony at Drumcross or Dieulacreese (Antrim), Fawcett, R. and R. Oram, *Dryburgh Abbey*, (Stroud, 2005), 15; Richardson, J. and M. Wood, *Dryburgh Abbey*, (Edinburgh, 1996). The order itself was never as popular or successful as other monastic houses and at most only thirteen were ever established in Ireland. William, a monk from Dryburgh, was the first prior at Carrickfergus. The abbey was occupied until *c.*1326 when a new location was found for the house at Woodburn. The Bruce invasion appears to have rendered the already struggling community destitute and in dire need of financial assistance, Gwynn and Hadcock, 204.

[124] The abbey was founded before 1172 and moved to Maldon in 1180, *VCH, Essex*, 2: 172-176.

[125] 'The House of St. Mary's Carrickfergus … is by extortion and malice reduced to such poverty that it can now with difficulty maintain three canons. Audoenis Bruis, clerk, abusing the knightly dignity, has taken violent possession of the church of St. Nicholas of Carrickfergus, and other churches conferred on the canons by the said John, and confirmed by the Pope, the Metropolitan, and the bishop; and the canons will be deprived of their right unless the king takes pity on them. Whereof the bishop implores the king to cause what has been subtracted to be restored. The king's enemies had despoiled the abbot of all moveables of his house, because he had faithfully adhered to the king in the war, and placed such stores as he could in the castle of Carrickfergus', *CDI*, 1: no.1225

[126] The abbey had been much ruined during the Bruce invasion, Gwynn and Hadcock, 204, 207.

[127] Sir Thomas Drew, architect, reported in 1872 '… opposite the two eastward arches on each side would appear to have been lateral chapels, two on the south and two on the north, which occupies very nearly the area of the present transepts', *St. Nicholas Parish Church, Carrickfergus*, (Guidebook).

perhaps worked at a Scottish house. It may be worth noting that a Scottish architectural connection with Ireland was long present, both in general design and in sculptural ornamentation. The placement of clerestory windows over the pier, so characteristic of many Irish churches, is also found in several Scottish churches. Additionally, at Iona the signature of an Irish mason, Domhnall Ua Brólchan, appears on the capitals of the crossing piers.[128] At Oronsay Priory some of the stonework was the product of an Irishman named Mael-Sechlainn O'Cuinn.[129] Although Argyll is a very different region, these examples reveal the fact that masons travelled as far as they were required. Trade between Scotland and Ulster was well established by 1237 when '... Hugh de Lacy was ordered to release Scottish merchants arrested in Ulster ports on suspicion of piracy'.[130] Although the ornamentation of the chancel arcade is not unique enough to establish a direct relationship to any single church, the moulding profile of the one remaining crossing pier has an exact parallel at both Dundrennan (Dumfries and Galloway) and the Yorkshire abbeys of Roche and Byland, all dateable to the 1170s or early 1180s [see chapter five]. This suggests that the masons working at St. Mary's hailed from either Yorkshire or southern Scotland. However, even if the masons at the Premonstratensian abbey had come from there, the lack of distinguishing sculptural detail at the castle (apart from the roll moulding around the fireplace of the second storey and the twin-light window of the chapel) makes it impossible to define the hand of a specific mason or group of masons. However, the evidence does point to a Northern mason, and the likely origins are Chester, Yorkshire or southern Scotland.

Conclusion

De Courcy may have been an elder son but he was born of a cadet branch of the family. As such, he had little prospect of land through hereditary means, particularly because his father was just the administrator of his uncle's estate. However, his coming of age in the north of England established the relations he would subsequently instil in Ulster. Lacking vast estates and prospects, the men who accompanied him were also keen to acquire their share of the conquest.[131] This mutual quest for riches forged bonds that effectively

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[128] 'Donaldus O'Brolchan fecit hoc opus' appears on the capital of the southeast column under the tower near the south transept and choir, written in Lombardic letters. He is mentioned in *AU,* 1203 and *AFM*, 1202, cited in Skene, W.F., 'Notes on the History of the Ruins at Iona', *Proceedings of the Society*, (1873), 203.
[129] MA/ELSEA C/HLA(I)ND / SAER O/CUIND / FECIT I/STUD O/PUS: 'Mael-Sechlainn O'Cuinn, mason, made this work' is written in the cloister on one of two commemorative stones in the arcade. the other reads, 'Canon Celestinus, director of this work', An inscription on the Oransay Cross also attributed the cross to Mael-Sechlainn, *Ornasay Memorials.*
[130] *CDI*, 1, no. 1364, cited in McNeill, *Anglo-Norman Ulster*, 57.
[131] Flanders, *Courcy*, 128.

produced the aristocratic elite of the first Anglo-Norman Uliad. Not only did his early years in the north of England affect the men of his *curia* (those who remained loyal to him through the end, giving their children as hostages to the king in his name),[132] but it also resulted in a northern influence on the architecture of Anglo-Norman Ulster. Just as I will discuss in the next chapter in relation to ecclesiastical buildings, de Courcy's castles show an affinity towards northern castle design.

Only the profits from his Irish estates – agricultural production, fishing, milling, trade and commerce – were available to fund the development of his towns and castles.[133] Just as the town developed as a centre of commerce, his castle became the centre of the administration of his lordship. Carrickfergus was a result of de Courcy's strategic planning, probably under construction as soon as the site was selected. I have offered a new hypothesis for the construction of works dateable to de Courcy [**Fig 4. 63**]. The first phase of development was the construction of the inner bailey and keep, as well as various ancillary buildings in timber (i.e. first floor hall, kitchen, storage, stables, etc.). Considering the size of the keep and its curtain, it was presumably completed within eight seasons, or by *c.*1186. It was also around this time that de Courcy began minting coins at Carrickfergus. He had at least two mints and, therefore, must have had access to bullion or coin for restriking.[134] In 1199, when the private mints in Dublin, Limerick and Waterford had ceased to function, de Courcy's mints were still in operation.[135] Not only is the existence of his own mints an indication of the fact that east Ulster was quickly integrated into the commercial world of the northern region but that the lordship was delivering a healthy level of income.[136]

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[132] *CPR, 6 John*, m 1 dors (p55b). The names are Milo, son of John de Courcy juvenis; Robin, son of William Salvage; John de Courcy, son of Roger of Chester; Wilkin, son of Augustine de Ridal; Peter, son of William of Hacket; Alexander, son of William Sarazein; John, son of Adam the chamberlain; John, son of Richard fitz Robert. Of these names the following appear as witnesses to John de Courcy's charter granting full jurisdiction over their men and tenements to the prior and monks of the church of Down: William Savage, Roger of Chester, William Hacket, William Saracen, Adam the chamberlain, and Richard fitz Robert, *CPR, 42 Ed III*. Milo, son of John de Courcy, is supposed by Lodge to have been son of the conqueror of Ulster and ancestor of the Earls of Kildare. He may have been son of John, son of Roger of Chester, Orpen, 206 n64.

[133] It seems fitting that according to archaeological excavations settlements in the north are '… not at all like organised settlements that we find in the south of Ireland…the moated sites are usually found away from the main estate centres; they represent the farms of men pushing agriculture to the margins of contemporary fields'. Carrickfergus, Coleraine, Downpatrick, Newtownards and Antrim were all towns '… built for a community of people whose principle source of income was commerce'; these settlements were '… self governing and self-contained', Mallory, J.P. and T.E. McNeill, *The Archaeology of Ulster from Colonization to Plantation*, (Belfast, 1991), 263-4

[134] Flanders, *De Courcy*, 154.

[135] *Ibid.*, 163.

[136] *pers. comm.*, R. Oram

The next stage in construction was the extension of the curtain wall east and north, or the middle bailey with its mural towers, which I have suggested also date from the time of de Courcy. With work on the first phase completed by *c.*1186 seventeen years remained at de Courcy's disposal, while only five seasons were required. Finally, the conclusion of major medieval castle works, or the stone conversion of outer bailey with its gatehouse, was arguably the work of King John's constable, *c.*1216-23. This theory is supported by documents ordering the taking of the outer bailwick into the king's hands, the £500 allocated for development of defences and the involvement of both Geoffrey de Marisco and, less directly, William Marshal, as well as the parallels found in royal work at Dublin and Limerick. Carrickfergus, as it appeared in *c.*1205, with its rectangular keep and mural towers, two of which were simple open-back constructions, would not have looked out of place in the north of England at the end of the twelfth century.

It is important to note that there was little distinction between de Courcy's support of the Irish church and his political agenda. While he championed the primacy of Armagh, returned important relics lost during battle and glorified the eminence of the cathedral at Down with the translation of the bodies of three Irish saints, he did so while importing English monks into the northern Irish sees. Moreover, his belief in the power of relics trickled into the political arena. First, he carried with him a copy of the prophecies that proclaimed his arrival, and second, he minted coins that were stamped with the name *Patricius* rather than the name of the king, with the image of a bishop's crozier on the reverse. Furthermore, the name of his *caput* came from the legend of an Irish king who was closely associated with St. Pádraig. Actions such as these indicate the preparation and motivation that accompanied his every decision and suggest that at some level he must have been involved in the construction of his castle. As Coulson has noted, the builder of castles '... sought to evoke in some manner the *moeurs* of chivalry, the life-style of the great, and the legends of the past'.[137] De Courcy's awareness of this trend is visible in the design of his castle and of his lordship. Presumably, when complete the keep was white washed. Projecting from the shore and standing to a height of three storeys over a basement, as the castle appeared over the horizon from both land and sea, the view must

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[137] Coulson, C., 'Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture', 74; Coulson, C., *Castles in Medieval Society, Fortresses in England, France, and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages,* (Oxford, 2003).

have been magnificent. It was a strong and lasting fortress that de Courcy built between his arrival *c.*1177 and 1204 when he was expelled from Ulster indefinitely.[138]

Above we have learned of de Courcy's brilliance as a solider and as a ruler. The nature of his position prior to his ascendance as lord of Ulster produced a sturdy and defendable castle even if it was more traditional than its contemporary in Meath. For de Courcy, military might was not the only weapon in his arsenal. From the beginning of his conquest of Ulster he saw the manipulation of the church was vital to the success of his campaign. The next chapter examines de Courcy's impact on the ecclesiastical architecture of Ulster.

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[138] Various explanations have been put forth to explain how de Courcy's fall. It has been supposed that de Courcy refused to do homage to King John for his kingdom, claiming he held the lordship independently. 'This is intimated in the *Laud Ms Annals* and in the *Book of Howth*, 111. Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 4: 162, … [listed the] sovereigns synchronously reigning in the year 1201, [ending] with "… John de Courcy reigning in Ulster …". [And Orpen suggested that the phrase] has the air of being a court sarcasm current at the time', Orpen, 205 n58. See *ALC*, *A.Inis*, *AU*, 1201; *A. Clon*, 1200; *AFM*, 1199, cited in Orpen, 205.

CHAPTER 5: *PRINCEPS ULTONIAE* AND EARLY GOTHIC

Introduction

When de Courcy marched north from Dublin in 1177, he did so with the intention of carving out a lordship of his own. As discussed in the previous chapter, the castle constructed under his impetus at Carrickfergus (Antrim) leaves us with visual evidence of his invasion. Along with this masonry coastal fortress, he was responsible for a number of motte and bailey castles from which he was able to increase, administer and protect his lordship. Like his fellow Anglo-Norman lords, he also employed the church as an instrument to control the native population. He expelled Irish secular canons from the cathedral at Down and introduced Benedictines from St. Werburgh's, Chester (Cheshire). He did this while attempting to maintain the support of the Irish bishops at Armagh and Down by, amongst other things, returning relics lost during battle. Not only did he re-dedicate the cathedral at Down to Pádraig, but he also 'discovered' the bodies of three Irish saints (Pádraig, Columcille and Brigid). In addition, de Courcy and his wife, Affreca, founded two Cistercian monasteries. His personal endowment involved the creation of a monastic house within view of Downpatrick cathedral, across the river at Inch (Down) [**Fig 5. 1**]. It was established in order to make amends for the destruction of the Irish monastery at Carig (Erenagh) during the 1177 military campaigns.[1] It was created as a daughter house of Furness abbey (Lancashire)[2] *c.*1180, although the abbey may not have been occupied until 1187.[3] On 25 August 1193, Affreca established a house for Cistercian monks on the Ards peninsula at Grey (Down) [**Fig 5. 2**] for the English house at Holm Cultram (Cumberland).[4]

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[1] Gwynn and Hadcock, 135.

[2] *Annales Furnesienses*; *Coucher Book, Furness*; Hope, W.H.St.J., Sir, *The Abbey of St. Mary in Furness, Lancashire*, (Kendal, 1902); Wood, J., 'Furness Abbey: an Integrated and Multi-Disciplinary Approach to the Survey, Recording, Analysis and Interpretation of a Monastic Building', *Medieval Europe, 6: Religion and Belief*, eds. J. Grenville, M.O.H. Carver and E. James, (York, 1992), 163-70; Hall, J., 'East of the Choir: Infirmaries, Abbots' Lodgings and other Chambers', *Perspectives for an Architecture of Solitude: Essays on Cistercians, Art and Architecture in Honour of Peter Fergusson*, ed. T.N. Kinder, (Brepols, 2004), 199-211; Wood, J., 'Furness Abbey: A Case Study in Monastic Secularisation', *Perspectives for an Architecture of Solitude*, 377-85.

[3] The foundation date of 3 Kals June 1180 (26 Hen II) is given in the *Coucher Book, Furness*. However, monks from Furness seem not to have been in residence until July 1187 when some buildings were ready (at least the construction of buildings suitable for the maintenance, living and performance of mass), Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, (London and New Haven, 1987), 246. See also Wilson, C., 'The Cistercians as "Missionaries of Gothic" in Northern England', *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. C. Norton, (Cambridge, 1986), 86-116.

[4] Gwynn and Hadcock, 245. For more about Holm Cultram, see Harrison, S., 'The Architecture of Holm Cultram Abbey', *Carlisle and Cumbria: Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology*, eds. M.

Although these two Cistercian houses are the most important in terms of Early Gothic architecture in Ulster, de Courcy was responsible for the establishment of monasteries for a number of other religious orders. Prior to his arrival in Ulster, his only recorded act of religious patronage had been a single virgate given to the Augustinian house at Ashby (Northamptonshire).[5] By the 1180s, however, he had granted charters for the foundation of at least eight independent houses or administrative cells. In 1179, he granted the lands of the early Irish monastery of Nendrum (Down)[6] to the Benedictine monks of St. Bees (Cumbria),[7] which was in turn dependent on St. Mary's Abbey, York,[8] and a cell was created.[9] The remaining stone buildings date to before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, and include the remnants of a round tower and the nave-chancel church with lintelled doorway. De Courcy also established a Benedictine cell at St. Andrews in Ards (Down)[10] for the priory of Stogursey (Stoke Courcy) in Somerset[11] and Lonlay Abbey (Orne) in France.[12] In 1183/4, he granted St. Andrew's, '... ten carucates of land and all its appurtenances in the Country of Lart [The Ards] ... all the tithes of all [de Courcy's] demesne from the water of Darnac [the river Ravel in south Antrim] to the water of

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McCarthy and D. Weston, (BAACT 27, Leeds, 2004), 239-56; *Reg. Holm Cultram, 1580-1597*; *Reg. Rec. Holm Cultram, c.1236*.

[5] The manor came from his Middleton Cheney estate in Northamptonshire. At the dissolution the Middleton Cheney virgate was worth 13s 4d in rents, Dungale, *Mon. Ang.* 6:1, 444, cited in Flanagan, M.T., 'John de Courcy, the first Ulster Plantation and Irish Church Men', *Britain and Ireland 900-1300, Insular Responses to Medieval European Change*, ed. B. Smith, (Cambridge, 1999), 155n5.

[6] Towill, E.S., 'Saint Mochaoi and Nendrum', *UJA*, 3rd ser., 27 (1964), 103-120.

[7] *Reg. St. Bees*; Todd, J.M., 'The Pre-Conquest Church in St Bees, Cumbria: a Possible Minster?', *TCWAAS*, 3rd ser., 3 (2003), 97-108.

[8] St. Mary's Abbey, York: Norton, C., 'Richard of Fountains and the Letter of Thurstan: History and Historiography of a Monastic Controversy, St Mary's Abbey, York, 1132', *Perspectives for an Architecture of Solitude*, 9-33; Walls, K. and D. Stather, *The Charter of 2 June 1308, Granted by Edward II to St Mary's Abbey, York: a Transcription, Translation and Legal Commentary with Other Notes*, (York, 2002), 59; Norton, C., 'The Design and Construction of the Romanesque Church of St Mary's Abbey, York', *YAJ*, 71 (1999), 73-88.; Cool, H.E.M., 'Early Occupation at St Mary's Abbey, York: the Evidence of the Glass', *Form and Fabric: Studies in Rome's Material Past in Honour of B.R. Hartley*, ed. J. Bird, (Oxford, 1998), 301-5; Norton, C., 'The Buildings of St Mary's Abbey, York and their Destruction', *AJ*, 74 (1994), 256-88; Burton, J.E., 'The Monastic Revival in Yorkshire: Whitby and St Mary's, York', *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193*, eds. D.W. Rollason, M.M. Harvey, and M. Prestwich, (Woodbridge, 1994), 41-51; Whittingham, A.B., 'St. Mary's Abbey, York: an Interpretation of its Plan', *AJ*, 128 (1972 for 1971), 118-46; Bethell, D.L.T., 'The Foundation of Fountains Abbey and the State of St. Mary's, York, in 1132', *JEH*, 17 (1966), 11-27; Sauerländer, W., 'Sens and York: an Inquiry into the Sculptures from St. Mary's Abbey in the Yorkshire Museum', *JBAA*, 3rd ser., 22 (1959), 53-69; Syme, J.S. and A. Raine, 'Report on Recent Excavations at St. Mary's Abbey in York', *Annual Report & TYPS* (1945 for 1944), 32-5.

[9] Gwynn and Hadcock, 107. The monks of St. Bees were granted two-thirds of the lands and churches of the ancient Celtic site, the remaining third was granted to Malachy III, bishop of Down, *Reg. St. Bees*, 520-1, cited in *Down, Connor and Dronmore*, 190-1

[10] For a transcription of de Courcy's grant (from Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.*, 2:1019), Hamilton, G.W., 'Black Abbey, County Down', *JRSAI*, 51 (1921), 166-78.

[11] *Stogursey Charters*; Leighton, O.T., 'Excavations at Priory Farm, Stogursey, Somerset, May-Sept. 1941', *PSANHS*, 88 (1943 for 1942), 82-5; Ellson, P., 'Stogursey: a Monastic Fish-Pond?', *Notes & Queries for Somerset & Dorset*, 33 (1994), 323-29.

[12] William, prior of *Dun*, witnessed the first charter so that its date must be after 1183, Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.*, 3: 1019-20, cited in Gwynn and Hadcock, 108. For Lonlay, see Hubert, G., 'Les Prieurés Anglais de l'Abbaye de Lonlay', *SHAO*, 51 (1922), 190-207.

Karlingford [Carlingford] except the tithes from the two castles, that is Archen [Ardkeen] and Oniah [Iveagh]'.[13] Pope Innocent III issued a confirmation of the foundation on 26 May 1204.[14] De Courcy granted the Augustinian Canons at Carlisle[15] manors in the area of Toberglory (the suburbs of Downpatrick, between the roads to Crems and Grange of Saul) and there they established a priory dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr.[16] In fact, within the town of Downpatrick, in addition to the Cistercian house at Inch, de Courcy patronised three separate orders: the Benedictines at the cathedral priory, the Augustinians at Toberglory and a Fratres Cruciferi priory dedicated to St. John the Baptist.[17] Nothing from either Toberglory or the Crutched Friars house has survived above ground, and neither has been excavated to date. While de Courcy was responsible for the foundation of a number of monastic centres, the two Cistercian houses are the most architecturally important. To these can be added the cathedral at Downpatrick, the rebuilding of which was probably stimulated by the substantial building programme visible at the Cistercian house across the river. Additionally, the church built for the Premonstratensian monks in Carrickfergus (by 1183) also retains some early fabric, including a chancel arcade and a crossing pier. Monks from the Scottish house of Dryburgh (Scottish Borders) were

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[13] The charter's text, in Latin, is printed in *Stogursey Charters*, 50-1 and in Dugdale, *Mon. Ang*, 6:2, 1123. The editors of Stogursey Charters adduce sound arguments to prove that the date of the charter was not earlier than 1183 or later than 1184, Kerr, W., 'Black Abbey, the Archbishops of Armagh and the Church of Derryaghy', *LHSJ*, 7 (1989).

[14] A second papal confirmation dated to 11 June 1204 describes the possessions as, 'In Ybernia [Hibernia] in Utonia [Ulster] all the churches and ecclesiastical benefices of all the demesne of John de Curci, from the water of Dalnac [river Ravel] to the water of Kerlingerfort [Carlingford] except the castle of Maineove, ten carrucates of land in Arte [the Ards], that is, in the country of Maccollocan [?], in Dalboing [Dalboyne], that is, in Hailo (Feloagh, alias Derryvolgie] with their appurtenances and ten carrucates of land, in Kinelmolan [?] three carrucates of land.' The text of the confirmation is printed in Latin in *Pontificia Hibernica*, 1: 126-7. Although in reality Stogursey was little more than an apport collecting agency for Lonlay, not an independent house capable of receiving endowments of its own right, both de Courcy's foundation and the Pope's confirmation have ignored Lonlay. In 1218 it seems that Lonlay asserted its rights to Black Abbey and thereafter was not mentioned in connection with Stogursey, Kerr, W., 'Black Abbey, the Archbishops of Armagh and the Church of Derryaghy', *LHSJ*, 7 (1989).

[15] Franklin, J.A., 'Augustinian Architecture in the Twelfth Century: the Context for Carlisle', *Carlisle and Cumbria: Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology*, eds. M. McCarthy and D. Weston, (Leeds, 2004), 73-88; Bulman, C.G., 'Carlisle Cathedral', *Arch. J.*, 115 (1960 for 1958), 229-33; Dickinson, J. C., 'The Origins of Carlisle Cathedral', *TCWAAS*, ns 45 (1946 for 1945), 134-43.

[16] The charter of John de Courcy of 1183 introducing the Benedictines to Down was witnessed by P de Saballo, abbot and G. de S. Thoma and P. de Mucmor, priors. G de S. Thoma was prior of St. Thomas' Down, not Dublin. All eight witnesses belong to the diocese of Down and Connor with the exception of the abbot of Holm Cultram. St. Thomas' was founded by 1183, although the grant to Carlisle may have been later, Gwynn and Hadcock, 170.

[17] The house was called the 'Priory of the English' to distinguish it from the older 'Priory of the Irish' of Augustine canons. The monastery was incorporated into the cathedral in 1513, Gwynn and Hadcock, 211.

responsible for its colonisation, with the support of both de Courcy and the abbot of Dryburgh.[18]

The Anglo-Norman monasteries at Grey and Inch have some of the earliest Gothic architecture in Ireland. Contrary to the affinity that southeast Irish Gothic has with West Country architecture, these northern Irish churches are more northern English in character. While these relationships have already been acknowledged, a number of other questions arise with regard to the specifics of this Ulster Gothic architecture. Can these connections be more precisely defined? What are the specific architectural connections that these buildings have with northern English Gothic? Is there an architectural relationship between mother and daughter houses? Can the chronology of these buildings be more exactly delineated through the study of the various mouldings and sculptural articulation? What was de Courcy's role in the introduction of Gothic architecture into Ulster? Was there a consistency to de Courcy's patronage that led to the architectural links and does this then provide evidence for his personal attention to the building programmes? Are there patterns to his patronage, between the foundations at Grey, Inch, Carrickfergus and Downpatrick? If de Courcy's benefaction can be witnessed in the visual remains of these once resplendent religious houses, did de Courcy's later expulsion have an impact on their building programmes?

Downpatrick

Before the two Cistercian monasteries are examined in greater detail it is important to review de Courcy's relationship with the cathedral and bishops at Down. Although Downpatrick is not as important architecturally and was heavily reconstructed in the eighteenth century [**Fig 5. 3**], it, nevertheless, has some interesting historical and

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[18] Hugh de Morville, Lord of Lauderdale and the Constable of Scotland, founded Dryburgh Abbey. On 10 November 1150 Premonstratensian monks from Alnwick (Northumberland) arrived at Dryburgh, *Melrose Chron.*, 1150. For more on Dryburg, see Stringer, K.J., 'The Early Lords of Lauderdale, Dryburgh Abbey and St. Andrew's Priory at Northampton', *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, ed. K.J. Stringer, (Edinburgh, 1985), 44-71; Richardson, J.S. and M. Wood, *Dryburgh Abbey, Berwickshire,* (Guide, Edinburgh, 1948, 2nd ed.); Stringer, K.J., 'Dryburgh Abbey and Bozeat, Northants: a Sidelight on Early Anglo-Scottish Estate Management', *Innes Review*, 24 (1973), 133-47; MacGregor, A.G. and R.J.A. Eckford, 'Stones of the Abbeys of the Scottish Borderlands ... and Possible Quarry Sources', *TEGS*, 14:2 (1948 for 1944-6), 243-50; Hunter, J.Y., 'Dryburgh Abbey and its Connection with the East Neuk of Fife', *HAST,* (1938 for 1937), 16-18.'; Two charters of John de Courcy to the Benedictines of Downpatrick were witnessed by 'Willielmo Priore de Cracfergus', must be dated in or soon after 1183, so that there must have been a priory at Carrickfergus by *c.*1183, Gwynn and Hadcock, 204. See also McNeill, T.E., 'The Premonstratensian Houses of Carrickfergus, White Abbey, and Woodburn', *Peritia*, 2 (1983), 265-6.

architectural information to impart.[19] De Courcy further strengthened his political clout with the miraculous discovery and translation of the bodies of SS Pádraig, Brigid and Columcille. The ceremony took place at the newly dedicated cathedral priory at Down in 1185/6, presumably in the presence of the Papal Legate, Vivian.[20] The papal legate had been in Ulster in 1177 during de Courcy's initial military campaigns and was instrumental in negotiating terms.[21] De Courcy also commissioned a monk from Furness, Jocelin, to write a new *Life of St. Pádraig*.[22] Jocelin was a well-known and highly recognised hagiographer, who had previously written the *Life of St. Kentigern* (a Glaswegian saint),[23] and later composed the *Life of Helena* as well as the *Life of Waltheof* – the only near-contemporary saint in Jocelin's oeuvre; Waltheof had died in 1160.[24] Jocelin's own dedicatory page refers to John de Courcy as '… the most illustrious Prince of Ulidia, who is known to be the most especial admirer and honourer of St. Pádraig, and whom we think it most becoming to obey'.[25]

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[19] The earliest charter (before 1183) delineated the land granted to the cathedral, '… on the right hand of Saint George's as far as the wall of the house of Saint Columba through the street next to the cross of Saint Moninna as far as the wall, and Mungona with all its appurtenances'. The witnesses included the bishop of Connor, the abbot of Saul, William de Courcy, Roger, Seneschal of Chester, Simon of Passeleu, Richard son of Robert, Adam the chamberlain and John the priest who acted as scribe, MacNiocaill, *Cartae Dunenses*, no. 1, cited in Rankin, J. F., *Down Cathedral: the Church of Saint Patrick of Down*, (Belfast, 1997), 27. Dated to the later 1180s, a charter confirmed '… the tenth cow and the tenth animal from all de Courcy's booties, acquisitions and purchases of animals'. He also granted a tenth of the hunting, Mac Niocaill, *Cartae Dunenses*, nos.4, 5, cited in Rankin, *op. cit.*, 27. Additionally, the '… ferries at Strangford towards the *Duffryn*, at Carlingford, at *Cragfergus* [Carrickfergus], and at the River Bann … with the exception of that between Lecale and Ards [the most lucrative]', MacNiocaill, *Cartae Dunenses*, no. 8, Rankin, *op.cit.*, 28.

[20] In 1175 Vivian was named legate for Ireland, Scotland and Norway. He went on to Scotland and spent Christmas on the Isle of Man with King Godred [it may have been Vivian's connection to the Manx king that led to de Courcy's marriage to Affreca] and finally, sailed for Ireland where on 6 Jan 1177 where he met John de Courcy *en route* to Down, Giraldus, *Expugnatio,* 332 n301; Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 2, 28-9; William of Newburgh, *Hist. rer. Anglic.,* 1: 238; Eyton, R.W., *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II*, (London, 1974), 209.

[21] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 235 and *Topographia*, 105. For the discovery see chapter 1 n88.

[22] Messingham, *Florilegium*, 2; Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum*, Mart. II, 536, cited in Flanagan, M.T., 'John de Courcy, the first Ulster Plantation and Irish Church Men', 171 n73. De Courcy '… issued coinage in Ulster which substituted the name of Patrick (*Patricius*) for that of the king and which also carried the image of a bishop's crozier', Lydon, J., 'John de Courcy (*c.*1150-1219) and the Medieval Frontier', 43. For John de Courcy's mint see also Seaby, W.A., 'A St. Patrick Halfpenny of John de Courci', *BNJ*, 29 (1958-9), 87-90; Duffy, 'First Ulster Plantation', 8-10; and Dolley, M., *Medieval Anglo-Irish Coins*, (London, 1972), 1-5. The preface of the *Life* recognises Malachy, bishop of Down, Thomas, archbishop of Armagh, styled primate of Ireland, and John de Courcy, 'who is well known as having a most especial love and veneration of St. Patrick', as the patrons of Jocelin's work.

[23] The Life of St. Kentigern was written before 1185; chapter four deals with the education by Serf at Culross, Forbes, A.P., *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern* (Edinburgh, 1874), 40-1. It is this connection to Jocelin of Furness, Fawcett suggested, that caused Earl Malcolm to establish a Cistercian house at Culross.

[24] Freeman, E., 'Momdels for Cistercian Life in Jocelin of Furness's *Vita Waldevi*', *CSQ*, 37:2 (2002), 107. For Jocelin's life of St Patrick, see Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum*, Martii II, 575, § 154.

[25] Thomas, archbishop of Armagh, is also referred to as Primate of All Ireland in the Preface of Jocelin's *Vita Patrick*, O'Leary, J. ed., *The Most Ancient Lives of Saint Patrick Including the Life by Jocelin, Hitherto Unpublished in America, and His Extant Writings*, e-book, (The Project Gutenburg, eBook 18482), electronic document, http://infomotions.com/etexts/gutenberg/dirs/1/8/4/8/18482/18482.htm.

The *vita* of St. Pádraig played an integral part in facilitating cooperation amongst the Irish clergy. To this end, de Courcy chose to develop the town of Down as a religious centre rather a military one. In 1185, John granted 10 carucates of land to the abbey at Chester in order to establish a community of Benedictine monks at the cathedral, free from all subjection to Chester.[26] This was an unusual arrangement for an Irish cathedral, organised with a monastic chapter (in England, almost half of the medieval cathedrals had Benedictine chapters attached to them).[27] Apart from the Augustinians introduced at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin,[28] and the cathedral priory of SS Peter and Paul founded at Newtown Trim (Meath) in 1202 by Simon Rochford, bishop of Meath, no other medieval Irish cathedral had a monastic house associated with it.[29] It may have been that de Courcy was in some way following the Dublin precedent, although the Augustinians at Christ Church had been introduced by the last Irish archbishop of Dublin, Lorcán Ó Tuathail (*r.*1161-1180), and the community was therefore overwhelmingly Irish.[30] Lorcán, however, was a witness to one of the bishop of Down's grants to the cathedral, which included townlands and three churches.[31] Unlike Christ Church, de Courcy's cathedral was colonised with English monks, which was also the case at Newtown Trim. Contrary to the situation at Downpatrick, the latter was an entirely new foundation situated within view of the Anglo-Norman *caput* at Trim (Meath). By introducing English monks, de Courcy was able to retain the established cathedral and the support of the bishop of Down, Echmilid (or Malachias III, *c.*1176-1202), and the archbishop of Armagh, Thomas. In the

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[26] *Down, Connor and Dronmore*, 1847. William de Etleshale was the first prior and it is said that the monastic cathedral was greatly endowed, Gwynn and Hadcock, 105. Mac Niocaill, *Cartae Dunenses*, 418-28, at 419, nos. 1 and 3. An *inspeximus* of de Courcy's grant to the Prior of Down is extant, translated in J.W.H., 'The Earldom and Barons of Ulster', *UJA*, 1 (1853), 38-42. The grant gave them the right to hear all pleas. Malachy and his successors were '*abbas et custos sicut fit in ecclesiaie Wyntoniensi vel Conventrensi*' with forty-six named places and six churches were attached. The custom of Winchester or Coventry indicates the establishment of a cathedral priory, Flanagan, 'John de Courcy', 165. De Courcy's grants of the titles of his lordship to Malachy included all cattle preys, and all acquisitions and purchases of animals ('*decimam vaccam et quodlibet decimum animale de omnibus predis meis et de omnibus adquisitis et purchaciis meis de animalibus*', Mac Niocaill, 'Carte Dunenses', 420). He also granted '… free crossings on all waterways in his lordshop', Flanagan, 'John de Courcy,' 166 n51.

[27] After the conquest of England, Benedictine chapters were attached to seven cathedrals (Canterbury, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester and Worchester), one with an Augustinian chapter (Carlisle), seven with secular chapters (Chichester, Exeter, Hereford, Lincoln, London, Salisbury and York) and two with double chapters (Coventry and Lichfield, and Bath and Wells, the former in each case Benedictine and the latter secular), Tilton, D., 'Rev. of *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages; A Constitutional Study with Special Reference to the Fourteenth Century*, by K. Edwards', *Speculum*, 25:3 (July 1950), 397.

[28] There may have been a Benedictine community at Christ Church Cathedral Dublin before the introduction of Augustinians, *pers. comm.*. S. Kinsella

[29] It was to Newtown Trim that Simon de Rochfort moved the seat of the bishopric of Meath.

[30] After John Comyn became the first Anglo-Norman archbishop of Dublin he established a collegiate church in Dublin in 1191 and in 1213 raised it to cathedral status.

[31] Apart form the early grant of a small parcel of land, none of the surviving grants relate to land, probably because much of the land was already in church hands. Rankin has suggested that Malachy III had been compelled to make the grant by John de Courcy, Rankin, *Down Cathedral*, 28.

same stroke he created a cathedral with Anglo-Norman affiliation, staffed with clergy more likely to support his political reform. The introduction of Benedictines from Chester was also a convenient way of getting rid of the Irish clergy at Down.[32] Ultimately and for the sake of his new devotion to St. Pádraig, de Courcy changed the cathedral's dedication from *ecclesia S. Trinitatis de Dun* (The Church of the Holy Trinity of Down) to *ecclesia S. Patricii de Dune* (The Church of St. Pádraig of Down).[33]

The church was heavily restored by the architect Charles Lilly for a cost of over £500; with works completed by 1792 when the roof was in place.[34] It incorporated the chancel of the medieval church, built after 1220. A document dated to the same year related the reconstruction 'again' of the cathedral after '... the house of St. Pádraig was destroyed and burned with the church ...'.[35] During excavations in the 1980s, a trench dug on the south exterior uncovered a large battered masonry plinth as well as a stone corner. This led archaeologists to postulate that the pre-1220 church was cruciform in plan [**Fig 5. 4**]. Much of the chancel arcade has been heavily restored but a number of interesting thirteenth century features are still visible. First, the elevation was of two storeys, which might provide hints to the elevation of the nave at Inch. The 'reduced' piers with engaged shafts on the east and west faces are comparable to the few courses of arcading *in situ* at Inch. Their close proximity, in terms of both geography and chronology, would strongly suggest the plausibility of numerous interactions between the masons and clergy at each site. In fact, it would have been surprising not to find some degree of architectural overlapping, even if this were limited to the construction of contemporary trends. The possibility that architectural relationships should have existed between Downpatrick and Inch is suggested also from a fragment of moulding now located under the tower at Downpatrick with a keeled roll [**Fig 5. 5**]. The keel was employed at the de Courcy foundations of Inch, Grey

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[32] It is also a possibility that he was attempting to provide himself with suitable clerks for a 'chancery' from the Benedictine community. The chancery clerks were the chief source of writs for the lordship and would have maintained charters and other important documents. By November 1210 the royal chancery in Dublin provided the same range of writs normally issued by its equivalent in England, Martin, 'John, lord of Ireland, 1185-1216', *A New History of Ireland II: Medieval Ireland 1168-1534*, ed. A. Cosgrove, (Oxford, 2008), 144.

[33] According to Ware, when de Courcy rededicated the cathedral he also expelled the secular canons. William de Etleshale was the first prior, Gwynn and Hadcock, 105.

[34] Rankin, *Down Cathedral*, 114.

[35] 'We send across to your Excellency our monk and the bier of the Patrons of Ireland, Patrick, Columba and Brigid with their relics, so that in reverence for them and for the promise which our lord, your father made, viz., that he would be a benefactor to our church, and in your role as lord of all the land of the patrons of Ireland and its patron, you will, in your charity, give us a small house in England, where we shall be able to give hospitality when need occurs. The house of Saint Patrick has often been destroyed and burned with the church, which is being rebuilt again; hence we are in greatest need of your help'. Rankin, *Down Cathedral*, 38, 38 n7.

and Carrickfergus and the fact that it is also found, albeit *ex situ*, at the cathedral gives a hint of the architectural relationship that existed between the ecclesiastical architecture patronised by John de Courcy.

Architectural Links

The fact that keel mouldings were employed at each of de Courcy's foundations with standing thirteenth century masonry would not be such an important detail if not for the fact that the keel is not employed in any other Anglo-Norman foundation of contemporary date. According to Morris the keel '... was taken up pre-eminently in the Cistercian environment of northern England from the 1160s ... [and] it is less frequent elsewhere in England, where roll mouldings and detached shafts were preferred in the south, and ogee keel mouldings in the west'.[36] Considering the geographical pattern produced by his religious patronage, the use of the keel in de Courcy's Ulster foundations is not surprising. It is a pattern that links the majority of his foundations with the north of England, with the lone exception of his grant to the Benedictines at Stogursey (with no standing remains). A quick examination of his connection to Stogursey reveals that his grandfather, William de Courcy, was the lord of the manor. Between 1162 and 1171, his grandson, William III (John de Courcy's cousin), issued a confirmation to the Somerset abbey.[37] While the main English branch of the de Courcy family held estates centred in Somerset, John de Courcy's father, Jordan, administered the de Courcy's Meschin lands in Yorkshire. It is there that John spent his formative years (see chapter four) and is, therefore, no surprise that the majority of his religious patronage was to the benefit of northern monastic houses. His foundations were affiliated with the Cistercian houses at Furness and Holm Cultram, the Benedictines at St Bees and St. Werburgh's, Chester and the Scottish Premonstratensian house at Dryburgh. In addition to his own links to the north of England, his wife also had strong ties to several of the aforementioned monasteries.

Affreca was the daughter of the Manx King, Godred II, who issued a confirmation charter to the Cistercian abbey at Rushen (Isle of Man) upon his succession.[38] King Olaf I

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[36] Morris, R.K., 'An English Glossary of Medieval Mouldings: With an Introduction to Mouldings *c.*1040-1240', *AH*, 35 (1992), 5.
[37] Flanders, *De Courcy*, 46.
[38] Davey, P.J. 'Eleven Years of Archaeological Research at Rushen Abbey, 1998 to 2008', *Monastic Research Bulletin*, 14 (2008), 1-23; Butler, L.A.S., 'The Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of Rushen, Isle of Man: Excavations on the East Range, 1988-89', *JBAA*, 155 (2002), 168-94.

founded the abbey in 1143 as a daughter house of Furness.[39] Holm Cultram was also patronised by Godred II, who granted '... free entrance to and exit from his land with one ship and its boat for monks, lay brothers and their men, goods and chattels, with leave to buy and sell for their own use whatever they needed without tolls'.[40] Additionally, *c.*1175, he gave the lands of 'Eschedala' and 'Asmundertoftes' (Dhoon and Bellellin respectively) to the Cumbrian priory dedicated to St. Bees.[41]

The Manx relationships with Furness, Holm Cultram and St. Bees were well established by the time de Courcy arrived in Ulster. It may have been the established relationships these monasteries had with the Manx nobility that led him to increase their wealth and influence. He looked to the nobility of Man for political and military support, particularly at sea. In fact, the fleet of Man had long given service to the English throne. In exchange for 100 crannocks of wheat and 2 hogshead of wine yearly (later 5 hogshead of wine), the king of Man and the Isles protected the '... English Sea towards Ireland and the Isle of Man and its coast and of the Irish Sea towards England ...'.[42] The political and military alliance created through his marriage to Affreca may well have affected his ecclesiastical patronage. The hypothesis is particularly convincing considering the fact that Affreca established a daughter house for Holm Cultram in Ulster, it having previously received the benefaction of her father.

The relationships between the Cistercian houses in England and their daughters in Ulster continued at least throughout the thirteenth century. In both 1222 and 1237, the abbots at Grey Abbey went on to become abbots of Holm Cultram. This suggests the continued relationship with the mother house. The abbots and convent of Furness also continued to make use of their Irish manors, given leave to purchase necessaries in Ireland for the maintenance of their house well into the thirteenth century.[43] In addition, following the conspiracy of Mellifont, Furness was placed in charge of several of the 'Irish' Cistercian

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[39] Furness received one third of the tithe of Man and the abbot of Furness became one of the island kingdom's eight spiritual barons, along with the bishop, the abbot of Rushen, the abbots of Bangor and Saball in Ireland, the prior of Whithorn, the prior of St. Bees and the prioress of St. Bridget's in Douglas, McIntire, W.T., 'A Note Upon the Connection of Furness Abbey with the Isle of Man', *TCWAAS*, ns 43 (1943), 3-5.
[40] The charters were later confirmed by the Manx kings, Reginald I (*r.*1187-1226), Olaf II (*r.*1226-37) and Magnus (*r.*1252-65), *Reg. Holm Cultram*, 94, cited in McIntire, 'Connection of Furness Abbey with the Isle of Man', 6.
[41] McIntire, 'Connection of Furness Abbey with the Isle of Man', 6.
[42] *CDI*, 1: nos. 898 (1219), 944 (1222), 1040 (1222), 1240 (1225), 1447 (1226), 2269 (1235), 2271 (1235) and 2327 (1236).
[43] The purchases were made their servants and not directly by the abbot or monks themselves. *CDI*, 1: nos. 117 (1200), 494 (1213), 941 (1220), 1052 (1222), 1347 (1226), 1560 (1227), 1626 (1228), 1995 (1232), 2065 (1233), 2839 (1246), 2859 (1246) and 2924 (1248).

abbeys. The resources of the Irish monasteries were clearly directed to the benefit of the English mother houses. Furthermore, it is these important northern associations that are revealed in the visual remnants of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century architecture.

Planning and Design

While the Irish foundations maintained a strong economic and political bond with their English and Scottish mother houses, the architectural parallels are not as easily defined. However, upon closer examination comparisons can be made, although these are more easily discernable in contemporary northern complexes. Inch and Grey are in no way direct copies of their respective mother houses, but that is, unsurprisingly, the result of the decades that separate their campaigns of construction. The east ends of both Inch and Grey [**Fig 5. 6**] were built to the 'Bernadine' plan, known from the French house founded by St. Bernard in 1118 at Fontenay (Côte-d'Or) [**Fig 5. 7**]. While Fontenay's construction period is a point of contention, it is usually attributed to *c.*1147.[44] It is composed of a rectangular choir, square ended transepts, each with two chapels, and an aisled nave. The Fontenay plan was employed in most Irish Cistercian monasteries of the Mellifont (Louth) affiliation – Boyle (Roscommon), Jerpoint (Kilkenny) and Abbeyknockmoy (Galway) – and measurements were generally derived from the sides of a square and its diagonals.[45] While the east ends of the two Ulster houses are similar on paper, differentiation is found above ground level, seen most clearly in the design of the vaults over the chapels. Unlike their Ulster counterparts, the Anglo-Norman foundations in Leinster – Graiguenamanagh, Dunbrody and Tintern – and the remodelled east end of Mellifont II were built with three chapels in each arm. Both types of east ends were common in English Cistercian architecture. The Fontenay plan was employed at Abbey Dore (Herefordshire, first church founded in 1147), Buildwas (Shropshire, founded *c.*1148), Bindon (Dorset, founded 1172), Cleeve (Somerset, founded in 1188), Valle Crucis (Denbighshire, founded *c.*1200) and Basingwerk (Flintshire). More importantly, a number of northern abbeys were also

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[44] Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 61. 'Just how much of the church was actually competed by the time of the 1147 consecration by Pope Eugenius remains in doubt. The recent monograph by Pierre Bourgeois, for instance, suggests a much earlier date for the construction of the church, as does Gajewski, whilst more recently Thomas Coomans has suggested a later date', Harrison, S., 'Book Review: David M. Robinsons: *The Cistercians in Wales, Architecture and Archaeology 1130-1540*, (SAL, 2006), *SAH, Newsletter*, 94 (Summer 2008), 12.

[45] Boyle was settled in 1161, patronised by the Mac Diarmada family of Moylurg and Jerpoint was founded *c.*1160 by Domnall Mac Gilla Pádraig I, King of Osraige (*r.*1165-75). Abbeyknockmoy was a somewhat later foundation, established by Cathal Crobderg Ó Conchobhair, King of Connacht (*r.*1189-1224) in 1190. Mellifont's other daughter houses were Holycross (Tipperary), Kilcooly (Tipperary), Hore (Tipperary) and probably Bective (Meath), Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 57. Baltinglass (Wicklow) also has two chapels per transept, however they project independently of each other, rather than a single space separated by a solid dividing wall, like those at Cashel cathedral (Tipperary).

planned with two chapels per transept. This was the case at Calder (Cumberland, founded in 1134), Fountains (Yorkshire, the first church founded *c.*1132), Roche (Yorkshire, founded *c.*1165) [**Fig 5. 8**] and the first church at Sallay, or Sawley (Yorkshire), as well as the Scottish houses at Glenluce (Dumfries and Galloway, 1190-2).[46] Not only are ground plans in Ulster distinct from their Leinster contemporaries, but also their cloisters are comparatively modest in scale. The cloister at Grey measures 33.83 (east) x 20.42 meters and that at Inch measures 33.8 (east) x 22.6 meters. Even considering the fact that the cloister at Grey was probably originally designed on a square plan, larger east to west than its present arrangement, the Ulster cloisters were still built on a more modest scale. The cloisters at Graiguenamanagh and Dunbrody measure over 36 meters on one side of an almost square layout.[47]

Grey Abbey

While the east and south ranges at Grey are well preserved, all traces of the west range have disappeared.[48] Many English cloisters were laid out on a square plan, often 100 feet square (30.48 meters). The south range at Grey is almost 13 meters shorter than the east range. Stalley has suggested that the 'stunted' dimensions imply that the originally intended length of the nave was never achieved.[49] If the initial layout of the church and cloister was summarily contracted what would have caused such a change to the design? Any community would have commenced building works under the assumption that their estates produced enough revenue over a prolonged period of time to complete construction. Three separate series of events at the beginning of the thirteenth century could have had a negative impact on the stability of the community, and as such their building funds. The first of these was the war between Hugh de Lacy II and John de Courcy (1204-5). John de Courcy, the husband of the abbey's principal patron, was defeated by Hugh de Lacy II at

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[46] Roland, Lord of Galloway, founded the abbey. Grove, D., *Glenluce Abbey*, (Edinburgh, 1996). The Galloway connections to Ulster are discussed in Oram, R., *The Lordship of Galloway*, (Edinburgh, 2000). The two chapel plan is also found at the Scottish monasteries of Culross (Fife) and Balmerino (Fife) but are both churches of the 1220s and therefore later than the constructions in Ulster.

[47] Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland,* (1987), 54.

[48] Harrison, S., 'Grey Abbey, County Down: a New Architectural Survey and Assessment', *JBAA*, 155 (2002), 115-167; Hamlin, A., 'Grey Abbey – Architectural Detective Work', *CA*, 2 (March 1998), 53-4.; Leask, H.G., *Irish Churches and Monastic Houses II*, (reprint 1990), 8, 49-51.; Gwynn and Hadcock, 134.; Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Houses*; Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, *passim*; McIntire, W.T., 'A Note on Grey Abbey and Other Religious Foundations on Strangford Lough Affiliated to the Abbeys of Cumberland', *CWAAST*, ns 41 (1941), 161-73.

[49] It is worth noticing that if the cloister had measured a hundred feet in an east-west direction, the main axis of the refectory would have been aligned exactly in the centre, a common practice in Cistercian planning. Moreover, if a south aisle were originally envisaged for the church, the east walk of the cloister would have been reduced to about a hundred feet. If this hypothesis is correct, the initial intention at Grey was to build a cloister approximately a hundred feet square, Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 54.

Dundaleathglas (Downpatrick), where many were slain.[50] This led to the expulsion of de Courcy from Ulster and no doubt the interceding military campaigns had negative effects on religious and secular lands alike. Five years later (1210), King John led his troops into the earldom of Ulster, resulting in the forced exile of Hugh II. Finally, in 1226 de Lacy was restored to his earldom, but not before wreaking havoc in Ireland. The aforementioned document from 1220 relating to Downpatrick cathedral illustrated the destructive effects secular warfare could have on ecclesiastical communities. Meanwhile, shipments of corn, flour and wine from Grey's farmland continued to be sent across the sea to their mother house.[51] With funds diverted to Holm Cultram and local disputes causing destruction, it is not surprising that the plan at Grey was altered, simplified and reduced.

The aisleless nave, while not standard in Cistercian planning, was not unusual either. It was part of the original designs of several Scottish Cistercian churches, which included Culross (colonized 1217/8), Deer (Aberdeenshire, *c.*1219)[52] and Balmerino (1227/9),[53] as well as the Arroasian abbey at Cambuskenneth (Stirlingshire, founded *c.*1140 but not begun for a few decades) and the Tironensian abbey at Lindores[54] (Fife, *c.*1190) [**Fig 5. 9**].[55] Inchcolm Augustinian abbey (Fife, 1235)[56], the Valliscaulian priories at Beauly (Ross, 1230)[57] and Archattan (1230/1, Argyll)[58] and the Cistercian abbey at Saddell (1160,

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[50] *AFM*, 1203. He is also described in these annals as a plunderer of churches and territories, *AFM*, 1204.
[51] *CDI*, 1: nos. 941 (12 June 1220), 1052 (26 August 1222), 1347 (26 January 1226), 1626 (9 November 1228), 2859 (28 December 1246), and 2924 (19 February 1248). For the whole period between 1232-84 only a single licence is recorded for the allowance of the abbot of Holm Cultram to purchase corn and other supplies in Ireland, *CDI*, 2, no. 2007 (28 November 1282). For the period 1285-1292, two licences were granted, which specifically listed wine and fresh water, as well as corn, *CDI*, 3, nos. 870 (15 March 1291, for a period of two years) and 923 (4 July 1291, for a period of three years). *CDI*, 4, no. 771 (6 February 1301). *CDI*, 5, nos. 78 (30 May 1302), 199 (19 April 1303, for a period of two years with two ships) , 207 (6 May 1303), 375 (10 March 1305, for one year) and 492 (12 February 1306).
[52] The most recent study of the monstery, Fawcett, R., 'The Cistercian Abbey of Deer', *Studies on the Book of Deer*, ed. K. Forsyth, (Dublin, 2008), 439-62. Earlier examinations include, Dilworth, M., 'Deer Abbey's Contribution to the Reformed Church', *Innes Review*, 54:2 (2003), 216-25; MacQuarrie, A., 'Early Christian Communities in the North East: the Evidence from Deer and from St Laurence's Kirk at Conveth', *After Columba - after Calvin: Community and Identity in the Religious Traditions of North East Scotland*, ed. J. Porter, (Aberdeen, 1999), 13-18; Simpson, W.D., *The Abbey of Deer, Aberdeenshire* (Edinburgh, 1952).
[53] Balmerino is the subject of a number of essays published in *Life on the Edge: The Cistercian Abbey of Balmerino, Fife (Scotland),* (Citeaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, 59), (Forges-Chimay, 2008), including but not limited to Fawcett, R., 'Balmerino Abbey: the Architecture', 81-118 and Oram, R., 'A Fit and Ample Endowment? The Balmerino Estate 1228-1603', 61-80.
[54] *Chart. Lindores*
[55] Fawcett, R., 'Culross Abbey', *Perspectives for an Architecture of Solitude*, 81, 90.
[56] The short nave is all that survives from the first church (mid-twelfth century). Although much altered, asles were never added to the church before the construction of the cloistral buildings, which must have been built in some form when the octagonal chapter house was buit in the first half of the thirteenth century, Fawcett, R., D. McRoberts and F. Stewart, *Inchcolm Abbey and Island*, (Edinburgh, 1998).
[57] Beauly was founded *c.*1230, although is has been suggested that construction began on the church buildings some decades before. Fawcett has suggested that the original plan was for a simple elongated rectangular church without structural division (transepts), Fawcett, R., *Beauly Priory and Fortrose Cathedral*, (Edinburgh, 1987), 5.

Argyll and Bute) were aisleless throughout their histories.[59] With the exception of the latter two, most of the aforementioned abbeys had a single aisle added to the nave at a later date, on the side opposite the cloister.[60] While a stone aisle was never added at Grey, there is evidence that a covered path or a timber aisle once existed in its place. A line of joist holes runs the length of the north wall below the stringcourse, placed at regular intervals [**Fig 5. 10**] (it is mirrored on the south wall). Like the north cloister walk, a pentice roof once covered a space the length of the nave along the exterior north wall, which provided protection from the elements when walking from transept to nave. Additionally, the covered path suggests it may have been erected to accommodate processions that required movement along the north side of the church.[61] Perhaps it was erected to perform as a sort of cheap substitute aisle, enclosed by a timber wall on the north side.

Both the north walk and north cloister walk were accessible from the nave through opposing doorways. The north doorway is round headed and chamfered externally with a hood moulding ending at square impost blocks [**Fig 5. 11**], while the southern one is chamfered and has a pointed arch. The northern arch appears to be a modern reconstruction due to the fact that the voussoirs are much crisper than the jamb stones. These opposing doorways probably provided access to the monks' choir from the north cloister walk, with a rood screen dividing the monks' choir from the lay choir, west of the doorways and the choir screen to the east.[62]

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[58] 'Ardchattan Priory (217)', *RCAHM, Argyll, 2, Lorn*, (HMSO, 1975).
[59] 'Saddell Abbey (296)', *RCAHMS, Argyll, 1, Kintyre,* (HMSO, 1971).
[60] *Ibid.*, 90.
[61] Two rows of putlog holes and a row of 'trenched corbel crackets' a course below the stringcourse (marking the base of the clerestory) evidently supported a pentice roof against the north wall of the nave. Stuart Harrison has suggested three explanations for the existence of this roof: a cover between the doorway in the east end of the nave and the west wall of the north transept; a substitute for a north aisle (although Harrison dismisses this assumption based on the fact that there is no western doorway in the north wall of the nave); and a galilee porch, a common feature, though not universal, in Cistercian churches (something similar is found at Furness), Harrison, 'Grey Abbey', 132-3. By the second half of the twelfth century there were just three major annual processions in a Cistercian monastery – Palm Sunday, Candlemas and Ascension Day, Robinson, D.B. and S. Harrison, 'Cistercian Cloisters in England and Wales, Part 1: Essay', *JBAA* 159 (1998), 138. For the liturgy associated with these, see *Les 'Ecclesiastica Officia' Cisterciens du XIIème Siècle*, eds. D. Choisselet and P. Vernet, Docuemntation Cistercienne, 22 (Reiningue, 1989), chapter 17 (Palm Sunday), chapter 29 (Ascension Day), chapter 47 (Candlemans). For more on the theme of processions, see Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings: Thirteenth Century English Cistercian Monasteries*, (Brepols, 2001), 58-61.
[62] For a discussion of rood screens in southeast Wales as a case study, see Tracy, C., 'Three Rood-Screens in South-East Wales', *Cardiff: Architecture and Archaeology in the Medieval Diocese of Llandaff*, (eds. J.R. Kenyon and D.M. Williams, (BAACT 29, Leeds, 2006), 161-201.

The height of the nave was reduced in either 1626 or 1685 when it was re-roofed for Protestant worship (it served as a parish church until 1778).[63] Neither was the reduction of the church nor the reuse of certain spaces after the dissolution unusual in Ireland. In 1754, Parson Owens covered the four western bays of the nave at Graiguenamanagh with a new roof for use as a Protestant Church. Then in 1813, the entire church was re-roofed to form the present Catholic Church.[64] Other changes to the nave at Grey include the insertion of seventeenth and eighteenth century tombs along the internal walls and a small window above the west doorway. The latter is ornamented externally with a pointed ogee head, itself probably fifteenth century in date. It was presumably coeval with the insertion of tracery in the chancel windows and the corbel table on the exterior. As mentioned above, the nave was altered in the seventeenth century for re-use as a parish church. In the west façade, this included the reconstruction of the west doorway as well as the gable. Harrison has noted that the coursing and block size are considerably different in the gable than they are in the rest of the façade. This is also noticeable around the small ogee window, which was probably originally fitted with a tall lancet. It is certainly possible that the window was *spolia*, inserted in its current location because the original lancet was either robbed or had deteriorated after the Dissolution.

Further damage to the nave occurred following the end of parish worship. By the early twentieth century the south wall of the nave was leaning outward at a dangerous angle. In order to save the wall from collapse, which would probably have brought down the tower with it, in 1908, the Commissioners of Public Works constructed several 'flying' buttresses.[65] While the buttresses are an unattractive addition, they have served their purpose and saved some interesting medieval features. One of these, hidden behind the

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[63] Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 245. See, also Archdall, *Mon. Hib.*, 120-1; Phillips, J.J., 'Grey Abbey Illustrated', *The Irish Builder*, 16 (1874), 196, 383, 385; Phillips, 'Grey Abbey, Co. Down', *The Irish Builder*, 17 (1975), 225, 287; O'Laverty, J., *An Historical Account of the Diocese of Down and Connor, Ancient and Modern*, (Dublin, 1880), 1: 433-40; *Reports of Commissioners of Public Work* (1908); Hamilton Thompson, A., A.W. Clapham and H.G. Leask, 'The Cistercian Order in Ireland', *Arch. J.*, 88 (1931), 17, 27; Gwynn and Hadcock, (1970), 134.

[64] It was during the1813 renovations that most of the arcading of the nave was removed, William, P. and J. O'Leary, *Graignamanagh Abbey, with Some Account of the Ancient Churches, Castles and Other Local Antiquities, Compiled from Authentic Sources*, (Graiguenamanagh, 1924), 14-15. 'There is evidence for activity at Corcomroe (Clare) in the early seventeenth century: In 1625, Daniel O'Griffy was appointed commendatory abbot and three years later John O'Dea, a monk of Salamanca, was likewise appointed abbot of Corcomroe', MacMahon, M., 'On a Fertile Rock: the Cistercian Abbey of Corcomroe', *The Other Clare*, 21 (1997), 22-31, cited in Stalley, R., 'Petra Fertilis: The Uncertain History of the Cistercian Church of Corcomroe', *Irish Art Historical Studies in Honour of Peter Harbison*, (Dublin, 2004), 179. 'A modest Cistercian revival took place at this time at Holycross (Tipperary), and it is possible that something similar occurred at Corcomroe', *ibid.*

[65] *76th Report of the Commissioners of Public Works* (1909), 71, cited in Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 280n7.

central buttress, is the remains of a 'collation seat' [**Fig 5. 12**]. The collation ceremony took place in the evening between *Vespers* and *Compline*. Two or three architectural features generally played a role in the service, the 'reader's bay', which usually projected into the cloister walk from the arcade to provide light for the reader; the bench along the nave wall upon which the monks sat; in the centre of which was the third feature, the 'abbot's seat'.[66] Collation seats are a rare survival, and the only other Irish example is found at Graiguenamanagh [see chapter seven]. 'The rarity of these stone seats suggests that in other monasteries the abbot's throne may not have been constructed with so much dignity as a permanent feature in masonry'.[67] Hamlin first pointed out the possible function of the seat, noting that the section of pointed arch and its badly weathered capitals were probably flanked by detached colonnettes (now missing).[68] Detached columns were employed in several doorways throughout the abbey – the west doorway, the south transept west doorway and possibly the doorway to the chapter house. The 'dignity' of a stone collation seat at Grey contrasts with the simplicity of the nave. However, when examined in the context of the surviving domestic buildings in the east and south ranges, as well as the fragments of cut stone *ex situ*, the fact that a stone collation seat was constructed is not surprising. The surviving cloister buildings at Grey are some of the most extensive at any Cistercian site in Ireland. The grandeur of the scale suggests a strong continuous source of income when building started, with a change in situation accounting for the simplicity of the nave and lack of surviving buildings from the west range. Perhaps this was a result of damage to monastic farmlands during the aforementioned troubles throughout the first quarter of the thirteenth century.[69] The truncation of the nave may also have been the result of the loss of patronage after the completion of the end of the church. This appears to have been the case at Pluscarden (Moray): once the choir and crossing were erected and

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[66] Gilyard-Beer listed six Cistercian houses in the British Isles with collation seats: Byland (Yorkshire) and Cleeve (Somerset), Melrose (Roxburghshire), Strata Florida (Cardiganshire) and Tintern (Monmouthshire) and Jerpoint (Kilkenny), Gilyard-Beer, R., 'Boxley Abbey and the *Pulpitum Collationis*', *Collectanea Historica: Essays in Memory of Stuart Rigold*, ed. A. Detsicas Hamlin, (Maidstone, 1981), 123-31; Hamlin, A., 'Collation Seats in Irish Cistercian Houses: Grey Abbey, County Down and Graiguenamanagh Abbey, County Kilkenny', *Med. Arch.*, 27 (1983), 156.

[67] Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 162.

[68] Hamlin, A., 'Collation Seats in Irish Cistercian Houses: Grey Abbey, County Down and Graiguenamanagh, County Kilkenny', *Med. Arch.*, 27 (1983), 136.

[69] The Cistercian system originally allocated business or financial dealings to either the abbot or the cellarer. In the twelfth century a division of powers took place which created a multitude of officials such as the sub-cellarer, bursars, the warden of the *camera* (identical to the warden of the rolls), porter, monk-baker, monk-cellarer, infirmarian, lay marshal, guest master, guest-house marshalry and the warden of granges, Knowles, D., *The Religious Orders of England*, 76. Other lists of offices include the abbot, cellarer, infirmarian, guest-master, novice-master, and door-keeper, Dreuill, M. de, *The Rule of St. Benedict and the Ascetic Traditions from Asia to the West*, 211-12. Additional offices include the almoner, cellarer, and infirmarian, Lawrence, C.H., *Medieval Monasticism*, 295-300.

roofed their founder, Alexander II, ceased his support of the complex.[70] In the thirteenth century, lay recruitment at Cistercian houses (and other monastic orders) declined in popularity with the foundation of the Friars. This would no doubt have impacted the amount of time and money the house was willing to spend on west end of the church and cloister, which would also explain the lack of surviving buildings from the west range.

While the church displays a great degree of Cistercian minimalism, particularly in comparison with Inch, it is not entirely devoid of ornamentation. The chancel is lit by a total of eight lancets [**Fig 5. 13**], six of which are located in the east wall. A double tier of graduated triplets line the east façade with a single smaller window in what would have been the gable. When two tiers of lancets were constructed the upper tier was often graduated in order to account for the vault.[71] This may also explain the later preference for gradated lancets, with smaller lights built above the vaults in order to provide light to the roof area. This type of articulation of a square ended façade is found in a number of northern buildings, such as the north transept of Beverley Minster (Yorkshire, *c.*1225-45),[72] the east end of the Augustinian priory at Hexham (Northumberland) [**Fig 5. 14**] and the east wall of the Cistercian abbey at Rievaulx (Yorkshire, 1220s) [**Fig 5. 15**]. Examples are also found at the smaller Augustinian churches of Brinkburn (Northumberland), with a series of three triplets (only the upper most are graduated) and Lanercost (Cumbria).[73] 'Within the context of English architecture from the mid-twelfth to the mid-thirteenth century, especially in the North, the usual feature for … an upper zone would be a second range of three tall windows, staggered in height to follow the roof or (rarely) the vault line'.[74] The windows at Grey are chamfered externally with rebates for glass, with stringcourses at the base of each sill (externally and internally) and continuous hood mouldings. The triplet of lancets in the south wall of the refectory is also chamfered externally and sits on a stringcourse, while the hood mouldings for each lancet are

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[70] *pers. comm.*, R. Oram.

[71] Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic*, 89.

[72] Substantial repairs were undertaken after a fire in 1181 but the collapse of the tower in 1213-15 caused a halt to building works. Draper has dated the reconstruction to the 1220s based on comparisons with Lincoln cathedral with the addition of an indulgence granted by the archbishop of York, Walter de Gray, in order to support building works in 1232, Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic*, 167. For a short study of the architecture of Beverley, see Johnson, M., 'New Clues to the Development of Beverley Minster', *Church Archaeology*, 7-9 (2006), 138-41.

[73] Summerson, H. and S. Harrison, *Lanercost Priory, Cumbria: a Survey and Documentary History*, (Kendal, 2000).

[74] 'Surviving examples from the period after Ripon are Hexham Priory and Whitby and Rievaulx Abbeys, all built between 1200 and 1230. Also from the beginning of this period is Tynemouth Priory, in which the choir aisles did not continue all the way to the east elevation', Hearn, M.F., 'Ripon Minster, The Beginning of the Gothic Style in Northern England', *TAPS*, ns 73:6 (1983), 17, 17n9.

individual. Internally the east windows are deeply splayed with keeled rolls on the rear arches [**Fig 5. 16**]. Continuous keel mouldings are also found in the transept chapels – probably matched in the west walls of the transepts (a single exterior jamb is visible on the exterior of the south transept) – and the chapter house windows (only a few stones survive above base level). The keel is also found in the chancel lancets at Inch, some continuous, others with capitals. As discussed above, the keel was a particularly common feature in northern English architecture.[75] One particularly important example is the use of the keel in the lancets of the chancel at St. Bees [**Fig 5. 17**]. It is worth remembering that both de Courcy and the Manx kings were generous patrons of the Cumbrian abbey.

The two Ulster foundations have a number of other features in common, such as the inclusion of stone fixtures in the chancel walls. At Grey this included a tomb niche in the north wall and a piscina in the south. Only the piscina is ornamented, with nook shafts, simple bases (possibly replacements) and bell capitals with square abaci [**Fig 5. 18**]. The remnants of very weathered arch moulding are still visible on the east side, and they may have been comparable to the outer order of the south transept west doorway (a triple roll also very badly worn) [**Fig 5. 19**]. This piscina is one of the earliest liturgical fixtures in Ireland, and in the Anglo-Norman context it was predated only by those at Fore (Meath, piscina and aumbry, *c.*1173-80) and Inch (*c.*1185-90). Most of the fittings at Inch have lost their architectural surrounds. A relieving arch and the basic shape of a pointed triple arcade – the cut stone having been systematically removed – are all that remains of the sedilia [**Fig 5. 20**]. Two undecorated niches appear in the north wall, a small ambry with segmental head and a larger opening with a soft pointed arch that may have been intended to serve as the tomb niche for its founder, although the later fate of Affreca and John de Courcy suggests that its original intention was never fulfilled. The piscina with segmental head, in the south wall, has been dated by Stalley to *c.*1200 but the moulding profiles in the transepts (discussed below) might suggest it belongs to a decade or so earlier.[76]

The transept chapel arches at Grey are supported on simple stepped piers with chamfered bases; barrel vaults over the chapels sat on solid dividing walls [**Fig 5. 21**].[77] The inner orders are chamfered with chamfer stops, also found on the outer order of the north

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[75] Bond, F., *An Introduction to English Church Architecture, from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Centuries*, 2 vols., (London, 1913), 1: 484.
[76] Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 199.
[77] Harrison arrived at a similar conclusion, however, without any comparative architectural parallel for the two-storey elevation other than the fact that there was little room in the elevation for more than a small clerestory window, Harrison, S., 'Grey Abbey', 128.

transept doorway. The original arcade into the chapels has long since disappeared but they can be reconstructed in one of two ways, based on the chamfered doorways in the nave and ornamentation elsewhere in the transept. The arches were either continuous in three orders or they were broken with plain bell capitals and square abaci. A possible model for the reconstruction of the arcade is found in the crossing and transept elevation at Fountains (Yorkshire) [**Fig 5. 22**].[78] The original crossing at Fountains, still visible behind the fourteenth century buttress in the southeast corner, had simple chamfered piers. It had a chamfered base and '... aligns with the bases that front the piers between the south transept chapels'.[79] Simple chamfers articulated the pointed arches and a stringcourse delineated the base of the clerestory, separating the two storeys of the elevation. The placement of the clerestory over the arches rather than over the piers, as found in many churches in Ireland, is supported by the fact that the chancel elevation at Downpatrick cathedral was built along more traditional lines. The remains of a single jamb in the west wall of the south transept at Grey and similar features in the north and west walls of the north transept at Inch (both with keeled roll mouldings) suggest that both houses had similar transept elevations.

Access to the transepts at Grey was provided through a number of doorways. The previously mentioned west doorway in the north transept which led to the covered walkway or aisle and a north doorway, or *porte des mortres*, providing access to the monks' cemetery. These doorways are also found at Boyle, Abbeyknockmoy, Dunbrody, Graiguenamanagh and Inch, all but the last being undecorated.[80] The south transept could be entered through a doorway in the south wall, via a vestry, and one in the west wall leading to the cloister walk. A spiral stairway is housed within a buttress in the south wall and projects slightly into the church [**Fig 5. 23**]. Although usually described as a night stair, Stalley has suggested that its narrow spiral form would have been '... unsuitable for wandering monks in the hours of darkness ...' and the stair was perhaps built to give access to the central tower.[81] However, narrow spiral stairways were often the only means by which upper storeys of castle towers were reached. The fact that many high-ranking

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[78] 'The arrival of Abbot Richard from Vauclair in 1150 possibly coincides with a change of plan for a segregated crossing with ribbed vault and tower ... ', Thurlby, M., 'The Crossing of Furness Abbey Church', *Perspective for an Architecture of Solitude*, 146.

[79] Thurlby, 'The Crossing of Furness Abbey Church', 140.

[80] Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 65. The north transept at Graiguenamanagh provided access to the tower and the monks' cemetery (consecrated in 1204), the latter through a *porte des mortres* in the north wall (now blocked). The open doorway is visible in an engraving in Grose's *Antiquities*, *ibid.*, 65.

[81] *Ibid.*, 66. Few stone night stairs remain *in situ*, but one is found in the West Country abbey of Tintern Major. At Graiguenamanagh two blocked doorways are found in the south wall of the south transept; a raised doorway probably gave access to the dormitory, via the night stair, while the ground level doorway lead to the sacristy.

ecclesiastics often found themselves in the company of military patrons means that their ability to navigate spiral stairs was a necessity.[82] Provided all the brethren were moving in the same direction, a single storey of spiral stairs were easily navigable. Spiral stairs are found in two of Scotland's most important monastic churches – Arbroath (Angus, post 1178) and St. Andrews (Fife, post 1160)[83] – as well as one at Kilwinning (Ayrshire, end of the twelfth century), which was probably derived from the example at Arbroath.[84] Additionally, a newel stair in the southeast corner of the transept at Tewkesbury (Gloucestershire) provided access to both the Norman gallery chapels and the dormitory.[85] Although Stalley's conclusion is worth acknowledgement, spiral night stairs were certainly employed at a number of churches.

The mural stair at Grey also gave access to the crossing tower, which was one of the first regular crossings in an Irish Cistercian monastery.[86] The original height of the tower is presently unknown, due to the fact that only short section of the north and west walls remain, but it was at least one storey above the chancel. The arches of the crossing are

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[82] Spiral stairways are provided in the main tower at Trim Castle (Meath), in one of the corner towers at Ferns (Wicklow), the circular keeps at Nenagh (Tipperary) and Dundrum (Down), and in the rectangular great tower at de Courcy's castle of Carrickfergus (Antrim), although some are admittedly wider than those at Grey. There is limited space for a second, straight stairway projecting from the south wall. The stairway (0.95 meters) is narrower by almost a full meter than the day stair (1.35 meters).

[83] Fergusson, P., 'The South Transept Elevation of Byland Abbey', 162 fig. 3, 168; Fergusson suggested that the church at Dundrennan abbey was largely rebuilt in the late twelfth century, Fergusson, P., 'The Late Twelfth Century Rebuilding at Dundrennan Abbey', *AJ*, 53 (1973), 232-43. However, Harrison has shown that building was of late twelfth century date and that anomalies were due to substantial restoration works, Harrison, S.A., 'The Early Gothic Church at Dundrennan Abbey', *JBAA*, 151 (1998), 137-48. In 1165, Ailred, Rievaulx's third abbot (1147-67), visited Dundrennan and was '… lodged in a crude hut because the conventual buildings were unfinished', suggesting that the building programme was active but incomplete, Powicke, F.M., *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx by Walter Daniel*, (London, 1950), 74-5, cited in Harrison, *op. cite.*, 137. Dundrennan church is an important example of Early Gothic in northern Britain and is the only large scale remains of a late twelfth century Cistercian church architecture in Scotland., *ibid.*, 137. The most important element of the elevation with respect to Grey is the twelve-shafted bundled pier, as it, '… relates to a type with a distinct history of development in Cistercian abbeys in Yorkshire after mid century …', Fergusson, *op. cit.*, 237. Fergusson described the development starting in the nave of Kirkstall (octofoils), developing in the west bays (dodecofoil), then Byland in the east bays of the presbytery and north transept (dodecafoils in use only over the period *c.*1165-75), *ibid.*, 238. Harrison agreed with Fergusson, where he drew attention to similarities in both design detail and overall appearance between Dundrennan and Cistercian churches in North Yorkshire. He went on to suggest that the '… majority of the detailing seems to be sourced from Byland …', but agreed that there are some similarities between the triforium at Roche and those at Dundrennan, Harrison, *op. cit.*, 146-7.

[84] Kilwinning was a Tironensian abbey, McAleer, J.P., 'Towards an Architectural History of Kilwinning Abbey', *PSAS*, 125 (1995), 35.

[85] The later chapter house was two storeys, but the west bay was probably only a single storey (vestibule) in order to allow access between the first floor doorway in the south transept and the dormitory. This type of vestibule is still visible at Bristol and Chester cathedrals, Morris, R.K. and R. Shoesmith, eds., *Tewkesbury Abbey, History, Art and Architecture*, (Herefordshire, 2003), 174-5

[86] Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 142.

supported on 'stubby' corbels [**Fig 5. 24**].[87] 'In the early days of the order, such corbels had been much favoured and they are one of the few features of the abbey that could be described as distinctively Cistercian'.[88] They can be paralleled at Inch, where a single conical corbel remains in the northeast corner of the blocked crossing [**Fig 5. 25**]. At Inch, the small shaft above the corbel is ornamented with a triplet of fillets, like the engaged-shafts of the crossing and nave piers. The fillets continue over the lip of the neck and taper into the cone. Additions to the crossing piers at Grey's mother house at Holm Cultram, indicated by the changing moulding profiles, suggest that a tower was added subsequent to the initial construction.[89] The base of the western pier indicates that it was designed to support alternating keeled and round shafts [**Fig 5. 26**].[90] The use of the keel is one of the few parallels that can be made between the mother and daughter churches. Another is the remains of the lower jambs and bases of the doorway or screen added at the entry to the choir of Holm Cultram in the early thirteenth century (addressed below). The alternating keeled and round shafts are comparable to the profile of the transept piers at Inch [**Fig 5. 27**], here with angle fillets between. The heavy additions to the piers suggest that the tower at Holm Cultram was added about the same time that the east ends of the two County Down houses were under construction, probably the last decade of the twelfth century.

The simple crossing piers at Grey, with the soffit supported on corbels and the arches themselves extending from corbelled pilasters, are not without parallel and one precedent is found in the mid-twelfth century church at Buildwas (Shropshire), where corbels support the arches leading to the transepts [**Fig 5. 28**].[91] Those leading to the nave and chancel sit against corbelled pilasters. A slightly more complex version of this is found in the crossing at Furness (1127-1170) [**Fig 5. 29**], significant because it was Inch's mother house.[92] These probably belonged to the first church, and were not replaced during the later reconstruction (probably hindered by the presence of the tower). It is possible that the

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[87] Stalley has pointed out their similarity to those in the mid-fifteenth century crossing tower of Holycross, *ibid.*, 94.

[88] 'English houses also used one of the simplest of all capitals, the 'hollow bell', which, as Bilson explained, was a kind of Corinthianesque capital, minus the leaves. It is characteristic of the early Cistercian abbeys of France – Fontenay and Pontigny, for example. Although the type was adopted in England, it was never universal in Ireland. Apart from isolated examples at Boyle, they were used extensively only in the early thirteenth century, when they appear at Dunbrody, Grey and Inch', *ibid.*, 122, 188.

[89] Harrison, 'The Architecture of Holm Cultram Abbey', 251-2.

[90] When construction was begun on the early Gothic nave, the crossing tower was reinforced with at least two additional shafts, needed to support the weight of the tower when it was raised over the crossing. Later commentators indicate that the tower rose to 19 fathoms, *Reg. Rec. Holm Cultram*, 178, cited in Harrison, *op. cit.*, 251-2.

Savigniac connection was instrumental in the dissemination of this feature, which was also incidentally found at the Savigniac house at Calder (1134, Cumbria). Another northern example is found in the crossing at Rievaulx, dated to between *c.*1200 and 1250. Corbels and corbelled pilasters were generally employed in the crossings of Cistercian churches in order to make room for the choir stalls (which often extended into the first or second bay of the nave), which would have disrupted continuous shafts.

Above the crossing arch in the north wall at Grey are a series of chamfered 'springers' set at regular intervals [**Fig 5. 30**]. Harrison has suggested that there would have been at least eight of these running the width of the wall and that they '... were provided as articulation for a ribbed barrel vault'.[93] It is strange that the transverse ribs have survived while there is no evidence for any masonry filling. It is also very difficult to discern in which direction the tooling on these corbels goes because of the weathering along the bed plane, but there does appear to be some diagonal tooling. However, two details might suggest a fifteenth century date. The first is that no sandstone appears to be employed in these upper corbels, while sandstone is found in the corbels of the crossing arches. The second is that it would be unlikely that the original design of the church called for a vault over the crossing but none over the chancel. However, the addition of a vault over the crossing in the fifteenth century, when other additions were made to the church including the tracery in the chancel windows and the exterior corbel table, would be consistent with the addition of towers to other Irish churches in the same century.[94] It would seem most likely that a tower vault dates to the fifteenth century rather than the twelfth. However, the problem is that there are no parallels for barrel vaults with transverse ribs of fifteenth century date. What Harrison and other scholars have failed to notice is the chamfer of the springers taper on the diagonals. What was the purpose of the tapering? It is possible that they were inserted pieces from another feature, but what that might be is decidedly unclear. The most likely is that they were taken from the springers of the ribs from a vault, such as those that supported the rere-dorter or sacristy. They were probably separated from a series of five or eight springers (central column or wall springer) that when together, the angle chamfers would have tapered into each other. The insertion of the corbels into the tower may have been for the purpose of supporting a feature, such as a rood loft or, perhaps, more likely,

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[91] Robinson, D.M., *Buildwas Abbey*, (English Heritage, London, 2002).
[92] Thurlby, 'The Crossing of Fountains Abbey Church', 137-146.
[93] Harrison, 'Grey Abbey', 125-6.
[94] Vaults were added under the fifteenth century towers at Jerpoint, Kilkenny Cathedral (*c.*1460-78) and Holycross Cistercian abbey (Tipperary). For a general picture of vaulting and crossing towers in Irish Cistercian houses, see Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 135-139, 144-152.

the undercroft of an organ loft, usually place over the choir screen.[95] A fifteenth century roof loft was added when the tower at Ross Errilly (Cork) was built in 1498.

At Grey, the plain pier forms in the transepts, the simple continuous keel mouldings of the lancets and the plain corbels and soffit mouldings of the crossing arches all reflect a Cistercian minimalism. This simplicity is not necessarily reflected in the scale of the remaining domestic buildings. The cloister itself no longer stands but Harrison has suggested two possible reconstructions of a thirteenth century arcade from *ex situ* fragments [**Fig 5. 31**]. Two broken single bases, derived from paired bases for twin shafts, are found in the stone store, one with a circular sub-base, and the other with an octagonal sub-base. These suggest the possibility that the cloister colonnade was alternating. This type of syncopation was employed in the cloister garth at Rievaulx, there alternating between pairs of circular and octagonal colonnettes, with a four-shaft group in the corner (late 1160s).[96] Voussiors and a springer for an arcade supported by single shafts also survive in the stone collection at Grey, which Harrison suggested, came from the north nave exterior aisle [**Fig 5. 32**].[97] While some 300 pieces of cut stone were collected around the site, most are from doorways, windows and vaulting schemes of the chapter house, day room and presbytery. Harrison based some of his conclusions on very limited evidence and without further proof they ought to be treated as hypothetical or speculative. He also tended to view everything in Ireland through the lens of his extensive knowledge of northern English architecture. However, while certain comparisons with northern England are no doubt plausible, it is important to remember that the level of economic productivity in Ireland was nowhere near what it was in England. Based on the relative wealth of Irish abbeys, the funds were not available for the same scale of building programmes that were managed in England. Furthermore, there has been no archaeology conducted at Grey and several other alternative possibilities present themselves for the location of a single shafted arcade, such as a wall arcade or parts of a sedilia, or even two

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[95] Choir screens survive at the Benedictine houses of Canterbury (Kent), Rochester (Kent), Malmesbury (Wiltshire) and Norwich (Norfolk), at the Augustinian houses of Carlisle (Cumbria), Hexham (Northumberland) and Bolton (Lancashire) and the Cistercian house of Melrose (Roxburghshire), Bond, F., *Screens and Galleries in English Church*, (Oxford, 1908), 161. Organ lofts survive at Lees (Yorkshire), Hubberholme (Yorkshire), Flamborough (Yorkshire), Hexham (Northumberland) and Darlington (Durham), Bond, F.B. and D.B. Camm, *Roodscreens and Roodlofts*, 2 vols., (London, 1909), 1: 90; For further discussion of screens and lofts, see Harrison, H.A., *Roodlofts and Their Remnants in our Church, including Dorset*, (Gurnsey, 1973); Wheeler, R., *The Medieval Church Screens of the South Marches*, (Herefordshire, 2006).

[96] Robinson, D.M. and S. Harrison, 'Cistercian Cloisters in England and Wales', *JBAA*, 159 (2006), 141.

[97] Harrison suggested that the single shafted arcade supported the pentice roof of the north 'galilee' porch, Harrison, 'Grey Abbey', 156-7.

different arcade types in the cloister. Perhaps the west cloister arcade differed from the east, north and south ones, due to its location opposite the lay ranges. Harrison's reconstruction of the stone arcade outside the north nave wall ignored several other possibilities. The first is that there are other examples of north nave extension, such as an aisle; the Irish Cistercian house at Monasteranenagh (Limerick) has an added aisle.[98] The north nave aisle at Grey could well have been constructed in timber, and Harrison does not consider this as a possibility, and was probably enclosed with a wall, not an arcade. Much of the elaboration in the monastic complex focuses on the east and south cloister ranges, not the north side of the church, which bordered the monk's cemetery, even the north transept doorways are less complex. In addition, there are several examples of English cloister arcades that have a syncopated architectural rhythm, alternate between single and paired columns.[99] The excavated fragments of the cloister arcade from Waverley Cistercian abbey (Surrey dated to *c.*1180) suggest just such an arrangement, with alternating twin circular columns and single octagonal ones.[100] Here, offering another possibility for the location of a singular columnar arcade.

The east side of the cloister is the location of one of the finest chapter houses in Ireland.[101] It was divided into twelve bays by two rows of three piers each. Hamlin and Harrison recorded both circular (visitors centre) [**Fig 5. 33**] and octagonal (re-erected) piers when a detailed analysis of architectural fragments was undertaken. The original arrangement may have resembled the chapter house at Buildwas were the vault is carried on alternating octagonal and cylindrical piers, with corbel responds [**Fig 5. 34**].[102] Alternation appears to have been a theme in the cloister of Grey; it is also suggested that the arcade in the undercroft of the rere-dorter had a syncopated rhythm of octagonal and cylindrical

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[98] *pers. comm.*, Stalley.

[99] The cloisters at Winchester Cathedral, the Hôspital Saint-Jean at Angers, Canterbury Cathedral, Glastonbury Abbey and Durham Cathedral all employ a mix of single and paired supports, Harrison, S., 'Benedictine and Augustinian Cloister Arcades of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries in England, Wales and Scotland', *JBAA*, 159 (2006), 107-8.

[100] Robinson and Harrison, 'Cistercian Cloisters in England and Wales', 145; Brakspear, H., *Waverley Abbey*, (Guildford, 1905), 35-37.

[101] The chapter house measures 10.67 x 8.64 meters (35' x 28'4"), Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 164.

[102] Coppack, G., *Fountains Abbey: the Cistercians in Northern England*, (Stroud, 2003). The first timber buildings were constructed in late summer 1133, stone work commenced in 1136 and a major rebuilding campaign began after the fire of 1146, Coppack, G., 'Fountains Abbey: Archaeological Research Directed by Conservation and Presentation', *Monastic Archaeology: Papers on the Study of Medieval Monasteries*, eds. G.D. Keevill, M. Aston, T. Hall, (Oxford, 2001), 175; Fergusson, P. and S.A. Harrison, 'The Rievaulx Abbey Chapter House', *AJ*, 74 (1994), 211-55.

columns.[103] '... The north side of the building was carried on an open row of large arches, a common design for rere-dorters, which can also be seen in more complete form at Byland [Yorkshire], Jervaulx and Fountains'.[104] A comparable vaulted space is found in the undercroft of the abbot's lodge at Byland, dated to between 1165-77. Byland was a daughter house of Furness and although founded in 1134 it moved a number of times in forty-three years before settling at its permanent home in 1177. Harrison has argued that much of the buildings date to just prior to the arrival of the monks, who were at Stocking until then. Stocking was a temporary site used by the community until sufficient progress was made on the construction of the abbey.[105]

Like Buildwas, the vault responds in the chapter house were supported against the walls on corbels. Those at Grey were similar to the corbels in the crossing, with simple conical bases, short semicircular shaft and bell capitals.[106] The fact that the corbels resemble those in the crossing suggests that the chapter house was coeval with the crossing and transepts and not the chancel, particularly since the mouldings change from keel in the east windows to fillets in the doorway. Although Buildwas is a West Country building, the initial construction campaign at the church (*c.*1150-60) was marked by a formal austerity that has parallels with contemporary Yorkshire abbeys, particularly Rievaulx and the transepts at Fountains.[107] The chapter house, on the other hand, displays a tendency to give way to a more architecturally resplendent style, just as it had occurred in the north.[108] The chapter house at Jervaulx has a similar layout to Grey, measuring 14.63 x 10.67 meters, and design, with twelve bays subdivided by octagonal piers (re-assembled). The east range was reconstructed after a fire that damaged the church and must of the east, south and west ranges. Work on the chapter house seems to have been completed by 1170 when Abbot Richard III was buried there.[109] Byland is also noteworthy for the similar arrangement within its chapter house, only here it has nine bays rather than twelve.

The much-weathered bases of the chapter house doorway at Grey consist of a continuous chamfered sub-base with moulded bases that alternate between major and minor orders of

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[103] Although none survived *in situ*, fragments revealed octagonal bases for round piers and a tall moulded octagonal capital, Harrison, 'Grey Abbey', 144.
[104] *Ibid.*, 148. Unlike those of the chapter house at Grey, the ribs here are chamfered but do have a tapering rear tail, Harrison, *ibid.*, 144.
[105] Harrison, S., *Byland Abbey*, (English Heritage, 1999), 24-7.
[106] Harrison, 'Grey Abbey', 142-3.
[107] Fergusson, *The Architecture of Solitude*, 92.
[108] *Ibid.*, 92.
[109] *Mem. F.*, 1:132, Fergusson, *op.cit.*, 41.

overhanging rolls [**Fig 5. 35**]. The fact that the rolls on the base overhang the plinth might suggest a date of *c.*1230-40 for the doorway. This type of overhang is found in the nave of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin and the choir at Cashel.[110] Due to the fact that the lancets in the east bay of the chapter house have keeled rolls like the choir, the doorway was probably a later replacement. It certainly appears to postdate the west doorway. Harrison has suggested that the major bases supported detached filleted shafts while the minor ones supported filleted roll mouldings.[111] It is certainly possible that the minor shafts were filleted, as it appeared under examination that the fillets were carried onto the bases. However, even if the major bases are filleted, the detached shafts were unlikely to have been so. There are very few examples of detached, filleted shafts, one of the only examples in Ireland is found on the Romanesque south doorway at Drumacoo (Galway). There are certainly no examples of detached, filleted shafts in the early Gothic Anglo-Norman foundations in Ireland. Neither of the two standing doorways at Grey (south transept and west doorway) gives any indication that their detached shafts were filleted. In addition, Harrison's hypothesised reconstruction illustrates two sets of annulets on the major orders, without giving any indication of evidence [**Fig 5. 36**].[112] While mid-shaft rings are common features in early Gothic architecture, neither surviving doorway at Grey has them, nor are there annulets in any of the lancets, nor any that can be found in the stone collection. Where annulets are employed in doorways they are usually only mid-shaft rings, multiple examples are generally only found on tall lancets and vault shafts. This is again a case of Harrison's 'reconstruction' being based on very limited evidence, producing drawings based on the far more affluent Yorkshire abbeys.

The south transept west doorway [**Fig 5. 37**], or more likely the west doorway, is what should be examined for a possible reconstruction of the chapter house doorway. The south transept doorway is composed of two orders with a pointed arch. The outer order had a detached shaft (now lost) on a plain moulded base with a simple bell capital and square abacus. The inner order is somewhat different, with a triple engaged shaft on a moulded triple base and a triple bell capital under a single square abacus [**Fig 5. 38**]. It is significant that the inner order is similar in both south transept and west doorways [**Fig 5. 39**]. The comparisons would indicate that the construction period on the nave was relatively short, also suggested by the short, single celled space of the nave. Each of the three orders in the

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[110] *pers. comm.*, Stalley.

[111] Three uncovered voussoirs have led Harrison to suggest that the arch was pointed and that the minor orders were continuous, Harrison, 'Grey Abbey', 138.

[112] *Ibid.*, 138.

south nave doorway at Valle Crucis (Denbighshire) is composed of a similar triple roll, with square abaci on stylised foliage capitals [**Fig 5. 40**]. The abbey was founded by the Welsh prince of Powys Fadog, Madog ap Gruffudd Maelor, in 1201 and other design elements are also paralleled at Grey, such as the fact that each transept has two chapels and the east wall is lit with a double row of lancets. Although the abbey lies not in the north of England, the north of Wales certainly has the geographical proximity to explain the comparisons.

Returning to the west doorway at Grey, the three outer orders have detached nook shafts separated by dogtooth on the chamfer [**Fig 5. 41**]. The moulded capitals are further elaborated with dogtooth ornament and some are embellished with foliage, with a series of filleted rolls and hollows around the arch (the second order is elaborated with dogtooth) [**Fig 5. 42**]. There are a number of doorways in northern England that offer very interesting parallels, the doorway in the southwest end of the nave of Jervaulx (1180s) being one such example [**Fig 5. 43**].[113] Moulded capitals top detached nook shafts separated by large dogtooth on the chamfer plane, with smaller dogtooth ornament in the arch of the middle order. The inner order is also differentiated much like the doorway at Grey. The most strikingly similar doorway is found in the north transept of St. Augustine's, Hedon (Yorkshire) [**Fig 5. 44**]. The town received its seigneurial borough status when the Count of Aumale, William le Gros, obtained its first charter from Henry II (*c.*1167/70).[114] Construction on the east end of the church belongs to the period *c.*1180-1250. The church has a number of affinities with Grey, including the articulation of the east façade, lit with three rows of triple lancets, only two of which are graduated. It is the doorways, though, that are the key to the connection between the two sites, in fact, the doorway at Hedon is so similar, that is would not be surprising if a mason at Grey had also worked in Yorkshire. Three nook shafts of detached columns sit on moulded bases and the capitals are heavily moulded above the bell. Each of these is separated by large dogtooth on the chamfer plane. The inner order, like that at Grey, is composed of a triple roll. The arch mouldings, too, are very similar to those at Grey, with a triple roll (the central one filleted) on the inner order, the second and fourth orders are composed of twin shafts separated by dogtooth and the third order is a triple shaft, the central one being filleted, separated by hollows.

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[113] The church was largely rebuilt *c.*1180-1200; atypically construction began with the nave and worked east. Construction of the east bays of the nave, transepts and chancel began in the 1190s, Robinson, D. *Cistercian Abbeys of Britain, Far from the Concourse of Man*, (London, 1998), 128.

[114] Hayfield, C. and T. Slater, *The Medieval Town and Hedon, Excavations 1975-76*, (Humberside, 1984), 3.

There has been some discussion about the possibility that the west doorway was moved to its current location during early restorative efforts. This is based on the fact that Phillips recorded, 'this doorway, till the year 1842, was very much ruined, when the proprietor had the fragments collected and rebuilt as far as possible in their original position; its centre is now somewhat distorted'.[115] When considering the original location for this elaborate doorway, only two suggest themselves: the entrance to the refectory (now lost) or its current location. At present the north wall of the refectory is only a few courses high and the entrance from the cloister has a simple roll moulding (possibly a modern fabrication). Harrison has postulated that two loose fragments, a voussoir and a springer, might have formed a blind arcade, or laver, along the exterior wall of the refectory [**Fig 5. 45**]. If this was a laver arcade, each pointed arch probably measured *c.*2.5-3.0 meters. With the north façade of the refectory measuring *c.*11 meters (within the buttresses), this allowed for a series of four arches, one being the doorway. The present north doorway is off centre and might in fact indicate the location of the original, which would have been off centre if it were part of a series of four arches. An elaborate laver arcade is found on the exterior of the refectory at Rievaulx [**Fig 5. 46**], composed of a series of at least six blind arches here and the doorway is off-centre. There are examples of free standing lavers, and Mellifont is one of them, but with the emergence of the '... preferred Cistercian refectory orientation ...', north-south, it was more common for lavers to be placed in '... recesses positioned within the façade of the northern refectory wall ...'.[116] If the laver for the abbey was located on the exterior wall of the refectory at Grey, with a series of blind arches, then space would not have allowed for the insertion of a doorway in four orders. Harrison's reconstruction of a possible laver arcade is again based on a single springer and voussoir, and should be regarded as hypothesis. He also suggested that the west doorway may have been moved from the refectory entrance, but acknowledged that there is no positive evidence. I think it unlikely that the north façade of the refectory should be reconstructed with both a single wall arcade for the laver and a moulded doorway in four orders. The wording of Phillips description certainly suggests that the doorway was in it current location in the nineteenth century. There is no reason to doubt the fact that the west façade of the church was built with an elaborate west doorway. In addition, it is more plausible for the south transept doorway resembled the west doorway and not the refectory doorway, especially considering the fact that the chapter house doorway is somewhat later in date.

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[115] Phillips, J.J., *St. Mary's of Grey Abbey, County Down, Ireland, as Existing in the Year AD 1874*, (Belfast, 1874), 15 fn, cited in Harrison, 'Grey Abbey', 134.
[116] Robinson, D.M. and S. Harrison, 'Cistercian Cloisters in England and Wales, *JBAA*, 159 (2006), 154.

Inch Abbey

The overt austerity required by Cistercian minimalism was certainly employed in the church at Grey; however, the standing buildings in the east and south ranges tell a somewhat different story. Grey has some of the largest domestic buildings in Ireland, which seems to suggest that more attention was lavished on the claustral ranges relative to the church. The standing remains at Inch reveal almost the opposite story.[117] However, it is difficult to say this with certainty as none of the domestic ranges survive above foundations. Having said this, the size of the claustral building at Inch was significantly smaller than those at Grey. Inch was established on the site of an early Irish monastery (sixth or seventh century) called *Inis Cumhscraidh*.[118] Aerial photography has revealed the outside earthen banks of the earlier settlement.[119] Until 1745 the abbey was situated on an island surrounded partly by marshes and partly by waters of the River Quoile.[120] Dredging of the river in 1934 revealed a '... sizeable oyster bed at the time the salt water ebbed and flowed past the Abbey ...', indicating that the monks probably enjoyed oysters in their diet.[121] The monastery was endowed with a meagre sixteen townlands, in comparison to the forty-seven that de Courcy had lavished upon the monks at Chester for the establishment of a Benedictine priory at the cathedral in Down.[122] Some uncertainty surrounds the exact foundation date at Inch. *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey* recorded the establishment on 3 June 1180 but the Cistercian tabulae states that the site was settled some seven years later, in 1187.[123] It is likely that the former marks the date of the foundation charter and the latter the arrival of the monks from Furness. A dispute that arose between the abbeys of Furness and Combe may have something to do with the delayed settlement. The argument concerning the possession of 'Iniscourcy' (another

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[117] Foley, C., 'Preliminary Report on Archaeological Work in the River Quoile at Inch Abbey', *Lecale Miscellany*, 12 (1994), 40-5; McRobert, J., 'Inch Abbey', *Lecale Miscellany*, 9 (1991), 66-70.; Leask, H.G., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings II*, (reprint 1990), 6, 15, 47-9.; Gwynn and Hadcock, 135.; Stalley, *The Cistercians Monasteries of Ireland*, (1987), *passim*.; Hamlin, A., 'A Recently Discovered Enclosure at Inch Abbey, County Down', *UJA*, 3rd series, 40 (1977), 85-87.

[118] During his initial invasion of Ulster, de Courcy destroyed the Savigniac foundation at Erenagh, or Carrick (Down). In reparation he founded the abbey of Inch as a daughter house of Furness (Furness had been the motherhouse of the abbey at Erenagh), which by this time had become Cistercian. The Latin of this text was given by *Reeves*, 232-3, who suggested that it was probably written by Jocelin, a monk of Furness, having come to Ireland in 1180, Gwynn and Hadcock, 37.

[119] Hamlin, 'Enclosure at Inch Abbey'; Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 39.

[120] In 1745 the first floodgates were built, McRobert, 'Inch Abbey', 66; Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 38.

[121] McRobert, 'Inch Abbey', 70.

[122] The 1306 taxation valued the abbey of at £10 19s 4d, McRobert, 'Inch Abbey', 68.

[123] *Coucher Book, Furness*, 1: 12; MacNoicaill, *Na Manaigh Liatha*, 5, 12, Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 264 n63. Gwynn and Hadcock have suggested that the monks from the destroyed house at Erenagh were given the new house in 1180, with monks sent over from England to strengthen the community and aid in the construction of the monastery in 1187, Gwynn and Hadcock, 135.

name for Inch) was settled in favour of the former in 1183.[124] The bishop of Down, Malachy III, confirmed Adam as the first abbot of 'Innis-courci' and the monks of Furness 'insulam Uensiri' for the purposes of building a monastery.[125] In the same year (1183) the abbot, E of Ynes, witnessed de Courcy's charter to the cathedral at Down.[126] This would certainly suggest that the community was in residence by 1183. A delay between the initial foundation grant and the arrival of the colony was not an unusual arrangement. This was the case with another daughter house of Furness, Byland, where the lay brothers began construction of the abbey prior the arrival of the monks in 1177.[127] The fact that the abbot of Inch was in Ireland in 1183, as witness to de Courcy's charter, suggests that the community was already settled, if not already in the process of constructing their abbey.

Like Grey, the church was laid out on the 'Bernardine' or 'Fontenay' plan with a rectangular chancel, probably covered with an openwork timber roof, two chapels per transept and an aisled nave [**Fig 5. 47**].[128] Unlike Grey, the east wall at Inch had a single row of triple graduated lancets, although like its neighbour the rear arches of the flanking lights are ornamented with continuous keeled rolls. The central lancet (measuring just over seven meters in height, 61cm higher than the adjacent lights) has bell capitals ornamented with very weathered dogtooth around the abacus, sitting atop a slender coursed colonnette flanked by hollows [**Fig 5. 48**].[129] Externally, the lancets are chamfered and have rebates for wooden framed glass windows. In France, *c.*1180, there developed a new technique for setting the glass into the windows with iron armatures rather than wooden frames. Previous to this, glass was set within a wooden armature and in that way attached to the window rebate.[130] The lack of glazing grooves at Inch definitely suggests an earlier date, if not as early as *c.*1185 at least by the last decade of the twelfth century.[131]

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[124] *Coucher Book, Furness*, 2: 715-6. Dugdale records the abbey of Inys or Iniscourcy as a cell to Furness, Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.*, 5: 257-8.
[125] *Diocese of Lancashire Charters,* no. 310 (box 1).
[126] Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.,* 2: 1020-2, Gwynn and Hadcock, 135.
[127] Harrison, *Byland Abbey, North Yorkshire*, 1. 'Early Cistercian sites were not places of vast solitude – Hood, Old Byland, Stocking (Oldstead), New Byland, and Fors – but were proved to be either too restricted for the construction of abbey buildings or too near another monastery', Burton, J.E., *The Foundation History of the Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx*, (York, 2006), 19, 34-5.
[128] Hewett, C.A., *English Cathedral Carpentry*, (London, 1974). For timber buildings in an Irish context, see Lyons, C., 'Dublin's Oldest Roof? The Choir of St. Patrick's Cathedral', *Medieval Dublin VII: Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium 2005*, ed. S. Duffy, (Dublin, 2006), 177-213 and Wallace, P.F., 'Carpentry in Ireland, AD 900-1300: the Wood Quay evidence', *National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Archaeological Series*, ed. S. McGrail, 7 (1982), 263-99.
[129] Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings,* 2: 48.
[130] Fergusson, *Architecture of Solitude*, 63.
[131] Above the triplet are the remains of the lower part of a deeply splayed (gable) window. Both internally and externally a stringcourse appears at the base of the gable window, marking a horizontal distinction

It is the moulding profiles of the arcade piers and corbels in the transepts that help to date the abbey church to the late twelfth century. Although in general terms, the transepts follow a similar plan to those at Grey, internally their articulation is quite different. Where at Grey the piers between the chapels are stepped chamfered blocks separated by solid dividing walls, those at Inch are octofoil, having alternating keeled (on the cardinal faces) and round shafts [**Fig 5. 49**]. Additionally, at Grey the chapels are covered by pointed barrel vaults, those at Inch had ribbed vaults [**Fig 5. 50**]. Rib vaults were also constructed over the transept chapels of the southern Anglo-Norman foundations at Dunbrody and Graiguenamanagh.[132] The central wall respond in the north transept reflects the moulding profile of the arcade piers, keeled shafts alternating with cylindrical shafts and separated by angle fillets [**Fig 5. 51**]. Wall responds with triple shafts are a common type and is found in some of the earliest Gothic architecture in the North, such as the south choir aisle of Ripon Minster (Yorkshire) and the north choir aisle of Byland, also with central keeled capital [**Fig 5. 52**]. While the use of the keel at Grey is limited to lancets, the inner order of the south transept doorway is composed of a triple roll, separated by angle fillets [**Fig 5. 53**], much like the wall respond at Inch.

Fergusson has studied the possible origin for the distinctive keeling found first in England at Roche Abbey in the 1170s. A few isolated examples of similar pier are found in the north of France, at Soissons (Aisne), Lucheux (Somme, *c.*1150-60) and in the west bay at Berteaucourt-les-Dames (Somme). The pier profile as it is found at Dommartin (Pas-de-Calais, *c.*1140-63) [**Fig 5. 54**], was '... much favoured by the Cistercians in northern England'.[133] Examples include piers in the presbytery and north transept at Byland (1177-*c.*1195) [**Fig 5. 55**].[134] By the 1180s, the clustered keeled pier had spread to a number of abbeys in the North and in Scotland: the transepts of Dundrennan (early 1180s), Jervaulx,[135] Holm Cultram,[136] St. Andrews Cathedral [**Fig 5. 56**], the nave of Arbroath and

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between the larger lower windows. This type of horizontal delineation was noted in the east wall of Grey as well.

[132] Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 135.

[133] Bony illustrates the piers at Roche Abbey and Dommartin, 'French Influences on the Origins of English Gothic Architecture', *JWCI*, 12 (1949), 1-15; Fergusson, P., 'Roche Abbey: The Source and Date of the Eastern Remains', *JBAA*, 34 (1971), 37. For further illustrations see also Fergusson, P., 'The South Transept Elevation of Byland Abbey', *JBAA*, 38 (1975), 162 fig. 3; Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 95. The origin of the pier type in Ulster was first pointed out by Leask in the second volume of his *Irish Churches and Monastic Houses*.

[134] Fergusson, *op. cit.*, 169. Also noted by Stalley, *op. cit.*, 95.

[135] Hoey, L., 'Pier Design in Early Gothic Architecture in South-East Scotland, *c.* 1170-1250', *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St. Andrews*, ed. J. Higgitt (BAACT, 1996 for 1994), 84-98; Fergusson, P., 'Roche Abbey: The Source and Date of the Eastern Remains', *JBAA*, 34 (1971), 35.

[136] Harrison, 'Architecture of Holm Cultram Abbey', 250 fig. 11.

the nave of Jedburgh (Scottish Borders, *c.*1180). Jedburgh has been described by Alexander has having a certain Cistercian flavour.[137] The proliferation of keeled shafts in northern England and southern Scotland occurred between the 1170s and the 1190s. Thereafter, it was replaced by the roll and fillet, which suggest that both the east end of Inch and Grey (and east windows of the chapter house), as well as the crossing at Carrickfergus [**Fig 5. 57**] were confined to the aforementioned period. Construction on the church at Inch was probably begun *c.*1185, after the dispute was settled in 1183. This would confine work on the transepts to the 1190s if not a little earlier. The chancel at Carrickfergus was begun *c.*1178-80 (see chapter four), which places the construction of the crossing in around 1185-95, contemporary with the construction of the transepts at Inch. While it may not be that de Courcy personally overlooked the construction at any of his religious foundations, the pattern of architectural articulation suggests that his benefaction was a key factor in the introduction of northern Gothic styles into Ulster. The fact that the keel moulding is found only in northern Irish Gothic is telling of the distinctive influence from the north of England. The transition from keeled to filleted rolls is noteworthy in both Inch and Grey; at the former it occurs in the crossing piers, where they abut the transept piers, at the latter it is in the chapter house doorway and west doorway of the nave. The roll-and-fillet was employed in much of William the Englishman's work at Canterbury Cathedral, 1179-84 and occurred more widely after *c.*1200.[138] It was probably at the turn of the century that work was underway on the crossing piers at Inch and the nave and cloister at Grey.

The fillet was also employed in the north transept doorway, or *porte des mortres*, at Inch [**Fig 5. 58**]. The three orders are composed of a triple roll (the central roll is filleted) separated by angle fillets, an angle roll and a chamfer with a chamfer stop. The inner order of the west doorway at Grey is similar, without angle fillets [**Fig 5. 59**]. What is even more important is that the 'west doorway' at Inch [**Fig 5. 60**], which has been proposed as the original west doorway, moved to its current location when the church was contracted, has the same profile.[139] The similarity between the two doorways suggests that the 'west

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[137] Alexander suggests that the local Cistercian monastery, established at Vaudey after 1147 from Fountains, is the possible source of the clustered pier at Bardney, although at Vaudey the piers are composed of sixteen shafts, Alexander, J.S., 'Bardney Abbey, Lincolnshire: Benedictine with a Cistercian Flavour', *Perspectives on the Architecture of Solitude*, 305, 304 fig. 2.

[138] Morris, 'An English Glossary of Medieval Mouldings, 8.

[139] This consisted of blocking off the chancel from the transepts and enclosing the new building only to the first bay of the nave, where a thirteenth century doorway was inserted. It has been suggested that the remodelling was forced on the community by the collapse of the tower, given that the western crossing piers were largely destroyed, Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 54.

doorway' came from an earlier phase of construction, particularly when examined against the 'squashed' filleted rolls of the nave piers. There are several possible original locations for this doorway and these include both the south transept doorway to the cloister and the chapter house doorway. A very weathered base is found in the northeast corner of the chapter house, which may imply that it was at one point elaborated with some architectural detailing (even a wall arcade); this could have included a moulded doorway. The fact that the *porte des mortres* and the 'west doorway' have the same profile implies that they probably came from building works that were under way at the same time. Opposing doorways with the same profile would have sat beautifully in the symmetry of the transept articulation, but the chapter house cannot be discounted as a possible original location.

A style change occurred at the east crossing, where the octofoil piers of the transept are coursed with a 'reduced pier' on the east face [**Fig 5. 61**]. The eastern crossing piers have engaged triple filleted shafts on the west faces with single filleted rolls in the diagonals. 'Reduced piers' are found in many Irish churches but are mainly employed in parish church architecture in England; they take the form of a rectangular pier block with minimal or no architectural articulation. Those at Graiguenamanagh [**Fig 5. 62**] are simple chamfered rectangular blocks with corbels supporting the soffit mouldings. Other examples include the south transept of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin and the nave of Mellifont II [**Fig 5. 63**].[140] Another change occurs in the west crossing piers at Inch (only the south side remains complete to a few courses); in place of the coursed octofoil piers on the transept face, the aisle face of the southwest pier has a 'squashed' filleted roll in the extended corner [**Fig 5. 64**]. The coursing of the western crossing pier is such that it is possible the squashed rolls were added at a later date. Thereafter, the nave piers follow the altered forms, their design repeating the arrangement found on the aisle faces of the western crossing piers [**Fig 5. 65**]. This change in moulding profiles reveals a number of things. First, the crossing piers, much larger than their nave counterparts, were sufficient to support a tower and may have been designed with that in mind.[141] However, the introduction of the 'squashed' rolls on the western crossing piers suggests that they were not erected until the new design appeared, which means that there was no west crossing arch and therefore no crossing tower. Second, there appears to have been two building campaigns at Inch, the first included the east end to the crossing. The break in construction

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[140] Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings,* 2: 49.

[141] The greater size of piers in the crossing (1.5 by 1.93 meters) could have supported a tower and the spiral staircase in the north transept probably provided access, Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 142.

occurred when the crossing was incomplete. The building campaign was probably contained within the period *c.*1185-1200, sufficient time for the completion of the chancel and transepts. The change in profile from the filleted rolls to the squashed filleted rolls might suggest a significant length of time between the completion of the east end and the addition of the nave and aisles (although planned from the start).

The pause in construction may have been caused by the ongoing warfare in Ulster, having begun about 1201. De Courcy came under the ire of King John and Hugh de Lacy II was all too happy to wage war against his former ally.[142] By September 1204 de Courcy had effectively been expelled as lord of Ulster and in May 1205 was replaced with Hugh de Lacy, 'earl of Ulster'.[143] Inch's proximity to Downpatrick cathedral, burned during the successive campaigns in the early thirteenth, must have had an impact on the monastery [**Fig 5. 66**]. Rather than damage to the buildings at Inch, the campaigns may have devastated the farmland on which the community depended for its income. As Draper has pointed out, political conditions could both positively and negatively affect building enterprises, '... and on the circumstances in which financial resources could be made available for building work'.[144] Draper, however, admits that '... such slowing down or temporary cessation of work ... would not be easy to detect archaeologically'.[145] The clear change in architectural style at the west side of the crossing may have coincided with the political unrest, but at a predetermined and natural pause in construction. The unrest may have led to an unforeseen extended break in building works. A similar case is found in the cathedral at Wells, where the '... perceptible stylistic changes on resumption of the work [in the middle of the nave] may indicate that the break was in fact longer than anticipated, and ... may have been as a result of the Interdict [imposed in 1208]'.[146] The change in

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[142] In 1201, de Courcy was arrested in Meath by the de Lacys but was released on the promise that de Courcy's men would cease ravaging the de Lacy's lands, Roger of Hoveden, 4: 176; *ALC*, *A. Inis* (Dublin), *AU*, 1201; *cf. A. Clon.*, 1200, *AFM*, 1199, Orpen, 205. De Courcy was granted safe conduct to appear at court in July 1202. In 1203 Hugh de Lacy defeated him in a battle at Downpatrick and thereafter banished him, *Rot. Pat.*, 4 John, m.11 (15b), *ALC*, *A. Clon.*, *AFM*, 1203, *AU*, 1204, Orpen, 206. Hostages were given but in September 1204 de Courcy was defeated again and taken prisoner, Orpen, 206. For a list of the hostages, see Orpen, 206n64. He appealed to the Pope and obtained a worthless mandate addressed to the archbishop of Armagh, the bishop of Down, and the abbot of Ines, to order de Lacy to restore what he had taken, *Papal Letters*, (Bliss), 1: Kal, Jul. 1205, Orpen, 206.

[143] A grant to de Lacy is dated May 29, 1205, *CDI*, 2: no. 263.

[144] Although the middle of the twelfth century was marred by civil war, disruptions to building works would have varied widely due to the localised fighting campaigns, Draper, P., *The Formation of English Gothic, Architecture and Identity*, (New Haven and London, 2006), 49.

[145] *Ibid.*, 49.

[146] Draper goes on to suggest that it would be unwise to assume such precise dating due to the fact that short interruptions would be hard to detect architecturally, in addition to the fact that some building works continued during the Interdict, *ibid.*, 49. However, construction breaks did occur and some are noticeable in the fabric.

political circumstances may also explain why the new pier forms at Inch aligned with moulding profiles outside Ulster. The 'reduced pier' and 'simplified soffit' first appeared in the eastern arm of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin (*c.*1186-1212)[147] and reappeared in the transepts of St. Patrick's, Dublin and in the crossing at Kildare Cathedral.[148] What appears to have happened at Inch was that the earliest works were directly related to the architecture of the areas from which the colonising monks and masons arrived. When building works had progressed for a decade or more, increased comparisons can be made not only to local contemporary architecture but also to Irish work outside Ulster, which suggests an increase in the communication of the language of architecture as building works progressed.

Very little of the nave has survived at Inch, only a few courses of piers and the nave walls. The 'squashed' rolls in the diagonal most probably continued around the arches as Stalley has suggested, just as they do in the transepts at St. Patrick's, Dublin [**Fig 5. 67**].[149] A reconstruction of the elevation of the nave is purely speculative. The nave clerestories at Graiguenamanagh and Dunbrody are placed over the piers. It was a style that was characteristic of Irish architecture, but one that can also be found in several Scottish churches. These include the naves at the nunnery at Iona (Argyll and Bute, post 1200), Crail Church (Fife, early thirteenth century) and Brechin Cathedral (Angus, *c.*1200?) [**Fig 5. 68**].[150] While these examples are a great distance from the English border, Iona is not far from Ireland by sea. However, the cathedral at Downpatrick, within view of Inch, has its clerestory windows placed over the arches and not the piers. This suggests a more orthodox reconstruction for the nave elevation at Inch. It is reasonable to assume that the impetus for the complete rebuilding of the cathedral at Down was influenced by the building works going on within view of Cathedral Hill, both stimulated by grants made by John de Courcy.

Conclusion

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[147] 'Comparisons with English buildings point to the period 1190-1210 as the most likely time for the construction of the quire and transepts … [or] between 1181 and 1212, during the episcopate of John Cumin … the initiative in rebuilding … could not have started until after 1184, when the new archbishop made his first appearance in Dublin … plans to enlarge the cathedral may well have coincided with the provincial synod held in the cathedral in 1186 … The quire of the cathedral must have been finished when Cumin was buried there in 1212', Stalley, R., 'The Construction of the Medieval Cathedral, *c.*1030-1250', *Christ Church Cathedral: A History*, (Dublin, 2000), 61, 62, 68.

[148] The design of piers and arches of the Dunbrody nave are a good illustration of a distinctive method that became common in thirteenth century Ireland. In England, as Champneys observed, arches of any breadth were built in a series of recessed orders, Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland,* 98.

[149] *Ibid.*, 95.

[150] Fawcett, R., *Scottish Medieval Churches: Architecture and Furnishings,* 154-5.

The abbey at Grey may not have been the most ambitious building of its type but several features of the design fit comfortably into the year around 1200. For example, '... double rows of lancet windows ... became standard for ... flat east ends in the North of England ... [and] predominated until the second quarter of the thirteenth century'.[151] This type of articulation was particularly appropriate for unvaulted spaces. As already discussed, the aisleless nave was not unusual in England, nor even unheard of in a Cistercian context well into the thirteenth century. The Scottish connections between the motherhouse and the founder may have led to the similarities between the aisleless nave at Grey and those of Scottish churches (at least in their first design), such as the Cistercian abbey at Culross (*c.*1217).[152]

Contrary to the minimalism of the church, the domestic ranges were some of the largest in Ireland. The smaller size of the church and minimalism of architectural detail may have some connection to the relative wealth or resources of the mother houses. While Holm Cultram[153] was not a poor house, it was not one of great wealth either, unlike Furness from which the founding monks of Inch arrived.[154] Furness had the additional advantage of being un-harassed by Scottish raids until the early fourteenth century. It is estimated that in 1200 Furness owned 27 ploughlands (*c.*2000 acres) of wheat and other crops.[155] While Holm Cultram had only the one daughter house, Furness had seven, including Abington, whose east windows were, like Inch, composed of a triplet of graduated lancets [**Fig 5. 69**].[156] Three additional Irish houses were placed under the affiliation of Furness in 1227 – Fermoy (Cork), Corcomroe (Clare) and Baltinglass (Wicklow) – with Holy Cross made subject to Furness in 1249 (although its affiliation to Monasteranenagh was restored in 1278).[157] Furness was a prosperous house, in terms of both generous endowments and recruitment. By 1135, it had so many monks that it was able to send out colonies to three new daughter houses: Calder, Swineshead (Lincolnshire), and Rushen on the Isle of Man.[158] Furness had one hundred and sixty one separate properties (churches, chapels and manors) in England alone with a net income in 1536 of an exceptional £1,052 2s 3d yearly.[159] Holm Cultram was very modest in comparison with only twenty-seven combined manors and churches with a net value of £349 18s 5d at the dissolution.[160] While the relative poverty (or wealth) of the mother house may justify the simplicity of the church at Grey, it does not explain the fancy chapter house. The size and splendour of

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[151] Hearn, M.F., 'Ripon Minster', 20.

[152] Although many of the Scottish aisleless churches are thirteenth century foundations, Saddell predates Grey by at about three decades.

each community probably had more to do with the original patronial grants and resources available to them through their Irish estates.

The architectural links between Grey and northern England have long been acknowledged but more precise detailing is noticeable upon closer examination.[161] Parallels with its mother house include the employment of the keel. In addition, the doorway inserted at the entrance to the chancel of Holm Cultram is ornamented with two orders of detached shafts, separated with large dogtooth ornament along the chamfer plane [**Fig 5. 70**], paralleled in the west doorway at Grey [**Fig 5. 71**]. The remnants of the Gothic nave of Holm Cultram are housed within the local parish church of Abbeytown and date to between 1175-80. This suggests that construction on the east end (now lost) began in the early 1160s.[162]

It is this northern English regional version of early Gothic that crossed to the north of Ireland in the late twelfth century. Although not much of the architecture of Furness can

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[153] The abbeys' finances were severely affected by the loss of its Scottish estates in the mid-fourteenth century.

[154] 'Some Yorkshire houses had established vaccaries by the middle of the twelfth century … The Yorkshire houses and Holm Cultram, near the western end of the Tyne Gap, were also advantageously situated in relation to Newcastle, the leading hide-exporting port at the close of the thirteenth century', Pelham, R.A., *An Historical Geography of England before AD 1800*, ed. H.C. Darby (Cambridge, 1936), 315, a map of the average annual export of hides 1282-90. For a list of the vaccarries, pastures, and pastureland for sheep, oxen and cattle see Donkin, R.A., 'Cattle on the Estates of Medieval Cistercian Monasteries in England and Wales', *The Economic History Review,* ns 15:1 (1962), 31-53 (2, 7, 17, 21).

[155] *ELC*, 125; cf. also p. 87 and addenda p. vi. In 1298 the Furness land held in free alms was calculated as 12 plough-lands; *Lanes. Inq*., 1: 292. In 1292 the 11 granges in Furness contained 10 plough-lands (*Coucher*, 634). 'Houses of Cistercian monks: The abbey of Furness', A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 2, ed. W. Farrer and J. Brownbill, (1908), pp. 114-131. Holm Cultram owned twenty seven properties, in Cumbria, Dumbries and Kirkcudbrightshire, UCL English Monastic Archives: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/history2/englishmonasticarchives/property/house_details.php?house_name=Holm+Cultram&Submit3=Submit

[156] The abbey was founded first at Wyresdale by Theobald Walter *c.*1196 and moved to Abington in 1205.

[157] Gwynn and Hadcock, 121-123, 126, 130, 132-5; 'Houses of Cistercian monks: The Abbey of Furness', *A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 2,* eds. W. Farrer and J. Brownbill, (1908), pp. 114-131.

[158] Fergusson, *Architecture of Solitude*, 55.

[159] This figure includes two churches (St Michael and St Maughold) on the Isle of Man, appropriated in 1299, and lands in Ireland worth £10, held since 1212. It also had as a dependent cell the abbey of Inch, or Iniscourcy; (Down), founded in 1180, *Reg. St. Bees*, xii, UCL English Monastic Archives http://www.ucl.ac.uk/history2/englishmonasticarchives/religioushouses/search_all_housese.php?house_name=Furness&Submit=Submit

[160] UCL English Monastic Houses Archive http://www.ucl.ac.uk/history2/englishmonasticarchives/religioushouses/search_all_housese.php?house_name=Holm+Cultram&Submit=Submit

[161] 'Some details [at Grey] recall the architecture of the Augustinian abbey at Lanercost (Cumbria) in the northern Pennines, not least the double set of lancets and the stumpy corbels under the crossing arches', Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 95; Comparisons include the two tiers of three lancets in the east façade, separated by horizontal stringcourses, two chapels per transept, an aisleless nave (the north aisle was added in the early to mid thirteenth century), and the simple corbels supporting the soffit arches of the crossing, Summerson, H.R.T. and S. Harrison, *Lanercost Priory, Cumbria: a Survey and Documentary History*, (Kendal, 2000), fig. 27.

[162] Fergusson, *Architecture of Solitude,* 62.

be paralleled in its daughter house, the basic plan is not entirely dissimilar. While Furness has three chapels per transept, Hope's excavations in 1909 revealed that the original design of the Savigniac house had two chapels in each transept.[163] Furthermore, the use of the keeled profile at Inch, Grey, Downpatrick and Carrickfergus makes these buildings unique in the context of Anglo-Norman foundations in Ireland. The earliest example of keeling employed by the Cistercians in England was at Louth Park *c.*1155. It then appeared at Fountains *c.*1155 and Kirkstall (Yorkshire) *c.*1165 and '... thereafter, it becomes almost universal'.[164] Keeling was employed in the chancel, transept chapels and the lancets of the chapter house of Grey and, thereafter, was replaced by the fillet. At Inch, keeled rolls are also found in the chancel and transept lancets, as well as the piers and corbels of the transepts. Again, the fillet replaced the keel in the crossing and continued in use throughout the length of the nave. The change from keel to fillet at both churches does not imply any significant pause in construction but rather the introduction of new moulding profiles from England. What became apparent are not only the northern political links that de Courcy established with his religious foundations in Ulster, but also the architectural associations. While de Courcy was probably not involved in the specific building works, a pattern of architectural articulation is visible in the building works under his patronage. This suggests that his contribution to the introduction of early Gothic in Ulster was important both in the overall pattern created within Ulster and the architectural links created with the North of England. The style echoes these relationships; particularly with the use of the keeled roll mouldings. It was an architectural style of undoubtedly northern English character. His patronage of northern English churches determined the style of early Gothic architecture in Ulster, a style that is markedly different from the regional variation in Leinster and Dublin, with its West Country accents.

It is to the southwest of England that we now turn, from here lie the architectural antecedents of the buildings of the greatest Anglo-Norman lord to take up residence in Ireland, the 'flower of chivalry' William Marshal.

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[163] *Ibid.*, 56.

[164] 'The earliest example of keeling in the north of England appears to be in the Durham chapter house rib vaults and door (*c.*1135). It can also be found in the west door at Lincoln (*c.*1150). In France, keeling was in use in the 1130s'. At Fountains it was employed in the east guesthouse piers and rib vaults and at Kirkstall in the west doorway, in the chapter house rib vaults and supporting triplet shafts, *ibid.*, 51.

CHAPTER 6: WILLIAM MARSHAL AND THE PROLIFERATION OF THE *TURRIS ROTUNDA*

Introduction

William Marshal was in his mid-forties when, in 1189, he received the hand of Isabel de Clare. This was an extravagant act of patronage promised by Henry II and granted by Richard I. She was the heiress to one of the most important earldoms, with estates in both England and Wales. Along with those estates, centred at Chepstow and Pembroke, the province of Leinster in Ireland also came to Marshal through his wife. He did not receive full seisin of Leinster until 1190 and it was not until 1207 that he became a resident lord. In fact, by the time the de Clare inheritance was handed over to Marshal much of Leinster had been granted to the vassals of Prince John in his capacity as Lord of Ireland. Strongbow had died in 1176 and his son, Gilbert, was a minor when he died in 1185 – the same year that Henry II granted John the Lordship of Ireland. John was reluctant to rescind control to Marshal. However, in 1190, through the intervention of Richard I, John conceded on the condition that Theobald Butler retained his grant.[1] Marshal's first visit to Ireland occurred *c.*1200 but there is evidence that he took interest in Ireland as soon as his dispute with John was resolved. He did this by sending his vassals to administer his estates.[2] The circumstances that surrounded Marshal's eventual seven-year sojourn in Leinster, which commenced in 1207, related to his conduct following the loss of Normandy in 1204. Following the French successes many lords who held estates on both sides of the channel had to either split their manors between heirs or decide to which king they would swear fealty to (i.e. from whom they held the greater wealth). In May 1204, Marshal was sent to the King of France, Philip Augustus, to seek terms on behalf on the king of England.[3] He used the opportunity to make an arrangement of his own. In the spring of 1205 Marshal returned to the court of Philip and, with the alleged approval of

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[1] Theobald was also called Theobald Walter, ancestor of the Ormond family. When Richard settled the dispute he insisted that Walter should hold his grant as William's vassal, *History*, ll. 9582-9616; Painter, S., *William Marshal, Knight-Errant, Baron, and Regent of England*, (Baltimore, 1933), 80; Crouch, D., *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219*, (London, 2002), 70.

[2] For the voyage, see chapter 1 n120. William sent Renault de Kedeville to seize Leinster in his name when he first came into possession of the lordship, *History*, ll. 9600-9618; Geoffrey fitz Robert was his seneschal of Leinster in 1199 and 1210, Crouch, *op. cit.*, 219. About April 1204, licence was granted to John Marshal to go to Ireland on the service of William Marshal and remain there at the Earl's pleasure, *CDI,* 1: no. 210. On 9 May 1204 the previous licence was confirmed by a mandate to the justiciar and barons to give John Marshal aid and counsel him faithfully, *CDI*, 1: no. 216.

[3] For a further discussion of the issue, see chapter 1 n125; Painter, *William Marshal, Knight-Errant, Baron, and Regent of England*, (Baltimore, 1933), 139; Crouch, *op. cit.*, 93-6.

King John, did homage to the King of France for his lands on that side of the channel.[4] The agreement aroused John's displeasure, and the subsequent chilly relations had a strong impact on Marshal's decision to focus his attention on Ireland. While the king's anger may have persuaded him to leave England, it was also the actions of the Irish *justiciar*, Meiler fitz Henry, in seizing one of his castles, that led him to ask permission to travel across the Irish Sea.[5] With permission reluctantly granted, he and Isabel set sail in 1207 and remained in the country almost constantly until 1213. Marshal was reconciled with the king by 1211.[6] It was presumably upon his arrival in Ireland with the countess that the commercial development of the lordship was set into full swing. It was also during this time that he solidified his authority by 'nailing the valley'.[7]

William Marshal is one of the best-known barons of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. This is due to the fact that his eldest son, Earl William the younger, commissioned a biography of his father, the first non-royal vernacular biography that survives (composed *c.*1226) [**Fig 6. 1**].[8] Because of the survival of this text, we know more about him than any of his contemporary nobles. However, the history is in no way a thorough and definitive account of the entirety of his life. For example, Marshal's participation in tournament is extensively covered [**Fig 6. 2**], while his two years in the Holy Land are summarised in a few lines.[9] This exceptional historic gift – *L'Histoire* – has

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[4] The act was preformed in March or April 1205 and William was then granted the return of the lordship of Longueville and his casteiries of Orbec and Meullers, *ibid.*, 94.

[5] Meiler claimed certain estates in Offaly, probably on the basis of a grant that Richard revoked, held by Adam de Hereford in fief from William Marshal. Meiler should have appealed to Marshal but instead Meiler looked to John. The king was all to willing too get involved, and used Meiler in his role as *justiciar* to meddle in William's Irish affairs, Painter, *William Marshal*, 153-159.

[6] His stay was punctuated early by several journeys back and forth to England and the Continent, *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 2: 81, cited in Crouch, *op. cit.*, 100. Unfortunately, this trip cost William dearly, he had to surrender a second son as hostage to the king and after he left England all of his England and Welsh castles were taken into the king's hands, *History*, ll. 14334-5, cited in Painter, *op. cit.*, 147.

[7] 'Nailing the valley', is a phrase used to describe the symbolic nature of the tall, slender towers of German castles, Thompson, M.W., 'The Rise of the Castle', (Cambridge, 2008), 23.

[8] *L'Histoire*; *History*. There is no trace of any other twelfth- or thirteenth-century vernacular biography, in prose or in verse. Crouch believes that it is not only unique in its survival, but it was unique for its day. There was a contemporary Latin biography genre, going back to Suetonius, and a number of examples survive but Crouch has pointed out that the author of Marshal's biography was influenced not by these Latin works but rather by *roman d'aventure*, Crouch, D., 'Writing a Biography in the Thirteenth Century: The Construction and Composition of the 'History of William Marshal'', *Writing Medieval Biography, 750-1250, Essays in Honour of Frank Barlow*, eds. D. Bates, J. Crick and S. Hamilton, (Woodbridge, 2006), 221-35. For discussion of the author, see Mullally, E., 'Did John of Earley Write the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal?*', *The Court Reconvenes: Courtly Literature Across the Disciplines*, eds. B.K. Altmann and C.W. Carroll, (Cambridge, 2003), 255-64.

[9] When the young king Henry (son of Henry II, *d.* 1183) was on his deathbed he asked: 'Marshal, you have always been loyal and faithful. I leave you my cross and pray you to carry it to the Holy Sepulchre. You will acquit for me my vow to God', *History*, ll. 6891-6911. The history asserts that he spent two years there and did more than another could in seven, *ibid.* ll. 7275-7295. He returned with two silken cloths to cover his corpse. William returned to the court of Henry II in 1187, *ibid.* ll. 7275-7295, 18217-18226.

also proven to be a hindrance: his 'celebrity' may have encouraged historians to attribute too many architectural monuments to his patronage, without close examination of his role in each individual project.

Among the many castles he has been credited with are the Irish castles at Carlow, Kilkenny, Ferns (Wexford),[10] the tower at Hook (a modern lighthouse, Wexford) and the twin-towered gatehouse at Dunamase (Laois).[11] Various building phases at the Welsh and Marcher castles of Pembroke, Cilgerran (Pembrokeshire), Chepstow (Monmouthshire), Usk (Monmouthshire) and Caerleon (Monmouthshire) have also been ascribed to him [**Fig 6. 3**].[12] The most interesting aspect of his castle building is the proliferation of the *turris rotunda*, or round tower. He first employed the feature at Chepstow (*c.*1189) in what is now thought to be the earliest cylindrical twin-towered gatehouse in England (discussed below). Cylindrical towers are also found at Pembroke, Usk, Cilgerran and Caerleon, as well as at each of the Irish castles presently credited to him (with the possible exception of Dunamase – an apparent disparity that will be addressed later in the chapter). Round towers began to be employed in the twelfth century on the continent and became a feature of the architectural patronage during the reign of Henry II. The cylindrical tower was also a marked characteristic of the castles of Philip Augustus of France (*r.*1180-1223) and a significant element of Richard I's (*r.*1189-99) impressive fortress at Château Gaillard, Les

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[10] The designation of this castle to William Marshal the elder has lately been put into question. It has been suggested that it was either built by one of Marshal's sons towards the middle of the thirteenth century or William de Valance in the mid to late thirteenth century. De Valence inherited Ferns through his wife, Joan de Munchensi, daughter of Joan Marshal (*d.* 1247) and William de Munchensi (*d.*1255). De Valence was also created earl of Pembroke in 1264. The question of authorship and dating will be discussed later in the chapter. For a discussion of the architecture of Ferns castle and patronage of de Valence, see O'Keeffe, T. and M. Coughlan, 'The Chronology and Formal Affinities of the Ferns Donjon, Co. Wexford', *The Medieval Castle in Ireland and Wales*: *Essays in Honour of Jeremy Knight*, eds. J.R. Kenyon and K. O'Conor, (Dublin, 2003), 133-148 and Sweetman, P.D., 'Archaeological Excavations at Ferns Castle, County Wexford', *PRIA*, 79C (1979), 217-45.

[11] O'Conor has suggests that because Leinster had been subdivided by 1247 into four shires – Kilkenny, Carlow, Kildare and Wexford – that William Marshal was responsible for the stone fortifications at each site, O'Conor, K., 'The Earthwork Castles of Medieval Leinster', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wales, Cardiff, 1993), 173. The earliest mention of a castle at Kildare is dated to an Inquisition of 1302: 'William formerly Earl Marshal, senior, built originally the castle of Kildare on the soil of the church of Kildare, without the consent of the Bishop and Chapter thereof'. This does not prove he built a masonry castle. Nor do any of the remaining stone structures suggest an early thirteenth century date. Today one tower and parts of a bailey wall remain.

[12] Caerleon will only be discussed briefly, because William did not gain possession of it until the autumn of 1217. There was only a single building season between this and his death on Easter 1219. He was occupied during the last two years of his life with the administration of the English crown, as regent during the minority of the King Henry III. Even if he ordered the construction of a castle, his sons probably completed it. The *Brut (Penairth)* accredits William the younger with '… marching to Cilgerran and there began to build an ornate castle of mortar and stones', *Brut (Penairth)*, 100.

Andelys (Eure, 1197-98).[13] It has been noted that Richard's Normandy fortification was strongly influenced by his contact with crusader and Saracen architecture during the Third Crusade (1189-1192). These travels presumably also had an impact on the strongholds built under the direction of Philip Augustus. Marshal had himself, as mentioned, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in order to fulfil a vow. Although the cylindrical tower was not a chief characteristic of Frankish castle designs in the Holy Land until the thirteenth century, the layout of fortifications with the placement of mural towers at the corners of a trapezoidal enclosure, such as Coliath (Tripoli), was.[14] The polygonal tower, and to a lesser extent the round tower, was a feature of French and English castle design from the mid twelfth century [see chapter two]. It was perhaps the amalgamation of crusader plans (à la Byzantine fortresses) and round towers that found fruition in northern European and English castle design beginning in the late twelfth century. This culminated in the massive fortresses constructed by Edward I in Wales at the end of the thirteenth century – designs dubbed 'keepless' castles. It may be no coincidence that at the beginning of the thirteenth century cylindrical towers became exceedingly popular in the Brecon region of Wales, possibly mimicking the work of great magnates, such as William Marshal.[15]

It is worthwhile to examine these buildings more closely in order to determine, with greater assurance, what castles were built under the direction of William. It is important to do this not only by looking at each building individually, but also by understanding the group as a set of family monuments. Giraldus Cambrensis, as well as some anonymous Irish chroniclers, recorded the numerous building programmes of both Hugh de Lacy and John de Courcy. Many of these were motte castles with timber fortifications. Although Marshal came to Ireland almost thirty years after the aforementioned lords, it was

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[13] Most castles comparable with Crusader architecture are found in France, north of the Loire, and in England. Kennedy has pointed out that this was due partly to the fact that from the mid-twelfth century onwards most Crusaders came from these areas. In addition, between *c.*1180 and *c.*1220, this was the same location of the prolonged conflict between the Angevin Empire and Capetian France. 'This was a war in which the control of fortresses played a major part and there were memorable and well-recorded assaults on castles using professional engineers and the most effective siege techniques … [technologies such as] trebuchets and possibly mining were originally learned during the crusader wars … Richard I used men from the Crusader states among his artillery men. It is not surprising, therefore, that the architects of defensive works adopted some similar designs to thwart these new methods of assault', Kennedy, H., *Crusader Castles*, (Cambridge, 2001), 186-7.

[14] Colaith was a Hospitaller castle built about 20 km from Tripoli. It measured 63 x 56 meters, with four small rectangular corner towers and a gate tower along the centre of one of the curtain wall, Molin, K. *Unknown Crusader Castles*, (London, 2001), 28. Colaith was built on a similar plan, but on a much smaller scale, to the fortress of Crac des Chevaliers (Syria). The castle was built before 1187 but some repairs were conducted after that date, *ibid.*, 30. The Hospitallers acquired the site in 1127, and were likely responsible for its construction, *ibid.*, 107. 'The castle probably fell to Saladin in 1188, was demolished by al-Adil twenty years later, and was again overrun by Baybars during the Mamluk raid carried out in 1266', *ibid.*, 64.

[15] For an inventory of round keeps in the Brecon Region, see Renn, D.F., 'The Round Keeps of the Brecon Region', *Arch. Cam.*, 110 (1961), 129-142.

necessary for him to assert his authority over both the Irish and his Norman vassals.[16] To this end, he continued to construct motte-and-bailey fortresses, which dominated the landscape and the people. At the same time, he was responsible for the proliferation of stone castles. In the past many people thought this included the stone castle at Ferns. Records indicated that Maurice fitz Gerald's sons built a castle at Ferns when given the site in exchange for Wicklow castle by William fitz Aldelin. The Mac Murchadas subsequently destroyed this fortress.[17] Later, Marshal allegedly misappropriated several manors that belonged to the see of Ferns from its Bishop, Albinus O'Mulloy, suggesting that he probably had some form of fortification in the area.[18] However, it is not mentioned again until 1232, when Richard Marshal gave '... the manor and castle of Ferns ...' to his brother's widow as part of her dower.[19] The fortress referred to in this dower was likely to have been of timber and earthworks. As recent research – focussing particularly on the moulding profiles and sculptural forms found in the chapel – has suggested, it was constructed in the mid to late thirteenth century and should be attributed to the patronage of William de Valence.[20]

Despite spending only a few years in Ireland, he commanded the resources to support numerous building campaigns. However, I will argue that within Ireland his building resources primarily focused on the stone castle at his *caput*, the 'keepless' castle at Kilkenny, with smaller sums spent on the tower at Hook (Wexford), defending his port at New Ross, and, possibly, the outer gatehouse at Dunamase.[21] Carlow is one of the Irish castles originally assigned to the patronage of this Marshal [**Fig 6. 4**].[22] Unfortunately,

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[16] The constables of the Marshal castles of 'Odoth' and 'Ros' are mentioned in 1231, *CDI*, 1: no. 1872. These castles survive as the mottes of Odagh (Kilkenny) and Springpark, Old Ross (Wexford). It is impossible to prove but might be worth suggesting that they were built during the period of Marshal's Irish residence (1208-1213), O'Conor, 'The Earthwork Castles of Medieval Leinster', 179-80.

[17] Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 171.

[18] Painter, *William Marshal,* 267-9. A letter addressed to William Marshal *c.*1216 from the Archbishops of Tuam and Dublin requested the restoration of the possessions of the bishopric of Ferns under threat of excommunication. The disputed territory related to two manors, Way, A., ed., 'Letter from the Archbishops of Tuam and Dublin to William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, Requiring him to Restore the Possessions of the Bishopric of Ferns ... 1216', *KSEIAS*, ns, 4 (1864-6), 137-9.

[19] *CCR, 16 Henry III*, 144-5, cited in Orpen, 307.

[20] O'Keefe and Coughlin, 'The Chronology and Formal Affinities of the Ferns Donjon', 133-148. Sweetman had previously dated the castle to the 1220s, Sweetman, 'Archaeological Excavations at Ferns Castle', 217-45.

[21] The tower is located at the end of a narrow peninsula at the eastern entrance to Waterford Harbour. A ribbed vault covers each floor and a circular stair within the thickness of the wall gives access to the upper storeys. The original tower reached a height of some 18 meters.

[22] The castle sat on a low rise on the left banks of the Barrow, surrounded by marsh on its landward sides, Leask, H.G., *Irish Castles and Castellated Houses*, (Dundalk, 2003 reprint), 47. Excavations were carried out in the summer of 1996. It was originally thought that Strongbow built a motte built. However, O'Conor has suggested, quite convincingly, that the timber fortifications were in fact among one of the many built under the direction of Hugh de Lacy in his role as *justiciar* in 1181, for the knight John de Clahull. For the entire

because parts of the castle were blown up in 1814, only two of the four towers (northwest and southwest), the connecting wall, and small sections of the north and south walls have survived; more or less, half the castle has been lost.[23] Recently, O'Conor has reasserted Leask's date based on a charter (dated to *c.*1223) suggesting that Marshal had founded a town at Carlow before August 1210.[24] Although the foundation charter clearly shows that Marshal took interest in the fiscal development of Leinster and probably the establishment of a castle at Carlow, it does not necessarily follow that he immediately began the construction of a stone castle. There is no mention of a castle at Carlow, unlike Kilkenny, until at least 1221 and in 1223, William the younger granted an extended charter to the town of Carlow (following closely his father's charter to Kilkenny).[25] William the elder is credited with the foundation of the towns of Callan, the Newtown of Jerpoint, Coolaghmore, Kilnamanagh, Danesfort and Rosbercon (modern County Kilkenny) during his period of Irish tenure, but none of these received a stone fortification in the early thirteenth century.[26] O'Conor asserted that while the castle was begun between 1210-15, the cross-form loops [**Fig 6. 5**] in the southwest tower suggest that this part of the castle was not completed until the early 1220s.[27] It is believed that the crossbow was introduced in northern Europe around 1200; however, cross loops at Framlingham and Dover date to *c.*1185-90.[28] Additionally, cross slits found at Chepstow, dating to *c.*1190, indicate that the cross loop was introduced as early as the 1180s. Furthermore, there are numerous references to crossbowmen and crossbows in the *Irish Pipe Roll* for 1211-12.[29] However, these only suggest a *terminus post quem* for the stone castle at Carlow. In fact, arrow loops, particularly in Marshal's castle works, cannot be considered an accurate measure of chronology (discussed below). Finally, the first definite reference to Carlow castle does

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argument, see O'Conor, K., 'Castle of Carlow: Who built and occupied the first castle here?', *Carlovinia*, 46 (1998), 36-42 and O'Conor, K., 'The Origins of Carlow Castle', *AI*, 11:3 (Autumn 1997), 13-16.

[23] Carlow measures 15.85 x 8.84 meters internally, with walls 2.74 meters thick. The circular corner towers measure approximately 4.57 meters in diameter. Parts of Carlow castle were blown up in 1814 to make room for a lunatic asylum, the castle having been granted to a Dr Middleton, O'Conor, 'Castle of Carlow', 37-42; O'Conor, 'The Origins of Carlow Castle', 13-16.

[24] Mac Niocaill, *Na Buirgéisi*, 130-8, cited in O'Conor, 'Castle of Carlow', 39. William Marshal fixed the burgage fees at Kilkenny, Carlow and in the walled town of Wexford, *Chart. Priv. Immun.*, 33-4, 37, 47, Painter, *William Marshal*, 152.

[25] *Chart. Priv. Immun.*, 37; *CJR*, 30 Ed I, 369-71, cited in Orpen, 308.

[26] Empey, C.A., 'County Kilkenny in the Anglo-Norman Period', *Kilkenny: History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County*, (Dublin, 1990), 80. At the time of the partition of Leinster in 1247, the four shires of Leinster each had their own sheriff and subordinate officers. There was a sheriff of Kilkenny by 1214, *ibid*, 82. O'Conor, 'The Earthwork Castles of Medieval Leinster', 1: 172.

[27] O'Conor, 'The Origins of Carlow Castle', 15.

[28] Knight, J.K., 'The Road to Harlech: Aspects of Some Early Thirteenth-Century Welsh Castles', *Castles in Wales and the Marches, Essays in Honour of D.J. Cathcart King*, eds. J.R. Kenyon and R. Avent, (Cardiff, 1987), 83; Renn, D.F., 'The Donjon at Pembroke Castle', *TAMS*, ns, 15 (1968 for 1867-8), 35-47; Renn D.F., *Norman Castles in Britain*, (London, 1973, 2nd ed.).

[29] *Irish Pipe Roll*, 55, 59, 61.

not appear until 1231, which suggests that the castle was built by William the younger (*d.*1231) in the 1220s.[30]

Carlow castle is included in a typology of Irish castles described by Leask as 'towered keeps'. The others are Ferns (Wexford), Lea (Laois), Terryglass (Tipperary), the now vanished Wexford and the reconstructed castle of Enniscorthy (Wexford).[31] Because the castle at Carlow is self-contained, the *donjon* at Noirt (Deux-Sèvres, *c.*1180) offers a much closer parallel than the *castrum* at Kilkenny. Begun by Henry II and finished by Richard I, Noirt consists of two rectangular towers each with four round corner turrets (the towers are connected by a fifteenth century building) [**Fig 6. 6**].[32] Half height semi-cylindrical buttresses abut each façade of the two medieval towers. The northern tower is comparable in size at 14 x 15 meters; although the corner turrets contain only spiral stairs, not separate chambers. Similar *donjon*s are found at Richard I's castle at Loudun (Vienne) and the keep at Provins (Seine-et-Marne).[33] The Irish 'towered keeps' are presently attributed to the 1230s-1260s and might confirm the suggestion that Carlow was built by one of Williams' sons, particularly considering that the town appears to have developed under William the younger (discussed below).[34] It must be noted that no stone castle was built in

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[30] *CPR, 15 Hen III*, 1231. When William the younger died, the king ordered his constables to deliver the castles to the king's man, William Teutonicus. The castles were Kilkennny, Odoth, Wexford, Ros [Ross], Dumas, Katherlach [Carlow], Kildare, Kerry, de Insula (probably Hook), *CDI*, 1: no.1872.

[31] Leask, *Irish Castles and Castellated Houses*, 27. Terryglass owes its origin to Theobald Walter and is comparable in size to Carlow, measuring 14.6 x 11.3 meters internally. Leask dated it to the early part of the thirteenth century, perhaps the first decade, Leask, H.G., 'Terryglass Castle, Co. Tipperary', *JRASI*, 73 (1943), 141-44. However, the first reference to a castle there was in the 1275-76 Sheriff's Accounts for County Tipperary, Curtis, E., ed., 'Sheriff's Accounts for County Tipperary, 1275-6', *PRIA*, 42C (1934), 65-95. Enniscorthy has been assigned to the 1230s and the patronage of Gerald de Prendergast but this is uncertain. Lea was first mentioned in 1203 as a site owned by the Fitzgeralds but was probably a timber fortification at this early date. The stone castle is more likely the work of William de Vesey in the 1260s.

[32] The southern tower measures 13.5 meters square and reaches a height of 28 meters while the north tower is only 23 meters high and measures 14 x 15 meters at ground level, Bily-Brossard, J., *Le Château de Niort et son Donjon: Notice Historique et Archéologique*, (Niort, 1958).

[33] The *donjon* dates from the second half of the twelfth century, see Charbonneau-Lassay, L., 'Les Châteaux de Loudun', *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 3rd ser., 8 (1915), 171. Geoffrey, Count of Anjou and Nantes (*d.*1158), son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou and Maine, and Maud, daughter of Henry I, held the castles of Chinon (Indre-et-Loire), Loudon (Vienne) and Mirebeau (Vienne), Sanford, F., *Gen. Hist. of the Kings of England*, (1677), 37; Vallée, E., *Cart. De Château-du-Loir*, (1905), 46-7, 96-7, 161-2; Delisle, *Recueil des Actes de Henry II*, (1909), 370; Boussard, J., *Le Government d'Henri II Plantagenet*, (1956); Le Patrourel, J., *Feudal Empires: Norman and Plantagenet*, 9 (1984), 1-17; Barlow, F., *Feudal Kingdom of England, 1042-1216*, (1999); Chibnall, M., *Piety, Power and History in Medieval England and Normandy*, (2000), xiv, 111.

[34] In 1223, William the younger (*c.*1231) granted charters to Carlow and Moone and made additions to his father's charter of Kilkenny. His seneschal at the time was Thomas fitz Anthony (who had been his father's seneschal); in 1224, his seneschal was William le Gras, called *primogentius*, *Gormanston Reg.*, f. 209, cited in Orpen, 305. By early April 1231, much of the lordship had been partitioned into shires and further subdivisions, with castles at the centre of each key development – Odagh, Wexford, Old Ross, Dunamase, Carlow, Kildare, Carrick on Slaney, and the Island (in the parish of Kilmokea (Wexford)), *CPR*, 16 Hen III, 429, cited in Orpen, 310.

the town of New Ross, although the tower at Hook was erected as an aid for ships entering the harbour. The town also received the patronage of Isabel and William Marshal with the construction of a bridge and a parish church.[35] Carlow, on the other hand, was not associated with a Marshal religious establishment, nor was it the *caput* of the lordship or a major international port. While Carlow was to become one of the most important towns of Leinster, it was under the patronage of the Marshal's heirs that its major development occurred.

From this brief discussion, it is clear that a great deal of uncertainty surrounds William Marshal's activities as a castle builder in Leinster. Can we be certain about any castles built under his direction? Is there any concrete evidence for these attributions? Can the proven constructions be employed as a means of determining whether he built other castles? Do his Irish castles compare with his Welsh and Marcher strongholds? How do Marshal's fortresses fit into the context of late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century castle designs? Where did Marshal travel and do any of his movements reveal a noticeable impact on his own secular architecture? Marshal spent a great majority of his formative years around northern Europe, in Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Poitou, Lusignan, Paris and Ile-de-France, Champagne, Cologne, Brittany and elsewhere. What castle designs did he come into contact with in those areas? He also travelled to the Holy Land for two years; can the effect of his journey be witnessed in the monuments built upon his estates? For the purposes of this chapter the castles of William Marshal will be discussed both chronologically and geographically as well as typologically. For these reasons it is important to begin the study with the cylindrical twin-towered gatehouse at Chepstow.

Castles in Context

Following his marriage in 1189, Marshal became earl of Striguil and gained possession of the de Clare estates, centred at Chepstow. The location must have appealed to the original earl, William fitz Osbern, because of the natural defence offered by the cliffs rising high above the River Wye [**Fig 6. 7**].[36] When Marshal gained possession of the castle, he began

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[35] William's charter to Tintern *de Voto* mentions '... a burgage in Ross on the south side of the bridge', *Chart. Priv. Immun.*, 80. This places the foundation of New Ross before the earl's coming to Ireland, Painter, S., *William Marshal*, 152. The first bridge across the river was built with William and Isabel Marshal's endowments *c.*1211, and as a result New Ross was referred to in several charters as '*Pons Novas, villa Williemi Marescalli*' (New Bridge, town of William Marshal) and other similar epitaphs.

[36] 'Earl William built the castle of Striguil and in his time paid only 40s from the ships going into the woodland. In the time of his son Earl Roger, this town paid £16 and Ralph de Limesy had half. Now the king has £12 from it', *Domesday Book* , 1: f. 162, cited in Turner, 'The Norman Great Tower', *Chepstow Castle*, 23. Dating the Great Tower has proven to be difficult due to the fact that the main decorative detail, the chip

immediately to strengthen the fortifications. His earliest building work, the gatehouse, was once placed after *c.*1200 based on the assumption that gatehouses of the type were not thought to have been erected before the thirteenth century. However, recent work at Chepstow has pushed the date of the gatehouse back. Dendrochronological dating of the medieval oak doors [**Fig 6. 8**] that stood in the main gatehouse until they were replaced with replicas in March 1964 has revealed an average tree-felling date range from 1159-1189.[37] Avent asserted that '... assuming that the doors would have been hung in the outer gatehouse at the earliest when construction works had reached first-floor level, then the gatehouse must have been built sometime between 1159 and 1189 or shortly thereafter'.[38] Furthermore, a silver Short Cross penny of Henry II minted in the mid 1180s was found at construction level during the 1991 excavation season. Putting these two facts together Avent convincingly argued that the gatehouse was begun either in the few years before Marshal's acquisition of the castle in 1189 or was among his earliest works.[39] Considering that Chepstow was in royal hands from the time of Strongbow's death in 1176 and that the keepers of the castle, Ralph and William Bloet, seem to have spent money only on repairs, it seems likely that Marshal was responsible for subsequent major building works.[40]

The gatehouse is punctuated with a variety of arrow loops, cut from Dundry stone [**Fig 6. 9**]. In fact, the Marshal's work is distinguished by the predominant use of Dundry for the dressings of doorways, windows and loops. It is the variation in loop type that has led Avent and Turner to conclude that '... no chronological typology can be proposed for the Marshal period at Chepstow or at his other castles at Usk, Caerleon and Pembroke'.[41] While it is almost impossible to employ loops as a means of determining a chronological sequence, it is important to examine the range of types. At Chepstow, arrow loops are found in the upper floors of the gatehouse (some have been lost due to the insertion of Tudor windows) as well as in the round towers along the middle bailey wall and in some

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carved saltire pattern in the tympanum over the west door, could belong anywhere between the 1070s and the 1130s, Turner, 'The Norman Great Tower', *Chepstow Castle*, 39.

[37] Dan Miles of the Oxford Dendrochronology Laboratory undertook constructional analysis and dendrochronological dating of the oak doors. For full details of the tree-ring dating of the doors at Chepstow Castle, see Miles, D.H. and M.J. Worthington, 'List 94: Welsh Dendrochronology – Phase 2', *Vernacular Architecture* 29 (1998), 126-9. The doors are now on display in the earl's chamber on the first floor of the Bigod apartments, Avent, R., and D. Miles, 'The Main Gatehouse', *Chepstow Castle*, 51.

[38] Avent, R., 'William Marshal's Building Works at Chepstow Castle, Monmouthshire, 1189-1219', *The Medieval Castle in Ireland and Wales*, ed. J. Kenyon and K. O'Conor, (Dublin, 2003), 53.

[39] *Ibid.*, 53.

[40] The Pipe Roll of 1185 records the expenditure of £10 13s on the repair of the Great Tower and some houses within the castle, Taylor, A.J., 'Usk Castle and the Pipe Roll of 1185', with a note on an expenses account of 1289', *Arch. Cam.*, 99 (1946-7), 249-55, cited in Avent and Miles, 'The Main Gatehouse', *Chepstow Castle*, 53.

[41] Avent and Turner, 'The Middle Bailey', *Chepstow Castle*, 70.

remaining medieval battlements in the upper bailey. There is a marked lack of homogeneity, with types including long narrow slits, rounded basal oillets [**Fig 6. 10**], square oillets, pentagonal oillets top and bottom, cross slits with basal oillets **[Fig 6. 11]**, and slits with inverted T-oillets.[42] Loops with square basal oillets are also found in his Welsh castles at Usk (Garrison Tower [**Fig 6. 12**]) and Pembroke (*donjon* and Dungeon Tower [**Fig 6. 13**]). Although no specific chronology is suggested by the design of arrow slits employed in Marshal's castles, it is interesting that the round and square basal oillet is employed extensively at most of his castles, both with cross slits and simple narrow loops. It is reasonable to assume that the general variety of loop may be a result of his interest in the utilization of the latest techniques, although the exact placement and variety was probably the result of the masons he employed. What begins to emerge, through the study of his castles, as a group of monuments, are the similarities in detail from place to place, although the overall plan often differed. This may indicates that some of the masons working for William may have worked at several of his castles.

While the variety of loops is a marked feature of Marshal's work, the gatehouse at Chepstow is also interesting because the north tower is smaller than the south [**Fig 6. 14**]. Most twin-towered gatehouses in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries are of equal size (such as Dover and Limerick). However, at William's Kilkenny castle, one of the towers of the gatehouse was, like Chepstow, smaller than the other. Although the south wall of the castle at Kilkenny, with its gatehouse, has long since been razed, a detail from Rocque's 1758 map of Kilkenny depicts the castle before the demolition [**Fig 6. 15**]. Clearly visible is the much smaller size of the southeast tower as compared to the northeast tower of the gatehouse. Excavations have confirmed the differing sizes of the towers. The reason behind the difference is unclear; perhaps it was a matter of function, where one served as the residence for the constable (although it was the smaller tower at Chepstow that housed the latrine). The parallels between the two gatehouses suggest a valid argument for attributing Kilkenny castle to the patronage of William Marshal. While we have no way of knowing the exact reasoning behind the layout the comparison may add to the implication mentioned above that Marshal was particularly loyal to one particular mason or group of masons. It would appear that a mason who had worked at Chepstow two decades earlier possibly constructed the gatehouse at Kilkenny.

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[42] Although the eastern curtain wall of the middle bailey was remodelled in Tudor times, arrow loops with basal oillets similar to those in the tower survive in the ground floor, Avent and Turner, *op. cit.*, 67; Knight, 'The Road to Harlech', 77-8.

Chepstow is the earliest firmly dated example of a twin-towered gatehouse employing cylindrical towers in England.[43] For this reason Chepstow is considered among one of the most influential castles in terms of '... the introduction of the fluent new defensive modes of the thirteenth century ...'.[44] Each tower is built up to two floors above the basement, with rectangular projections extending into the lower bailey.[45] The toothing along the façade of the southern tower indicates the location of a possible drawbridge although the lack of scaring on the opposite tower does not support this theory [**Fig 6. 16**]. Alternatively, if a barbican was constructed outward from the south tower and then turned towards the cliff this would provide a reasonable explanation for the tooling.[46] If this were the case, the design of a lower barbican would have provided an indirect approach to the entrance gate, or what one might call an 'elbow' entrance. This is similar to the ninety-degree turn within the Horseshoe Gatehouse at Pembroke (discussed below).

While the twinning of these two round towers at Chepstow is an innovative design in England, within the context of gate planning as a whole at the turn of the century, a variety of designs were being employed. These included simple archways through the curtain wall, sometimes flanked by a single rectangular tower (Newcastle Bridgend (Glamorgan, *c.*1175-80) or a circular tower (Chepstow middle bailey and Ste Suzanne in Mayenne (Pays-de-la-Loire)), in vogue in England between 1179-1190.[47] Unique or unusual plans were also introduced into the vocabulary of castle architecture around 1200; examples include the French castles at Coudray-Salbart (Deux-Sèvres) with its single cylindrical tower and the pentagonal twin-towered gatehouse at Fère-en-Tardenois (Aisne). Belonging to a period shortly after 1186, Robert de Roos (also known as Furstan)is credited with the construction of the castle at Helmsley (Yorkshire).[48] Robert was responsible for most of the surviving work of the inner bailey of the castle, which included a twin-towered gatehouse protecting the northern entrance. Almost a decade before the construction at Chepstow, the twin-towered gatehouse was employed in England at Henry II's castle at Dover (Kent), although with rectangular towers. Furthermore, the now blocked north gatehouse at Dover consisted of twin D-shaped towers flanking a central

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[43] Avent, 'William Marshal's Building Works at Chepstow Castle, Monmouthshire, 1189-1219', 59-60.
[44] Knight, 'The Road to Harlech', 75.
[45] Surviving wall junctions suggested that at least the ground level of these chambers were part of the original design. However, excavations revealed that the building attached to the southern gate tower was a later addition and probably served as the porter's lodge, Avent and Miles, 'The Main Gatehouse', *Chepstow Castle*, 57.
[46] No foundations for a parallel wall was found archaeologically either, *ibid.*, 55.
[47] Renn, D.F., 'An Angevin Gatehouse at Skipton Castle (Yorkshire, West Riding)', *CG*, 7 (1995), 178.
[48] Coppack, G., *Helmsley Castle, North Yorkshire*, (London, 1990), 24.

passage [**Fig 6. 17**].[49] Goodall attributed the north gateway to King John based on the fact that he, more than Richard, spent large sums on the castle and because drum shaped towers are found in other castles ascribed to him, at Scarborough for example.[50] The twin-towered gatehouse was also employed at Irish royal fortresses constructed under the direction of King John, at Limerick (1210-16) [**Fig 6. 18**], Dublin (*c.*1213-30) [**Fig 6. 19**] and Carrickfergus (Antrim, 1216-23) [**Fig 6. 20**].[51] Drum towered gatehouses became common in the first half of the thirteenth century, constructed at Dover (Constable Gate and Norfolk Towers, *c.*1220), Beverstone (Gloucestershire, 1227-9), Angers (Maine-et-Loire, 1232-8) [**Fig 6. 21**], Alnwick (Northumberland, before 1215?), Pontefract (Yorkshire), and Ypres Tower at Rye (Sussex, 1226 or 1249). At the turn of the century, castle builders and their patrons were presented with a wide variety of options, '… gate-towers as well as twin-towered and single towered gateways and gatehouses; incorporating round, square and polygonal forms'.[52] The nearest contemporary gatehouses of the type found at Chepstow are known from Philip Augustus' castle at Paris, dated variously between 1190-1202 [**Fig 6. 22**], and the English fortress at Pevensey (Sussex), dated to as early as the 1190s [**Fig 6. 23**].[53] Although none of the aforementioned examples offer a definitive precedent for the gatehouse at Chepstow, they are illustrative of contemporary castle architecture.

Many of these forms found fruition at Marshal's numerous castles, although it is interesting that the twin-towered type was built at two of them. At Chepstow alone several types of gates were built. One of the Marshal's sons competed the upper barbican with the construction of a rectangular gate tower and William built a cylindrical tower flanking the entrance to the middle bailey. A simple two-centred arch is cut through the curtain wall in

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[49] The opening was set beneath a two-centred arch to receive the drawbridge; the towers were connected above and below ground and a line of flanking towers protected the gatehouse. Goodall has attributed this gatehouse to King John due the distinct parallels to the gatehouses at the royal castles of Dublin and Limerick, Goodall, J., 'Dover Castle and the Great Siege of 1216', *CG*, 19 (2000), 97-8, 100.

[50] The arrangement of its gateway may be reconstructed from the physical evidence as having, like Dover, a segmental arch set beneath a two-centred arch. The date of this building is a matter of conjecture but it evidently predates the late thirteenth-century works at the castle, Goodall, J., *Pevensey Castle,* (London, 1999), 6-7; Goodall, 'Dover Castle and the Great Siege of 1216', 100 n43.

[51] The royal castles at Limerick and Dublin were converted to stone under the direction of King John. Goodall has suggested that they were built in response to William Marshal's castle at Kilkenny, *pers. comm.*, Goodall. McNeill has dated the twin-towered gatehouse at Carrickfergus to between 1225-1250. Goodall has suggested that it may date to the earlier part of the century, probably the royal works conducted between 1216-1223, coinciding with the constructions of Dublin and Limerick castles following John's expedition to Ireland in 1210, *pers. comm.*, Goodall. See chapter four.

[52] Goodall, 'Dover Castle and the Great Siege of 1216', 100.

[53] Repairs to the palisades in the 1180s suggest that the defences were at this point primarily of earth and timber. The first stone works may date to the 1190s, with several substantial payments made for unspecified castle work by Richard I, Goodall, *Pevensey Castle,* 22.

two orders with chamfered jambs dressed in both Dundry limestone and red sandstone (the arch itself is cut from plain limestone and may be a later insertion) [**Fig 6. 24**]. The entrance from the upper barbican to the upper bailey is also a simple two-centred arch in two chamfered orders dressed in Dundry stone [**Fig 6. 25**]. At Chepstow, the most important gatehouse was built at the main visual entrance to the castle, and other, less distinctive, forms were employed at less important points. The use of the newest trend in gate construction (a twin-towered gatehouse) was probably the result of Marshal's interest in the most current fashions. This may well have been a result of his close association with both the English and French courts as well as his travels throughout Europe and across the Mediterranean to the Holy Land. The employment of the twin-towered gatehouse at only Chepstow and Kilkenny might be the result of their relative importance amongst his castle works.

Flanking the entrance to the upper bailey, but contained within the bailey, is a building referred to as the 'Marshal Tower' [**Fig 6. 26**]. This rectangular structure once housed a seemingly sumptuous first floor chamber, lit by at least five decorated windows, all with seats [**Fig 6. 27**] – two in the west wall, two in the south wall (one now blocked) and one in the north. The tower is distinguished by the survival of painted plasterwork: red lines painted on a white ground in imitation of ashlar. Above and alongside the centre of the left jam of the window in the south wall are additional patterns of red lines, which '... might be starbursts or floral motifs'.[54] The most popular design in medieval painting was imitation ashlar, or masonry patterns, usually drawn with single or double red lines (the latter resembled point-work).[55] The painted ornament at Chepstow probably resembled the ashlar and rosette patterning at St. Mary's, Silchester (Hampshire, early thirteenth century) [**Fig 6. 28**]. Perhaps Marshal ordered the room to be '... whitewashed and pointed, and within those pointings to be painted with flowers ...', like Henry III's directions for the queen's chamber in the Tower (1238).[56]

Each window in the chamber was externally demarcated with a chamfered semicircular head. Only one has a semi-circular rear arch [**Fig 6. 29**], the rest have pointed two-centred rear arches, externally demarcated with tympana. The former is detailed on the rear arch with a roll-hollow and larger roll [**Fig 6. 30**]. The pointed two-centred rear arch is

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[54] Turner, 'The Upper Bailey', *Chepstow Castle*, 78.
[55] This is illustrated by Henry III's order for the decoration of the Queen's chamber in the Tower of London (1247), that it should be 'painted and pointed', Rosewell, R., *Medieval Wall Paintings, in English and Welsh Churches*, (Woodbridge, 2008), 15-6.
[56] Salzman, L.F., *Buildings in England Down to 1540: A Documentary History*, (Oxford, 1992), 158.

ornamented with a hollow and a keeled roll [**Fig 6. 31** and **Fig 6. 32**]. The keel moulding was employed throughout England but was found with less frequency outside northern England; where roll mouldings and detached shafts were preferred in the south, and ogee keel mouldings were characteristic of architecture in the west.[57] Although the keel roll was employed in the West Country, it was replaced by roll and hollow mouldings and detached shafts, which became characteristic of Early English Gothic architecture throughout England. Keel mouldings are an unusual feature after the first quarter of the thirteenth century. This suggests the construction of the Marshal Tower belongs to the period before the death of William Marshal in 1219.

A change in architectural detailing is visible in the upper storey of the Great Tower. The small lights in the east wall are similar to those in the Marshal Tower [**Fig 6. 33**]. They have pointed rear arches with moulded hoods and exterior pointed lancets suggesting that these windows might be slightly later. This represents a distinctly earlier period of building works at the Great Tower from the ornamental arch over the west end of the building and the tracery in the windows of the north wall. The sculptural details – roll and fillets, detached shafts, dogtooth ornament and stiff leaf capitals – and a document relating to a gift of timber for the floor joists, have led Coldstream and Morris to conclude that the first floor of the Great Tower was added by Gilbert Marshal.[58] However, they have not dismissed the possibility that work was begun under William the younger. If the Marshal Tower was among the last works directed by William the elder, the east end of the Great Tower might date to the early years of the majority of William the younger.

William the elder extended the complex at Chepstow both east and west. His works included the lower bailey with gatehouse, the middle bailey with mural towers, and the upper bailey with the Marshal Tower [**Fig 6. 34**].[59] The use of Dundry stone, the

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[57] Morris, R.K., 'An English Glossary of Medieval Mouldings: With an Introduction to Mouldings *c.*1040-1240', *AH*, 35 (1992), 6.

[58] Coldstream, N. and R.K. Morris, 'The Architecture and Decoration of the Marshals' Great Tower', *Chepstow Castle*, 112. Dated 21 Aug 1234, the constable of St. Bravels was ordered to gift Earl Gilbert Marshal, '... fifty good oaks in the forest of Daen, where they can be taken conveniently and close to the river Wye, for joisting his tower of Striguil, of the King's gift', *CCR, 1231-34*, 343, cited in Turner, R., *et. al.*, 'The Marshal's Use of the Great Tower', *Chepstow Castle*, 92.

[59] There is a rectangular hole and shaft at the north end of the middle bailey east curtain wall that may have been a latrine, Avent and Turner, 'The Middle Bailey', *Chepstow Castle*, 64. The circular corner tower of the middle bailey also has two ashlar limestone-dressed latrine shutes, *ibid.*, 67. The upper bailey is built of '... varied and distinctly different masonry ...' from the Great Tower, Allen, J.R.L., *Petrographic Report on Building Stones, Chepstow Castle,* (Report to CADW, 2001). The Marshal Tower crenellations are fitted with three sockets to receive timbers for hourding and two merlons are cut with Dundry dressed basal oillet loops and short cross pieces on top. A latrine was built within the curtain wall of the upper bailey, in the southwest

disposition of arrow loops in the curtain wall of the lower bailey, as well as the variety thereof, and the similarity between the gatehouse and the two mural towers of the middle bailey (east wall) suggest that the two areas were planned together. While the south curtain wall of the middle bailey is bonded to the corner tower, a vertical joint by the interval tower suggests that this and the remainder of the curtain was completed in a second phase. Turner and Avent have proposed that the joint could be explained by the fact that earlier defences were left in place until construction reached (assuming work moved east to west) the interval tower of the middle bailey.[60] Archaeology and dendrochronology have assigned commencement of work on the twin-towered gatehouse, and concurrently the lower bailey, to *c.*1189. While all original arrow loops of the middle and lower bailey are contained within round-headed embrasures, the two-centred arches of the Marshal Tower suggest that work on the upper bailey was started after the completion of most of the east end of the castle, as I have already noted. The single round-headed window in the Marshal Tower might indicate a slight overlap. It is possible that work on the lower and middle bailey belongs to the period between *c.*1189-1207. William was forced to hand over his castles to the king in 1207, which probably resulted in a short pause in building works, and may explain why the window types change in the Marshal Tower. Marshal returned to England in 1213, and thereafter construction works were probably renewed.[61] Marshal's sons completed the circuit by enclosing the west end of the precipice with the upper barbican.[62] They also made improvements to the Great Tower, which can be witnessed in the stone ornamentation of the upper storey.[63] Matilda Marshal's grandson, Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk (1270-1306), made alterations to the castle in the late thirteenth century. These included the addition of the 'Gloriette' (the earl's private chambers) and the D-shaped 'Marten's Tower' in the lower bailey. Much of the curtain wall was altered or added to in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[64]

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corner. The shute is dressed with Dundry stone and vents directly over the river, Turner, R., 'The Upper Bailey', *Chepstow Castle*, 71, 74-5.

[60] Dundry stone is used less sparingly in the interval tower of the middle bailey, Avent and Turner, 'The Middle Bailey', *Chepstow Castle*, 69.

[61] The Marshal's English and Welsh castles were returned to him in by the summer of 1211 and once back in the king's favour he was granted free passage past Waterford for ships bound for New Ross, *CDI*, 1: nos. 648, 725 and 862; Painter, *William Marshal*, 167.

[62] Turner, 'The Upper Barbican', *Chepstow Castle*, 113-118.

[63] Turner, *et. al.*, 'The Marshals' Use of the Great Tower', *Chepstow Castle*, 91-100; Coldstream and Morris, 'The Architecture and Decoration of the Marshals' Great Tower', *Chepstow Castle*, 101-112; Turner, 'The Upper Barbican', *Chepstow Castle*, 113-118.

[64] Turner, *et. al.*, 'The 'Gloriette' in the Lower Bailey', *Chepstow Castle*, 135-150; Turner, *et. al.*, 'The New or Marten's Tower', *Chepstow Castle*, 151-166.

Chepstow is important in the study of the castles of William Marshal not only because it has been securely dated but also as it has the earliest example in England of a twin-towered gatehouse with round towers. This indicates William's readiness to produce innovative castle architecture with an eye outward to the most current fashions. And this advancement should not be ignored when determining his influence on or his patronage of other fortifications. His earliest works at Chepstow include the overt use of the *turris rotunda*, a preference visible in the fabric of his other strongholds. The proliferation of the round tower is prominent at Pembroke – the Horseshoe Gate, the *donjon* and the Dungeon Tower. With the acquisition of Leinster, Pembroke had become '... one of the strategic key points of the Marshal domains, the link between their lands on the Welsh March and their vast inheritance in southern Leinster'.[65] Pembroke is situated between two tidal inlets of the Milford Haven at the head of Pennar Mouth [**Fig 6. 35**].[66] It was built from grey limestone rubble but, with the exception of the *donjon* and the great hall, most of the ashlar has been robbed out. The two-light windows and the form of arrow loop (with rectangular basal oillet) found in the *donjon* are similar to those found in Barnard's Tower, one of the town walls' towers [**Fig 6. 36**].[67] The similarities suggest that construction of the town wall coincided with Marshal's early thirteenth century work in the inner bailey.[68] However, circular mural towers also line the circuit of the outer bailey, and the 'Northgate Tower' has simple twin-lights, and may imply that town walls were contemporary to the outer bailey [**Fig 6. 37**]. The outer bailey has been variously attributed, either to the work of the Marshal sons (*c.*1220-45) or to William de Valence (after *c.*1258).[69]

The chronology of the various phases at Pembroke has proven to be somewhat contentious. King argued that the inner bailey should date to not much after 1189 on the basis that the 'Horseshoe Gate', at its entrance, was built without a portcullis. Furthermore he asserted that certain stylistic features, such as the square oillets, suggest the whole line of the inner

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[65] Knight, 'The Road to Harlech', 76.

[66] Neither is now tidal. Milford Pond (on the north) was dammed at the mill-weir. 'The southern arm, Monkton Pill, has been dried up by the draining and tipping, and now forms a length of fairly dry ground', King, D.J.K., 'Pembroke Castle', *Arch. Cam.*, 127 (1978), 75 n6.

[67] Cathcart King, D.J. and M. Cheshire, 'The Town Walls of Pembroke', *Arch. Cam.*, 131 (1982), 80.

[68] Soon after his investiture of the earldom of Pembroke he was responsible for spending large sums on the fortification of Arques (Seine Maritime), *Misc. Norman Exch.*, 67; *Rot. Normaniae*, 23, 35, cited in Renn, 'The *Donjon* at Pembroke Castle', 42.

[69] While King, 'Pembroke Castle', dated the entire circuit of the outer ward to William Marshal's sons, recent research suggests that it was the work of William de Valence *c.*1258 (the same de Valence who built Ferns castle). The gatehouse features a D-shaped tower and another tower, both of which cover the approach. Two sets of doors, two portcullises and a pair of murder holes protected the passage. In the early seventeenth century, Aymer de Valence added the semi-circular barbican, Ludlow, N., 'Pembroke Castle and Town Walls', Fortress, 8 (1991), 27. This is the same William de Valence who has been attributed to the work at Ferns castle.

defences date to the very late twelfth or the very early thirteenth century (the *donjon* to 1190-1200 and the Wogan and the Dungeon Tower to *c.*1190).[70] However, Rowlands argued that construction during the 1190s was unlikely due to the fact that the castle and manor were in the custody of John of Torrington, sheriff of Devon and Cornwall, as late as the autumn of 1200. Marshal was in possession of the castle by May 1201, when a royal charter of that date contained the clause '*ad petitionem Willelmi Marescalli*'.[71] Therefore, he must have gained seisin of the Pembroke estates some time between October 1200 and May 1201. It was just prior to King John's coronation (27 May 1199) that Marshal was invested with the comital title 'earl of Pembroke'.[72] Construction on the inner bailey (including the keep and curtain) probably commenced during the 1201 building-season and there is no reason to believe that work did not continue until the early spring of 1207. It was then that he was obliged to pledge all of his castles in England as well as his two eldest sons to the king as assurance of his loyalty.[73] While his English castles were in royal custody his own building works probably ceased, dividing the construction campaigns at Chepstow between 1200/1-1207 and 1211/13-19.[74] However, as is also the case in ecclesiastic constructions, short breaks in construction are not always visible in the fabric. Additionally, although work could have continued under royal direction, no crown expenditure for his castles was recorded in the interceding years.

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[70] King, 'Pembroke Castle', 75-121.

[71] A charter dated to October 1200 indicated that the castle was in royal hands at least until then, when the sheriff '... *et omnibus baronibus, militibus et probes hominibus meis de Ros et Pembrock* ...' was notified of a royal safe-conduct, *Rot. Chart.*, 98, cited in Rowlands, I.W., 'William Marshal, Pembroke Castle and the Historian', *CG*, 17 (1994), 154-5.

[72] 'As early as June 1199 William Marshal appears in royal documents as 'earl of Pembroke' ... [However] John was still issuing orders to the sheriff of Pembroke and to 'his' barons and knights of Rhos and Pembroke in October 1200 ... [But by] May 1201 William Marshal appears as the patron of the burgesses of Pembroke, securing trading privileges in London for them from the king', Crouch, *William Marshal*, 86-7.

[73] The king also took the castle and shire of Gloucester, the keeping of the forest of Dean and its castle at St. Briavels, and placed the royal castle of Cardigan in the hands of William de Londres, *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 81; *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 70, 71, 74; *CPR, 9 John*, 210, cited in Painter, *William Marshal*, 166. At the end of King John's second expedition to Ireland in 1210, he demanded William hand over the castle of Dunamase, *ibid.* The temporary forfeiture of castles into the king's custody was a common policy; a means of maintaining control over his vassals. It was famously employed in 1174 against the Scottish king, William, in the Treaty of Falaise.

[74] Rowlands argued that the keep would have required some seven seasons to complete (1201-7), based on Renn's calculations that ten to twelve feet of wall could be built in a single season, Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain*, 26. However, it is also possible that works could be completed in less than average time when the need required. For example the keep and bailey of Orford (1166-73) built by Henry II[74] and Richard's entire complex at Château Gaillard built between 1196 and 1198. Speedy constructions were more likely under the direction of royal patrons, with the coffers of the Angevin Empire to support them. For William, money was hardly an obstacle.

The *donjon* is perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the castle due to the fact that it represents one of the earliest isolated circular keeps in Wales [**Fig 6. 38** and **Fig 6. 39**].[75] Although this appears to have been overlooked by Renn when he described the castle as a '... transition in military architecture from the twelfth-century keep ... to the keepless castles defended from its curtain and with its main residence in the gatehouse, as at Harlech'.[76] A fair number of cylindrical towers in France antedate Marshal's construction, such as the tower at Laval (Mayenne) [**Fig 6. 40**].[77] William was in the Loire valley just prior to his acquisition of Pembroke. In early March 1199, he was with the court of Richard I and may have come across Laval on his expedition.[78] Laval is an interesting precedent as it displays a number of similarities to the slightly later keep at Pembroke. Each is built three storeys over an unlit basement and both were originally entered at the first floor (not altogether unusual).[79] Above and beside the first floor entrance at Pembroke are two postholes, indicating the possible location of a timber forebuilding. While the tower at Laval is vaulted throughout (most French keeps are), only the roof and small uppermost chamber at Pembroke is vaulted (this is a particularly French feature as most English towers are floored and roofed in timber).[80] Each keep is also demarcated externally with chamfered offsets at each floor.[81] This type of external feature is also found on Marshal's Garrison Tower (at Usk) [**Fig 6. 41**] and the two mural towers along the east curtain of the middle bailey at Chepstow. It is also a distinct characteristic of several of Philip Augustus's round keeps, for example, Lillebonne (Seine-Maritime) and the Tour de Coudray, Chinon (Indre-et-Loire).[82] To this list can be added Châteaudun (Eure-et-Loir) and Château-sur-Epte (Eure).[83] Châteaudun was built by Thibaud V, Comte

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[75] Heliot has suggested that the circular tower at Bronnlys pre-dated 1176, attributed to the Welsh Count of Brecknock, and that the plan was adopted shortly thereafter at Lyonshall (Herefordshire). The latter now stands only a few feet above ground level, Heliot, P., 'L'Evolution du Donjon dans le Nord-Ouest de la France et en Angleterre au 12e Siécle', *BACTHS*, ns 5 (1969), 173. Giraldus, *Journey through Wales*, recalls a tale of a young knight, Mahel, earl of Hereford, who in 1165 was at the castle of Bronllys when it was ravaged by fire and a stone hurtled through the air struck him dead. McNeill has pointed out the similarities between the Pembroke *donjon* and the circular keep at Nenagh, built by Theobald Walter (*c.*1185-1206), McNeill, T.E., 'Hibernica pacata et castellata', *CG*, 14 (1990), 266.

[76] Renn, 'The Donjon at Pembroke Castle', 35-47.

[77] For the date of the castle at, see Pré, M., 'Le chateau de Laval', *CAF*, 119 (Maine 1961), 9-74.

[78] Richard was attended by the bishops of Salisbury and Chester, the count of Mortain, Earl Robert of Leicester, William de Braose, William Marshal, and other knights, barons and clerks, *CCR*, 1327-1341, 164.

[79] At Pembroke, both the present basement entrance and the exterior stone stair are later additions. Two beam sockets are found over the doorway, one with a stump of a beam, suggesting a canopy may have been constructed over the doorway. King postulated that it was a movable bridge, King, 'Pembroke Castle', 161.

[80] Most Welsh circular towers were floored and roofed in timber, Knight, 'The Road to Harlech', 76.

[81] The offsets at Pembroke indicate that the internal diameter decreases as the tower rises. It measures externally 22.5 meters at the base and 15.94 meters at the apex, King, *op. cit.*, 161.

[82] King, 'The Road to Harlech', 76.

[83] 'The vaults at Châteaudun form the same sort of pointed dome as those of Pembroke, but this fact must not be over-valued. Neither in the Loire country, where vaults of this shape are common, nor in England, a

de Blois, between 1170 and 1190, and is located in the Pays de la Loire region of France, where Marshal is recorded to have been as late as 1199.[84] He was also in the Loire valley throughout the winter and spring of 1189, during which time Henry II promised him the hand of Isabel de Clare.[85]

Both Laval and Châteaudun [**Fig 6. 42**], as well as the polygonal tower at Houdan (Yvelines), can further be compared with Pembroke on the basis of the inclusion of two-light windows in the upper floors. Although it is important not to derive too much meaning from the inclusion of two-light windows in various castle works, the survival of these early features is unusual. This is due to the fact that most castles with continued occupation often had their features updated with each successive owner, and this is the case at Chepstow where many of the original arrow loops were later widened for the insertion of Tudor windows. The unusual keep at Houdan is usually attributed to the patronage of the count of Évreux (1118-37), Amaury de Montford, between *c.*1120-37, but has also been suggested to be the work of Simon IV (1181-1218) at the end of the twelfth century.[86] While most of the aforementioned examples of twin-light windows have capitals, those at Pembroke have continuous chamfers [**Fig 6. 43**]. Located directly above the first floor entrance, the twin pointed-lights are enclosed in a single pointed arch. The frame is dressed with ashlar masonry while the two lights are decorated with dogtooth ornament on the chamfer (a feature found in Marshal's religious foundations in Ireland). In the spandrel between the lights is a carved human head (now too weathered to reveal any detail). The window on the third floor is similar; it is also composed of two lights contained within a single pointed chamfered arch [**Fig 6. 44**], with a very weathered head carved in the spandrel. However, the two chamfered lights have round heads and the mullion between is missing. Another twin-light is found in the Wogan, or subterranean cavern. It has been suggested that this structure provided a medieval dock for deliveries via the harbour and river routes, although the level of the floor would only have allowed shallow bottomed boats to safely enter.[87] Externally the lancets of the Wogan window are

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carpenter's country where vaulting is comparatively scarce, do we at all commonly find a domed vault forming the roof of a tower', King, 'Pembroke Castle', 164.

[84] Mesqui, J., *Châteaux et Enceintes de la France Médiévale: de la Defense à la Résidence*, (Paris, 1991), 137.

[85] Henry II had grown ill, but he was still faced with trouble from his son Richard I in alliance with the king of France, Painter, *William Marshal*, 66-71.

[86] Gardner, S., 'Influences of Castle Building on Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Paris Region, 1130-1150', *The Medieval Castle: Romance and Reality*, ed. K. Reyerson and F. Powe, (Kendall, Iowa, 1984), 119 n23; Harmand, J., 'Houdan et l'Evolution des Donjons au XII siècle', *BM*, 127 (1969), 187-207.

[87] The Wogan chamber lies beneath the two halls to the northeast of the keep. There was a water gate opening on the cliff side of the chamber lending weight to the suggestion that the chamber acted as a boathouse. 'It

chamfered and contained within a round-headed arch with ashlar dressings. Twin-lights were a common feature of Romanesque castle architecture in England.[88] The closest parallel for an early Gothic twin-light window in a castle is found at Montreuil-Bonnin (Vienne), attributed to either Richard I prior to the Third Crusade or Philip Augustus after 1204 [**Fig 6. 45**]. The castle is located in the Poitou region of France, an area that Marshal often visited. He was on route from Chinon (Indre-e-Loire) to Lusignan (Vienne) in June 1200 as one of the ambassadors despatched to escort the count of Angoulême and his half-brother of Limoges for a conference with the king.[89] The fact that the feature survives in several contemporary or antecedent French castles might imply that Marshal employed French masons, or at least a French master mason. This would also explain the appearance of the gatehouse at Chepstow, the earliest of its type in England.

While there are no contemporary examples of the twin-light in castle architecture in England or Wales, examples of the form are found in ecclesiastical architecture. In fact, Marshal's Cistercian foundation at Graiguenamanagh (Kilkenny) employed twin-lights in the nave clerestory and a turn of the century example is found in the chapel in the gatehouse at Carrickfergus (Antrim, probably inserted from an earlier building). The placement of an architectural element in the spandrel between the lights, however, is most often found in the triforia of ecclesiastical constructions. At Ripon Minster, for example, twin pointed lights are contained within a single round arch at the triforium level of the choir (*c.*1180). A punched quatrefoil design is carved in the spandrel [**Fig 6. 46**]. Closer to home, the West Country church of St. Mary, Shrewsbury (Shropshire, *c.*1180) contains a

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could have accommodated a 24-oared galley of Viking type like the Ladby ship or no. 5 of the Skuldelev ships recovered from the Roskilde fjord …' – in either case rather wider with more freeboard, and hence more seaworthy – a ship from the Irish Sea crossing, King, 'Pembroke Castle', 100, 100 n4.

[88] Examples include Norwich (Norfolk, *c.*1100), the tower of which has been dated on the basis of masons' marks common to both the castle and the east arm of the cathedral, Fernie, E., *The Architecture of Norman England*, 72-74; Heslop, T.A., *Norwich Castle Keep: Romanesque Architecture and Social Context*, (Norwich, 1994). A charter of Henry I granted the custody of Rochester (Kent, 1123-36) to William of Corbeil, while he was archbishop of Canterbury. In addition, Gervase of Canterbury recorded that the latter built the tower, *Textus Roffensis*, 145-8; Gervase of Canterbury, 382; Colvin, *King's Works*, 1: 23, 29, 39, and 2: 806-7, cited in Fernie, *op. cit.*, 74-78; Brown, R.A., *Rochester Castle*, (London, 1997). In 1138 William de Albini III married Alice, the widow of Henry I. It is probably following this event that he built Castle Rising (Norfolk, 1138) and a cylindrical tower at what then became New Buckenham, Fernie, *op. cit.*, 78-80; Brown, R.A., *Castle Rising*, (London, 1978); Dixon, R., 'Design in Castle Building: The Controlling of Access to the Lord', *CG*, 18 (1996), 47-56; Morley, B. and D. Gurney, eds., *Castle Rising, Norfolk*, (Norfolk, 1997); Liddiard, R., 'Castle Rising, Norfolk: a "Landscape of Lordship"?', *ANS*, 22 (2000 for 1999), 169-86. There is no documentary evidence for the construction of the castle at Hedingham (Essex) but multiple chevron mouldings suggest a date between the 1120s and 1160s, Fernie, *op. cit.*, 80-82; Dixon, P. and P. Marshall, 'The Great Tower at Hedingham Castle: A Reassessment', *Fortress*, 18 (1993), 16-23. The keep at Porchester (Hampshire) was built in two phases, the lower part about the 1120s, and a heightening of the tower before 1173, Munby, J.T., *Porchester Castle, Hampshire*, (London, 1990), 5.

[89] *CCR*, 97, cited in Painter, *William Marshal*, 127.

twin light window with a carving in the spandrel in the porch [**Fig 6. 47**].[90] Here the general appearance is akin to what is found at Pembroke: two pointed lights are contained under a common chamfered arch with a pointed head. At Shrewsbury, the window is ornamented with round columns and foliate capitals. In the spandrel between the lights is a small carved and slightly punched quatrefoil with the bas-relief of a leaf above. These twin-light windows certainly confirm that the keep at Pembroke belongs to the period around the turn of the thirteenth century. Additionally, the fact that the type of ornamented window found in the Marshal Tower at Chepstow differs from those at Pembroke suggests three things. The first is that the Marshal Tower probably dates to after William's return from Ireland in 1213, while the keep at Pembroke is ascribed to the first decade of the thirteenth century. The second is that construction of the two buildings was directed by two different master masons. The final implication is that William's brief for the two buildings was essentially distinct, and this is visually confirmed by the plan and ornamentation of the two buildings.

Besides the elaborate widows, fireplaces are included in the first and second storeys of the *donjon* at Pembroke. As the second floor is the only one to contain both a decorative window and a fireplace it appears to have been the most important room in the tower. Often it is the location of fireplaces and garderobes that provide the evidence for accommodation within castle buildings [see chapter four]. Even without a garderobe, the decorative details of the chambers here suggest they were for the private use of high-ranking individuals, probably the earl and countess themselves. The reason for the exclusion of a built-in garderobe in this tower might have been based on the desire for more sanitary conditions within the castle. This would explain the allocation of all latrines to the external curtain wall.[91] At Chepstow the only remaining garderobes within Marshal's work empty outside the castle enclosure (the corner tower of the middle bailey, the north tower of the gatehouse and a latrine chute in the southwest corner of the upper bailey). At Pembroke, Marshal built two square towers along the north curtain wall of the inner ward, the Point Turret and the North Turret, a garderobe is contained within the

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[90] Other examples are found at Carlisle, the west front of Romsey, the belfry of Sibsey (Lincolnshire) and the refectory of Tintern. On a smaller scale they are found in St. Maurice, York (*c.*1160, now in the Hospitium in the Museum gardens), in the Bishop's halls at Lincoln and Wells (1200-34) and the hall of Winchester castle (finished 1234), Bond, F., *An Introduction to English Church Architecture, from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century*, (Oxford, 1913), 2: 576-78.

[91] Where evidence does not exist for the survival of medieval garderobes, medieval tenants made alternative arrangements for decanting, such as the use of chamber pots. Singman examined the record of Eleanor de Montfort's (countess of Leicester, wife of Simon de Montfort and sister of Henry III) stay at Dover castle in 1265, Singman, J.L., *Daily Life in Medieval Europe*, (1999), 127-38, for references to chamber pots, see *ibid.*, 49, 86, 130.

former [**Fig 6. 48**]. A second latrine is located at the west corner of the inner curtain wall and could have been accessed from the *donjon* by way of a doorway in the second floor that led to the wall walk of the curtain [**Fig 6. 49**] (the same room that had a fireplace and ornate window). Two postholes below and next to the doorway indicate where a wooden walk linked the keep to the curtain. The garderobe in the southwest corner of the upper bailey at Chepstow was reached from the Marshal Tower also by way of a short walk across the curtain wall. The fact that at both castles the latrines emptied outside the complex (at Usk the Garrison Tower garderobes expels outside the curtain wall) suggests that hygiene and cleanliness were a practical concern in the design of each of Marshal's castles. Perhaps garderobes once existed in the now lost towers at Kilkenny, expelling into the moat. Although there is certainly some possibility that the tower at Pembroke was employed in a Hedingham-esque manner, as a ceremonial tower, I think it is rather dismissive to suggest that a well-built construction was uninhabited for lack of stone constructed latrine features.

One further feature of the *donjon* at Pembroke should be mentioned – the roof. Several of the merlons of the battlements are still found *in situ* and contain arrow loops (cross slits with rectangular basal oillets). At the base of the crenellations is a row of drain holes and sockets, the latter once supporting a timber gallery (or hourd).[92] The tower was capped with a domed vault. Due to the unusual construction, a second circle of battlements and wall walk are contained behind the exterior merlons and wall walk [**Fig 6. 50**]. The conical roof vault extends upwards between the central battlement circle, with a small chamber created within the vault space. Goodall has suggested the very unusual manner of construction may well have been reproduced (possibly in timber or stone) at Marshal's other *donjon*s, such as the Parade Tower at Kilkenny [**Fig 6. 51**].[93] Francis Place's view of Kilkenny from *c.*1698 depicts a cone shaped roof with a cupola-like feature projecting upward from the centre. A central feature is also visible on the west tower and the long since demolished east tower. It is impossible to determine when these features were built. However, being a feature of the *donjon* at Pembroke, it is possible that the 'double battlement' found there was a characteristic of Marshal castle architecture. The first glass lantern was added to the tower at Hook in the 1670s, but clearly visible beneath the glass in a painting from *c.*1685 is a second tier of stone walling behind the battlements [**Fig 6. 52**]. Inspiration for this type of double tier battlement construction may come from his travels

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[92] King, 'Pembroke Castle', 102.
[93] *pers. comm.*, Goodall

in the East. It would have been a particularly interesting feature at the lighthouse due to the fact that a thirteenth century mosaic in St. Mark's basilica, Venice depicts the lighthouse tower at Alexandria in three successive and smaller tiers, one above the other **[Fig 6. 53]**. It is possible that the lighthouse or something of similar design seen on his pilgrimage was the inspiration behind the design of the keep at Pembroke.

While it is only a reasonable implication that William made mental note of castle architecture in the East and that it served to influence his later castle constructions, the suggestion is given weight by the existence of the so-called 'Horseshoe Gate' [**Fig 6. 54**]. It stands at the entrance to the inner bailey and was revealed during excavations in 1883.[94] The irregular gate is apsidal in plan and requires any visitor passing through to make a ninety-degree turn left within the tower. It was probably the shape of the chamber and not the location of the doorways that gave it its name, the Horseshoe Gate. The basic design of access is what might best be described as an 'elbow entrance', with the outer doorway in the west wall and the inner doorway in the adjacent (north) wall. The closest parallels for the 'elbow entrance' are found in crusader castles, such as the gate tower to the inner bailey at the Hospitaller castle of Belvoir, Coquet (Kingdom of Jerusalem, modern Israel) [**Fig 6. 55**]. Excavations conducted between 1963 and 1968 concluded that the castle was a result of a single building campaign conducted by the Hospitallers between 1168 and 1187.[95] At about half the size of Belvoir (60 meters square), the concentric castle at

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[94] The adjacent 'Dungeon Tower' was also excavated at the time. Certain restorations (1880-83) were undertaken when in the hands of Cobb, J.R., 'Pembroke Castle', *Arch. Cam.*, 4th ser., 14 (1883), 196-220, 264-73.

[95] The castle was sold to the Hopsitallers by Ivo Velos in 1168, *Cart des Hosp*, 1: 271-2 (no. 398); *RRH*, 116-17 (no. 448). After the battle of Hattin in 1187 the Hospitaller garrison held out against the amirs Sayf al-Din and Qaymaz al-Najmi until 5 January 1189, wen it surrendered to Saladin himself. Abu Shama *RHC OR*, iv, 344-9; 386-91. Although the sultan considered dismantling the castle in October 1192, there is no evidence that he did so; and it appears that it was garrisoned until 1219, when it was slighted on the orders of al-Muzzam Isa. Abu Shama *RHC Or*, v, 87-8, 91, 125. The area returned to Frankish hands between 1241 and 1263, but it is uncertain whether the Hospitallers refortified Belvoir in that period, Benvenisti, M., *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, (Jerusalem, 1970), 294-7; Biller, T., 'Die Johanniterburg Belvoir am Jordan: Zum Frühen Burgenbau der Ritterorden im Heiligen Land', *Architectura: Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst/Journal of the History of Architecture*, (1989), 106-12; Prawer, J., 'History of the Crusader Castle Kaukab al-Hawa', *Yediot*, 31 (1967), 113-46. Excavations were conducted by the Israel Department of Antiquities and the National Parks Authority between 1963 and 1968 and revealed a rectangular 'concentric' castle with the outer curtain wall measuring about 100 meters square, Ben-Dov, M., 'The Excavations at the Crusader Fortress of Kokhav-Hayardan (Belvoir)', *Qadmoniot*, 2.1 (1969), 2207; Ben-Dov, M., 'The Crusader Castle of Belvoir', *Christian News from Israel*, 23.1 (1972), 26-8; Ben-Dov, M., 'Belvoir', *EAEHL*, 1 (1975), 179-84; Ben-Dov, M. and Y. Manzker, 'Kokhav Ha-Yarden (Belvoir)', *RB*, 75 (1968), 419-20, pl. Lia-b; Biller, 'Die Johannitberg Belcoir am Jordan'; Biran, A., 'Archaeological Activities, 1966', *Christian News from Israel*, 18.1-2 (1967), 25-6; Biran, A., 'Archaeological Activities, 1967', *Christian News from Israel*, 19 (1968), 39; Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, 294-300; Prawer, J., *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, (London, 1972), 300-7. The chapel occupied the first floor of the projecting gate tower and the gate passage behind it, Pringle, D., *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (Cambridge, 1993), 1: 120-22.

Saranda Kolones, Paphos (Kingdom of Cyprus) offers another example of the 'elbow' gate.[96] Construction here is coeval with the castle at Pembroke *c.*1200 and differs from the former crusader fortress in the use of round corner towers. Belvoir, however, offers a convincing precedent due to the fact that construction was well advanced between 1183-1185 when Marshal honoured the young king Henry's vow to travel to the Holy Land. William's clear focus on gate towers at Chepstow and Pembroke may have been a product of these two years. To the Byzantine architect, the gates were a chief concern. 'Whenever possible they were flanked by towers at the sides [and] sometimes they were set in towers, and defended by being forced around at right angles.'[97] Examples are found at Aïn Tounga (modern Tunisia) and the Timgad (modern Algeria). Byzantine fortresses were often appropriated by crusaders and later added to or altered. Although neither the Belvoir nor the Cyprus gate towers are apsidal, it is possible Marshal was introduced to the 'elbow entrance' while on crusade in the 1180s. The round tower is uncommon in Crusader castle architecture, most built with square buildings well into the thirteenth century. However, apsidal or cylindrical plans were employed in church architecture and polygonal towers were becoming common in northern Europe in the mid-twelfth century. Perhaps it was his gatehouse at Chepstow, and its northern European predecessors or contemporaries, which helped to translate the 'elbow' gate from the rectangular tower found in crusader architecture to the apsidal tower that was built at Pembroke. If the reconstruction mentioned above of the lower barbican at Chepstow is correct, then Chepstow too was built with a type of 'elbow entrance'.[98]

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[96] Avent mentioned the similarity to the gate at Saranda Kolones, Avent, 'William Marshal's Castle at Chepstow and its Place in Military Architecture', 90, fig. 72, but the construction is too late to have been inspiration for William's gatehouse at Chepstow. In 1192, Richard I sold Cyprus to the Knights Templar, who later gave the island to Guy de Lusignan, sovereign of the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem. The castle was built in 1200 and destroyed by an earthquake in 1222, Megaw, A.H.S., 'Excavations at "Sarandas Kolones," Paphos, Preliminary report on the 1966-67 and 1970-71 seasons', *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus, 1971*, (Nicosia, 1971), 120; Mair, F.G., and Karageorghis, V., *Paphos: History and Archaeology*, (Nicosia, 1984), 308-10; Boas, A.J., *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East*, (London, 1999), 108-9; Other examples include the Frankish work at Assebebe (Subeibeh), three gates at Saône (Sahyn) and apparently another at Bourzey, all of which were lost to the Saracens by the end of the twelfth century – Assebebe in 1164, the other two soon after the battle of Hattin in 1187, Deschamps, *Le Dfense du Royaume de Jérusalem*, (Paris, 1939), Subeibe, plans 1,2, cited in King, 'Pembroke Castle', 165.

[97] Lawrence, T.E., *Crusader Castles*, (Oxford, 1988), 32.

[98] Another smaller doorway was located in the east wall of the Horseshoe Gate. King has suggested that the small door was a postern gate. Other such entrances are rare survivals. An example is found in the early thirteenth century west gate at Caldicot (Monmouthshire), and there is also a nineteenth century reference to one at Caerleon, King, 'Pembroke Castle', 106. Openings in the flank of towers are common in Frankish castles in the East – at Assebebe (Subeibeh), Deschamps, *La Défense du Royaume de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1939), 169-70 and plans; and Saône (Sahyun), lost after the battle of Hattin in 1187, Deschamps, *Syria*, 13, 372, cited in King, 'Pembroke Castle', 107, 107 n90. It is possible that William Marshal went to Saône during his two-year expedition in the Holy Land, although no detailed record of his crusade exists.

It may also have been William's experiences in Palestine that influenced his castle design at locations unhindered by pre-existing defences (or pre-existing stone works). The design most readily employed by the crusaders was a 'four-cornered fort'.[99] As mentioned above, crusaders readily appropriated late Roman and Byzantine fortifications. It should be noted that Roman strongholds in England were often reused; Porchester is one such example. In the Holy Land, both the Templars and later the Hospitallers made use of the *castrum* fort at Habonim (or Frankish Cafarlet), Kafr Lam (Palestine), originally built to guard against invasion from the Byzantine Empire. The latter was a rectangular enclosure with round corner towers and additional towers on either side of the south gate [**Fig 6. 56**].[100] William of Tyre described another stronghold of similar type built by the Franks around Fatimid Ascalon (Ashkelon, Israel).[101] 'At Darum the king built a small, square fort with towers at each corner, one of which was more massive and better fortified than the others [the *donjon*].'[102]

Marshal's castle at Usk could be described as a compromise between the regular trapezoidal *castrum* of crusader type described by William of Tyre, the pre-existing castle and contemporary trends in castle fashion. It is situated en-route from the Midlands into Wales, an important location for control of the Usk valley. Later medieval buildings mask the original design but it is essentially a quasi-rectangular enclosure with mural towers at its main corners [**Fig 6. 57**].[103] While the plans are different, as discussed in chapter two, '... approximate similarity of the geometrical pattern evidently satisfied the minds of the

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[99] In Greek *tetrepyrgion* and Latin *Quadriburgium*: the four-cornered fort developed out of the Roman fortified camps and in the late Roman and Byzantine periods the design was used for frontier forts, notably those in North Africa. *Castra* built in the late Roman and Byzantine periods in the region include Tamara in the eastern Negev which dates from the third century AD, and a fourth-century *castrum* at Ain Boqek on the west bank of the Dead Sea. This use of this type of fortress continued into the early Islamic period. Under the Umayyads the desert palaces of Khirbat al-Mafjar in Jericho and Khirbat al-Minya by the Sea of Galilee were built in the *castrum* form, as were coastal forts at Ashdod Yam and north of Caesarea at modern Habonim', Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, 101.

[100] *Ibid.*, 101.

[101] William of Tyre, 1986: 14.22, 15.24-5, 17.12, 20.19.

[102] 'Yavne (Ibelin) was a castle with four towers, Blanchegarde (Tell es-Safi) had four towers of equal height and Beit Govrin (Beit Govrin) was more complex, with an outer wall with many towers and a moat', Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, 102.

[103] The shape of the inner bailey has been described as both a 'shallow-angled octagon' and a 'rectangle with its sides angled out as shallow echelons', Knight, 'The Road to Harlech', 78. Knight relates the placement of towers at the cardinal points to a number of other geometrically planned castles of the thirteenth century, i.e. Dourdan (Seine-et-Oise), Skenfrith (Monmouthshire), Kidwelly (Carmathenshire), Rhuddlan (Flintshire). On geometrically planned castles of the early thirteenth century see Heliot, P., 'La Genèse des Château de Plan Quadrangulairs', *BSNAF*, (1965), 238-52, cited in Knight, J.K., 'Usk Castle and its Affinities', *Ancient Monuments and their Interpretation: Essays Presented to A.J. Taylor*, ed. M.R. Apsted, R. Gilyard-Beer and A.D. Saunders, (London, 1977), 153 n11.

medieval [man] ...'.[104] The rectangular tower on the east side of the bailey was part of the original stone defences. Although the date of this earlier keep (now trapezoidal due to later rebuilding) is unknown, it is presumably either the work of Strongbow before his death in 1176 (or more likely before he left for Ireland in *c.*1170) or the Crown shortly thereafter.[105] The rectangular keep was constructed with yellow (Triassic) sandstone dressing, whereas red Devonian sandstone is employed for the dressings of the curtain wall and cylindrical towers.[106] The rectangular keep was converted into one of several mural towers along the line of the curtain wall.

The south corner tower and the southwest tower are coeval with the curtain wall (only a small part of the south tower survives).[107] The southwest tower, or Garrison Tower as it is now called, acted as a type of *donjon*, or residential tower, embedded into the curtain rather isolated within the castle ward as was the case at most preceding keeps [**Fig 6. 58** and **Fig 6. 59**]. Knight has dated the tower to 1212-19, due to the fact that the Garrison Tower has arrow loops with square basal oillets similar to those found in the one remaining corner tower at Caerleon Castle.[108] Marshal was not in possession of the castle at Caerleon until the autumn of 1217 and the similarity in loop types has suggested to some that Usk does not date until after Marshal's return from Ireland.[109] While arrow loops are not often an accurate measure for the chronology of Marshal building works, as already argued, rectangular and circular oillets are characteristic of many of his castles, and date to as early as *c.*1189. Nonetheless, the defences at Usk must have been completed to a great extent by 1233 when Richard Marshal successfully defended it against the besieging forces of Henry III.[110] In fact, the similarity between the keep at Usk and the *donjon* at Pembroke suggest they were both the work of William the elder. This implies that construction started at Usk in the earliest part of the thirteenth century, prior to William's exile in Ireland. Both

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[104] Gregory of Nyssa described the plan of an octagonal church as forming 'a circle with eight angles' although he apologised for his somewhat loose terminology. *Gregory of Nyssa*, 76ff. To Arculf (who visited the Near East in the seventh century) the octagonal church of the Ascension of the Mount of Olives, the Imbomon, was a 'rotunda' and so was the complicated plan of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. The plan of Arculf, in Adamnanus, *De Locis Sanctis*, 219ff; cited in Krautheimer, R., 'Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture,' *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance art*, (London, 1969), 119.

[105] Money was spent on provisioning the castle in 1173, when in the hands of Earl Richard. It was taken temporarily into the hands of Hywel ap Iorwerth in the following year, *Publications of the Pipe Roll Society*, 21: 22, cited in Knight, 'Usk Castle and its Affinities', 139. In 1185 the king spent £10-3s on repairs to the castle, the garrison then comprising ten sergeants, ten archers, four watchmen and a flying squad of fifteen 'mobile' sergeants, *Publications of the Pipe Roll Society*, 24: 10, cited in Knight, *op. cit.*, 139.

[106] *Ibid.*, 140.

[107] The D-shaped tower to the north of the entrance was added in the fourteenth century.

[108] If a later date, then likely *c.*1213-19 as the Marshal did not return from Ireland until 1213. The arrow loops are cut from both Dundy and Bath stone, reused from Roman work.

[109] Knight, 'The Road to Harlech, 78-79.

[110] Knight, 'Usk Castle and its Affinities', 144.

buildings are demarcated with external chamfered offsets, an original first floor entrance, battered base, loops with square basal oillets and evidence that each were capped by wooden hourding [**Fig 6. 60**]. Although medieval hourds are rare survivals, one example is found at Laval (Mayenne) [**Fig 6. 61**]. Further verification of the existence of medieval hourding is found at the Welsh castle of Caldicot (Monmouthshire) and the French keeps at Loches (Indre-et-Loire) and Loudun (Vienne).[111] As already mentioned, William was often in the Loire valley, and was in the Poitou region in 1183 at the castle of Martel on Dordogne where William took up the cross for his lord.[112] It is important to point out that the Garrison Tower is equipped with a garderobe while Pembroke lacks this convenience. However, as noted above, the shute issues outside the main bailey, as they do at both Pembroke (Point Turret and the east corner of the inner bailey) and Chepstow (north tower of the gatehouse, corner tower of the middle bailey and southwest corner of the upper bailey). The Garrison Tower can also be compared to Marshal's work in the lower and middle bailey of Chepstow for the use of arrow slits with round-headed rear embrasures.[113]

What Marshal essentially constructed at Usk was what is commonly referred to as a 'keepless' castle. This, however, is not an entirely accurate description of the monument. The castle is not actually keep-less, but rather has integrated the *donjon* into one of the towers along the curtain wall. Often in a 'keepless' castle, one of the mural towers is larger than the others. This, by extension, frequently acted as the residential keep or main tower of the castle complex. Circular 'residential' keeps incorporated into the curtain wall are found on the continent at Dourdan (Ile-de-France) [**Fig 6. 62**], Coucy (Aisne) and Gisors, as well as in the town defences at Villenueve-sur-Yonne and Aigues Mortes (Gard).[114] William was at Gisors in mid August 1188 and was often in the same vicinity through his career, from his squire days in the Tancarville household to his later association with the royal retinues of the young king Henry, Henry II, Richard I and John. The keep at Pembroke was not entirely isolated, as mentioned earlier, and the location of a doorway in the second storey suggests that the keep was accessible from the curtain wall. The contemporary castle at Coudray-Salbart, near Niort, may be included in the study of

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[111] Heliot, P., 'L'Évolution du Donjon dans le Nord-Ouest de la France et en Angleterre aux XIIe Siècle', *BSNAF*, (1969), 185n18. There is also documentary evidence for hourds among the castles of Philip Augustus, Knight, 'Usk Castle and its Affinities', 143.
[112] Painter, *William Marshal*, 53-4.
[113] Knight, *op. cit.*, 142.
[114] *Ibid.*, 151.

the 'keepless' castle [**Fig 6. 63**].[115] Although more geometrically regular in its basic ground plan, the castle offers a good parallel for the plan at Usk, even down to the fact that a location of a circular tower in the stretch of curtain wall opposite the entrance.[116]

The pre-existing complex at Usk probably determined the irregularity of the shape of the later stone inner bailey, this appears to have also been the case at Pembroke and Chepstow. Murtagh has postulated from archaeological evidence that the trapezoidal shape of the main bailey at Kilkenny was a result of the contour of Strongbow's timber castle [**Fig 6. 64**].[117] A castle was built at Kilkenny by 1173, which the Anglo-Normans retreated to after a battle with the native Irish. 'Late in 1173, supported by a contingent of Connachtmen under Conchobhair Máenmaige Ó Conchobhair, son of King Ruaidrí, [Domnall Mór Ua Briain, king of Thomond] led an army against Strongbow's motte-and-bailey stronghold at Kilkenny.'[118] Usk castle, while irregular in design, could very well offer a precursor for Marshal's *castrum* at Kilkenny. Both may have been influenced by their own predecessors, effecting the final shape of the bailey, both also make use of round corner towers connecting straight sections of curtain wall, with one tower, larger than the others, acting as a *donjon*.

Ireland (1207-1213)

In 1207, William turned his attention almost exclusively to his Irish estates. He founded or continued the development of several important boroughs during the period of his Irish 'exile' (1207-13). These included the port town of New Ross (*c.*1200), Carlow, which was navigable along the River Barrow, and his *caput* at Kilkenny, reached by way of the River Nore. Several other centres had been developed by the death of William the younger in 1231, including but not limited to Odoth, Wexford, Ros [Ross], Dumas [Dunamase], Katherlach [Carlow] Kildare, Kerry, and de Insula [probably Hook].[119] While no stone castle was built within the town of New Ross, at least as early as 1231 there was a motte-

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[115] The castle received English subsidies for fortification in 1202 and 1227 and was an important frontier castle in Angevin Poitou in the years after John's loss of Normandy and the Loire. For more information on Le Coudray-Salbart, see Eydoux, H.P., 'Le Chateau de Coudray-Salbart', *BM*, 125 (1967), 247-60 and Curnow, P.E., 'Some Developments in Military Architecture *c.* 1200: Le Coudray-Salbart', *Proceedings from the Battle Conference on ANS II, 1979*, ed. R.A. Brown, (Woodbridge, 1980), 42-62, 172-3.

[116] Knight, 'The Road to Harlech', 79. The simple pointed and chambered entry arch at Usk was protected with tongue and bar stop (paralleled in King John's work at Corfe) and a portcullis (slot) behind, Knight, 'Usk Castle and its Affinities', 144.

[117] Murtagh, B., 'Kilkenny Castle Excavations' 1992:110 (S508557; SMR 19:26) http://www.excavations.ie/Pages/Details.php?Year=&County=Kilkenny&id=3098

[118] Martin, F.X., 'Overlord Becomes Feudal Lord, 1172-85', *A New History of Ireland II, Medieval Ireland 1169-1534*, ed. A. Cosgrove, (Oxford, 2008), 103.

[119] *CDI*, 1: no. 1872.

and-bailey type built at old Ross (probably attributable to Strongbow). Moreover, the Marshals, both William and Isabel, are credited with the construction of a bridge and the parish church of St. Mary [see chapter seven]. On June 21, King John landed at New Ross and spent the night in the company of William Marshal, presumably in the latter's accommodation (perhaps the motte at old Ross or even a 'hunting lodge' type building in the town of New Ross).[120] The king and his army were then entertained for two nights at Kilkenny at William's own expense. The town of Kilkenny was issued a foundation charter on or before 1207 and Frame suggests that his seneschal had established a borough here as early as 1192.[121] The early town mainly developed between cathedral and castle; the castle was the focal point of the Anglo-Norman town, the cathedral that of the Irish town. The castle stands on the only other knoll overlooking the bridging point of the Nore, south of the cathedral. The Anglo-Norman settlement developed around High Street at the castle end of town, and included the side streets of Walking, James', St. Kieran's, Patrick, Castle, Rose Inn, and a number of narrow lanes [**Fig 6. 65**].[122]

Works may have been underway on the fortress of Kilkenny when in May 1207 William summoned his vassals to the castle and commanded them to protect his countess while he returned to England.[123] Presumably the timber fortifications were left in place until the walls were high enough to protect the garrison and their mistress. Due to the fact that several of his Leinster vassals had raised arms against him in coalition with Meiler fitz Henry, it may not have been until after Meiler's defeat in February 1208 that major building work actually began.[124] By April, William landed at Glasscarrick near Wexford

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[120] *Rot. Lib.*, 178, cited in Painter, *William Marshal*, 164.

[121] Most of the information about medieval Kilkenny comes down in the form of the *Liber Primus Kilkenn.* William first ordered a castle to be built at Kilkenny in 1192 and within a decade his seneschal had established a borough there, Frame, R., *Colonial Ireland*, (Dublin, 1981), 86. The first charters date to the period 1207-13, *Liber Primus Kilkenn..*, 5-7.

[122] A deed from *c.*1207 indicates that land north of James' Street belonged to the church. The deed witnessed the exchange of land between William Marshal and the bishop of Ossory, whereby the former received the land between James' Street and the river Bregagh in exchange for land at Aghaboe, Berry, H, 'Ancient Charters in the Liber Albus Ossoriensis', *PRIA*, 27 (1908), 124, cited in Bradley, J., 'The Early Development of the Medieval Town of Kilkenny', *Kilkenny: History and Society*, eds. W. Nolan and K. Whelan, (Dublin, 1990), 67. For a longer discussion on the medieval development of Kilkenny, see *ibid.*, 63-73.

[123] 'Lords, behold the countess, the daughter of the earl who gave you your fiefs when he conquered this land. She remains here among you, pregnant. Until God leads me back, I beg you all to guard her faithfully, for she is your liege land, and I have no right in this land except through her', *History*, 13464-13550; Painter, *William Marshal*, 155-56; Crouch, *William Marshal*, 107-8.

[124] A letter was sent to William on 20 February and reached England by sea on 23 February 1208, *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 1: 103, cited in Crouch, *op. cit.*, 111. Meiler was captured and his lands and castles (including Dunamase) were seized. He submitted before the countess and gave his son as a hostage. Philip de Prendergast and the other rebel knights of Leinster also came to terms. Probably as a result William surrendered Leinster and received it back on new terms, limiting his jurisdiction by restricting the pleas of the crown, *ibid.*, 111-12.

and greeted by his men, Jordan de Sackville and John d'Erley.[125] The countess met him the next day and together they made the journey back to Kilkenny. If construction had been put off until after the Leinster rebels had been subdued, then by April 1208 there was nothing to stop Marshal from ordering the immediate construction of his new stone castle. Of course, there is nothing to suggest that Isabel could not have directed works while her husband was abroad.

The castle retains its original plan, although much altered or hidden. The remaining medieval sections include the 'first three storeys of the north tower; the truncated remains of the core and outer face of the northwest curtain wall; the lower storeys of the west tower; the southwest curtain wall to the height of the first storey of the parade wing – truncated halfway by the classical gateway; and finally much of the south tower [Parade Tower]'.[126] Significant alterations began with the Butler addition of a rectangular building to the north tower and the insertion of the Long Gallery.[127] Later, the second Duke of Ormond added the classical gateway and, while Sir Hugh May (1622-84) sent designs for the project, the architect was actually Sir William Robinson (1643-1712).[128] The most considerable transformation to the fabric occurred in the nineteenth century when the Countess of Ormond, Grace Louisa Staples (1779-1860), hired William Robertson (1770-1850) to completely '... modernise within and unmodernise without'.[129] During his reconstructions, Robertson noted a battered base descending into a moat, as well as a postern gate.[130] The earliest recorded account of the buildings of the castle was from 1307. The description reported the existence of a moat along with a '... hall, four towers, a chapel ... and divers other houses'.[131] The battered base was revealed during excavations and has remained open between the classical gate and south tower, also uncovering the postern gate.[132] Archaeologists have suggested that a second curtain wall with mural towers encircled the castle moat but no archaeology has yet been conducted to prove or

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[125] Painter, *William Marshal*, 160.
[126] Murtagh, B., 'The Kilkenny Castle Archaeological Project 1990-1993: Interim Report', *OKR*, ns 4:5 (1993), 1111.
[127] 'This year [1580-81] Thomas, earl of Ormond, began the great gallery and the roofing of the Tower over the Nore in the great Castle of Kilkenny', Fenlon, J., *Kilkenny Castle, Visitor's Guide*, (Dublin, 2007), 27. The first duke of Ormond's refurbishment programme began in 1662 and was carried on until 1675 when the duke and duchess returned from London, Fenlon, *Kilkenny Castle,* 28-9; Lanigan, *Kilkenny Castle,* 11.
[128] Fenlon, *op .cit.,* 31.
[129] *Ibid.,* 35; Lanigan, *op. cit.,* 13-14.
[130] Murtagh, 'The Kilkenny Castle Archaeological Project 1990-1993', 1111. A similar battered base descending into the moat at Dublin Castle, Lynch, A. and C. Manning, 'Dublin Castle: the Archaeological Project', *AI*, 4:2 (1990), 65-8.
[131] Fenlon, *Kilkenny Castle*, 25.
[132] Murtagh, *op. cit.*, 1111. I want to thank D.P. Sweetman and T. Barry for confirming the lack or archaeology conducted outside the present castle or its immediate moat.

disprove this assumption.[133] A map of the liberty of Kilkenny depicts the town walls as they existed about the year 1655 **[Fig 6. 66]**. The image suggests that the town walls encircle and abutted the castle but this is no different from other town walls added in the later thirteenth century, which essentially enclosed the town into a larger outer bailey. Although it was during 1760-1820 restoration campaign that the medieval gatehouse and remnants of the southeast wall were completely removed, it was ultimately a result of the damage caused during the Cromwellian bombardment in 1650.[134] The foundations of the gatehouse and the south curtain wall were uncovered in 1861, and revealed that the entrance was fortified with a drawbridge and portcullis.[135]

As already mentioned, the 'keepless' castle at Kilkenny is paralleled at William's Welsh fortress at Usk, as well as a number of northern European strongholds. More than any other castle, Kilkenny resembles the *castrum* with four corner towers built by crusaders in the Holy Land. Northern European precedents with regular designs are found at Philip Augustus' castle in Paris, complete in 1202 when he gave instructions for the construction of Dun-le-Roi, now Dun-sur-Auron (Cher), to be modelled after his tower at Paris (*turris Parisis*) [**Fig 6. 67**].[136] While neither castle has survived above ground, archaeology and geo-physics have revealed their original plans: a square enclosure with three-quarter round towers at the angles and half-round towers, single or paired, mid-way along each face.[137] In the spring of 1205, William Marshal and Hugh, archdeacon of Welles, were sent by King John to negotiate terms with the king of France. They met the French court at Compiègne (Oise) and the next day at Anet (Eure-et-Loir). It was during this mission that Marshal made homage to Philip for his estates on that side of the channel. William and

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[133] See Daniel Tietzsch-Tyler's reconstruction. Reconstructions of the castle include a second curtain wall around the main castle that was at some point attached to the town walls, Bradley, J., 'The Town Wall of Kilkenny', *OKR*, ns 1:2 (1975), 95-6; Foley, C., 'The Discovery of a Portion of the Thirteenth Century Wall at Kilkenny Castle', *OKR*, ns 1:2 (1975), 103; Murtagh, *op. cit.*, 1101. See also: Murtagh, B., 'Kilkenny Castle, Kilkenny', *Excavations 1991*, ed. I. Bennett, (Bray, 1992), 29-30; Murtagh, B. , 'Kilkenny Castle', *Medieval Archaeology* 36 (1992), 286; Murtagh, B., 'Kilkenny Castle, Kilkenny', *Excavations 1992*, ed. I. Bennett, (Bray, 1993), 39-40; Murtagh, B., 'Kilkenny Castle, The Parade, Kilkenny', *Excavations 1997*, ed. I. Bennett, (Wicklow, 1998), 102-104; Murtagh, B., 'Kilkenny Castle', *Med. Arch.*, 42 (1998), 164; Murtagh, B., 'Kilkenny Castle, Kilkenny', *Excavations Bulletin*, ed. I. Bennett, (Bray, 1999).

[134] The total building accounts paid to William Robertson came to £30,815 and this does not include the vast sums spent on interiors and refurnishing. The family resided in the 'Butler House' for almost twenty years while the castle was turned into a modern Baronial mansion, Fenlon, *Kilkenny Castle,* 34.

[135] Lanigan, *Kilkenny Castle,* 11. Daniel Tietzsch-Tyler's reconstruction of the castle as it appeared in *c.*1395 depicts a barbican extending forward of the southeast gatehouse tower and turning back toward the castle on the opposite side of the northeast tower but not attached to it. Again, there is no archaeological evidence to support his artistic rendering. It appears that his reconstruction was probably based on the lower barbican at Chepstow, as discussed above.

[136] Knight, 'The Road to Harlech', 84.

[137] For more information on these and other French polygonal castles see Héliot, P., 'Le Château de Boulogne-sur-Mer et les Château Gothiques de plan Polygonal', *BSNAF*, (1965), 238-57.

Philip had a long-standing relationship, and when together conversation presumably extended beyond mere formalities.[138] During that meeting they may well have discussed the French king's newest castle designs at Paris and Dun-le-Roi. However, William's work at Usk implies that his knowledge of the *castrum* plan pre-dated the French royal designs. Both aforementioned French castles included the construction of an isolated *donjon*, no such structure was built at either Usk or Kilkenny. Instead, William's castle designs removed the main tower from an isolated location to a position along the curtain wall. The main tower was often distinguished by its larger size and the residential use of the tower is noted by the existence of fireplaces or latrines. At Usk, this was the Garrison Tower, at Kilkenny, the larger size of the Parade Tower suggests that it may have served as the 'keepless' castle's keep. The 'keepless' design was later built at the two royal castles at Dublin [**Fig 6. 68**] and Limerick [**Fig 6. 69**]. The similarity is more interesting considering the apparent feud between King John and William Marshal during his Irish exile. However, Goodall has suggested that both Limerick and Dublin were, in their resemblance to Kilkenny, built as a response to one of his most powerful barons.[139] He has plausibly suggested that the royal fortresses were built to mimic the baronial castle. The analogous plans of Dublin and Limerick indicate that they were designed with knowledge of Kilkenny and, considering the relationship between John and William, not without intent. As already mentioned, the king spent two days at Kilkenny in early 1210, prior to the commencement of building works at his royal fortresses at Limerick and Dublin.

Although an official writ commanding the construction of a castle at Dublin was written in 1204, work did not commence for some time. Documentary evidence relating to construction of the castle, including the Record Tower, is confined to between 1213-*c.*1230.[140] The remains of the medieval castle include the Record Tower, the Bermingham Tower and some of the south curtain wall between the two towers. Most of the original arrow loops and possible window features have been widened or replaced. A possible trace of a blocked plunging loop survives in the Record Tower.[141] The Pipe Roll of 1211-12 recorded the construction costs of Limerick castle totalling £733 16s 11d, with works

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[138] William was good terms with the French court. This probably extended back to the time when William was a knight at tournament and Philip was the prince, Painter, *William Marshal*, 36

[139] *pers. comm.*, J. Goodall

[140] Manning, C. 'The Record Tower, Dublin Castle', *The Medieval Castle in Ireland and Wales*, eds. J.R. Kenyon and K. O'Conor, (Dublin, 2003), 72-95. The king rendered 40s for conveyance of timber from Wicklow for work at Dublin Castle by precept of the bishop of Norwich, *Irish Pipe Roll*, 15.

[141] Manning, *op. cit.*, 84.

probably completed by 1216.[142] While both castles were built on a roughly trapezoidal plan, with round towers at each corner and a twin-towered gatehouse, some differences existed. The gatehouse at Limerick was built with cylindrical towers while the gatehouse at Dublin was composed of two D-shaped towers. Additionally, the fourth tower at Limerick was, for some reason, never constructed. However, the basic plan of each castle is the same, enough to reasonably assert that Kilkenny was the inspiration for both royal fortresses, all built within two decades of each other.[143]

This brings us finally to the most contentious of William's Irish castles – Dunamase. William had gained possession of the castle when Meiler fitz Henry surrendered all his castles and lands in early 1208. However, in 1210 King John insisted on the surrender of this castle as a pledge to Marshal's good behaviour. In the summer of 1211, his castles in England and Wales as well as all his hostages (excepting his eldest son) were returned to him and the Pipe Roll of 1211-12 records William rendering £36 for the land on which the castle stands.[144] However, his castle at Dunamase was not returned until May 1216 when the justiciar, Geoffrey de Marisco, was ordered to deliver the said castle to William Marshal, earl of Pembroke.[145] The Pipe Roll of 1211-12 accounts for Geoffrey Luttrell, who had custody of the castle at the time, rendering £53 6s 8d for the farm of the Irish of Dunamase but no mention is made of work on the castle specifically.[146]

Situated on a massive outcrop in the Dysert Hills, Dunamase (Laois) was built directly on bedrock [**Fig 6. 70**]. Natural defences are offered from the cliffs surrounding much of the inner ward. The curtain wall, gatehouse, and outer barbican defence line the only approachable side of the castle from the east and southeast. Most archaeologists agree that William Marshal was responsible for the refortification of Dunamase, including the masonry defence of the lower ward and inner barbican, along with the timber defences of

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[142] The only other castle under the directly of King John to receive such a sum in a single years was Scarborough (also in 1211-12). Henry II spend in excess of £700 in four years at Dover, and Richard I spent over that amount in one year at the Tower of London and Château Gaillard, McNeill, T., *Castles in Ireland*, 46. *HMDI*, 61; Leask, *Irish Castles and Castellated Houses*, 55; Leask, H.G., 'Irish Castles: 1180-1310', *Arch. J*, 93 (1936), 178; Murtagh, 'The Kilkenny Castle Archaeological Project 1990-1993', 1104.

[143] Excavations took place in 1976, three of the corner towers now remain, the fourth apparently destroyed *c.*1611, Sweetman, P.D., 'Archaeological Excavations at King John's Castle, Limerick', *PRIA* 80C (1980), 207-29.

[144] *History*, ll. 14476-14478; *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 94b; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 1: 118b, cited in Painter, *William Marshal*, 170.

[145] *CDI*, 1: no. 684. The king later commanded that all the fees, which Meyler held of the earl, should cause to be given to the earl, *CDI*, 1: no. 691.

[146] Geoffrey Luttrell was given custody of the castle in 1210, *CDI*, 1: no.644; *Irish Pipe Roll*, 13.

the outer barbican.[147] As such, most also agree that the present stone hall, much of the curtain wall and a rectangular gate tower predated Marshal's acquisition (the first gate tower was later replaced by the rectangular twin towered gatehouse).[148] As a result, it has been postulated that William the elder was responsible for the inner barbican. William the younger, as a consequence, has been assigned the patronage of the '... remodelling and the addition of the [outer] barbican ...'.[149]

The twin-towered gatehouse is built mostly of limestone rubble with sandstone dressings. The gate towers were provided with a portcullis and numerous plunging arrow loops on both the exterior and interior passage. Arrow loops found in the curtain wall were also dressed in sandstone. A postern gate is built on the west side of the curtain and Hodkinson has suggested that it was contemporary with the gatehouse, based on the use of sandstone for the jambs and loops.[150] While O'Conor has put forth the theory that the barbican and curtain are contemporary, Hodkinson disagrees, arguing that the '... screen wall section of the barbican butts up against the curtain but is not tied into it ... [and the complete lack] of sandstone in the barbican'. He goes on to state that the '... form of the two gateways is also completely different, one rounded the other rectangular. The gatehouse is a step along the way to the classic twin-towered gateway ... while the barbican [**Fig 6. 71**] is simply a tower with central passage'.[151] However, it is unwise to assume that castle design evolved according to modern preconceptions of military development. A single round towered gatehouse was built at Trim castle in the early thirteenth century [**Fig 6. 72**]. The latter is somewhat more complex in that it is provided with a rectangular stone barbican, covering the bridge across the moat. It was probably added by Walter de Lacy after he came to his majority and was given seisin of his Irish estates in 1194.[152] The keep was presumably completed *c.*1205 (see chapter two) and the new gate tower may have been largely finished

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[147] O'Conor, K., 'Dunamase Castle', *JIA*, 7 (1996), 97-115; McNeill, T.E., 'The Outer Gate House at Dunamase Castle, Co. Laois', *Med. Arch.*, 37 (1993), 236-9; Hodkinson, B., 'A Summary of Recent Work at the Rock of Dunamase, Co. Laois', *The Medieval Castle in Ireland and Wales*, eds. J.R. Kenyon and K. O'Conor, (Dublin, 2003), 32-49.

[148] *History*, ll. 14128-14129.

[149] Hodkinson, 'A Summary of Recent Work at the Rock of Dunamase, Co. Laois', 48.

[150] *Ibid.*, 41.

[151] *Ibid.*, 42.

[152] For Richard's confirmatory grant to Walter de Lacy, see Gormanston Register, f. 5 dors.; note 3, *History*, ll. 10297-304; *Marlburgh's Chron.*, 1194: 'Walterus de Lacy receepit dominium de Media...' (TCD, MS. E, 3, 20, p 135), cited in Orpen, 195n5. Hayden has suggested that Walter completed the curtain walls begun by his father, in the early thirteenth century, Hayden, 'Trim Castle Excavations', 112-13. The change in character from the rectangular open-backed towers along the river front, to the cylindrical ones enclosing the south edge of the bailey, certainly indicate a change in contemporary fashion and, therefore, probably a pause in construction. The pause would make sense considering the period of time between Hugh de Lacy's death and Walter de Lacy's majority in Ireland.

by the time of Walter's expulsion from Meath in 1210. Additionally, Henry II built a rectangular twin-towered gatehouse at Dover in the 1180s, which suggests the possibility that the gatehouse at Dunamase predated Marshal's possession.

Aside from the contention over the dating of the various phases of the castle, Hodkinson has been keen to point out the apparent 'design flaw' of the relationship between a flat drawbridge abutting the convex rounded surface of the gate tower at Dunamase – the veritable square peg in a round hole. Of course, adjustments for this can be seen in the fabric, as McNeill has pointed out: '... [an] emplacement for a beam over the top of the gate, below the relieving arch ... [The tower was] not a result of the fitting of a drawbridge but of a rather *ad hoc* solution to an awkward problem of detail'.[153] The same problem, and similar solution, is found at the French castle of Coudray-Salbart (*c.*1200) [**Fig 6. 73**]. Here the drawbridge it fitted against the convex surface of the tower by setting the doorway back slightly from the surface of the wall.[154] Coudray-Salbart is located in an area often travelled by William Marshal. Another example of the fitting of a square door against a round tower is found at Dourdan [**Fig 6. 74**]. What these parallels suggest, rather than William's keen interest in the engineering of drawbridges into doorways, is that William probably had a French master mason. In fact, the many comparisons between his castles and French castle planning might suggest that he employed French master masons at each of his secular building projects.

Conclusion

What becomes abundantly clear when examining the castles of William Marshal is his consistent use of the *turris rotunda*, in gateways, isolated *donjon*s, and mural towers. Both Henry II and Philip Augustus were prolific castle builders and they too made use of the round tower. Although a rectangular gatehouse was constructed at Dover (1180s), round and D-shaped towers were employed by Henry II in the outer curtain at Gisors (Eure) – *Tour du Diable* – and at Chinon (Indre-et-Loire), where he built the *Tour du Moulin* and round flanking towers [**Fig 6. 75** and **Fig 6. 76**].[155] Philip Augustus employed multiple round towers at his *castrum* in Paris (under the Louvre museum), as well as the *Tour du*

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[153] McNeill, 'The Outer Gate House at Dunamase Castle, Co. Laois', 238.
[154] Curnow, 'Some Developments in Military Architecture *c.*1200: Le Coudray-Salbart', 54.
[155] Mesqui, J., *Château et Enceintes de la France Médiévale: de la Defense à la Residence*, (Paris, 1991), 261-3, 167-8, 264; Avent, 'William Marshal's Castle at Chepstow and its Place in Military Architecture', *Chepstow Castle*, 83.

Prisonnier at Gisors and the *Tour du Coudray* at Chinon [**Fig 6. 77**].[156] Richard I's fortress at Château Gaillard, constructed in such a short space of time, was replete with round mural towers. The members of the nobility were also responsible for investment in the construction of round towers at the turn of the century and a number have been mentioned throughout the chapter.

Marshal's earliest building works are datable to *c.*1189 and include the twin-towered gatehouse at Chepstow. After he gained possession of the castle at Pembroke (*c.*1200/1), he was responsible for the construction of the inner ward, including the *donjon*, Dungeon Tower and Horseshoe Gate. At Usk castle, possibly the first of his 'keepless' castles, a curtain wall dotted with round corner towers encircles the irregular hexagonal ward. The Garrison Tower, or keep, shares a number of features with the *donjon* at Pembroke and is likely to belong to the period before Marshal's Irish exile (*c.*1200-1207). In 1207, Marshal landed in Ireland and began a period of development in Leinster. Presumably, his wife, with an Irish mother, was supportive in these pursuits. Kilkenny became the *caput* of his lordship and the evolution of the settlement included the incorporation of the town and the construction of a permanent stone castle. William and Isabel also encouraged the urbanisation of their port town at New Ross and with this built the tower at Hook. Carlow was also given a town charter but the stone castle there was more likely begun by one of his sons. Dunamase came into his hands in 1208 but was taken into royal hands in 1210. While the outer barbican tower is stylistically consistent with his other castle works, it may have been a product of one of the William's sons, but strongly influenced by his father's designs. Upon Williams' return to England in 1213, with the restoration of his English castles around 1211, construction would have continued on building works then incomplete. William Marshal came into possession of Caerleon castle in 1217, where only a single round tower remains. The castle was granted to him in 1217, just two years before his death and at a time when he was pre-occupied with his duties as regent. William may not have completed the castle at Caerleon, or even commanded its construction, but there is no reason to doubt his many works influenced his sons, each in turn.

Between his marriage to Isabel de Clare in 1189 and his death in 1219 William Marshal was responsible for the partial construction of between five and eight castles, in Wales, the Welsh Marches and Ireland. While several of his castles had already begun to take shape

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[156] Mesqui, J., 162-6; Coulson, C.L.H., 'The Impact of Bouvines upon the Fortress-Policy of Philip Augustus', eds. C. Harper-Bill, C.J. Holdsworth, and J.L. Nelson, *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown* (Woodbridge, 1989), 71-80.

in stone when he acquired them and building works continued under his sons; Marshal made a definite impact on the visual landscape of his estates. William was one of the most well travelled knights of his age. Through pilgrimage to the Holy Land he came in contact with castle architecture influenced both by late Roman and Byzantine forts and Islamic warfare. As Baos has pointed out, '... the use of round towers was not adopted in Frankish *castra* except at Kyrenia (where the towers are late) and the sea castle of Sidon (if it is indeed a *castrum*), and in general, square towers were preferred by the Franks'.[157] Although the use of round towers were not likely to have been a product of his pilgrimage, the occurrence of the regularly designed *castrum* at Kilkenny, and to some extent, Usk, may have been affected by what he saw in the East.

His loyalty, keen understanding of court politics and knowledge of the most current techniques of warfare, saw him rise from a lowly knight to the uppermost levels of the aristocracy as the vested earl of Pembroke and Striguil and lord of Leinster. As a result, he was in command of vast estates and, therefore, abundant wealth. His thorough knowledge of the political, military and social world of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries allowed him to rise to the most powerful of stations, not only as a one of King Richard's *justiciar regis* of England during the Third Crusade, but also as regent to King Henry III. Upon his lands he built castles not only to protect himself but also to subjugate, intimidate and impress his subjects and his peers. The influence of his application of the *turris rotunda* is witnessed in the visual remains of thirteenth century Ireland and Wales. The impact of his innovation is noticeable most readily in the royal Irish castles of Dublin and Limerick, built in the wake of King John's 1210 expedition to Ireland. The proliferation of the round tower in the castles of Wales, the increasing construction of the twin-towered gatehouse throughout England and Ireland, and the work continued and commenced by his sons, at Carlow and, possibly, Dunamase, appear to have resulted from William Marshal's interest in keeping abreast of the latest fashions as expressed in France. The parallels to French castle work implies that it was not merely a result of his travels through the continent but also that he probably hired French master masons to conduct his building projects. The picture revealed is of a man at the forefront of castle construction at the turn of the thirteenth century.

Is Marshal's clear interest in castle architecture reflected in his patronage of ecclesiastical buildings? Certainly amongst those churches founded by William and his wife are some of

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[157] Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, 121 n7.

the finest examples of Early English design in Ireland. In the next chapter the architectural background of these fine ecclesiastical buildings will be discussed.

CHAPTER 7: WILLIAM MARSHAL and EARLY IRISH GOTHIC

Introduction

William Marshal was responsible for the foundation of two Cistercian monasteries in Ireland – Graiguenamanagh (Kilkenny) and Tintern (Wexford) – an Augustinian priory – St. John's, Kilkenny – and a parish church – St. Mary's, New Ross (Wexford).[1] Prior to his acquisition of the vast de Clare estates (which included Leinster) most of his wealth was acquired through tournament [**Fig 7. 1**].[2] It was there that he gained his most advantageous patrons, including the young king Henry and his mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine.[3] William's display of 'chivalry', loyalty, and successful stratagem on the field was what gained him the patronage of kings and eventually the hand of Isabel de Clare.[4] Upon his return from the Holy Land in 1187, he was granted the small manor of Cartmel (Lancashire).[5] It was there, in 1188, that he founded his first major monastic house, an Augustinian priory [**Fig 7. 2**] colonised from Bradenstoke (Wiltshire).[6] The Marshal family had favoured the Wiltshire priory and William's grant to this particular house reflected this link.[7] His marriage in 1189 led to a sharp increase in his endowments to

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[1] New Ross had a degree of self-governance under the Law of Breteuil that William Marshal had introduced. A poem written in 1265 celebrates the townspeople's erection of city walls and it provides evidence for the large number of trades that were found within the settlement, Sayers, W., 'Anglo-Norman Verse on New Ross and its Founders', *IHS*, 28:10 (November 1992), 113-123. See also, Madden, F., ed., 'Poem on the Erection of the Walls of New Ross, in Ireland', *Archaeologia*, 22 (1829), 307-22; English trans. L. Landon, T.C. Croker, ed., *Popular Songs of Ireland*, (London, 1886), 275-87; Seymour, St. J.D., *Anglo-Irish literature, 1200-1582*, (Cambridge, 1929), 22-9.

[2] *History*, ll. 9367-9371, cited in Painter, S., *William Marshal, Knight Errant, Baron and Regent of England*, (Baltimore, 1933), 74.

[3] Mullally, E., 'The Reciprocal Loyalty of Eleanor of Aquitaine and William Marshal', *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, eds. B. Wheeler and J.C. Parsons, (Basingstoke, 2002), 237-46.

[4] According to the Gillingham, the message of war was clear-cut '… war is not fought for the sake of individual gain, whether glory, reputation or material reward, but for the common good.' Material gain was, however, a pleasant side effect to being on the winning side. For more on the idea of chivalry in war, see Gillingham, J., 'War and Chivalry in the *History of William Marshal*', *Thirteenth century England*, 2, eds. P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd, (Suffolk, 1988), 1-13.

[5] The Marshal owed the service of one knight's fee for Cartmel to Prince John, *Benedict of Peterborough*, 2:75; *ELC*, 343-4; *PR*, 34 Henry III, 38:50, cited in Painter, S., *William Marshal, Knight-Errant, Baron and Regent of England*, (Baltimore, 1967 edn.), 61, 79.

[6] The brethren of Cartmel established a small cell at Kilrush (Clare) for supervising their Irish estates. In 1537, when the house was suppressed several canons and ten lay brothers of the district were executed, *VCH, Lancashire North*, 86

[7] It was in the priory of Bradenstoke that William Marshal's father was buried, *ELC*, 433-5, cited in Painter, *William Marshal*, 80. Marshal further acknowledged his Wiltshire attachment by the retention of two knights before 1188 both from the said county, namely William Waleran and Geoffrey fitz Robert. The latter knight served as Marshal's seneschal in Ireland, Crouch, D., *William Marshal, Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219*, (London, 2002 edn.), 73. The foundation charter for Cartmel is lost but later copies are extant, BL, Harley Charters, 51 H 2, 83 B 38. The charter mentions Isabel Marshal and his brother, John Marshal, is listed as a witness, references that therefore date the foundation to after his marriage in 1189 and before the death of his brother in March 1194.

religious institutions.[8] The vast increase was the result of the fact that his marriage made him one of the richest men in England (Isabel was the second richest heiress at the time). This is without even including his Norman estates, centred at Longueville. It was a generosity in patronage that was matched by the prolific nature of his castle constructions [discussed in the previous chapter]. The religious houses he founded represent some of the earliest Gothic buildings in Ireland. Not only the earliest but also two of the largest churches in the country were built with funds granted by William Marshal – Graiguenamanagh and St. Mary's, New Ross.

William's patronage raises a number of fundamental questions. Was William himself instrumental in the importation of Gothic into Ireland or was this merely a coincidence of contemporary fashion? Did he take any interest in Gothic architecture or was his contribution that of a 'silent partner', who fronted the landed endowments and left the organisation and construction to the abbots and priors? Was Marshal present in Ireland long enough to take any active interest in the planning or design of the buildings? As he was only in Ireland for seven years, had construction even begun while he was resident and what proportions of these structures were completed in his lifetime or that of his sons? Are there any architectural relationships between William's foundations and if so what does this tell us about the impact of his patronage? To what extent (if any) was the design of the Irish houses affected by the geography of his estates in England? Are the architectural and sculptural details paralleled in any contemporary Irish monuments, such as the new cathedral at Kilkenny, the Cistercian monastery at Dunbrody (Wexford), the now lost cathedral at Waterford and the Dublin cathedrals? If comparisons are visible, were these the result of direct influence within Ireland or common precedents in the West Country?

As discussed in the previous chapter, the existence of the *History of William Marshal* has encouraged his association with numerous building programmes. The narrative, however, focuses, to a large extent, on tournament and battle, while a limited attention to castle maintenance was documented. William travelled with Henry II across the sea and '... at Barfleur in Normandy [Henry] put to shore, then he went to Caen, to Lisieux and Rouen, to

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[8] In Normandy, William gave lands to the priory at Longueville (Calvados) in his demesne manor. On the other side of the Channel, William continued to patronise the church throughout his entire career, with smaller grants given to Bradenstoke Priory (Wiltshire) and St. Thomas's Abbey, Dublin. London, *Cart. Bradenstoke*, nos. 264, 265, 266, 524. These concern a grant in alms for the soul of William and his wife of the church of Easton [Royal], *Reg. St. Thomas, Dublin*, no. 383. An agreement between William Marshal and the canons of Cartmel and the abbey of St. Thomas', Dublin, *ibid.*, no. 137, William Marshal II's grant was in memory of his father.

visit the castles and the towns that formed his rich inheritance. Then he travelled through Maine and Anjou until he came to Poitou …'.[9] Marshal's consideration of religious institutions is given far less attention in the *History* but there is evidence that he granted charters to at least twenty-three religious communities.[10]

During his first expedition to Ireland (*c.*1200-01), it is related that he found himself ensnarled in a fierce storm.[11] As a result, the foundation of his first Irish monastic house was promised if he were to survive the crossing – the abbey became known as Tintern *de Voto* (the Vow) [**Fig 7. 3**]. It is also called Tintern Minor because it was established as a daughter house of the Cistercian monastery of Tintern in Monmouthshire (hereafter Tintern Major) [**Fig 7. 4**].[12] Immediately upon his return to England, William began preparations to fulfil his vow. Dated 3 December 1200, the letters patent of King John confirmed Marshal's grant of 30 carucates for a Cistercian abbey to be founded in Ireland.[13] At the time of the aforementioned letters, the intended manors belonged to Hervey de Montmorency and were not readily available for William to turn over to the monks. De Montmorency was responsible for the Cistercian foundation at Dunbrody [**Fig 7. 5**]; the Marshals were also benefactors of the abbey.[14] In 1205, de Montmorency died without issue, and his estates reverted to William Marshal.[15] It is unlikely that construction

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[9] *History*, 1: ll. 1604-1610.

[10] 'These include the bishops and chapters of Winchester, Dublin, Ossory and Glendalough; the Benedictines of St. Thomas of Dublin, Gloucester, Lyre and Pembroke; the Clunaics of Longueville; the Tironians of Pill; the Augustinians of Bradenstoke, Cartmel, Dunstable, Kells, Llanthony, Notley and Waltham; the Cistercians of Duiske, Dunbrody and Foucarmont; the nuns of Maiden Bradley and Markyate; and the Temple, most of which are concessions of grants made by his predecessors … He made grants to only six churches (apart from his [four] foundations): tithes to Pembroke (Monkton) and Longueville priories; a few acres and houses at Caversham to Notley abbey; and a church each to the chapters of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin and Bradenstoke (Wiltshire) … the most striking, other than a foundation, was of ten plough-lands to the cathedral of Glendalough (Wicklow)', Painter, *William Marshal*, 213-14, 214n10.

[11] According to the *Cart. St. Mary's, Dublin*, William was caught in a storm on his way to Ireland, *Cart. St. Mary's, Dublin*, 307-8. For a record of the storm, see chapter 1 n120.

[12] Isabel Marshal was buried at Tintern Major (Monmouthshire).

[13] Bernard's study of King John's itinerary and the witnesses listed on the letters suggests that the charter must date to 1200, Bernard, J. H., 'The Foundation of Tintern Abbey, Co. Wexford', *PRIA*, 33 (1916-17), 527, 528.

[14] De Montmorency was marshal of Henry II, uncle of Strongbow and seneschal of all the latter's land in Leinster. His first charter for the foundation of Dunbrody was to Buildwas (Shropshire, 1175), which was later confirmed by Strongbow (*d.*1177). In 1182, the monks of Buildwas transferred the foundation to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin and it was they who colonised the new abbey. In 1233, Richard Marshal restored the wood of Duncannon to the convent, which his father had taken from the abbot in pledge. Later, Walter Marshal confirmed all its possessions; granting them complete freedom with respect to their lands, woods and waters, reserving to himself the right of hunting. He gave them liberty for pasture for 80 cows and calves and 1500 sheep and lamb, or an equivalent number of other animals. They were to have what they required for burning or building from his forests, Walsh, T., 'Dunbrody Through the Ages', *WAS*, 6 (1976-77), 18-37.

[15] Finn, A., ed., *Tintern Abbey, County Wexford: Cistercians and Colcloughs, Eight Centuries of Occupation*, (Wexford, 2003 edn.), 6. It may have been the endowments of the Marshal sons that provided the funds for the construction of the abbey. Stalley suggests that the monastery should date to closer to the mid-thirteenth century, *pers. comm.*, Stalley.

commenced at *de Voto* until after de Montmorency's death and due to the fact that the church was rebuilt *c.*1280-1300, it is difficult to gauge the original appearance.[16] Sections of the cloister were uncovered during excavations and parallels between the mouldings found and those *in situ* at Graiguenamanagh suggest a construction period for the cloister of between 1220 and 1250 (addressed below). The reconstructed church may well have been built on the original foundations, as evidenced by its relationship with Graiguenamanagh, with an aisled nave and three chapels per transept [**Fig 7. 6**].[17] Tintern Major was also undergoing a major rebuilding programme in the late thirteenth century but the foundations (buried) of the twelfth century church have been excavated. The same impetus for rebuilding at the mother house may have effected the decision to rebuild at the daughter house.

William's two years on crusade endeared him to the military orders and before his death he joined the Templars and was buried in Temple Church, London, where his effigy (allegedly) rests still [**Fig 7. 7**].[18] His devotion to the Military Orders suggests that he

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[16] The letters patent of King John confirming William Marshal's grant of 30 carucates for the foundation in Ireland '*in loco competenti*' for a Cistercian abbey [Tintern] are recorded in Bernard (they mention Isabel). For the complete Latin transcription and the argument for his dating the letter to 1200, see Bernard, J.H., 'The Foundation of Tintern Abbey, Co. Wexford', *PRIA*, 33C:17 (1917), 527-9.

[17] Fragments of cut and dressed stone from the cloister arcade were uncovered during excavations, which suggest a date of *c.*1250-60, comprising round arches supported by twin columns with double bases and capitals, Lynch, A., 'Summary of Archaeological Excavations 1982-1994', *Tintern Abbey, County Wexford: Cistercians and Colcloughs, Eight Centuries of Occupation*, ed. A. Finn, (Wexford, 2003, 2nd edn.), 16-19.

[18] Although there is some room for disagreement, none of the effigies in Temple Church can be identified with any certainty. They have recently been discussed by Philip Lankester, to whom I am grateful for the information and references in this paragraph, *pers. comm.*, July 2009, based on his lecture 'The Thirteenth-Century Military Effigies in the Temple Church [London]', to a conference held at the Courtauld Institute on 14 June 2008, publication of conference proceedings forthcoming. The effigy currently labelled as William Marshal the elder (with straight legs) was not identified as such until 1843, by Richardson and Addison. The late Elizabethan source, Stow (1598) had identified William Marshal the elder as one of the cross-legged effigies (Richardson, E., *The Monumental Effigies of the Temple Church, with an Account of their Restoration in the Year 1842*, (London, 1843), 22; Addison, C.G., *The Temple Church*, (London, 1842), 103.), probably the one with the lion on the shield, Stow, J., *A Survey of London*, (London, 1598), 327; *Stow's Survey of London Reprinted from the Edition of 1603*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, 2 vols., (Oxford, 1971, amended reprint), 2: 50-1. Camden agrees with Stow and also records an inscription '*Comes Penbrochiae*' (*sic.*), though it is unclear whether this is on one of the effigies or on a non-effigial monument, Camden, W., *Britannia ...*, (London, 1594, 4th end.), 321. Red paint found by Richardson on the background of the shield bearing the lion (Richardson, *op. cit.*, 25) conflicts with the Marshal arms, which had a red lion on a vertically divided gold and green ground (although the red could have been a base for gilding). Lankester dates the latter effigy to not earlier than 1250 and more probably after the late 1250s, based on the embryonic broadfold drapery. He believes the straight-legged effigy could be dated to *c.*1220 on stylistic grounds, and if correct, it might have been William Marshal the elder. It was restored by Richardson in 1842 and restored again after serious damage when the church was bombed during the 1939-1945 war. However, Lankester's *c.*1220 date was partly based on the foliage by the pillow, the evidence for which depends on the reliability of a drawing by the Hollis Brothers before Richardson's restorations (Hollis, T. and G., *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain, Drawn ad Etched by Thomas Hollis and George Hollis*, (London, 1840-42, unpaginated), which suggests a date of *c.*1180-1220 for the foliage. It is certain that William the elder, William the younger and Gilbert Marshal were all buried in the Temple Church (probably in the nave).

probably continued to support the Priory of St John the Baptist for Knights Hospitallers at Kilmanham, founded by his father-in-law *c.*1174.[19] However, his two most important foundations in Ireland, with regard to their early thirteenth century fabric, were the parish church of St. Mary's and the Cistercian house of Duiske (Graiguenamanagh). The former was located within the port town of New Ross, or *Novi Villa Pontis*, which William and Isabel founded *c.*1200-1210.[20] The name of the town reflected both its location near the old town of Ross and its relationship to the bridge constructed across the Barrow. His second Cistercian foundation at Graiguenamanagh was colonised with monks from Stanley (Wiltshire), and like Cartmel before it, illustrates his continued ties to his home county.

Early Irish Gothic and Graiguenamanagh

Graiguenamanagh was founded in 1204 and remained one of the more prosperous Irish Cistercian foundations throughout most of its history.[21] It is unfortunate that nothing of the mother house at Stanley remains above ground (most of the foundations have also been robbed). It was reconstructed between 1212 and 1266 after a devastating fire; the church and probably some of the cloistral buildings were thus contemporary with the daughter house. Had Stanley survived, some architectural parallels would be expected. The community at Stanley lay only a few miles from John Marshal's estates in Wiltshire.[22] It was also situated close to Bristol, one of the main ports of embarkation to Ireland. William himself, however, was more likely to have sailed to and from his own ports at Pembroke and New Ross, rather than the royal ones at Bristol and Waterford.[23] While Bristol was a

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Although it is impossible to identify the effigies with any certainty, on stylistic grounds the straight-legged effigy is arguably dateable to the time of William the elder.

[19] Gwynn and Hadcock have suggested that a reference to the Grand Priory of the order in Wexford, founded by William Marshal, was probably in fact founded by Strongbow and remained the headquarters for only two years until Kilmainham became the priory in *c.*1174. 'The house at Wexford became a large hospice for knights and others travelling backwards and forwards from England', Gwynn and Hadcock, 339.

[20] King John's letters from 20 June 1210 are sent from '*Villam Novam pontis Willielmi Marescalli*', Hore, *Wexford*, 1:44n3. In the *CDI* John is recorded at '*Pontem Novum* (Newbridge) in 1210, *CDI*, 1: no.401 (21 June 1210).

[21] The Cistercian Abbey of Duiske (Kilkenny) was worth a total of 76li 12s 5d at the Dissolution, *Extents*, 193-98. The value of other Cistercian houses at the Dissolution were generally less: Baltinglass (75li 15s 2d), Abbeyleix (40s 2d), Monasterevan (20li 13s 4d), Jerpoint (87li 17s 2d), Bective (83li 18s 8d), Hore (21li 4s 4d), Dunbrody (28li 11s 4d), and Tintern (59li 18s 4d), *ibid.*, 131, 136, 177, 184, 269, 327, 356, 361.

[22] William gained possession of when his older brother died without issue, Painter, *William Marshal*, 10, 102-4. William's estates at Cherhill near Calne was four miles east of Stanley, Stalley, R., *The Monastery at Graiguenamanagh (Duiske): the Architecture of the Church and Monastic Buildings (Written to Coincide with the 800th Anniversary of the Foundation of the Abbey)*, (unpublished, 2004).

[23] 'He arrived in Pembroke at Whitsuntide, where they lost hardly any time in embarking on the crossing, for on the day of the feast of St John following he arrived in Kilkenny with his army, where he was given a most lavish reception, for I can assure you of this, that the whole army, no more nor less, was that day lodged at the earl's expense, nor was thought given for a single minute to setting a guard on the gate or forbidding entry; the expenditure was on a very lavish scale', *History*, 2: ll. 14257-14267.

more convenient port for the monks of Stanley on the English side, New Ross was directly accessible from Graiguenamanagh via waterways. Situated in the valley of the Barrow at its confluence with the Duiske, Graiguenamanagh's location allowed for easy transportation of people and materials from across the Irish Sea. In addition, the river offered great potential for powering mills and supplied water for cooking, cleaning and drainage, all essential for the efficient management of a monastery. In addition, Dundry stone – a creamy, soft, oolitic limestone imported from the Severn Valley and found in the early fabric at Graiguenamanagh, the parish church in New Ross and recently excavated *ex situ* cut stone from the cloister at Tintern *de Voto* – would also have been transported up the river channels.[24]

The remains of the medieval church include the three-bayed chancel, the north and south transepts with three chapels each (only two of the south transept chapels remain open) and the central aisle of the nave with three western bays of arcade (originally seven bays) [**Fig 7. 8**]. Although the three western bays of the nave are visible on both sides, only the north aisle is open, having been reconstructed in modern times. A processional doorway leading from the cloister into the south aisle (the latter long since removed) has also survived. A number of features from the cloister and its basic layout have been uncovered and there is limited access behind the street front. The architectural details include a collation seat [**Fig 7. 9**], some dormitory windows, the chapter house doorway and several other bits of cut stone *in situ* (embedded into modern buildings).[25] The present ground level within the church is higher today than it was in the thirteenth century. The sheer number of stairs leading down to the cloister doorway displays the great disparity between the two floor levels. Excavations revealed the original level, a meter and a half lower, and a medieval base has been made visible in the southeast corner of the chancel.[26] Comerford described how in the nineteenth century digging in the north transept (for local priests' burials) produced no less than five cartloads of sculpted stones.[27] More recent excavations (1977) produced only a small amount of dressed masonry but revealed a medieval tiled floor *in situ* in the north transept [**Fig 7. 10**] (discussed below).[28]

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[24] For an examination of the use of Dundry stone in Irish buildings, see Waterman, D.M., 'Somerset and Other Foreign Building Stone in Medieval Ireland, *c.*1175-1400', *UJA*, 33 (1970), 63-75.
[25] For more information on collation seats see chapter five.
[26] Bradley and Manning, 'Duiske Abbey'.
[27] Comerford, M., 'Some Account of the Parish of Graiguenamanagh', *Trans. Ossory Archaeological Society*, 3:1 (1883), 25-80 (50), cited in Bradley and Manning, 'Duiske Abbey', 399.
[28] Bradley, J. and C. Manning, 'Excavations at Duiske Abbey, Graiguenamanagh, Co. Kilkenny', *PRIA*, 81C (1981), 420.

The crossing tower is only known through documented evidence.[29] The size of the crossing piers suggest that it was intended from the start but when it was built is uncertain. The most interesting aspect was its octagonal shape, but resting on top of a square crossing it required squinches or pendentives to support the transition in form. Octagonal towers were common in French Romanesque churches and although rare in the Irish context, they were found in a number of locations. Examples include the now destroyed towers at the Augustinian houses of Tristernagh (Westmeath, founded *c.*1200) [**Fig 7. 11**][30] and Inistioge (Kilkenny, founded *c.*1206),[31] the Carmelite Friary of Knocktopher (Kilkenny, *c.*1320), the Franciscan Friary at Clonmel (Tipperary), the old parish church at Askeaton (Limerick)[32] and the secular example at the west gatehouse at Trim Castle (Meath, post 1194).[33] The octagonal tower at Graiguenamanagh was most definitely in place when in 1330 Richard O'Nolan took refuge in the belfry of the abbey, an event recorded in Friar Clyn's annals. This gives a possible construction range of about a hundred years (*c.*1230-1330). The aforementioned reference, by presenting a *terminus anti quem* for the tower, dates the structure to earlier than the fifteenth century impetus for tower construction in Ireland. This may, therefore, imply its existence in the thirteenth century. The tower survived the dissolution, when the bell was recorded hanging within, but collapsed in the eighteenth century, leaving only the eastern crossing piers.[34] It is probable that the chancel vaults

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[29] Patrick, W. and J. O'Leary, *Graignamanagh Abbey, With Some Account of the Ancient Churches, Castles and Other Local Antiquities, Compiled from Authentic Sources*, (Graiguenamanagh, 1924), 7 and Butler, R., ed., *Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn*, (Dublin, 1849), 22.

[30] Eagar, B., 'Tristernagh Priory: the Establishment of a Colonial Monastic House in the Lordship of Meath (*c.*1200)', *The Churches, Ireland and the Irish: Papers Read at the 1987 Summer Meeting and the 1988 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, eds. W.J. Sheils and D. Wood, (Oxford and New York, 1989), 25-36.

[31] Cloister fragments from Inistioge recall those in the north arcade at Holycross (Tipperary, 1438-55) and Fore (Westmeath, *c.*1470), *pers. comm.* D. O'Donovan. Manning has suggested a reconstruction for the arcade in his article, Manning, C., 'Inistioge Priory Cloister Arcade', *OKR*, ns 1:3 (1976), 190-200. Milo fitz Gerald, bishop of Ossory (*c.*1550) '... built there [Inistioge], at no small expense, a new bell tower and a new cloister ...', translated from the Latin by Carrigan from the Latin text of a catalogue of the bishop of Ossory, probably written in 1555, Carrigan, W., *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, (1905), 1: 28-9, cited in Manning, *op. cit.*, 197. A date for the architecture is given as 1528 based on Moran who took the transcription to mean, '... before his appointment to the see [1528] ...', Moran, Rev., 'The Bishops of Ossory from the Anglo-Norman Invasion to the Present Day,' *Trans. Ossory Archaeological Society*, 2 (1880-83), 249, cited in Manning, *op. cit.*, 199. A map of Inistioge from the seventeenth century survived in the Ormond Collection of manuscripts (NLI MS 11, 053 (13)). James Archer drew it in 1667 for the duke of Ormond. For a discussion of the map and its relevance, see Edwards, D. and C. Manning, 'A Seventeenth Century Map of Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny', *JRSAI*, 131 (2001), 38-55.

[32] It has been argued it was a Templar church, *pers. comm.* Stalley.

[33] The list of octagonal towers in ecclesiastical contexts is from Stalley, *Graiguenamanagh Abbey*. For Trim castle see chapter two.

[34] The goods and chattels, including the bell, except the price of 5 cows and a pair of organs (4li 13s 4d) was given to James, earl of Ormond and Ossory, *Extents*, 198. O'Leary states that the tower fell in 1774, 'Cistercian Abbey of Graiguenamanagh', 238, but this is incorrect. The text (written by E. Ledwich) of Grose, F., *Antiquities of Ireland*, (London, 1791-5), 1:39, claims that '... the beautiful octagon tower ...' fell down in 1744, and the date is repeated by Luckombe, P., *A Tour Through Ireland; Wherein the Present State of that Kingdom is Considered; and the Most Noted Cities, Towns, Seats, Buildings, Loughs, &c. Described,*

either came down with the tower or that the disaster caused so much damage to require their removal. An engraving from 1792 depicted the crossing after the tower had already fallen, but shows a section of the crossing arch leading to the north transept, which has also since been removed [**Fig 7. 12**]. Later alterations saw the removal of much of the Gothic mouldings from the arches leading into the chapels. As is the case with the chancel vaults, only the formerets and the lower part of the ribs remain *in situ*. The present north porch in the nave belongs to the 1980s; however, foundations of a thirteenth century porch were found when it was under construction. Beranger's illustration, based on a Jonathan Fisher drawing, depicted the remains of such an entrance [**Fig 7. 13**]. This doorway provided lay or non-ecclesiastical access to the church in place of the usual west portal, which was here not part of its design; instead a triplet of lancets that mirror the east façade punctuated the west wall.

The layout of Graiguenamanagh, with an aisled nave, transepts with three chapels off each arm and a rectangular presbytery, was typical of Cistercian practice, '... particularly within the affiliation of Clairvaux'.[35] In plan, Graiguenamanagh is most closely paralleled at its fellow Leinster Anglo-Norman foundation of Dunbrody; both were over 60 meters east to west [**Fig 7. 14**]. The extended presbytery, while not a feature of Dunbrody, was predominantly characteristic of Anglo-Norman churches in Ireland; examples include Mellifont II (Louth, 1240) [**Fig 7. 15**], Tintern *de Voto* (*c.*1300, probably built on early thirteenth century foundations) and Inch (Down, begun *c.*1185).[36] The favoured 'Fontenay' plan employed in the Northern Irish houses, was not copied in Leinster. Irish houses with six chapels are only found in Anglo-Norman foundations: Mellifont II, Tintern, Dunbrody and Graiguenamanagh.[37] Outside Ireland examples include the French

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Interspersed with Observations ..., (London, 1780), 41 and Seward, W.W., *Topographica Hibernica*, (Dublin, 1795). The date of 1744 is confirmed by Jonathan Fisher's drawing, on which Beranger based one of his later illustrations, Beranger, G., *Drawings of the Principal Antique Buildings of Ireland: National Library of Ireland MS 1958 TX*, ed. P. Harbison, (Dublin, 1998), 148-9. The original drawing was prepared before the west end of the church was refurbished and enclosed for Protestant worship in 1754. For an account of the fall, see Joyce, J., *Graiguenamanagh: a Town and its People: An Historical and Social Account of Graiguenamanagh and Tinnahinch*, (Graiguenamanagh, 2001 edn.), 208, cited in Stalley, *Graiguenamanagh Abbey*.

[35] Most houses of the Mellifont affiliation followed '... the "Bernadine" or "Fontenay" plan with two square chapels in each transept. This was employed at Boyle (Roscommon), Jerpoint (Kilkenny), Abbeyknockmoy (Galway), Holycross (Tipperary), Kilcooly (Kilkenny), Hore (Tipperary) and probably Bective (Meath) ...', Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland, An Account of the History, Art and Architecture of the White Monks in Ireland from 1142 to 1540*, (London and New Haven, 1987), 57.

[36] Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 62.

[37] Mellifont II is included in this list because the rebuilding of the church was largely a result of Anglo-Norman funding. Mellifont I had alternating apsidal and rectangular chapels, while the eastern arms of the remodelled Mellifont II form a regular flat end in line with the other Cistercian houses in Ireland, Stalley,

houses of Clairvaux II (Aube, *c.*1135-45), Clairmont (Mayenne, *c.*1152-70) and Laon (Aisne, 1124), the German foundation at Eberbach (Rheingau, Germany, *c.*1140-50), the northern houses of Melrose (Scottish Borders, *c.*1140s), Rievaulx (Yorkshire, *c.*1147-67) and Kirkstall (Yorkshire), the southern monastery of Boxley (Kent, after *c.*1152), and the West Country and Welsh churches at St. Martin's Abbey, Bordesley (Worcestershire) [**Fig 7. 16**], Aberconwy (Conwy) and Strata Florida (Cardiganshire, after 1165) [**Fig 7. 17**].

Internally, the church at Graiguenamanagh measures 33.26 meters from north to south and 65.05 meters east to west.[38] Excavations have revealed that Stanley was analogous, internally measuring 65.5 meters from chancel to nave.[39] While the churches themselves are comparable, the cloister at Graiguenamanagh (36.27 meters, east to west) was noticeably larger (Stanley, 32 meters east to west), indicating the relative ambition of the daughter house.[40] Although conservative compared with many English monastic churches, Graiguenamanagh is one of largest in Ireland, and not without parallels in thirteenth century Britain.[41] When writing about the abbey in 1892, O'Leary pointed out the '... remarkable similarity that exists between the abbey church of Graiguenamanagh and the Cistercian church recently excavated at Strata Florida in Cardiganshire ...'.[42] The similarities should really be limited to the size of each church. Strata Florida measures 65 x 35.7 meters, and like Graiguenamanagh the nave arcade was composed of a series of seven arches.[43] But these are not isolated examples; Talley Abbey (Carmarthenshire) (73 meters long) and Fontenay (Côte-d'Or) are both slightly longer with eight-bayed naves.

The basic layout and dimensions of the church at Graiguenamanagh reveals that it was not built in isolation, devoid of contact with English models. Comparisons and parallels are also noticeable in the ornamentation of the church. Unlike many larger churches, built

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Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland, 61. For a more detailed study of Mellifont see Stalley, R., 'Mellifont Abbey: A Study of its Architectural History', *PRIA*, 80C (1980), 263-354.

[38] Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 63.

[39] The arch-braced roof employed in the restoration is derived from the fifteenth century roof at Dunsoghly Castle. It is more likely that the original roof at Graiguenamanagh was formed of coupled rafters with a relatively high collar, Stalley, *Graiguenamanagh Abbey*.

[40] Stalley, *Graiguenamanagh Abbey*.

[41] Coldstream, N., 'Cistercian Architecture from Beaulieu to the Dissolution', *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, eds. C. Norton and D. Park, David, (Cambridge, 1986), 139-59, 140-2. Aisled presbyteries were widely adopted in thirteenth century English Cistercian buildings, Stalley, *Graiguenamanagh Abbey*.

[42] O'Leary, P., 'Notes on the Cistercian Abbey of Graiguenamanagh', *JRSAI*, 5th ser., 2 (1892), 245. For the excavations at Strata Florida see, Williams, S. W., 'The Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida: its History and Account of the Recent Excavations on its Site by Stephen W. Williams', (London, 1889).

[43] Robinson, D.M. and C. Platt, *Strata Florida Abbey, Talley Abbey*, (Cardiff, 2007), 23, 40. O'Leary, 'Cistercian Abbey of Graiguenamanagh', 245.

over a span of centuries and several campaigns, the sculptural decoration at Graiguenamanagh is consistent from chancel to nave. This not only suggests an uninterrupted campaign but most probably a relatively short period of construction. Lancets (both round-headed and pointed) with nook shafts, were employed throughout; the taller shafts were embellished with annulets. Ornamentation included dogtooth, nailhead, stiff lead foliage, single and triple fillets, stringcourses and a number of small variations in the mouldings in the vaults, arches, lancets and clerestories. The details display a Cistercian minimalism that is reflected in the simplicity of the single storey chancel and two-storey nave, where embellishment is not excessive and limited even in key features. What will become clear, through an examination of the sculpture, is the extent to which it represents a regional version of English West Country architecture.

The three bays of the chancel are separated by triple filleted vault shafts, cut only by the stringcourse, which runs around the chancel at the base of the lancets. The stringcourse is composed of a demi-roll and fillet and a larger roll with zig-zag ornament [**Fig 7. 18**]; the southwest corner is elaborated with leaves and berries (or pinecones) that curve onto the crossing pier [**Fig 7. 19**]. There is a lovely label stop in the Elder Lady Chapel, Bristol cathedral with foliage and berry ornamentation in the same vein, although with the added element of a lizard munching on the fruit [**Fig 7. 20**]. The vault shafts at Graiguenamanagh are set back into the wall [**Fig 7. 21**],[44] a common feature of West Country early Gothic, but also employed in the nave of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin (*c.*1234) [**Fig 7. 22**].[45] However, those at Christ Church are not the best parallel for two

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[44] The vaulting shafts at Graiguenamanagh are surmounted by plain moulded capitals with the triple fillets extend over the neck roll and onto the bell.

[45] The archbishop and canons of Christ Church Cathedral were granted permission to '… occupy and close up a street lying near it towards the west …' in order to '… lengthen and enlarge their church …', *CDI*, 1: no. 2178 (1234). By comparing details in the nave with the choir at St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, O'Neill has argued that construction on the nave at Christ Church begun in 1234, O'Neill, M., 'St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin and its Place in the History of Irish Medieval Architecture', 2 vols., (unpublished PhD thesis, TCD, 1995 and O'Neill, M., 'Design Sources for St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, and its Relationship to Christ Church Cathedral', *PRIA*, 100C (2000), no. 6, 207-56. Stalley acknowledged this is his commentary on his earlier work, Stalley, R., 'Additional Notes', *Ireland and Europe in the Middle Ages: Selected Essays on Architecture and Sculpture*, (London, 1994), 317-23. Stalley argued for a campaign lasting from *c.*1234-*c.*1240, with the final bay added in the 1240s or 1250s, Stalley, R., 'The Architecture of the Cathedral and Priory Buildings', *Christ Church Cathedral: A History*, ed. K. Milne, (Dublin, 2000), 95-129. Kinsella argued that construction began with the western bay (*c.*1234), followed by the demolition of the old nave, and finally the construction of the remainder of the nave. He admits that it is quite tortuous trying to work out what really happened, and as Stalley pointed out, the crypt had Dundry dressing which puts it as early as 1200. The piers of the crypt and nave do not align, which suggests that when the nave was dismantled it did not affect the crypt. Kinsella further argued that the word *dilatum*, in the original mandate, translates to enlarge, rather than 'lengthen and widen', i.e. this could refer to the entire rebuilding of the nave, Kinsella, S., 'An Architectural history of Christ Church Cathedral Dublin, *c.*1540-*c.*1870', (unpublished PhD thesis, TCD, 2009), chapter 2.

reasons; first, the form of recession is convex, echoing the shape of the pier clusters, and secondly, the recession is at arcade level only, halting before the springing of the arch.

While single shafts (with triple fillets) are more prominent in Irish Gothic (St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, Christ Church cathedral, Dublin and St. Canice's cathedral, Kilkenny, Inch abbey), they are not without parallel in West Country architecture. The lancets in the west wall of Llandaff cathedral (Cardiff, *c.*1205-*c.*1229) are one such example, where the additional feature of recessed wall shafts creates a distinct correlation between the two buildings.[46] Single shafts are also found towards the nave and soffits of the nave arcade at St. David's cathedral (Pembrokeshire), while triples were employed towards the aisles. But it is the recession that makes the vault shafts so interesting. 'Recessed shafts were used at Old Sarum cathedral (Wiltshire), in the eastern crossing piers at Malmesbury (Wiltshire), in the crossing piers at Leonard Stanley (Gloucestershire), and in the vault responds at Forde (Dorset) chapter house and Bindon (Dorset) chapter house'.[47] Other examples are found at the near coeval churches of Pershore (Worcestershire, 1220-39) [**Fig 7. 23**] and Worcester cathedral (eastern arm, 1224-32).[48] Pershore abbey has much in common with Graiguenamanagh, including nook shafts (although located in the buttresses at Pershore), detached shafts, and an abundance of fillets.[49] While the chancel vault shafts at the Augustinian priory at Llanthony Prima (Monmouthshire, *c.*1171-*c.*1186) do not employ recession, it nevertheless, offers an interesting parallel [**Fig 7. 24**] for the elevation

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[46] The chronology of the building at Llandaff is open to a range of interpretations. On 9 September 1205, King John granted to Llandaff an annual fair (Birch, *Memorials*, 285). Such grants were often associated with major buildings programmes, such as King John's grant to Wells Cathedral, Robinson, J.A., 'Documentary Evidence Relating to the Building of the Cathedral Church of Wells', *Arch. J*, 85 (1928), 9, and Henry III's grant to Pershore Abbey after it was damaged in a fire, Thurlby, M., 'The Abbey Church, Pershore, An Architectural History', *TWAS*, 3rd ser., 15 (1996), 147. Comparisons with work in dated buildings suggest that Llandaff was completed either Bishop Henry of Abergavenny (1193-1218) or his successor, William Goldcliff (1219-29). Thurlby has suggested that the western bays of the nave were constructed to the west of the Romanesque nave so as to retain Urban's church as a functioning space and with the completion of the western bays, the Romanesque nave would have been demolished and work on the Gothic nave continued to meet the presbytery, Thurlby, M., 'Llandaff Cathedral', 62, 70.

[47] Thurlby, M., 'Aspects of Romanesque Ecclesiastical Architecture in Dorset: Wimborne Minster, Sherborne Abbey, Forde Abbey Chapter-House, and St. Mary's, Maiden Newton', *PDANHS*, 122 (2000), 1-19; Robinson, D.M. and R. and Lea, 'Malmesbury Abbey: History, Archaeology, and Architecture to Illustrate the significance of the south aisle screen', *English Heritage Historical Analysis and Research Team, Reports and Papaers* 61 (London, 2002)', cited in Thurlby, 'Llandaff Cathedral', 72, 85 n46. Other Early English examples are found in the north choir aisle and transepts of St David's Cathedral (Pembrokeshire, 1180s), in the high vault shafts of the nave at Gloucester Cathedral and in the chapter house of Oxford Cathedral, Stalley, R. and M. Thurlby, 'The Early Gothic Choir of Pershore Abbey', *JSAH*, 48:4 (December 1989), 365 n45.

[48] *Ibid.*, 352, 355, 365.

[49] *Ibid.*, 353.

of the chancel at Graiguenamanagh.[50] Here the vaulting shafts separate tall lancets and a stringcourse at the base of the lancets cuts across the shafts. One particularly interesting parallel for the chancel lies not in the West Country or Ireland, but rather in Normandy. The presbytery of the nunnery church of Fontaine-Guérard (Eure, chancel 1190s, dedicated 1218) has a triplet of pointed graduated lancets in the east wall, is covered by ribbed vaults and is lit by tall lancets in the north and south walls [**Fig 7. 25**].[51] The chancel is remarkably similar to the east end of Graiguenamanagh [**Fig 7. 26**], the only difference being that the vaults were supported on corbels rather than shafts. What this may suggest is that the style of pared down Gothic found in Ireland may be the result of limited funding. This explains relationships with parish church architecture in England and lesser monastic sites in France. What the plethora of comparisons reveals is that there were plenty of precedents for the architectural articulation found at Graiguenamanagh. It need not have come through Dublin, and the later date for the nave at Christ Church supports the idea that the West Country character of Gothic in Leinster was a result of direct contact.

The shafts in the chancel at Graiguenamanagh once supported stone ribbed vaults, which no longer survive. From the early middle ages onwards, stone vaults were employed in churches throughout Europe to identify sacred spaces. They acted as macro-*baldacchino*s over areas in a church that housed altars, most prominently in the presbytery. Where funds were not available for stone, timber constructions offered a cheaper alternative, often painted to resemble stone; one example was produced in the royal chapel at Windsor commissioned by Henry III.[52] These were '… pseudo-vaults that replicated the effect of

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[50] The chancel of Llanthony dates to between 1171-1205. The second campaign, including the completion of the nave, was probably begun in 1198 after revenues were restored, having passed to the crown upon Hugh de Lacy's death, Evans, D.H., *et al*, 'Further Excavations and Fieldwork at Llanthony Priory, Gwent', *Monmonthshire Antiquary*, 5.1-2 (1983-84), 1-61; Thurlby, M., 'The Early Gothic Fabric of Llandaff Cathedral and its Place in the West Country School of Masons', *Cardiff: Architecture and Archaeology in the Medieval Diocese of Llandafff*, eds., J.R. Kenyon and D.M. Williams, (BAACT 29), 73. Llanthony was richly endowed by both Hugh de Lacy I and his son, Walter.

[51] Robert III of Leicester and his wife, Petronilla of Grandmesnil, founded the nunnery between 1186 and 1189. It '… attracted substantial gifts from court circles – the Longchamps, both Stephen and William, Robert's Neubourg cousins, and Aubry de Dammartin, with the consent of his son, Renaud', *GC*, 11, inst. cols 29-30, no. xxviii, cited in Grant, L., *Architecture and Society in Normandy, 1120-1270*, (London, 2005), 113-14. In February 1204, John granted the abbey his willow plantation at Moulineaux so that the nuns could construct their abbey buildings, Arch Dépt, Eure, H.1264, for John's gift, '*ad edificand. abb.iam*', *ibid.*, H.1263, cited in Grant, *op. cit.*, 113-14.

[52] For a general survey of vaulting in Romanesque churches in Britain and Ireland, see Hoey, L.R and M. Thurlby, 'A Survey of Romanesque Vaulting in Great Britain and Ireland', *AJ*, 84 (2004), 117-84 and Hearn, M.F. and M. Thurlby, 'Previously Undetected Wooden Ribbed Vaults in Medieval Britain, *JBAA*, 150 (1997), 48-58. Thurlby has suggested that the nave at St. David's Cathedral was constructed in stone, Thurlby, M., 'Did the Late Twelfth-Century Nave of St. David's Cathedral have Stone Vaults?', *AJ*, 83 (2003), 441-8. The wooden barrel vault in the choir at Glasgow is a reconstruction from 1910-11 but Thurlby has suggested that the cusped wall rib above the eastern lancet indicates that the trajectory of the present vault follows the thirteenth century lines. Fergusson and Harrison reconstructed wooden barrel vaults at

stone'.[53] It was the form rather than the material that mattered. Lack of monetary assets may also have led to the decision to limit stone vaults to certain spaces. In several of the first Romanesque churches of northern Italy, vaults were placed only over the choir. The same approach was adopted in Romanesque churches in Normandy and England.[54] In Ireland, vaults were often limited to the east end: chancels, transept chapels and, in a few cases, the transepts themselves.[55] Ribbed vaults were even less common in thirteenth century Ireland – limited to the Cistercian houses at Mellifont, Graiguenamanagh and Inch – and the most ambitious vaulting was carried out in the two Dublin cathedrals, as well as the cathedral at Waterford.[56] The very material suggests a larger percentage of revenue being diverted to architectural programmes. A document from Stephen of Lexington refers to the financial problems that arose from such concentrated effort. Dated to 1228, it stated that a certain abbey had put themselves into considerable debt, '... with which it is intolerably oppressed'.[57] Stalley has suggested that this trouble was the result of impatience to complete building works. No doubt, over ambition could negatively affect the revenue reserves of a monastery keen to have their entire complex completed within a short span of time. The debt incurred by the monks at Graiguenamanagh was probably caused by both the extent of the complex and the speed at which it was constructed. It was one of the largest monastic complexes in Ireland, particularly ambitious when considering yearly revenue was relatively less when compared with its English counterparts.

Byland (before 1177). Thurlby has also suggested wooden vaults were built over the nave of Fountains (twelfth century), the nave, transept and chapter house at Rievaulx (twelfth century), the Galilee Chapel at Durham, the aisleless nave at Ripon Minster, the nave at York Minster, and the chapel of the Archbishop's Palace (now Minster Library, 1806-13 restoration), Thurlby, M., 'Glasgow Cathedral and the Wooden Barrel Vault in Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Architecture in Scotland', *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of Glasgow*, ed. R. Fawcett, (BAACT 23, Leeds, 1998), 84-87.

[53] Stalley, *Graiguenamanagh Abbey*. Thurlby has suggested the chancel at Graiguenamanagh was covered with a wooden vault. The wall above east window has a rough arrangement of masonry. This, combined with the radial pattern, confirms that a stone vault covered the presbytery, *ibid*. Some of the original arch mouldings and vault springers remain *in situ* in the southern chapels. It would be unlikely that the chapels received stone vaults while the chancel was vaulted with timber-pseudo vaults. Thurlby also suggested that the vaults at Christ Church were wooden, but most scholars disagree with him on this point.

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] Pointed barrel vaults were constructed over the presbyteries of Boyle (Roscommon), Jerpoint (Kilkenny) and Monasteranenagh (Limerick) (daughter houses of Mellifont). They are also found over the transept chapels of Boyle, Abbeyknockmoy (Galway), Corcomroe (Clare) and Jerpoint and over the transepts of the fifteenth century houses of Holycross (Tipperary) and Kilcooly (Kilkenny). The earliest ribbed vaults were constructed over the chapter house of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin (*c.*1190-1200), the new chapter house at Mellifont (Louth, *c.*1210-20) and the presbytery of Abbeyknockmoy (*c.*1210-20). Sites in the west of Ireland include the chancels at Ballintober (Roscommon, 1216-1225) and Corcomroe (*c.*1210-20), Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland,* chapter 6.

[56] *Ibid.*, 92.

[57] *Ibid.*, 20.

Beneath the chancel vault, in the east wall, is a triplet of lancets (with multiple shaft rings) [**Fig 7. 27**]. As discussed in the previous chapters, triplets were highly fashionable in Early English Gothic architecture and graduated lancets were a common feature of Cistercian architecture, prior to the introduction of tracery. The English predilection for rectangular rather than apsidal spaces created vast façades, often articulated with lancets, such as the Five Sisters window in the north transept at York cathedral.[58] Un-graduated examples are found in various Orders, such as Buildwas (Shropshire) [**Fig 7. 28**] and the Glastonbury Lady Chapel (Somerset), as well as the late Romanesque Irish churches at Jerpoint abbey (Kilkenny, west façade) and Tuam cathedral (Galway, 1184).[59] Lancets tended to become pointed about the turn of the century, and both the chancel at Abbey Dore (Herefordshire, completed before 1208-1220) [**Fig 7. 29**] and the choir of Tynemouth (Northumberland, *c.*1190) were ornamented in this fashion.[60] Triplets became undoubtedly popular in Irish Cistercian constructions, and examples are found at Dunbrody [**Fig 7. 30**], Abington (Limerick),[61] Inch and Grey (Down).

The most interesting aspect of the lancets at Graiguenamanagh is that the rear arches of the east windows are differentiated by trefoil heads. The central light is pointed, while the flanking lights are round-headed. The retrochoir of Chichester cathedral (Sussex), reconstructed after a devastating fire in 1187, employs such a combination of ornamentation in the triforium arcade, where pairs of trefoil arches are enclosed within a pointed arch [**Fig 7. 31**].[62] The presbytery at Ely cathedral (Cambridgeshire) is notable for

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[58] Other examples are found at Croxden and Arbroath south transept, Hexham transepts, the east façades of Ely and Rievaulx, Draper, P., *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity*, (London, 2006), 89, 114

[59] Fergusson, *The Architecture of Solitude*, 96n18.

[60] The eastern arm was rebuilt in *c.*1190, and in the fourteenth or fifteenth century an upper chamber was constructed on top of the presbytery and choir. The east end was partially demolished in the 1660s. The nave of the church was walled off and used as a parish church after the dissolution until *c.*1670, Leyland, M. and D. Sherlock, 'The Conservation and Study of the Eastern Arm of Tynemouth Priory Church', *Arch. Ael.*, 5th ser., 28 (2000), 111-35. The presbytery stands today at 22 meters high. The east wall with three graduated lancets, the middle stage with a central pointed oval flanked by small lancets and above a single central lancet is unusual. The prominently projecting presbytery is characteristic of northern churches and can be seen at Arbroath, St. Andrew's Cathedral and at Lanercost Priory (Cumbria), Saunders, A., *Tynemouth Priory, Castle and Twentieth-Century Fortifications, Tyne and Wear*, (London, English Heritage, 1993), 8.

[61] Abington was destroyed in the eighteenth century but the eastern lancets are known from a sketch made in 1681 by Thomas Dinely. Dinley, T., *Observations in a Voyage through the Kingdom of Ireland*, (NLI ms 1972 TX), 114. Stalley has pointed out the possible relationship between the early Gothic work at Abington and that at Inch abbey, both daughter houses of Furness (Lancashire).

[62] Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic*, 74. Purbeck and Sussex marble is employed in abundance in the new work (shafting, stringcourses, capitals and bases) and the rebuilding is a reflection of what was going on at Canterbury and Lincoln. The Gothic work appears to have been done rapidly (*c.*1188-99), with the re-consecration occurring on 12 September 1199, although two royal licences for Bishop Simon of Wells to bring Purbeck marble '… from the coast of Dorset to Chichester to repair his church …' exist for 1205-6, *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 1: 65: '*ducendi marmor suum per mare a Purbic usque Cicestr' ad reparationem ecclesiae*

its use of dogtooth, detached marble shafts and cusped arches in the gallery and clerestory. Built by Bishop Northwold between 1234 and 1252, the lancets are pointed on the exterior with rounded and pointed trefoil heads on the rear arches [**Fig 7. 32**].[63] While these two cathedrals are too late to be models for the east façade at Graiguenamanagh (probably began *c.*1210), the contemporary cathedral at Llandaff (*c.*1205-1229) had a descending round-headed trefoil blind arcade flanking a single pointed lancet in the upper storey of the western façade [**Fig 7. 33**].[64] The triplet of graduated lancets in the lower storey is embellished with detached shafts and annulets. The closest parallel for the east wall of Graiguenamanagh, however, is found much closer to home, in the east wall of St Canice's cathedral, Kilkenny [**Fig 7. 34**]. Both St. Canice's and Graiguenamanagh have a triplet of graduated lancets with trefoil rear arches and both have a small oculus above. The difference is that all three at St Canice's are pointed with pointed trefoil rear arches, and were probably slightly later. Marshal had a close relationship with the first Anglo-Norman bishop of Ossory, Hugh le Rous, having initiated the association during his first visit to Ireland, *c.*1200/01.[65] The bishop was involved in the establishment of both of William's Cistercian foundations.[66] It is not surprising, therefore, to find architectural parallels between the cathedral and the abbey church. Although some have dated the start of construction at Kilkenny to the mid century, Barry has postulated that work began during le Rous' episcopate (1202-1218).[67] The start of construction was likely to have begun closer to the end of his role as bishop, after the initiation of building works at Graiguenamanagh, considering the parallels between the two churches. Many years later the east façade of William's Augustinian foundation in Kilkenny, St. John's (*c.*1260), also made use of trefoil lancets – two sets of trefoil headed triplets each contained within a pointed arch, then surmounted by a single quatrefoil [**Fig 7. 35**]. It is certainly possible that William had an indirect impact on the architecture of southeast Ireland, initiated by his

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suae de Cisestr", cited in Tatton-Brown, T.W.T., 'The Medieval Fabric', *Chichester Cathedral: an Historical Survey*, ed. M. Hobbs, (Chichester, 1994), 30, 302 n24. For a discussion of the Romanesque choir, see Andrew, M., 'Chichester Cathedral: the Problem of the Romanesque Choir Vault', *JBAA*, 135 (1982), 11-22.

[63] Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic*, 171; Draper, P., 'Bishop Northwold and the Cult of St. Etheldreda', *Medieval Art and Architecture of Ely Cathedral*, (BAACT 2, 1979), 8-27.

[64] See note 46. On 9 September 1205, King John granted to Llandaff an annual fair on four days in Whitsun week and a market to be held every Sunday, Malone, C.L.M., 'West English Gothic architecture 1175-1250', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1973), 171, 202. Grants such as these were often associated with new buildings campaigns, Thurlby, 'Llandaff Cathedral', 62, fig. 6.

[65] At some point during 1203 William was in residence at Hamstead Marshall (Berkshire) where he was visited by the bishop of Ossory, *Ir. Mon. and Episc. Deeds*, 301-2; Crouch, *William Marshal*, 91. The bishop of Ossory had significant grants and concessions from William, *ibid.*, 114.

[66] Crouch, *William Marshal*, 152. However, it was the bishop of Ferns who consecrated the cemetery at Duiske in June 1204, while the bishop of Ossory was in England at the time, *ibid.*, 212.

[67] Barry, S., 'The Architecture of the Cathedral', *A Worthy Foundation: The Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, 1285-1985*, ed. A. Empy, (Portlaois, 1985), 25-48.

endowments and the architectural relationships these created with West Country architecture. The trefoil also articulates the nave triforium of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin: a triple arcade with central trefoil flanked by pointed arches [**Fig 7. 36**]. While a number of comparisons with both Dublin cathedrals exist, this does not necessarily suggest that the masons at Graiguenamanagh came from Dublin. The parallels between many Leinster, Dublin and West Country churches might simply imply the use of similar models, particularly considering the fact that the chancel at Graiguenamanagh appears to predate both the Dublin cathedrals and the cathedral in Kilkenny. What appears to have developed in Dublin and Leinster is a form of West Country architecture that has its own regional Irish flavour.

The many lancets in the chancel at Graiguenamanagh are articulated with multiple annulets, and while less common in the West Country School, they are found ornamenting the western lancets of Margam (Glamorgan, with a *terminus post quem* of 1180) [**Fig 7. 37**]. Multiple annulets are most often found on vault shafts in French cathedrals, such as Sens (Yvonne, nave, 1122-42)[68] and Laon (Aisne, begun 1160s).[69] In England, multiple bands are also employed to articulate vault shafts of the transepts of Lincoln cathedral (*c.*1200-10): articulating the middle of the pier, the arcade abacus, stringcourse, and the abacus of the vault springers [**Fig 7. 38**].[70] Similar detailing is found in the retrochoir of Rochester cathedral (Kent, 1180s),[71] and later in the north transept of Westminster abbey (new Lady Chapel, begun 1220).[72] This type of elaboration is consistent with Gothic

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[68] Henry Sanglier, archbishop of Sens (1122-42) began the rebuilding of Sens Cathedral, Grant, *Architecture and Society in Normandy*, 44.

[69] Grant, *Architecture and Society in Normandy*, 47. See, also Sandron, D., *Picardie Gothique, Autour de Laon et Soissons*, (Paris, 2001), 188-207.

[70] Hoey, L., 'Piers versus Vault Shafts in Early English Gothic Architecture', *JSAH*, 46:3 (September 1987), 255.

[71] This is a recently revised dating of the new east end, in place of the traditional date of *c.*1200 or the early years of the thirteenth century, Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic*, 117. For a discussion of the argument, see McAleer, J.P., *Rochester Cathedral: An Architectural History*, (Toronto, 1999). The reconstruction was necessitated by a fire in 1179. The rebuilding may have been initiated at the end of the episcopate of Walter (1148-82), or his successor, Waleran (1182-84), but most of the work would have been done under Gilbert Glanville (1185-1214), implied by the position of his tomb on the north side of the presbytery (if it is his tomb and it is *in situ* would offer a *terminus ante quem* for the presbytery). Prior Ralph '... caused the great church to be covered in and for the most part to be leaded ...', and Prior Helias was responsible for the leading of the roofs of the great church, together with the part of the cloister adjacent to the dormitory, Draper, P., 'The Late Twelfth-Century East End of Rochester Cathedral', *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology of Rochester*, ed. T. Tatton-Brown, (Leeds, 2006), 97-113.

[72] The abbey was rebuilt under the patronage of Henry III, beginning in 1220, Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic*, 147. Henry III's patronage is explored by Colvin, *King's Works*; Matthew Paris recorded in 1245 (*CM*, 4:427), 'In the same year the lord king, inspired by his devotion to St. Edward, ordered the church of St. Peter at Westminster to be enlarged ...', Binski, P., *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400*, (New Haven and London, 1995), 1. Henry III only became involved in the building project in the 1240s, when he changed his desired burial place to Westminster abbey

architecture not only outside Ireland but also within the context of Irish Gothic. Examples are found at Christ Church, St. Canice's, and William's foundations of St. John's, Kilkenny and St. Mary's, New Ross [**Fig 7. 39**]. This is one of a number of features that mark a regional coherence in architectural articulation in the southeast throughout the thirteenth century.

The north transept at Graiguenamanagh is particularly interesting for the dating of the church due to the survival of a document by Stephen of Lexington giving instructions related to building works at Jerpoint and Graiguenamanagh.[73] He instructed the cellarer to purchase sufficient lead for the roofing of the north part of the church. Stalley has convincingly argued that the church referred to in the mandate was Graiguenamanagh and not Jerpoint.[74] In support of this line of reasoning, a grant issued by Richard de Marisco (*c.*1226) gave three carucates of land to the convent of Duiske '… with liberty to have wood for buildings …'.[75] Clearly, construction was still underway at William's foundation. Stephen also gave instructions regarding works in the granges, which imply that although the chapter house and kitchen of the guesthouse were incomplete, building works were in progress. He goes on to threaten bread and water diets every Friday until the next visitation for the prior, porter and sub-porter unless the gatehouse was finished quickly. Additionally, he delivered the same threat to the prior, cellarer, sacristan and keeper of the works if paintings and marble objects continued to be allowed in the church. No wonder the abbey had gone into debt, with funds obviously focused on the beautification of the church and pressure to finish construction of the various outer buildings. These threats also reveal the sheer number of members of the convent involved in the construction process as well as the additional ornamentation that no longer survives. If this last item was meant for the monks at Graiguenamanagh, perhaps the marble objects refer to the now lost detached shafts in the chancel, crossing and transepts.

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in 1246, *ibid.*, 10, his decision is recorded in *CChR*, 1226-57, 135, 306. A study of Westminster by Virginia Jansen is forthcoming.

[73] Lexington, 100-6 (Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin, Ms. D.VI.25). The document does not specify which items refer to which monastery. Stalley's translations (undertaken with advice from Dr. T.M. Michell, Professor of Latin in TCD) do not always agree with O'Dwyer, *Stephen of Lexington, Letters from Ireland*, (1982). Both a transcription of the Latin text and his English translations are found in Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 264 n66.

[74] Construction on the monastery at Jerpoint was begun almost fifty years earlier, but 1228 is a reasonable date for the completion of the east end of the church at Graiguenamanagh, *ibid.*, 46, 264 n65.

[75] *Chart. Duiske*, 39-40.

The 1977, excavations in the north transept recovered fragments of black shafting that may have come from the responds of the chapels or from one of the adjacent windows.[76] Polished marble detached shafts were common features in early Gothic architecture. In the mid-twelfth century, Henry of Blois began importing ready-made sculpture made of black Tournai stone from Belgium.[77] However, it was the employment of Purbeck marble that, as Prior and Gardner pointed out: 'Nearly every English church of importance ... built from 1170 to 1350 [employed in] ... pillars, capitals, bases and stringcourses'.[78] Polychrome architecture is found in both West Country and Southern English Gothic, having arrived via Canterbury (begun after the fire in 1174). Distinct examples are found in the nave of Temple Church (London) [**Fig 7. 40**], the choir at Rochester, Salisbury cathedral (Wiltshire), Worcester choir, and Beverley Minster (Yorkshire), begun sequentially between c.1185 and *c.*1230.[79] Other stone was also employed in imitation of marble, such as a dark blue-grey limestone from the Somerset-Gloucestershire area known as Blue Lias.[80] Kilkenny Black 'marble' was employed during the restorations of Wells cathedral in 1872 as replacements for many of the Blue Lias columns.[81] When 'Kilkenny Marble', a dark limestone, is polished it too resembles marble.[82] However, there is no firm evidence for the use of Kilkenny Marble as early as *c.*1210, but this again does not preclude the quarry having been open at the time. If local stone was unavailable, it is possible that, just as Dundry stone was imported from the Bristol region, other stones were also brought over. No doubt the geographical proximity of the quarries of Purbeck in Dorset or Blue Lias in Somerset was advantageous for transportation to southeast Ireland. In addition, importing pre-cut columns would have cut transportation costs. The use of marble for the detached shafts may also explain why none have survived *in situ*, perhaps removed in the wake of the Dissolution because of their value. The vaulting in the chapter house was once supported on a central pillar described in the nineteenth century as a 'Marble Tree', before it was presented by a Mr. Cheevers to a friend in Carlow (1816) and

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[76] No geological examination has taken place on the stone uncovered during excavations to date.
[77] For Henry of Blois' employment of Tournai stone, see Zarnecki, G., 'Henry of Blois as a Patron of Sculpture', *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, eds. S. MacReady and F.H. Thompson, (London, 1986), 159-72.
[78] Prior, E.S. and A. Gardner, *Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England*, (Cambridge, 1912), 568.
[79] Hearn, M.F., 'Ripon Minster, The Beginning of the Gothic Style in Northern England', *TAPS*, 73:6 (1983), 133.
[80] Blue Lias was employed in Henry of Blois' work at Glastonbury, which survive only in fragments due to the fact that the buildings were destroyed in a fire in 1184, Zarnecki, 'Henry of Blois', 162.
[81] This Irish Black marble appears to have been employed extensively during Victorian times, Ashurst, J. and F.G. Dimes, *Conservation of Building and Decorative Stone*, (Oxford, 1998), 94.
[82] Pavía, S. and J. Bolton, *Stone, Brick and Mortar: Historical Use, Decay and Conservation of Building Materials in Ireland*, (Bray, Wicklow, 2000).

carried away to Somerton.[83] Perhaps this 'marble tree' was imported stone and although it is impossible to be sure, its description as marble suggests that it may have at least resembled marble in appearance, in the same manner as Purbeck or Blue Lias does. Additionally, this gives prudence to the suggestion that there was a degree of polychrome employed in the church, keeping in line with contemporary fashions in England.

The north transept is also remarkable for the survival of an almost intact medieval tiled floor, first re-discovery in the nineteenth century and uncovered in the 1970s.[84] Both plain glazed and two colour-inlaid tiles were revealed. They run east to west with plain tiles alternating with decorated ones (including fleur-de-lis and stiff leaf patterns) in a chevron pattern [**Fig 7. 41**]. Although line-impressed tiles replaced the stamped or inlaid tiles in England at the end of the thirteenth century, in Ireland inlaid tiles never went out of use.[85] However, line impressed tiles were widely employed and the complete lack of the type suggests the floor was laid before the end of the century. A rudimentary examination of the motifs and patterns suggests a date in the first half of the thirteenth century, with parallels found in the chancel of Byland Abbey (Yorkshire) [**Fig 7. 42**]. They display a similar alternating chevron pattern, which was also the case in the Lady Chapel at Hereford cathedral where fleur-de-lis alternate with plain tiles [**Fig 7. 43**]. Among the patterned tiles at Graiguenamanagh were a number of motifs found at various other medieval Irish sites, including but not limited to both Dublin cathedrals, Kilkenny castle, Kells priory (Kilkenny), St. Mary's, Dublin and St. Audoen's, Dublin. Moreover, identical motifs are found at both Kilkenny castle – four fleurs-de-lis, bases out [**Fig 7. 44** and **Fig 7. 45**] – and St. Mary's abbey – single fleur-de-lis [**Fig 7. 46** and **Fig 7. 47**]. Based on the fact that the types of motifs and patterns were employed in churches throughout northern Europe, their transmission was probably the result of the existence of pattern books and commonly used stamps. It is interesting to note that while Stephen of Lexington scolded the monks for the use of paintings and marble, no mention was made of decorative tiles. This suggests that

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[83] Comerford, R.M., *Collections relating to the Dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin*, (Dublin, 1886), 215; Mr. Cheevers appears in a Deed (1812) as a trustee of Duiske Abbey.

[84] The tiles unearthed during the nineteenth century were found to be ' … four inches square and variously ornamented', Comerford, M., ed., *Collections Relating to the Dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin*, 3 vols., (Dublin, 1883-6), 1:50, cited in Bradley, J and C. Manning, 'Excavations at Duiske Abbey, Graiguenamanagh, Co. Kilkenny', *PRIA*, 81C (1981), 399. During the course of the 1975 excavation floor tiles were found *in situ* in the north transept, which led to a full excavation of that transept in 1977. Openings were made in the north transept floor during the 1975 restoration work in order to uncover the doorway of the mural stairs leading to the tower. Between October and December 1977, Bradley and Manning conducted a full excavation of the north transept, Bradley and Manning, *op. cit.*, 397-426.

[85] Eames, E.S. and T. Fanning, *Irish Medieval Tiles: Decorated Medieval Tiles in Ireland, With an Inventory of Sites and Designs and a Visual Index*, (Dublin, 1988).

either a certain amount of ornamentation in tiled floors was allowed or that the tilers did not commence work until after 1228. Perhaps this also suggests that the entire east end, or even the entire church, was tiled in one campaign (*c.*1250). One of the more interesting patterns, found at both Kells Priory [**Fig 7. 48**] and Graiguenamanagh [**Fig 7. 49**], is an octofoil; here we see the use of the same motifs in both stone (south transept oculi) and clay. Both it and the stiff leaf patterns display the interchange of ideas between the disciplines, translated from masons' bank to the tilers' oven.

The majority of capitals at Graiguenamanagh are moulded, with variety created through the inclusion of nail head, dog tooth, bead, herringbone and rope ornament in an assortment of combinations. In addition, several stiff leaf capitals are found in the chancel and nave south aisle doorway. Two of these flank two '... trumpet scallops with a broad rather than flat leaf that curves up under the bell ...' in the east lancets.[86] The stiff leaf capitals here can be categorised as curved, biforked and overlapping [**Fig 7. 50**] based on the glossary of terms delineated by Tudor-Craig in her PhD thesis.[87] An undated fragment from Westminster cathedral (now in the triforium, possibly from the chapter house, *c.*1250-3) [**Fig 7. 51**] displays a similar biforked type of leaf as the north capital in Graiguenamanagh.[88] The southern capital of the east window is also overlapped, curved and biforked, but here two sets of leaves extend from the upper part of the bell and then curve, one set upwards, the other down, each being slightly windswept toward the lancet [**Fig 7. 52**]. Several capitals in the northwest respond of the choir of Pershore abbey (*c.*1223-39) display a similar pattern [**Fig 7. 53**].[89] Another stiff leaf capital, with long, tall stalks (damaged), is found in one of the north lancets at Graiguenamanagh [**Fig 7. 54**],

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[86] Stalley, *Graiguenamanagh Abbey.*

[87] The 'Biforked Leaf' is a long leaf with, in its earlier phases, an elaborately undulating surface, and either the central or the side lobes indented to form a separate trefoil, see Wells Cathedral and Salisbury Cathedral. The 'Curved Leaf' is a leaf in which the fleshy part of the lobe follows through the curvature of the mid rib, instead of reacting against it. cf. Pershore choir and Chichester nave. The 'Overlap' is a form in which the heads of two stiff leaves meet at a tangent, one coming slightly over the other. Found in conjunction with the interlocking leaves it is characteristic of the Lincoln School, *c.*1200-1230, Reeves [Tudor-Craig], P.W., 'English Stiff Leaf Sculpture', (unpublished PhD thesis, Courtauld, London, 1952), 415-18 (glossary).

[88] For the date of the retrochoir see n129. Based on surviving buildings accounts, the chapter house was erected between 1250 and 1253, Thornbury, W., 'Westminster Abbey: Chapter House, Cloister and Deanery', *Old and New London*, (1878), 3: 450-462, URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=45167, Date accessed: 26 July 2009.

[89] In general the new work was begun around 1220 and completed by the time of the consecration in 1239, *Annales Monastici*, 1: 112, 4: 430. Stalley and Thurlby have distinguished two distinct phases of construction in the east end, Stalley, R. and M. Thurlby, 'A Note on the Architecture of Pershore Abbey', *JBAA*, 127 (1974), 113-18. The first comprised the Lady Chapel including the entrance arch and the second concluded with the remainder of the choir. A break was probably required to demolish the Romanesque choir. Additionally, a reference in June 1223 described a fire that destroyed a large part of the town, *Annales Monastici*, 1:66. Stalley and Thurlby have suggested even a decade of time that lapsed between the fire and the resumption of work in the choir, Stalley and Thurlby, *op. cit.*, 352-54.

similar to a fragment found in the north transept of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin [**Fig 7. 55**]. Similar capitals with tall stalks extending from the neck are also found in the south nave arcade of Llandaff cathedral (*c.*1205-*c.*1229).[90] Many of the capitals in the chancel at Graiguenamanagh are ornamented with horizontal-bands at mid bell. This is common in Irish Gothic; examples are found in the nave triforium at Christ Church, the transepts at St. Patrick's, Dublin (1225-35),[91] the eastern arm at Dunbrody[92] and the chancel of the cathedral at Cashel (Tipperary, *c.*1240 at the earliest).[93] These comparisons no doubt display the sculptural derivation from West Country architecture. In addition, William Marshal was recorded in or near Llandaff, Pershore and Westminster, where no doubt political associations between him and the high-ranking ecclesiastics could certainly have had an impact on Irish architecture in his lordship.[94]

The capitals of the crossing piers at Graiguenamanagh are devoid of mid-bell bands but, like the vault shafts of the choir, the triple fillets extend over the neck roll and onto the bell of the capitals. The surviving eastern piers are built around a square core with engaged-shafts on the west and inner faces. Between the cardinal faces are two bonded single filleted shafts flanking a double chamfer separated by a quirk. The moulding profile at Graiguenamanagh [**Fig 7. 56**] is similar to a surviving pier from Waterford cathedral [**Fig 7. 57**]. Stalley originally suggested a starting date of *c.*1210 for the construction of the lost cathedral, based on both documentary and stylistic evidence but has now stated that the date may be too early.[95] Waterford was one of two major harbours in the area, the other

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[90] See note 42.

[91] In 1225, Henry III granted '... protection for four years for preachers of the fabric of the church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, going through Ireland to beg for alms for that fabric', *CDI*, 1: no. 1875. Archbishop Alen's Register records in 1235 '... *dedicatum fuit altere in capelle beate Maria in honour' ejusdem (Divae) Virginis* ...', TCD, Reeves Ms 1061, f 63, quoted in Rae, E.C., 'The Medieval Fabric of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick in Dublin', *JRSAI*, 109 (1979), 38. O'Neill suggested that the eastern part of the cathedral was roofed and useable by 1235, O'Neill, M., 'Design Sources for St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin', *PRIA*, 100C (2000), 208. See also O'Neill, M., 'St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin and its Place in the History of Irish Medieval Architecture', (unpublished PhD thesis, TCD, 1995).

[92] Ware records that Herlewin, bishop of Leighlin, died in 1216 and was interred in the church, '... a greater part of which he had caused to be erected ...', *Works of Sir James Ware*, 1: 456. Based on this document, Stalley suggested a date of 1205-16, however, he stated that if Ware's reference was incorrect the church could be dated solely on stylistic features to *c.*1210-30, Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 97-8. He recently suggested that the church should date closer to the mid century, *pers. comm.*, Stalley.

[93] Construction probably took place under the direction of archbishops O'Kelly or McCarville, *pers. comm.*, R. Stalley

[94] William was at Worcester for the funeral of King John and he himself was laid in state at Westminster abbey, *Hist.*, 15206-15286, 18986-19046. These were not the only times he travelled to these places and his role as a high ranking official during both Richard's and John's reigns would have found him a much travelled nobleman. This is not to mention the fact that travel between his Welsh estates would have brought him all over south Wales, near if not to Llandaff Cathedral and St. David's Cathedral.

[95] In 1200, the first Anglo-Norman bishop was elected to the see of Waterford and it was not until 1210 that the first mention of the dean and chapter of the cathedral is known. It was likely that King John granted land

being Marshal's port at New Ross. The similarity between the two pier profiles may have been a result of the fact that the teams of masons at both sites came direct from the West Country to the south of Ireland about the same time. Common precedent in the West Country would explain the similar pier profiles. Plain moulded capitals top each coursed shaft at Graiguenamanagh, while the central corbel has a ring of windswept trefoil leaves beneath the necking [**Fig 7. 58**]. The leaves are closer in style to the small trefoil leaves on the capitals of the nave than they are to those in the chancel. This type of reduced, simple or even crude stiff leaf is prevalent in the capitals at St. Mary's, New Ross (discussed below). The band of ornamentation around the neck is paralleled in the northeast corner of the nave at Christ Church, abutting the north transept [**Fig 7. 59**]. It sits atop a triple filleted wall shaft where the fillets are continued into the necking and bell. A 'truncated pine cone wheel' form is found above the north capital group of the south nave arcade at Llandaff Cathedral (*c.*1205-29) [**Fig 7. 60**], and in the south choir aisle in the great church at Glastonbury Abbey (Somerset) [**Fig 7. 61**].[96] Again, the ornamentation of Graiguenamanagh displays a strong connection with West Country architecture, with a local flavour.

While much of the east end of the church at Graiguenamanagh has its origin in West Country architecture, the nave, on the other hand, shares affinities with native Irish architecture. Unlike the composite piers found in many Early English Cistercian churches, such as Wells cathedral, Pershore abbey, and Llanidloes church (Montgomery), the arcade here is demarcated with simple chamfered piers that terminate in foliate (north arcade) or 'arrow' stops (south arcade). As discussed in chapter five, the 'reduced' pier is a common type in Irish architecture, found at Mellifont II (Louth, transepts), St. Canice's, Kilkenny (crossing, *c.*1250s) and St. Patrick's, Dublin (transepts, *c.*1225-35).[97] The sharply pointed arches at Graiguenamanagh have filleted mouldings while the soffit is ornamented with two double demi-roll-and-fillets separated by a hollow [**Fig 7. 62**]. The soffit moulding is supported on moulded corbels and, much like those in the eastern arm of the church, they are decorated with a variety of ornament, in various combinations of bead, diamond, zig-zag, rope, trefoil leaves, vine leaves, dogtooth and nailhead (some appear to be

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worth 400 marks in order to support the twelve canons and twelve vicars when he first visited Ireland in 1210. For reference to the grant see Powicke, F.M. and E.B. Fryde, *Handbook of British Chronology*, (London, 1961, 2nd edn,), 334 and Gwynn and Hadcock, 100, cited in Stalley, R., 'Three Irish Buildings with West Country Origin', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Wells and Glastonbury*, (1981), 70.

[96] Thurlby, 'Llandaff Cathedral', 74-5.

[97] To this should be added the western bays of Boyle (Roscommon, *c.*1215-20), the crossing of Grey (*c.*1193-1200), the nave at Inch (Down), the nave of Dunbrody (*c.*1230-1240), Stalley, *Graiguenamanagh Abbey*.

restorations). Consistent with the transepts (and the chancel) a continuous stringcourse runs along the base of the clerestory, the windows of which are set over the piers rather than the arches [**Fig 7. 63**].[98] Typically, clerestory windows were placed over the arcade, creating distinct bay divisions. Stalley has pointed out that the syncopation, seen at Graiguenamanagh, is only possible in elevations that do not support vaults.[99] Although uncommon in English and French monastic and cathedral architecture, it is found in several English parish churches.[100] Additionally, the alternation of arcade and clerestory was designed in several Scottish churches (see chapter five) and was frequently employed in Irish Gothic. Perhaps the nave was differentiated from the chancel elevation in order to highlight the liturgically more important space at the east end of the church. The placement of the clerestory over the piers is found in numerous Irish monasteries including Jerpoint [**Fig 7. 64**]. Contact with Jerpoint was highlighted by a conflict that arose between the two abbeys over the ownership of the small house at Kilkenny, which was transferred to the affiliation of Graiguenamanagh by Stephen of Lexington in 1228. Although it was not a harmonious relationship, it is important to point out that Irish/Anglo-Norman relations were not always disruptive and that discord amongst Anglo-Normans did not lead to a lack of architectural parallels amongst buildings with English affiliation.

The clerestory windows themselves are round headed and each pair is contained within a barely splayed moulded rear arch, with moulded capitals and nook shafts (now lost), consistent with the ornamentation of the transepts. Paired clerestory windows are found in the nave of the Cistercian abbey at Dunbrody (with trefoil rear-arches, probably mid century) [**Fig 7. 65**] and are also visible in a drawing of the cathedral at Waterford [**Fig 7. 66**].[101] Stalley has pointed out the '... oddities that occur in the nave ...', including the

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[98] Only two complete examples of the original clerestory windows at Graiguenamanagh survived the rebuilding of 1812, but a watercolour by Beranger shows a line of paired windows, Stalley, *Graiguenamanagh Abbey*.

[99] Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 87.

[100] *Ibid.*, 87.

[101] Jerpoint and Graiguenamanagh had a long-standing dispute over the abbey of Kilkenny. Originally a daughter house of Jerpoint, it was transferred to Graiguenamanagh by Stephen of Lexington, Kalkreuter, B., *Boyle Abbey and the School of the West*, (Wicklow, 2000). Other Irish examples of clerestories over the piers include seven of the ten Cistercian abbeys where clerestory windows survive: Baltinglass, Monasteranenagh, Abbeyknockmoy, and Hore (Tipperary), as well as the parish churches at Gowran and Thomastown [both in Kilkenny which may have had an impact on the design choice, considering the Cistercian prototypes at Graiguenamanagh, Dunbrody and Jerpoint]. Romanesque parallels outside Ireland occur in the church at St. Briavels (Gloucestershire) and the priory church at Ewenny (Glamorgan), Stalley, *op. cit.*, 87. The distribution of examples follows no logical geographical or historical pattern and English examples include the Anglo-Saxon churches at Brixworth (Northamptonshire) and Lydd (Kent), the later churches at Overbury (Worcestershire), Ripple (Worcestershire), Bakewell (Derbyshire), Bishops Cannings (Wiltshire), Great Bedwyn (Wiltshire), Northampton (St. Peters), Llanaber (Gwynedd), Workshop Priory (Nottinghamshire), etc., *ibid.*, 266 n16.

round-headed windows that were constructed well into the thirteenth century. However, the continued use of round-headed arches alongside pointed ones displays a consistency in ornamentation that was probably deliberate. This uniformity may infer that the entire church was planned from east to west at the beginning of the campaign or at least a degree of consistency survived in the members of the workshop. This is particularly noticeable along the east-west axis where the character of the east windows is mirrored in the west wall.

The nave was further embellished with an elaborate processional doorway, providing entry from the cloister into the nave south aisle. The two major orders are supported on shafts with mid-shaft rings (only indicated by the rough masonry) and they are separated and flanked by twin filleted-rolls and angle fillets [**Fig 7. 67** and **Fig 7. 68**]. The capitals are moulded with a combination of dogtooth, nailhead, rope, braid, zigzag and stiff leaf ornament, consistent with the capitals elsewhere in the church [**Fig 7. 69**]. The predilection for detached shafting in doorways was standard by *c.*1225. Their use in conjunction with coursed rolls, creating more complex moulding profiles, is a distinct feature of the north porch at Wells cathedral (*c.*1207) [**Fig 7. 70**].[102] Instead of twin rolls alternating with single detached shafts, the doorway at Wells has paired detached shafts flanked by single ogee-keeled rolls. The difference between the bases (there are no bases at Wells), the abaci (Wells has continuous square and half octagonal abaci) and arch mouldings (chevron is employed in two of the orders at Wells, rather than dogtooth) can be explained by the twenty-year difference in date between the two doorways. This type of alternation of the major and minor orders is also seen in the nave piers of Christ Church, Dublin (triple filleted coursed shafts flanking twin filleted rolls), itself a derivative of West Country architecture. The doorway at Graiguenamanagh is yet another example of a feature composed with the language of West Country architecture but given an Irish accent.

The most interesting feature of the doorway at Graiguenamanagh is the innermost order, with chamfered 'Islamic-looking cusps'.[103] This type of differentiation of the inner order is not unique. Several examples of doorways with trefoil inner orders occur in northern

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[102] Sampson, J., *Wells Cathedral West Front Construction, Sculpture and Conservation*, (Somerset, 1998), 18.

[103] Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries in Ireland*, 64. The particular mathematics with which the cusping was derived appears to pre-empt the type found in Mughal architecture in India, particularly that commissioned by the emperor Shah Jahan (*r.*1628-58). It is a prominent feature of his Red Fort at Delhi and those buildings re-built during his time at the Red For at Agra, to name a few.

English Gothic, such as the north transept at Ripon Minster (Yorkshire, *c.*1180s)[104] [**Fig 7. 71**] and the entrance to the refectory at Rievaulx.[105] A West Country example is found in the north doorway of the Lady Chapel at Glastonbury [**Fig 7. 72**] where it was employed in conjunction with stiff leaf capitals on two orders of detached shafts. Although the aforementioned examples are trefoil arches, they show a propensity toward the cusping of the inner order. Multiple cusping of doorways, blind arcades and other features became a prominent feature of the Decorated style, beginning around the middle of the century in England at Winchester cathedral (whose rose windows are based on those at Reims cathedral).[106] The chapter house at Salisbury cathedral (*c.*1280) is a particularly marked example of the overt employment of cusping within a variety of features. However, those at Graiguenamanagh pre-date the introduction of the Decorated style. Moreover, the septafoil cusps in the doorway are consistent with the type of cusping found in the clerestory windows in the south transept (dodecafoils) [**Fig 7. 73**]. What it appears to indicate is that the mathematics employed to draw the cusping in the windows was also used for the inner order of the south doorway. This would explain why the cusping of the inner order is so different from the trefoil orders found elsewhere. Although the employment of oculi in Cistercian churches was a common feature, particularly for flat-ended façades, they were more often trefoils or quatrefoils. The small cusped oculi at Graiguenamanagh may well have been derived from cusped oculi employed in plate traceried rose windows, such as that in the north transept of Laon (octofoils, 1178-90) or the west façade of Chartres (octofoils and a central dodecafoil, *c.*1210) [**Fig 7. 74**].[107] Those small multi-cusped oculi are also found in the spandrels between twin lancets in early plate tracery. The ornamentation of Graiguenamanagh is certainly a pared down version of those rose windows in the great cathedrals in France and England but the architectural elements are derived from the same Gothic language.

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[104] For a more detailed study of the architecture and chronology of Ripon Minster and its place as the first true Gothic building in northern England see, Hearn, 'Ripon Minster', 1-196.

[105] Fergusson, P., G. Coppack and S. Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey*, (London, 2006), 18-21. In the later twelfth century the present structure, along with much of the south range, replaced earlier building works. Here the monks would have washed before meals, in a laver richly decorated with blind arcading. Other examples of doorways with trefoil headed inner orders include the tower doorway at Climping (Sussex), the chapter house doorway at York, and the west doorway at Byland abbey (Yorkshire).

[106] Coldstream, N., *The Decorated Style, Architecture and Ornament, 1240-1360*, (London, 1994), 18. See also Bony, J., *The English Decorated Style: Gothic Architecture Transformed 1250-1350*, (Oxford, 1979).

[107] Chartres was rebuilt after a fire that destroyed the church in 1194. For a review of the subjects in the west rose window, representing the Last Judgement (1215), see Miller, M., *Chartres Cathedral*, (Andover, 1996, 2nd edn.), 88-9.

The western capitals on the doorway are moulded with various zigzag, nailhead and rope ornament. The eastern capitals also employ nail-head motif around the upper part of the bell, but the inner capital has stiff leaf foliage embellished with berries [**Fig 7. 75**]. Several interesting comparisons are found in the West Country cathedrals at Wells (transept, Somerset) [**Fig 7. 76**] and Llandaff (nave), as well as one of the late twelfth century historiated double capitals in the chancel of Christ Church, Dublin [**Fig 7. 77**]. Again, the sculptural ornamentation of the church at Graiguenamanagh gives evidence to the effect that masons working in Kilkenny had, like those in Dublin, pervious experience in the West Country.

St Mary's Parish Church, New Ross (Wexford)

Stiff leaf capitals are found in abundance in William's New Ross foundation but before an examination of the sculpture is undertaken, it is important to understand the context in which the parish church stands. It is located along the River Barrow south of Graiguenamanagh abbey. Intense competition developed between the port at New Ross and that at Waterford. In fact, their proximity was the cause of a heated dispute that lasted throughout the thirteenth century.[108] For the lifetimes of William Marshal and his sons, it allowed them to supply their lands directly from Marshal estates centred at Chepstow and Pembroke, and access Leinster by way of the Barrow and Nore rivers and their tributaries. William's vassals, both secular and religious, probably made use of the baronial port as well; presumably for the purpose of avoiding royal taxation.[109]

The medieval parish church was built high above the Barrow River in the upper reaches of the town. Though not extant, the foundation charter has been long associated with the patronage of both William and Isabel Marshal, founders of the town. It belonged to William's Augustinian house of St. John's, Kilkenny. The latter was not established until *c.*1211, mass being said for the first time in 1212.[110] This might suggest that the

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[108] McEneaney, E., 'Waterford and New Ross Trade Competition, *c.*1300', *OWS,* 12 (September 1979), 16-24.

[109] *CDI*, 1:no. 890 (1219), no. 912 (1219), no. 1552 (1227); In 1266, Henry III began to issue a number of mandates ordering ships to land at Waterford and not at Ross, *Chart. Privil. Immun.*, 51 Hen III (December 1266), 52 Hen III (4 December 1267), 3 Edw 1 (14 May 1275).

[110] The earliest charter to the priory is recorded in, *Mon. Ang.*, 2:1042, cited in Orpen, G.H., *New Ross in the Thirteenth Century: an Address Delivered Before the New Ross Literary Society*, (Dublin, 1911), 11 n3. William the younger notified John, Bishop of Ferns, that he granted to O., Prior of St. John's, '*Ecclesiam St. Evini de Novo Ponte de Ros cum capella B. Mariae in eadem villa*', *ibid.*, 11 n4. St. Mary's became a collegiate church, Hore, *Wexford*, 1:77-78; Dunbrody Abbey allegedly appropriated the house in 1370 but St. John's, Kilkenny, still held two-thirds of the tithes of the rectory of Ross in 1541, Gwynn and Hadcock, 361. The church appears to have changed its dedication in 1370 when it passed to the Cistercians and became

foundation of the parish church at New Ross also dated to *c.*1211, or during William's residence in Ireland (1207-1213). Although most parish churches in Ireland are relatively small, St Mary's was an exception. It measured 41.45 meters north to south and some 56.39 meters east to west, which makes it the largest medieval parish church in Ireland [**Fig 7. 78**].[111] It is comparable in size to some of the largest monastic churches in Ireland, which perhaps unsurprisingly includes William's aforementioned foundation at Graiguenamanagh (33.26 meters x 65.05 meters). Not only the largest parish church but comparable to some of the largest monastic churches, the church must have been well endowed by the Marshals.[112]

Like many Irish medieval churches, St. Mary's is cruciform in plan with a rectangular (long) chancel. The blocked-up arches in the west walls of the transepts indicate that the nave was aisled [**Fig 7. 79**]. While the north transept is a simple rectangular space, the south transept was built with two eastern chapels and a western aisle. It was first suggested, by Hore, that Patrick Barrett, bishop of Ferns, added the south transept, after his election to the see in 1400.[113] Others have suggested that the south transept was 'restored' or altered during his episcopate. This is based on the assumption that after his election he moved the Episcopal seat to New Ross, but Gwynn and Hadcock have stipulated that the

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known as St. Saviour, Hore, *Wexford*, 1:94; Ware places the Augustinians in Kilkenny in 1211 but the first confirmed reference was in 1212 when mass was said for the first time at the high altar and in the same year the prior, Odo, witnessed a grant, *Mon. Hib.* (Reg. Nov. Christ Ch.), cited in Gwynn and Hadcock, 182.

[111] While the nave was demolished to make room for the present parish church in the early nineteenth century, it allegedly rests on the medieval foundations.

[112] Following the dissolution of the monasteries, St Mary's came under the ownership of the Butlers. On 22 January 1542 the church with all the buildings in the precinct were sold to Margaret, Countess of Ormond for 13li 6s 8d, *Extent*, 364-5. Edward VI granted 'Our Lady Chapel of New Ross (St Mary's)' to Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarret and second son of Piers Butler (eighth earl of Ormond). The lease was granted for a period of 21 years, commencing in 1568, O'Mahoney, A., *St Mary's, New Ross: Church and Monuments*, (Wexford, 1988), 1; 'the parsonage of St. Evin and Our Lady's chapels in New Ross' parcel of the possessions of the Hospital of St. John, Kilkenny was leased to Robert Butler, Viscount Mountgarrett, for 21 years from 1568 for £6 yearly. The extents for St. John's Baptist, Kilkenny included: R. of Rosse: Two-thirds of the tithes granges and altarages, 8li, leased to the countess of Ormond for 6li, *Extents*, 180. R. of Ross was also listed under the extents for Jerpoint: 2/3rds of the tithes, 8li, and of the altarages, 40s, total 10li. One third of the altarages belonged to the vicar, advowson of the vicarage, the kings. *Extents*, 184. Listed under Dunbrody was Ross: 13 messuages with 10 gardens, worth 28s 8d, held in mortgage by Thomas Butler; 3 chapels held to farm by John Blake for 5s; a chapel held to farm by Walter Archer for 12d; a small vacant piece of ground held by Peter Hay for 6d; for a total of (apart from land in mortgage) 6s 8d, *Extents*, 355. If two thirds of the tithes, granges and altarages of New Ross were worth £8, then the whole of the above was worth £12. Graiguenamanagh was worth £76, Tintern £59 and Dunbrody £28, *Extents*.

[113] The attribution of the south transept to Patrick Barrett is repeated by Doran, J., *A Little History of St. Mary's New Ross, and its Memorials*, (New Ross, 1997), 17; O'Mahoney states that he was credited with the 'restoration of the south transept', O'Mahoney, A., *St. Mary's New Ross, Church and Monuments*, (Wexford, 1988), 1; Conway reiterates Hore's assumption that the south transept was the work of Patrick Barrett, although qualifies it by stating that it was the transept chapels. Conway, A., 'Undiscovered Treasure: St. Mary's New Ross', (unpublished BA thesis, TCD, 1997), 97.

move referred to the bishop's residence and not the cathedral.[114] The north and south transepts are otherwise of equal length (7.62 meters).[115] These measurements suggest that the transepts were laid out at the same time. The eastern chapels are in a good state of preservation but while the west aisle survived until as late as 1811 or 1812, it was '... injudiciously taken down to make room for the present Protestant church'.[116] Hore described the 'bricked-up' arches of the west wall and pointed out the prior presence of the west aisle '... facing the side chapels ...', which had been removed and blocked.[117]

The chancel is remarkable long, measuring some 18.29 meters in length, which is comparable to the choirs at Graiguenamanagh and Christ Church, Dublin.[118] The ornamentation is mostly limited to the lancets, with the addition of a tomb niche and piscina in the chancel and the arcade piers of the south transept. The piscina has a pointed trefoil arch embellished with nail head ornament [**Fig 7. 80**].[119] The foliage capitals at New Ross are types that fit well into the overall ornamentation of the thirteenth century church. One has stiff leaf foliage in a 'basket weave' pattern with rope ornament around the abacus and dogtooth around the necking. The present tomb niche sits forward of the north wall in a purpose built 'cupboard' [**Fig 7. 81**]. Along the base are the remnants of a late medieval tomb chest and the roof is a modern replacement to a nineteenth century concrete construction. The niche appears to be a much later addition to the church, possibly sixteenth century or later.[120] However, the trefoil arch with dogtooth and ball flower ornament is cut from Dundry stone and appears to have been re-used from some

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[114] Cullen, J.B., 'The Canon's Regular in Ireland, St. Mary's Church, New Ross', *IER*, 16 (1920), 43; for Patrick Barrett see *CKE,* 6:46; For his movement of the bishop's palace and not the cathedral see *GFF*, 83; cited in Gwynn and Hadcock, 101.

[115] The measurements are from A. Cullen, builder, New Ross, cited in Cullen, 'St. Mary's Church, New Ross', 36.

[116] Hore, *Wexford*, 1:92.

[117] Hore, *Wexford*, 1:91.

[118] Cullen, 'St. Mary's Church, New Ross', 37; Leask, H.G., *Irish Churches and Monastic Complexes,* 2:85. Pope Boniface IX appointed Patrick Barrett to the see of Ferns in 1400. He was later appointed as Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, resigning the post in 1413 and was buried at Kells in 1415. According to Cullen the present west tower and steeple was built on the foundations of the medieval battlemented tower and goes on to suggest that the clerestory windows in the nave were paired but gives no source for this conclusion, Cullen, J.B., 'The Canons Regular in Ireland, St. Mary's Church, New Ross', *IER*, 15 (Jan-June 1920), 29-46; Butler, T.C., 'Augustinian Foundations in the Southeast (Dungarvan, Clonmines, New Ross and Callan)', *JWAHS*, 8 (1978), 9-11.

[119] A plainer version is located in the nave of Cashel, *pers. comm.*, Stalley

[120] In 1996, Jason Ellis carried out conservation work on various carved details at St Mary's parish church, New Ross, including the large tomb niche on the north wall of the chancel. The niche then had a concrete roof. Two photographs of the tomb niche were uncovered, one dated to 1899 showing no concrete roof and the other from 1921 with the concrete roof already in place. From these two photographs it was determined that the repair took place some time between 1899 and 1921. Ellis removed the concrete roof and traces of polychrome were found in this niche – red iron oxide and, possibly, a black earth on an off-white ground. Ellis, J., *Conservation Report, St. Mary's, New Ross*, (OPW, unpublished report, July 1996).

thirteenth century feature, possibly an earlier tomb niche or the sedilia (the partly built-up niche of which is visible in the south wall). The Dundry stone in both the tomb niche and the piscina is reddened, the result no doubt of damage from a fire recorded in 1636.[121] Perhaps it was after the fire that the present tomb niche was built, constructed from a feature that was heavily damaged during the fire. The reddening of the stone is most obvious in these two features but is visible in many of the lancets of the chancel as well. No such damage is visible in the transepts, which indicates the fire was contained.

Like Graiguenamanagh, Inch, Grey and Fore before it, the chancel at New Ross is lit by a series of tall lancets, ten in all; including a triplet of graduated lancets in the east wall, so typical of the period [**Fig 7. 82**]. A pair of lancets is found in the immediately adjacent south wall, and a single lancet in the north wall. A gap then appears between the eastern windows and those in the western end of the long chancel, where a further single lancet is found in the north wall and a row of three in the south [**Fig 7. 83**]. Two opposing doorways are located between the eastern set of lancets and those in the western end of the chancel. The round-headed doorway in the south wall is very weathered and the carving is quite worn but the arch appears to have been composed of a triple roll and the western capital appears to have been a trumpet scallop [**Fig 7. 84**]. Although the trumpet scallop went out of fashion by the turn of the century, there are some examples of its use as late as *c.*1215-1220 – Boyle (Roscommon). Additionally, the round-headed arch was again replaced by pointed and trefoil arches at the turn of the century, but it too is found well into the thirteenth century at the Marshal foundation of Graiguenamanagh. The scar above the doorway at New Ross indicates the presence of an exterior porch.

Leask dated the eastern arm to *c.*1210-20, contemporary with the construction of Marshal's Cistercian foundation at Graiguenamanagh.[122] A study of the mouldings and capitals at New Ross reveals many comparative details with the Kilkenny foundation [**Fig 7. 85**]. All the lancets of the chancel at New Ross are flanked by a roll-hollow-shaft-hollow-roll (with mid-shaft rings), with either a filleted roll above the shaft in the arch (the lancets in the north and south walls) or two filleted rolls flanking dogtooth ornament (east lancets). The lancets in the chancel at Graiguenamanagh have roll-hollow-filleted shaft-hollow-roll and the arch mouldings are a double roll flanking an angle fillet, rather than the dogtooth found at New Ross. The arch mouldings in the south transept clerestory at Graiguenamanagh are

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[121] The western tower, with battlements, is show in an engraving in *Memorials of the Family*, Cullen, 'St. Mary's Church, New Ross', 44, 44n2.
[122] Leask, H.G., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings,* 3 vols., (Dundalk, 1990 reprint), 2:82.

similar, with the addition of fillets on each of the rolls in the arch. Meanwhile, the arch mouldings in the north transept clerestory and nave clerestory have a mitre set between two demi-roll and fillets [**Fig 7. 86**]. Voussoirs uncovered from the cloister at Tintern Minor [**Fig 7. 87**] have a similar profile, which suggest the cloister was concurrent with the north transept and nave at Graiguenamanagh, *c.*1220-50.

The arch mouldings of the east lancets of the chancel, north transept and south transept chapels (with the addition of dogtooth in the hollow of the hood moulding) at New Ross are composed of two roll and fillets flanking a central row of dogtooth [**Fig 7. 88**]. This type of mouldings is found in the south doorway at Graiguenamanagh [**Fig 7. 89**], supporting a date of between *c.*1220-30 for the east end of New Ross. Furthermore, the similarity between the arch mouldings of the chapels and those in the chancel and north transept indicate that they were part of the original design. Albeit, the dogtooth in the hood mouldings implying that the south transept was, unsurprisingly, the last arm of the east end to be completed. While there is some variety in the remaining mouldings in the south transept, the hood mouldings are consisted throughout – composed of a roll-hollow-roll and fillet with dogtooth in the hollow.[123] The hood mouldings of the north transept and chancel are slightly less complex, with a simple roll-hollow-demi-roll. However, the stops are, like those in the south transept, an assortment of ball flower and human heads.

The variations might be explained by a slightly later date for the south transept and the fact that Dundry is found with less frequency tends to confirm this assumption. However, Dundry is found in some of the lancets, particularly those in the chapels where arch mouldings are paralleled with work in the chancel. This tends to support the idea that at least the east end of the church was constructed in one buildings programme contained within the thirteenth century and probably between *c.*1220 and 1250. While some of the capitals in the south transept are of a different type – the south window, south chapel and the northeast lancet – this may have been the result of the fact that they are cut from a tougher local stone. This would also explain why they have weathered much better than the Dundry capitals.

In addition, an examination of the capitals at New Ross and Graiguenamanagh reveal a number of important comparisons. Several of the capitals in the south wall of the chancel

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[123] The north façade arch mouldings are somewhat different but they appear to be cut from granite and are probably early modern replacements.

at New Ross (c13, c14) [**Fig 7. 90**] are comparable to capitals in the transepts at Graiguenamanagh (nt2, nt9, st4 and st6) [**Fig 7. 91**]. Similar capitals are found in the north transept at New Ross, without mid-bell bands, and a single example is located in the northeast lancets of the south transept, with a mid-bell band and the addition of a central fillet, which extends onto the neck and capital. While variety is again found in the three medieval arms at New Ross, enough consistency exists to suggest that it all belongs to a single building programme. Variation in moulding profiles and sculptural ornamentation is not out of the ordinary and such is also the case at Graiguenamanagh.

The somewhat cruder nature of the ornamentation at New Ross is obvious throughout, but this is not unusual within the context of parish church architecture. In England, while parish churches often took inspiration from near by monasteries or cathedrals, their sculptural ornamentation is frequently unsophisticated in comparison. Several different types of stiff leaf capitals (trefoils) are found at New Ross; within the chancel, they include curved leaves (with stylised berries between each trefoil), overlapping leaves and basket weave. Those in the north transept are curved (with berries) [**Fig 7. 92**], while those in the south transept are either curved or overlapping. While the stylisation of the berries amongst trefoil leaves may make them look pinecone-like, berries are more often found in conjunction with stiff leaf foliage. Stylised berries are found in the nave arcade of the West Country church of Deerhurst (Gloucestershire) [**Fig 7. 93**], which lends weight to the probability that those at New Ross were intended as berries.[124] In addition, as mentioned above, the combination of stiff leaf and berries is also found at Graiguenamanagh and Christ Church, Dublin.

Another type of foliage employed at New Ross is the overlapping leaf found in the chancel (c8, c10 and c11) [**Fig 7. 94**] and the north (n5 and n6) and south transepts (s12 and s13). This type of stiff leaf was employed in numerous parish churches, including Swinbrook (Oxfordshire), Stamford, St. Pauls (Linconshire) [**Fig 7. 95**], Scalford (Leicestershire) and North Leigh (Oxfordshire). Although less sophisticated carving is more often found in parish churches, cathedral and monastic ornamentation is not necessarily marked by more refined sculptural forms. Such is the case with a pier from the Welsh abbey of Cymer (founded 1198/9), now located in the church at Llanidloes (Montgomery), where stylised

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[124] Rahtz, P. A. and L. Watts, eds., *St. Mary's Church, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire: Fieldwork, Excavations, and Structural Analysis*, 1971-1984 (SAL, Research Committee Report 55, Woodbridge, 1997)

overlapping leaves curve around the capital.[125] These examples do not offer the most compelling comparisons. Certainly, the parish churches in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Oxfordshire are not in close geographical proximity to Ireland, nor are they near the West Country from where many of the masons working in the southeast of Ireland probably came. However, the examples do show that the types of stiff leaf found in Ireland were common throughout England, and further show how even this parish church is Anglo-Norman in character.

What is more interesting about the stiff leaf capitals at New Ross is the inclusion of heads (those ornamented with both human heads and stiff leaf foliage). The head corbels (st7 and st8) in the south transept are carved with the head at the base and three sets of stiff leaf trefoils, the stems extending up from the head and the leaf curving back over itself at the abacus [**Fig 7. 96**]. This sort of head corbel/capital with stiff leaf is found in a pier capital at the parish church at Rodmell (Sussex) [**Fig 7. 97**]. There are examples of head corbels with stiff leaf extending up from the head at the West Country cathedral of Wells (Somerset), but these are carved with much greater sophistication. The head capital surrounded by stiff leaf on the bell was employed extensively throughout Ireland, perhaps for the first time in the nave of Christ Church, Dublin (*c.*1234).[126] It was a marked feature of thirteenth-century architecture in the southeast of Ireland.[127] In fact, at many of the Marshal foundations head capitals are a distinctive feature, including William's Augustinian foundation of St. John's in Kilkenny and Black Abbey, Kilkenny, established by Richard Marshal. At St. John's they are found in the chancel [**Fig 7. 98**], Lady Chapel and a reconstructed doorway, now located in the ruined nave wall (the head is now missing). Construction on the chancel of the Kilkenny abbey probably belongs to the years

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[125] Robinson, D.M., *Cymmer Abbey*, (CADW, Cardiff, 1990). Gruffudd ap Cynan (*c.*1200) founded the abbey with monks from Cwmhir in Maelienydd.*Statutes*, 415-16, 428-9; *Statuta*, 1:230, 236, cited in Robinson, D.M., *The Cistercians in Wales, Architecture and Archaeology 1130-1540*, (London, 2006), 235-8, 344 n1.

[126] Stalley pointed out the first appearance of the head capital with stiff leaf foliage in the West Country in the transept at Wells (*c.*1190). However, it is the work at two Worcestershire churches that display capitals so close to those at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin that he '... has little hesistation in ascribing them to the same workship'. These including St. Andrew's, Droitwich and St. Faith's, Overbury, Stalley, R., 'The Medieval Sculpture of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin', *Ireland and Europe in the Middle Ages: Selected Essays on Architecture and Sculpture,* (Dublin, 1994), 223-4.

[127] Examples include the tomb niche (*c.*1240) and south porch (*c.*1260) at St. Canice's, Kilkenny, throughout the chancel and Lady Chapel of St. John's, Kilkenny (*c.*1260), the south porch at Gowran parish church (Kilkenny, now located in the west end of the chancel, *c.*1260-75), under the rood screen at Athassel (Tipperary, *c.*1280), the crossing piers, south porch and west doorway at Cashel cathedral (Tipperary, *c.*1250-80), under the tower at Ballybeg (Cork) and the south transept of St. Multrose, Kinsale (Cork, *c.*1250), Unkel, J.E., 'Faced with Faces: the Head Capital in Medieval Ireland', (unpublished M.Phil thesis, TCD, 2004). Stalley has pointed out a close parallel between the head capitals in Dublin at those at Wells Cathedral. For Gowran, see O'Brien, S., 'An Architectural Analysis of St. Mary's Parish Church Gowran, Co. Kilkenny', (unpublished BA dissertation, TCD, 2004). For Cashel, see Hourihane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland, 1169-1550: Enduring Vitality*, (London, 2003).

around 1260, with the type of flowering leaf that is also found at St. Canice's and Gowran parish church (Kilkenny). The employment of head capitals in the south transept of New Ross [**Fig 7. 99**] implies that construction on this arm post-dates the start of work on the nave at Christ Church (*c.*1234), and the simplicity of forms and moulding types would be consistent with work belonging to the period *c.*1240-50. Additionally, a chamfer stop on the exterior of the north chapel at New Ross [**Fig 7. 100**] is similar to the type of chamfer stops found in the north arcade of the nave at Graiguenamanagh (na2, na3, na4, na5) [**Fig 7. 101**]. The comparisons imply that the chapels were built in conjunction with the south transept over a relatively short building period. Multiple parallels with the transepts and nave of the Marshal foundation in Kilkenny suggest that construction on the east end of New Ross was probably confined to the period between *c.*1220-1250.

The chapels appear to be contemporary with the south transept, but was this also the case with the west aisle? Unlike the simple arches leading into the chapels, crossing and nave aisles, the arches of the west aisle were supported on cylindrical columns. Perhaps a cylindrical arcade was planned for the nave, and construction began about the same time. However, this is not supported by the existence of simple arches leading from the transepts into the nave aisles. Cylindrical piers were favoured in English Romanesque and by *c.*1160-70 had been adopted at Baltinglass (Wicklow), combined with square piers to create an alternating rhythm, and was later copied in the nave of Jerpoint (*c.*1170).[128] While compound piers and 'reduced' piers became popular in Ireland throughout the thirteenth century, there are examples of the continued use of the cylindrical pier. In fact, they are a standard type in Ireland as well as England, particularly in friaries such as the Dominican friary at Cashel (Tipperary, aisle added *c.*1270).[129] In addition, the capitals and bases of the arcade at New Ross are consistent with thirteenth century architecture. The capitals are moulded with rope ornament; the bases are a simple version of the water-holding type [**Fig 7. 102**]. Comparisons with bases in the north transept reveal a much simpler form, on a larger scale. Water-holding bases were also employed in the chancel lancets at Graiguenamanagh. Water-holding bases were a standard characteristic of Early English architecture. This type of base, where the scotia formed a deep hollow, was adopted in France slightly before 1180 and at Canterbury by 1179, after which it spread

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[128] Stalley pointed out a possible West Country source for this type of arcade at Buildwas (Shropshire), Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 84-7.
[129] *pers. comm.*, Stalley.

throughout England.[130] The presence of these bases in the arcade strongly support a date of no later than the mid-thirteenth century for the completion of the east end of New Ross as they are particularly typical of Irish architecture in the first half of the century.

While the north pier is bonded to the chamfer of the west wall, the south pier is more awkwardly abutted against the south wall chamfer [**Fig 7. 103**]. There is no evidence on the exterior of the south wall to indicate that the west aisle was added. The lack of bonded masonry between the chamfer and pier suggests that the arcade may have been intended to be composed of simple rectangular chamfered piers, which would have been consistent with the rest of the church. However, this does not preclude the fact that the cylindrical piers were part of the thirteenth century church. Perhaps they were an afterthought, or considering the fact that the north pier is bonded, this is just evidence of inept workmanship in the south transept. This could also relate to the fact that Dundry stone is found with less frequency in this arm of the church (although it is found in almost every window, including those in the chapels and aisle).[131] Lack of funding for transportation from across the sea may have led to an increased use of local stone; transportation was one of the most expensive aspects of building works. It is possible that the partition of Leinster, after the death of the last Marshal in 1245, and the subsequent favour of the royal port of Waterford led to the end of the supply of Dundry stone.[132] This could have been the result of the death of the parish's main patrons. In addition, the town experienced a decline in its fortunes after the partition of Leinster, with royal favour bestowed upon the port at Waterford. No doubt this would have resulted in less funds available to the town merchants, which would have a negative impact on local endowments. Furthermore, this could have led not only to the greater use of local stone but also less funding available to employ the number and quality of masons previously at work on the church. Presumably, the more talented masons would have had jobs at the larger monastic and cathedral sites

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[130] Malone, C., 'West English Gothic Architecture', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1973), 71. Water-holding bases were provided for the piers in the first two bays of the nave at Buildwas (*c.*1165). They are similar to the central door of the west façade at Roche, *c.*1175-80 and were also used in the Fountains chapter house before 1170, and the transepts of Abbey Dore *c.*1175, Fergusson, *Architecture of Solitude*, 93, 93 n8.

[131] For more on the use of Dundry stone in medieval Ireland see Waterman, D.M., 'Somersetshire and other Foreign Building Stone in Medieval Ireland, c. 1175-1400', *UJA*, 63-75.

[132] In the 1260s the burgesses of Waterford sent continuous complaints to the king over the malpractice of the New Ross burgesses – 'not only were ships bypassing Waterford, but the men of New Ross were, by force of arms, diverting trade to their own town … An inquiry revealed that some forty ships had been arrested by the men of New Ross and forced to land at that port to the detriment of the king and the city of Waterford'. In 1267, a general proclamation was ordered that if any merchants and masters of ships who were not of the lands of William Marshal's heirs landed at New Ross or the Island would have their merchandise forfeit to the king, *Chart. Priv. Immun.*, 31, cited in McEneaney, E., 'Waterford and New Ross Trade Competition, *c.*1300', *OWS*, 12 (September 1979), 17.

and the cruder quality of carving at New Ross would seem to support this assumption. With less money than they obviously initiated construction with (as mentioned above the size of the church is comparable to William's monastic foundation at Graiguenamanagh) there would have been less money for the importation of stone and employment of masons. This would explain the greater frequency of local stone in the south transept, the lack of bonding between the south pier and the wall and the suggestion that the west tower was not added until much later.

While Bishop Barrett's association with 'improvements' to the south transept appear less likely upon closer inspection, the west tower, described by Hore in the early twentieth century, may have been built at his insistence. In 1684 the then Protestant church was described as '... having a high steeple crowned with lead, a ring of five good bells, and a fair pair of organs'.[133] The tower was in need of repair by 1759, when the steeple was in a ruinous condition and in danger of falling.[134] Although £200 was granted for its maintenance in 1763, these failed to prevent the subsequent collapse of the steeple.[135] The surviving remnants of the tower, nave and west aisle of the south transept were demolished in *c.*1810 in order to make room for the new church, completed in 1813 and partly funded by the Board of First Fruits.[136]

Conclusion

The building campaigns at New Ross and Graiguenamanagh were both probably underway during the lifetime of William Marshal. Moreover, the churches were probably close to completion by the time of the partition of Leinster (1247) after the death of his fifth son,

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[133] Leight's ms (Sir Thomas Phillipp's Collection at Middle Hill (Worcestershire), some portions of which have been recently sold in London at Sotheby and Wilkinson. Sir Robert Leigh, of Rosegarland, compiled a series of historical notes on the county of Wexford, and a description of the different Baronies in March 1684, at the instance of Sir William Petty, the distinguished ancestor of Lord Lansdowne, Hore, *Wexford*, 1:93 n2. The lead from the tower was consumed by fire in 1636, along with 300 slated houses, Hore, *Wexford*, 1:93.

[134] Hore, *Wexford*, 1:93.

[135] Extracts from the Dublin Register, or Freeman's Journal, 25-29 October 1763. Brit. Mus. – '29 October: We hear from New Ross that on Thursday se'nnight the new steeple, which was just finished contiguous to the church there, fell down. Though it fell in the middle of the day no person was hurted. They saw it bursting and were aware of it', Hore, *Wexford*, 1:93n5. After which 400 was ordered to have the tower rebuilt, Hore, *Wexford*, 1:93

[136] 'Lewis says the church dedicated to St .Mary is a light and commodious edifice, *rebuilt* on part of the site of the former edifice, and completed in 1813, partly by a loan of £2400 by the late Board of First Fruits ... The Ecclesiastical commissioners granted [in 1835] £390 for the repair [of the tower] ... The Corporation voted £500 in 1800, and £250 in 1806 towards this church, while in 1808 they gave a peal of bells', Egan's 'Waterford Guide', 724; cited in Hore, *Wexford,* 1:92n2. The spire was not completed until 1870. In contrast with Hore's description of the medieval church, he saw the new building as a 'rude heap of stone and mortar', Hore, *Wexford*, 1:92.

Anselm. It is clear that the language of architecture that found its way into the churches of the southeast (and Dublin) were derived from West Country models. The architectural relationship between William's foundations and the West Country was probably the result of two decisions. The first was his particular choice of English mother houses; the second was the likelihood that the masons who were responsible for the constructions emigrated from areas associated with William's estates.

There are at least two indications of the importance of William's relation to the sites. The first is not just the West Country flavour of southeast Irish Gothic but that de Courcy's influence on Ulster Gothic indicates that the origin of the major lord (and as such his vassals) had a direct impact on the architectural sources for early Gothic in Ireland. The second indicator is the sheer size of the churches founded by William Marshal as well as the survival of the religious establishments founded by the Marshal earls. Certainly his vast wealth and generous endowments had a direct impact on the availability of building funds for the construction of large churches and monastic complexes (some of the largest in Ireland). Had the original benefactor been a lesser vassal or given smaller grants the resultant architectural programmes would have reflected the smaller budgets. In addition, the sculptural parallels found amongst William's foundations within Ireland – St. Mary's, New Ross, Graiguenamanagh and the cloister at Tintern Minor – point toward the (at least) indirect influence of the patron. The construction of William's religious foundations would surely have been dependent upon the ports and the river systems of Leinster, vital for the transportation of stone, masons and the architectural ideas that are found in each of his foundations and elsewhere in the southeast. The townspeople of New Ross commissioned a poem in 1265, written in Norman French, to commemorate the construction of the town walls. Amongst the various crafts involved were masons who were perhaps descendants of the masons who arrived in Ireland (maybe even by way of the port at New Ross) at the turn of the thirteenth century.

William Marshal contributed to the relationships between West Country architecture and the regional version of it that developed as an Irish sub-style. Just as there are regional variations within England, such as the West Country Gothic, Southern Gothic and Northern Gothic, the Gothic that was constructed in southeast Ireland (and Dublin) also had a regional vocabulary. The architectural connections to the West Country are prevalent. Details include the use of filleted shafts, stiff-leaf foliage, dogtooth, nailhead, annulets, detached shafts and water-holding bases. While parallels exist between

Marshal's foundations and the Dublin cathedrals, work at Graiguenamanagh and New Ross preceded them. Early Gothic in the south of Ireland appears to be a regional variation influenced by the West Country School but not necessarily channelled through Dublin. The sub-style developed in the wake of the Anglo-Norman invasion continued to be influential on Gothic architecture in the southeast throughout the thirteenth century, such as the constructions at Dunbrody Cistercian monastery, Waterford cathedral, St. Canice's, Kilkenny, St. John's, Kilkenny and Gowran parish church. The abundance of Dundry, employed particularly in the southeast (and Dublin), can be explained by the fact that one of William's major *caput*s was Chepstow, only a few miles from the port of Bristol and located within the Severn Valley, from which the stone was quarried.[137] The use of Dundry stone was also a product of the West Country character of Irish Gothic in Dublin and the southeast.

When in 1217, King John died, his son, Henry III, was a minor, and thus began the regency of William Marshal (1217-1219). It may have been no coincidence that Henry III's first coronation took place in the West Country abbey of Gloucester, located close to William's own estates.[138] Throughout the minority a close-knit group of secular and ecclesiastical men controlled royal policy. Jansen has discussed the '... striking uniformity of form ...' in the architecture patronised by these men.[139] The buildings include the archbishop's palace at Canterbury (*c.*1214-20), his palace chapel at Lambeth (date uncertain but perhaps of *c.*1215-1228) and Salisbury Cathedral (begun 1220).[140] The relationship between these constructions was the result of contemporary building programmes in a contained geographical area; the same phenomenon is visible in the building works underway in Dublin and Leinster throughout the thirteenth century.

William's initial donations to the churches must have been substantial, at least by Irish standards. What supports this suggestion is the fact that the construction of each of his foundations appears to have commenced almost immediately with projects continued to

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[137] The *Gesta Stephani* says of Bristol: 'Almost the richest city of them all in the country, receiving merchandise by sailing ships from lands near and far. It lies in the most fertile part of England and is by its very situation the most strongly fortified of all cities', Malone, 'West English Gothic Architecture', 16.
[138] Although, it should also be noted that the area around Marshal's estates were some of the only secure locations for the coronation, considering that the Dauphin Loui's army held sway in the south east. However, without Marshal's support it is likely that there would not have been a coronation for the young prince to have.
[139] Jansen, V., 'Lambeth Palace Chapel, The Temple Choir, and Southern English Gothic Architecture of *c.*1215-1240', *England in the Thirteenth Century, Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. W.M. Ormrod, (Suffolk, 1986), 95.
[140] Jansen, 'Lambeth Palace Chapel, The Temple Choir, and Southern English Gothic Architecture', 98.

completion in a consistent style. The standard of sculpture is more or less consistent at each site, although not necessarily from one to another. His influence is witnessed in the architectural parallels with the West Country School, the use of Dundry stone and the fact that comparisons can be made between foundations. Although his main contribution was the initial endowment, the impact of his patronage is visible in the architectural relationships between each of his religious foundations.

Thus we see, through this final analysis of the ecclesiastical patronage of William Marshal, that there is a direct correlation between the input and origin of the patron and the size and form of the buildings. In the final chapter to come, conclusions will be drawn about the impact of the early Anglo-Norman lords on the architectural landscape of Ireland.

CONCLUSION

The network of family monuments built under the direction of the Hugh de Lacy, John de Courcy and William Marshal made a marked impact on the visual landscape of late-twelfth and early-thirteenth century Ireland. Their stone castles were amongst the earliest buildings of this type constructed in Ireland. While the basic layout of each castle differs, they were all built as a product of both current fashion and the vocabulary of castle construction most familiar to the patron. Differences in the visual representation of their built domains were affected by their own ideas of identity and their diverse family histories, which resulted in the varied appearance of these monuments. Notably, the least unique of these castles was that constructed by de Courcy at Carrickfergus, who, unlike his peers, did not command vast estates in England. Compared with the other two lords, de Courcy had far fewer resources at his disposal. In addition, de Courcy's northern roots have left a footprint on the vocabulary of the architecture built under his patronage. This is in contrast to the West Country flavour of the monuments paid for by de Lacy and Marshal. Furthermore, both William and de Lacy's positions in the English court have left more detailed itineraries which include travel to the continent on more than one occasion.

Secular

Hugh de Lacy's keep at Trim (*c.*1175-86) was designed at a time when a competitive court-centred elite made use of a number of distinct and unique plans. De Lacy's castle belongs to an age marked by experimentation in keep design. The keep itself was a compromise between contemporary polygonal or complex geometrical keeps (the unique design), traditional rectangular castles (five squares) and an enigmatic symbol often associated with the crusades (Greek Cross). What becomes clear after an examination of his life and family is that there was more behind the plan of the keep than the desire to create another unusual building. Given the extent of his father's devotion to the Templars and the crusades, it is no surprise that de Lacy chose the Greek Cross as the basis for his design.

Whereas de Lacy chose to construct a unique *donjon*, the keep at Carrickfergus is more typical of the traditional residential tower. Carrickfergus, unlike its contemporary in Meath, was built without mural towers in the first phase of construction but these were probably added by the time of his exile in 1204. De Courcy's castle would certainly not

have been out of place in the north of England, which is, unsurprisingly, from whence he hailed. The coastal location of the fortress, while not unique to the north, was probably a result of pre-existing fortifications along the northern coasts of England. The location of his castle also distinguishes it from those of his peers, who chose rather to build their *caput*s in a more centralised location. This reflects the degree to which family history, relative wealth and geographical ties are manifest in the architectural language of the built environment.

William Marshal offers an interesting comparison with the two aforementioned lords. He represents the next generation of castle builders, although he was probably close in age to de Lacy and de Courcy (*d.c.*1219). By the time William arrived in Ireland, de Lacy had been deceased for nearly twenty years and de Courcy had been in exile for three. Unlike de Lacy and de Courcy, whose constructions was based around the geometry of the square, the circle was the predominant geometrical unit of William's castles. William was consistent in his use of the *turris rotunda* – in gateways, isolated *donjons* and mural towers. This was an increasingly fashionable design feature around the turn of the century, and by the second quarter of the thirteenth century was employed almost exclusively. Although the use of round towers was not likely to have been a product of his voyage to Palestine, the construction of the regularly designed *castrum* at Kilkenny, and to some extent, Usk, may have been affected by what he saw in the East. Concurrent trends in French architecture were probably also derived from crusader castles. He was no doubt responsible for the construction of the earliest regular 'keepless' castle in Ireland. In addition, there is every possibility that contemporary constructions of the *castrum* in French castles may indicate that he hired French master masons.

Where de Courcy built a traditional castle, de Lacy's keep was a unique design at a time when experimentation was typical of current trends in castle fashions in England and the Continent. While de Lacy was experimental within contemporary fashions, Marshal was at the forefront of castle innovation at the turn of the thirteenth century. This is no doubt the result of both their relative wealth and their high-ranking status in the English court, which resulted in more extensive travels and as such, greater knowledge. One should not ignore the fact that both William and de Lacy had spent a greater part of their youth on the Continent.

Ecclesiastical

It is decidedly easier to demonstrate the influence of secular patrons on castle architecture than to do so for their religious endowments. This is due to the fact that after the initial grant of lands and tithes, with the exception of later additions to these, the impetus for construction would have fallen upon the members of the religious community. This does not preclude the fact that more indirect influences can still be witnessed in the fabric of their religious endowments. Consider the fact that despite Fore's non-conventual status, both church and claustral buildings were constructed in stone from the initial foundation. There is a suggestion that it may have been intended to accommodate a full conventual community but that the fortunes of the founding patrons and the subsequent social and political upheaval successfully halted such a development in its early life. Although very little architectural detailing survives from the earliest phase of construction, what remains at Fore supports the general assumption of West Country associations. De Lacy's increased endowments to the Augustinians of Llanthony enabled a complete reconstruction of works at Llanthony Prima, most likely contemporary with the presumed construction period at Fore. According to the list of possessions at the Dissolution, Fore was a relatively rich community. Despite de Lacy's generous contributions, however, the scanty remnants of the priory leave open the question of his interest in building works.

Contrary to the dearth of architectural details remaining at Fore, the houses founded by John de Courcy and William Marshal are replete with Early English characteristics. It was a northern England regional version of early Gothic that crossed to the north of Ireland in the late twelfth century. Furthermore, the use of the keeled profile at Inch, Grey, Downpatrick and Carrickfergus makes these buildings unique in the context of Anglo-Norman foundations in Ireland. De Courcy appears to have been responsible not only for Ulster's political relationship with northern England (with many of his vassals of Cumbrian descent), but also the religious foundation and their subsequent architectural alignment. While de Courcy was probably not involved in the specific building works, the pattern of northern architectural language is illustrative of the indirect impact of his patronage. This suggests that his contribution to the introduction of early Gothic in Ulster was important both in the overall pattern created within Ulster and the architectural links created with the north of England.

His patronage of northern English churches determined the regional style of early Gothic architecture in Ulster, distinct from the character of Early English in Leinster and Dublin,

with its more decidedly West Country accent. The architectural relationship between the Marshal foundations and the West Country was certainly a direct result of his own political and geographic sphere of influence. William's initial donations to the churches must have been substantial, at least by Irish standards. This is yet another example of how his relative wealth impacted the resultant building campaigns at each of his foundations. While de Courcy's Cistercian foundations are by no means small in an Irish context, there is evidence that his later bad fortunes impacted the character of the architecture and the reduced plans of these religious houses. In addition, de Lacy's death may have resulted in the fact that his Benedictine foundation at Fore was not made conventual until the fifteenth century.

It must be remembered that as the secular and religious communities became settled in Ireland over the course of the thirteenth century, direct architectural influence from England declined. This was due to the permanent settlement of both the patrons and the masons, who turned plan into reality. In addition, the partitioning of the major lordships in Ireland resulted in smaller pockets of land from which to draw large religious endowments. Having said this, the early English character of much of the architecture built under the direction of the Anglo-Norman lords in the wake of the invasion was a probably a result of their strong ties to England. They were, after all, Anglo-Normans, not Irish.

Although the Gothic style was introduced in conjunction with the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, this was more likely the result of a coincidence of contemporary fashion in England. Gothic architecture, just like Romanesque, would have flourished amongst Irish building programmes regardless of the invasion of the Anglo-Normans. The concurrence of events, however, affected the regional fashions of early Gothic as it is found in Irish architecture around the turn of the thirteenth century. The concurrence of events also affected the specific relationships between regional English and Irish architecture. William Marshal was responsible for the relationships initiated between West Country monasteries and the resultant regional flavour that developed as an Irish sub-style, while John de Courcy was the means through which Ulster architecture got its northern accent (at least in the early years). While their relationship to church architecture was probably an indirect one, it does not mean they were not important to the development of early Gothic architecture in Ireland. On the other hand, secular architecture – in stone – was introduced by these early Anglo-Norman lords and their vassals, and both de Lacy and William Marshal were responsible for some of the most unique and innovation constructions not

just in Ireland but in northern Europe. It is interesting to point out that while Irish churches rarely compare in size to the vast monastic and cathedral complexes built in England and France, the castles constructed under the direction of these men in the first fifty years following the invasion were, in every way, equivalent. Little did these men know the longevity, if not in use at least in existence, of those buildings constructed as a result of their activities.

Irish Medieval Architecture & Patronage Studies

Traditional studies of Irish architecture have always tended toward the formal analysis of structure. One need only look at Leask's seminal but now ageing texts to see the slicing up of architectural features into sets to be understood by their form alone. This thesis has striven to embrace some aspects of traditional formal analysis but to couple this with a thorough interrogation of the historical context behind the construction of the monuments. This historical context, particularly the familial and cultural landscape which formed a background to the castles and churches under discussion, has proven vital to casting new light on the buildings themselves. Without understanding the crusading background of the de Lacys, the rich cultural milieu of Marshal or the humble Yorkshire original of de Courcy, their buildings can (and have in the past) only been seen in a half light. In this way, more than any other, this thesis hopes to contribute to our knowledge and understanding of the early architecture of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland. In this way too, it points to a new direction for future studies of Irish medieval architecture. This multidisciplinary approach provides new insights into the built landscape of medieval Ireland.

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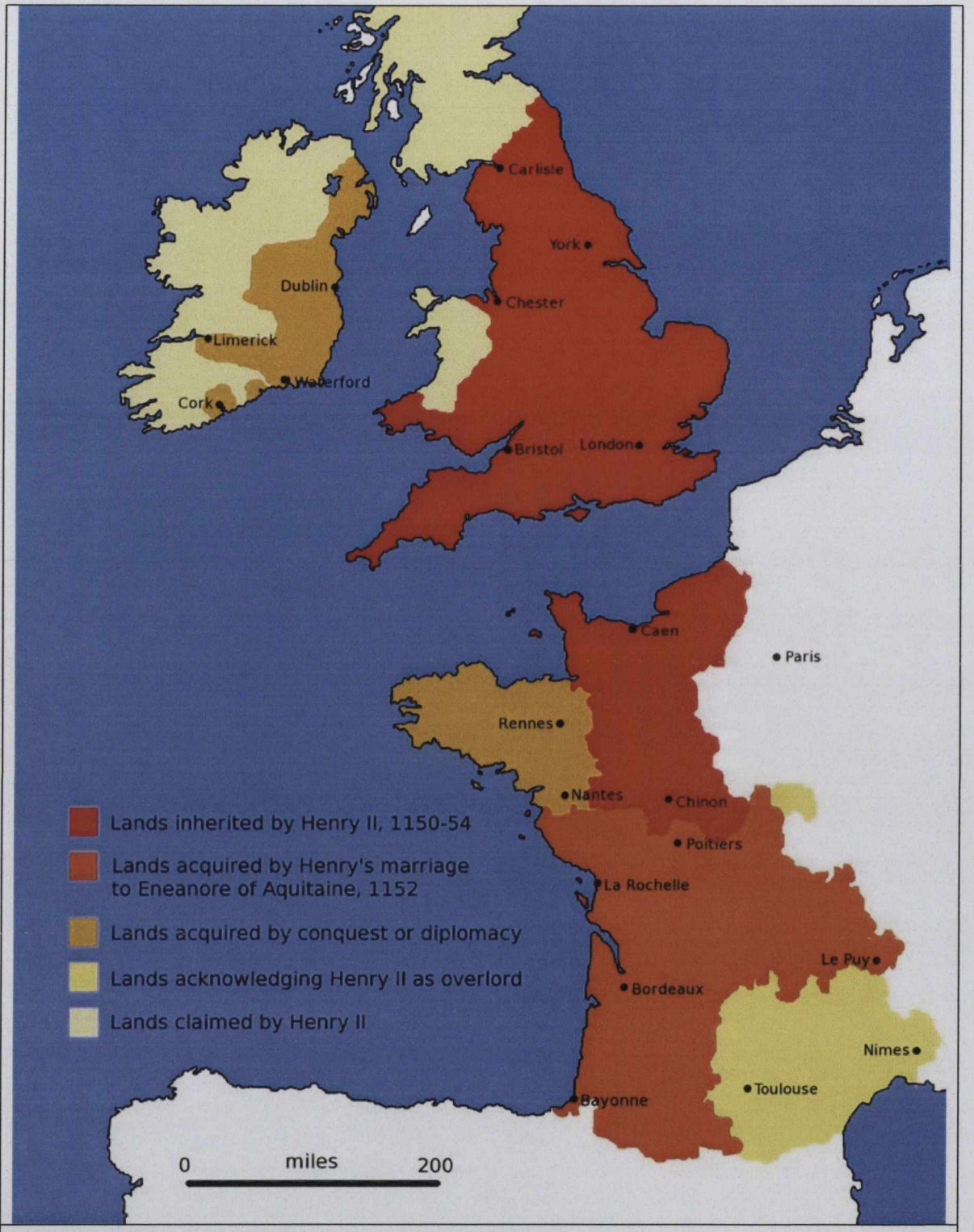
CHAPTER 1

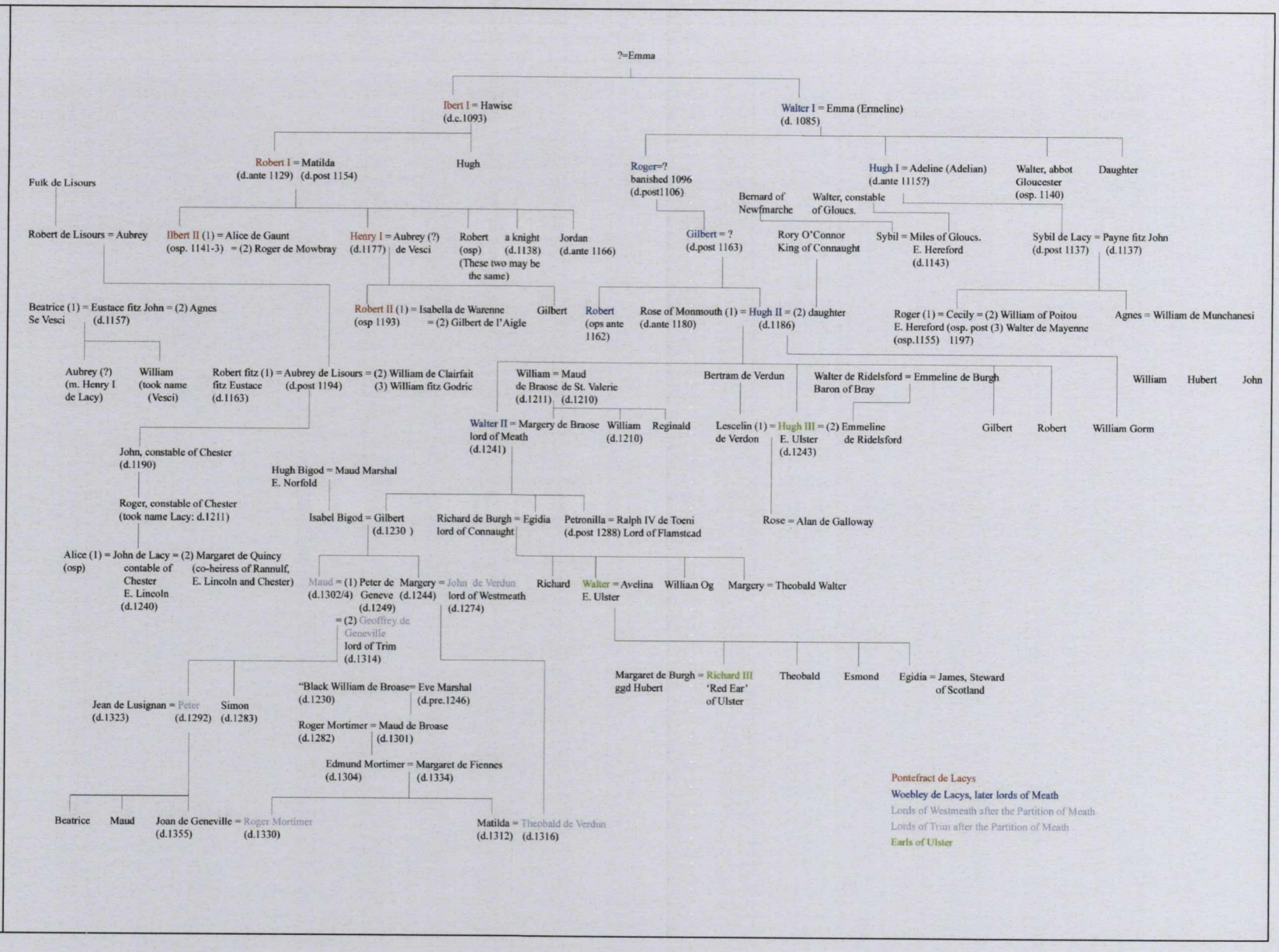


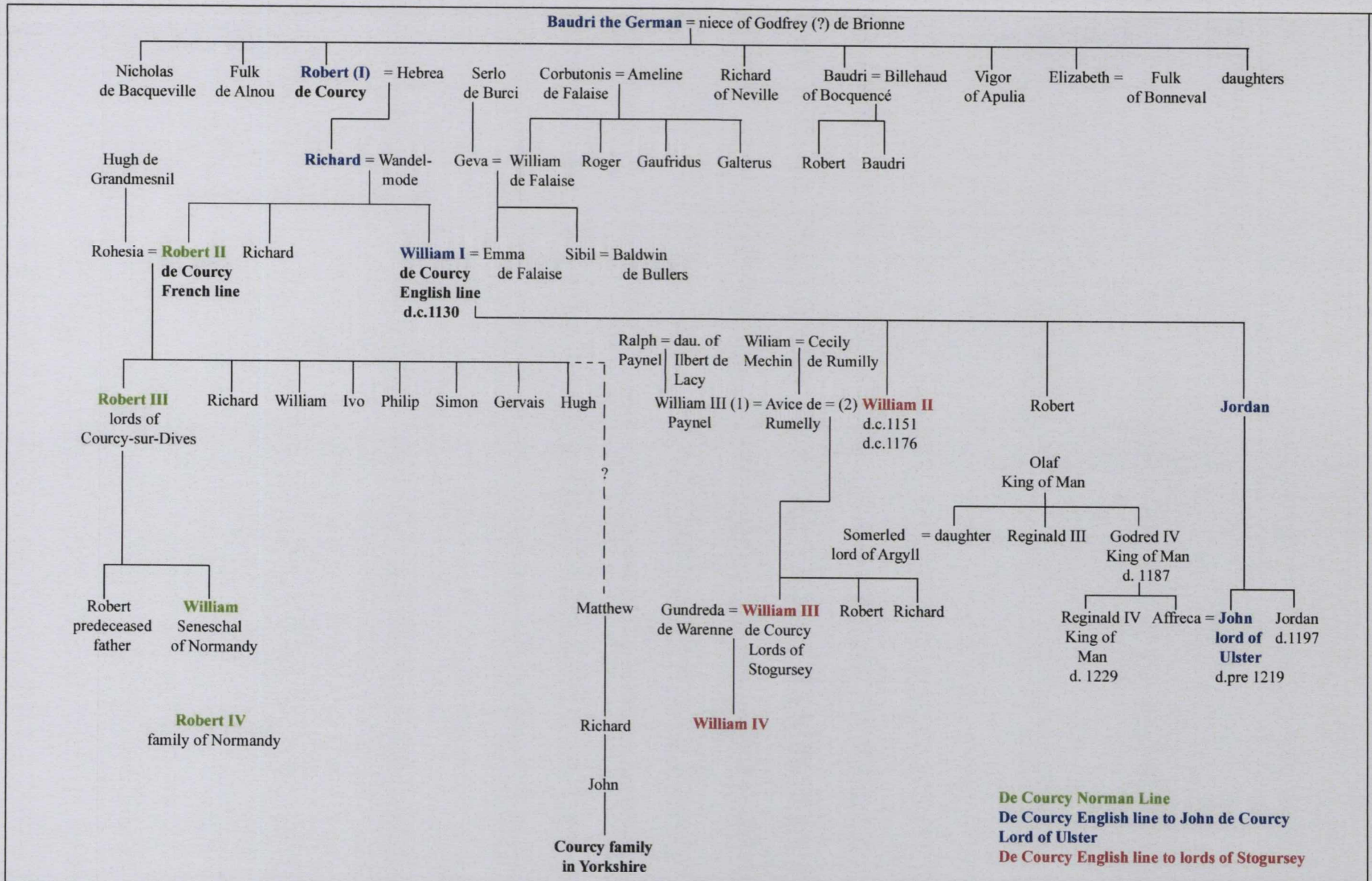
1.1 English hold on Ireland *c.*1250 (Duffy, *Atlas of Irish History*)



1.2 Map of the Angevin Empire under Henry II

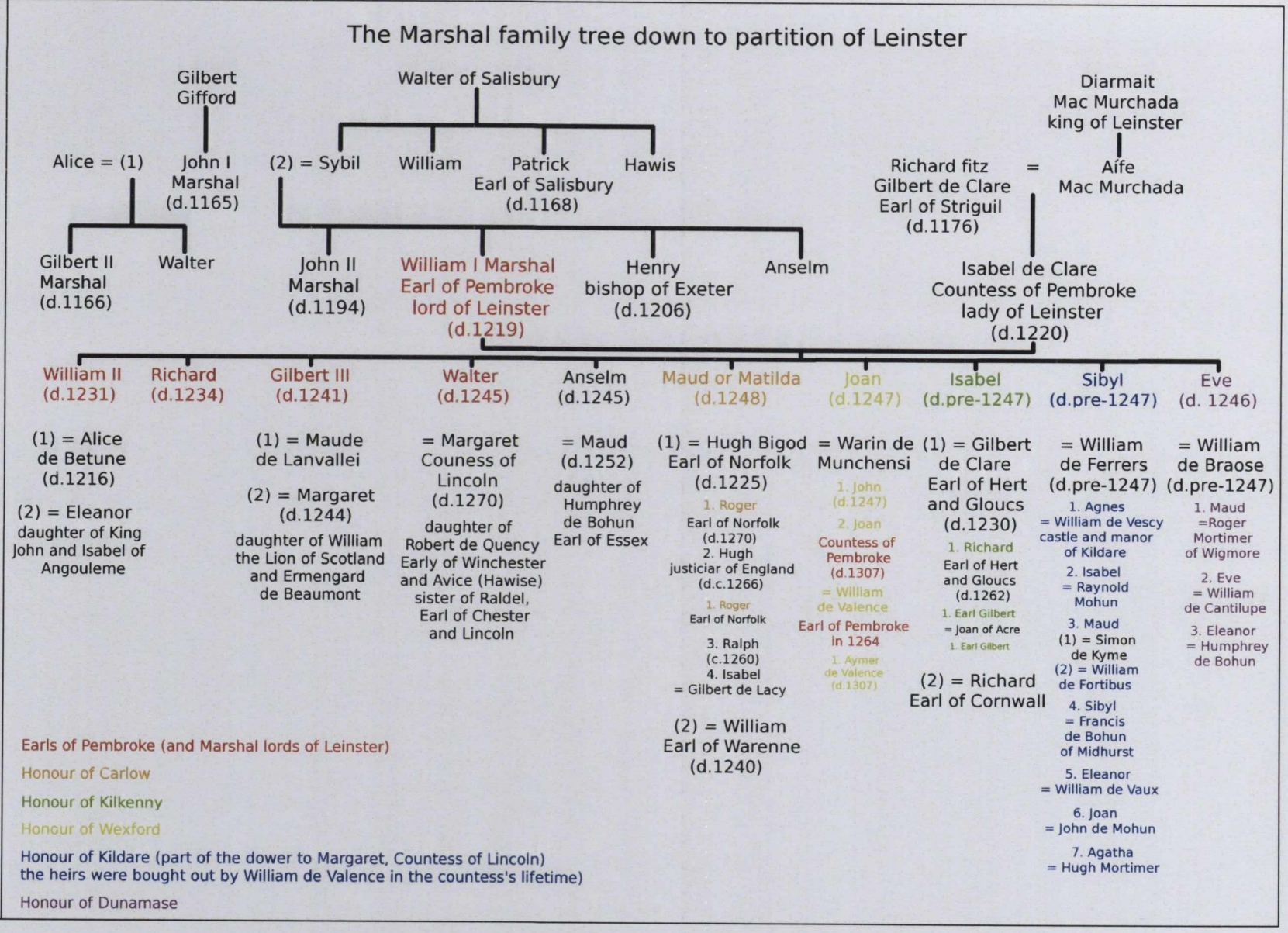
1.3 De Lacy family tree





1.4 De Courcy family tree (Flanders, *De Courcy*, composite of figs. 2, 4 and 5)

1.5 Marshal family tree



CHAPTER 2



2.1 Map of the motte and bailey castles of Hugh de Lacy (S. Duffy, *Atlas of Irish History*)



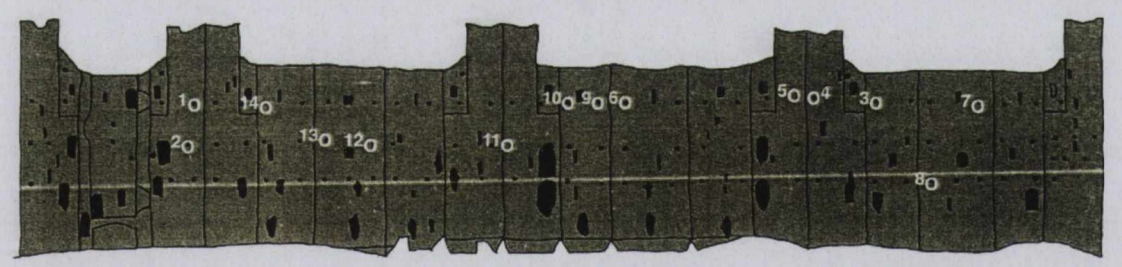
2.2 Trim castle (Meath), aerial view (B. Doyle, 1960s)



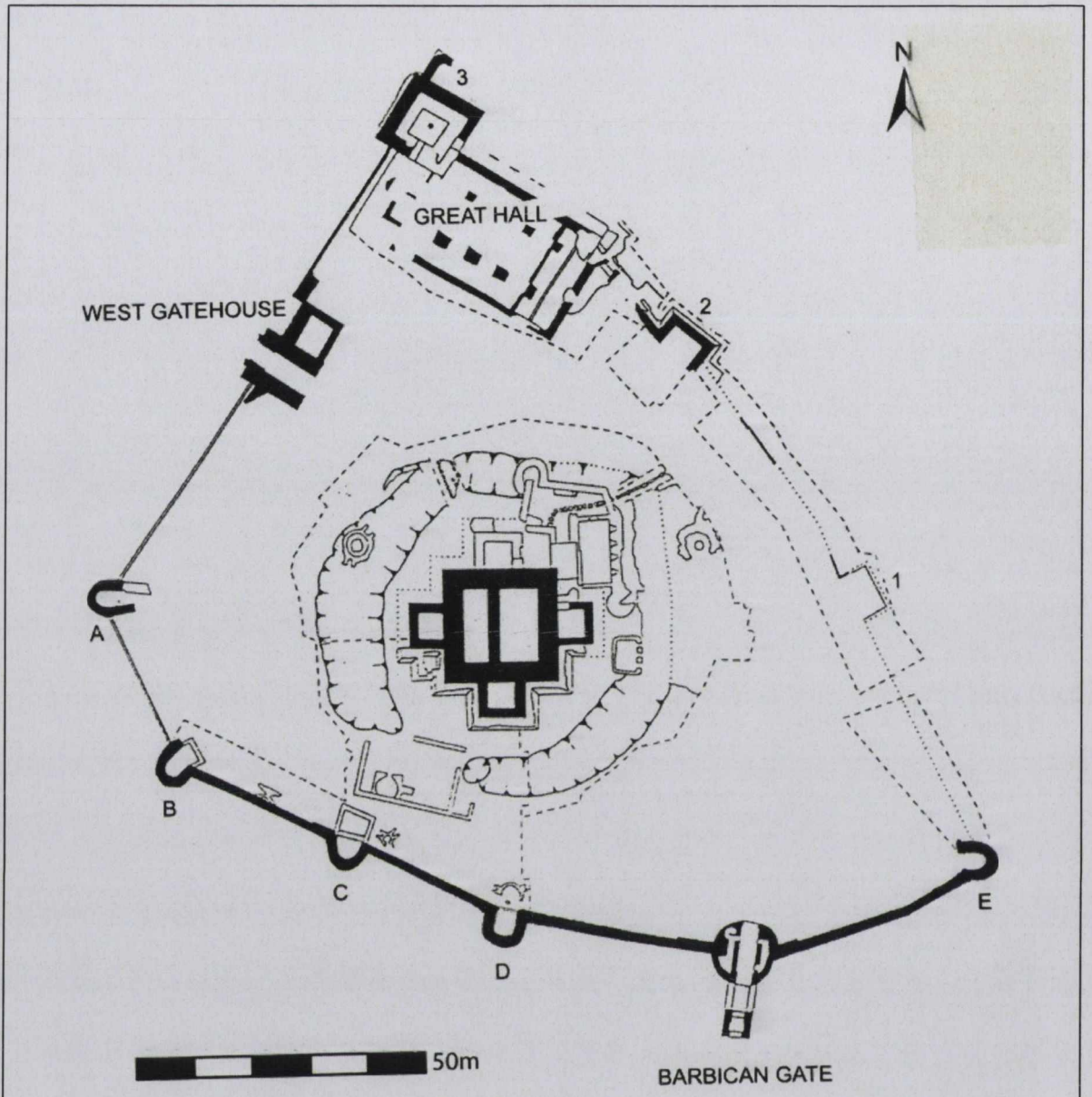
2.3 Growth of Trim, to 1900, by Mark Hennessy (Irish Historic Town Atlas)



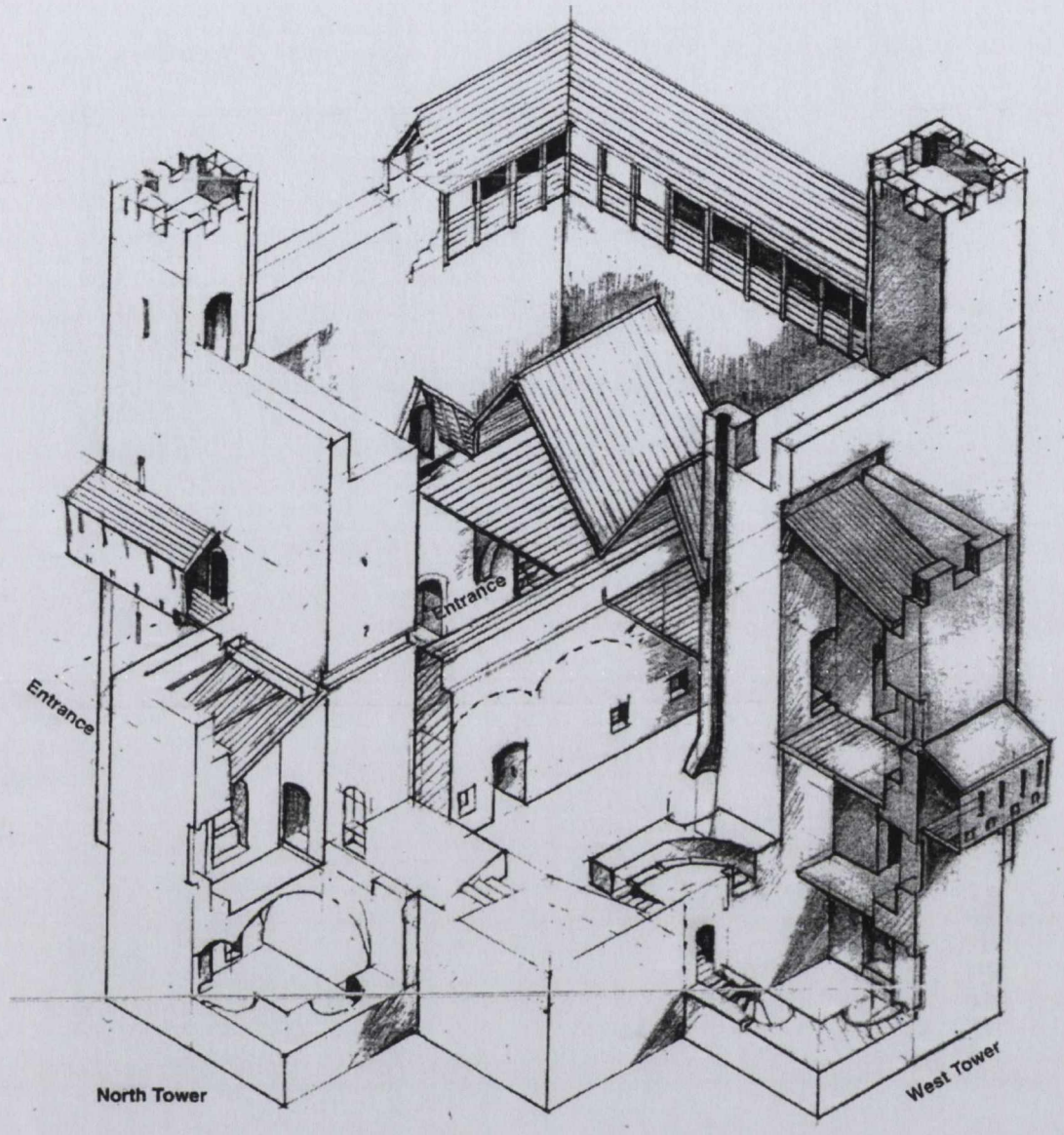
2.4 Trim, keep, oak timber discovered in the putlog holes (Condit, 'Rings of Truth at Trim Castle', 30, 32)



2.5 Trim, keep, location of putlog holes, by K. O'Brien and U. Hogerzeil, (Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, 6.9)



2.6 Trim castle, plan (P.D. Sweetman, 'The Development of Trim Castle in Light of Recent Research', fig. 1)



2.7 Trim, keep, cross-section reconstruction *c.*1186, by K. O'Brien, (Sweetman, *Medieval Castles of Ireland*, fig. 51)

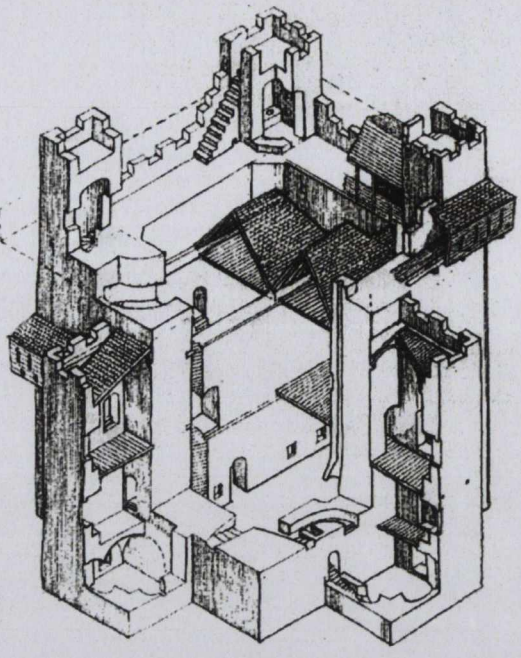


Fig. 6. — Trim keep : phase 2.

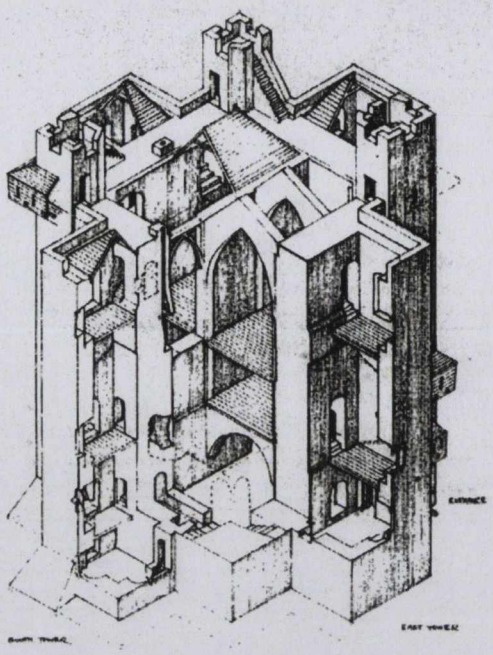


Fig. 7. — Trim keep : final phase.

2.8 Trim, keep, cross-section reconstruction, second and final phases, by K. O'Brien (Sweetman, *Medieval Castles of Ireland*, fig. 51)



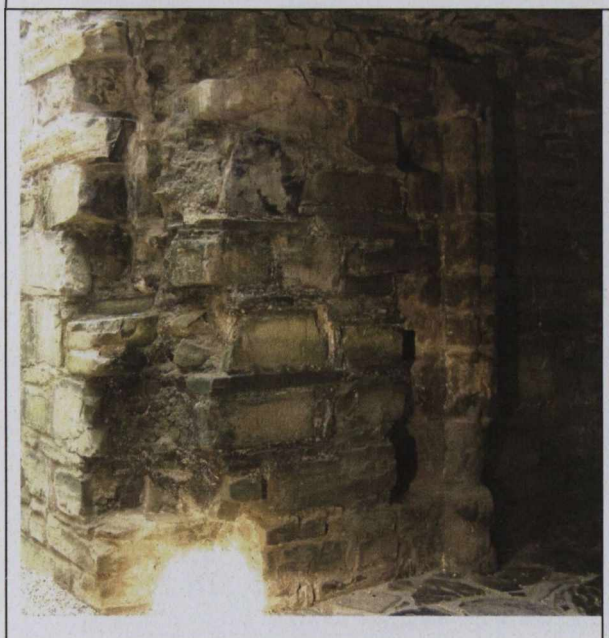
2.9 Trim, west gate tower



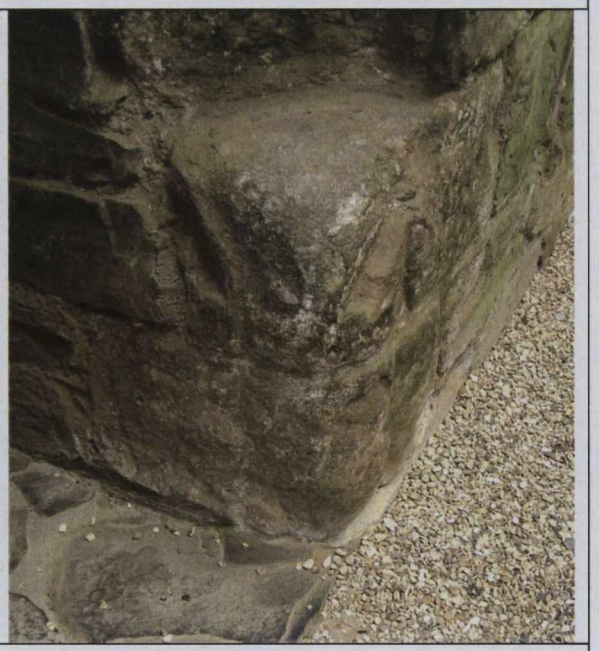
2.10 Trim, keep view from west gate tower



2.11 Trim, keep, view of entry chamber through thickness of wall from main chamber



2.12 Trim, keep, entry into the central chamber, note moulded jambs of the doorway



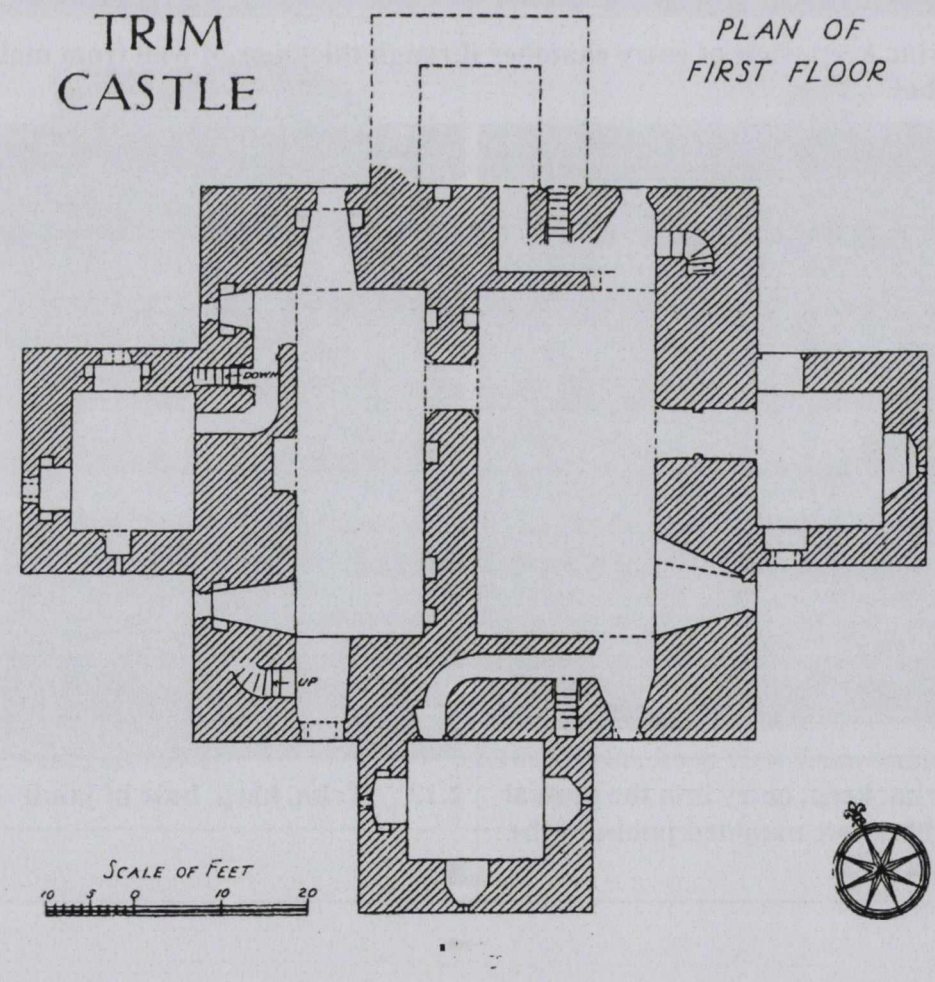
2.13 Trim, keep, base of jamb



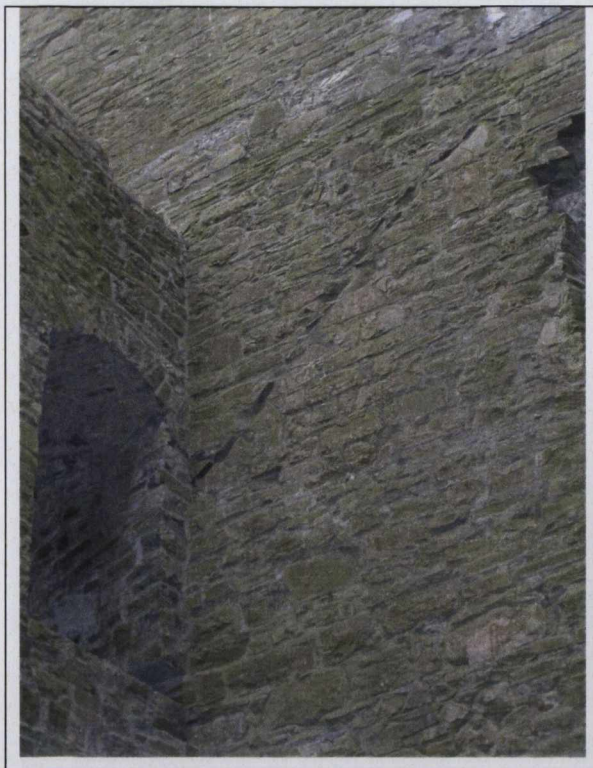
2.14 Trim, keep, central camber, first floor window



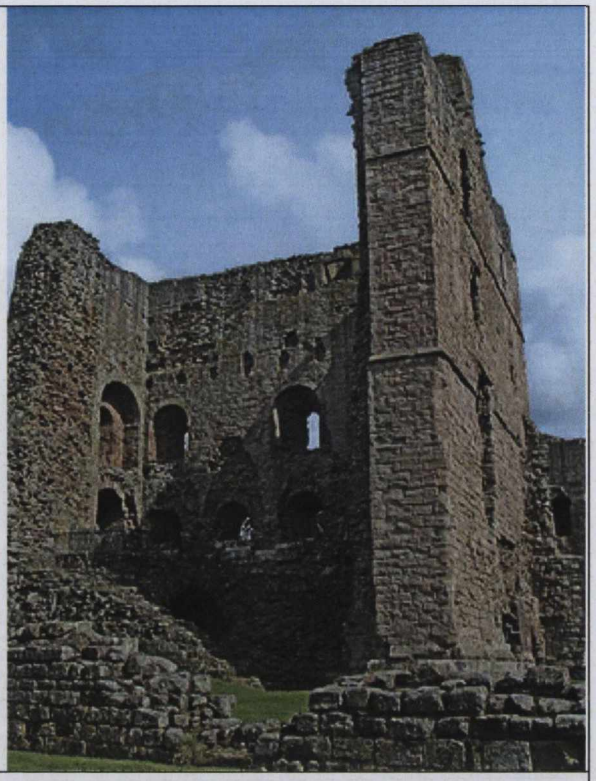
2.15 Trim, keep, central chamber, roll moulding around the first floor window



2.16 Trim, keep, plan of the first floor (Leask, *Irish Castles*, fig. 19)



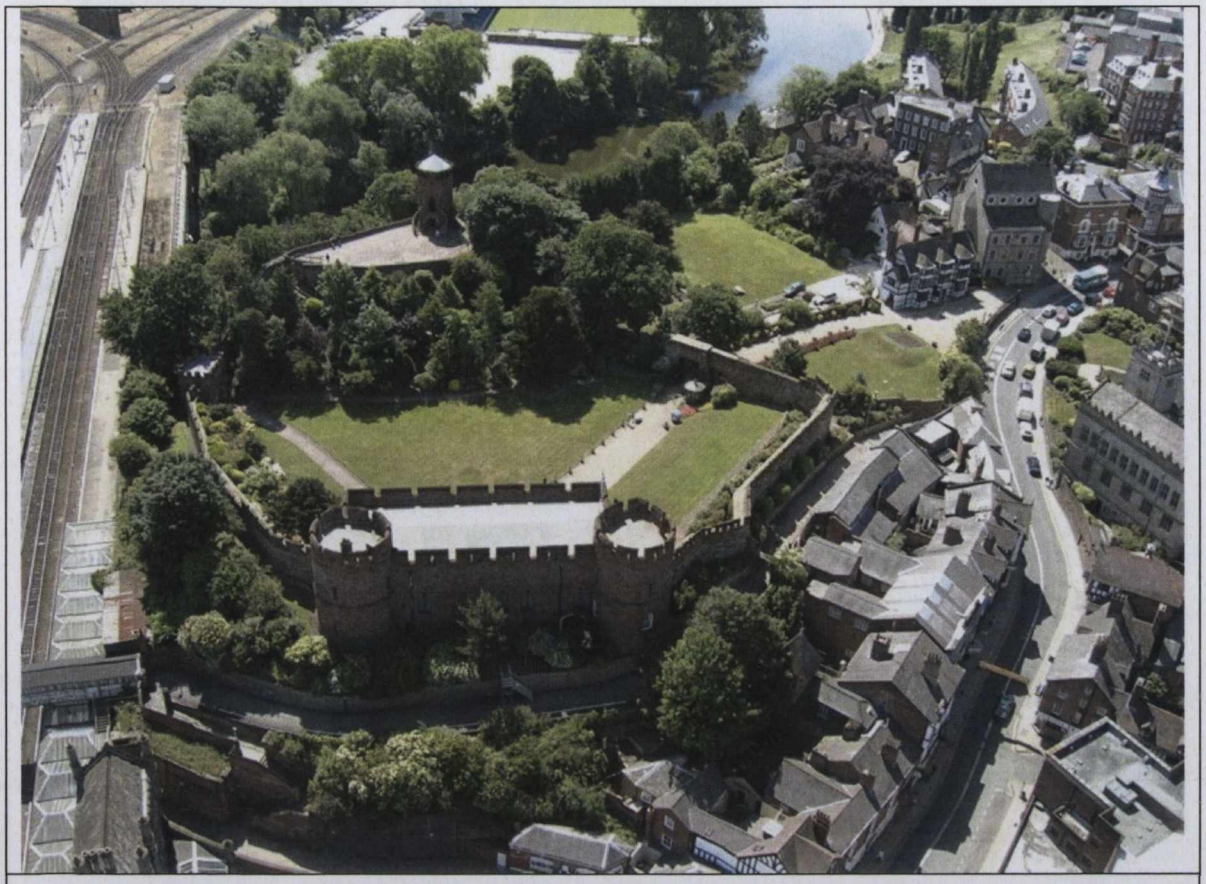
2.17 Trim, of, Meath, keep central chamber, scar of the original roof line



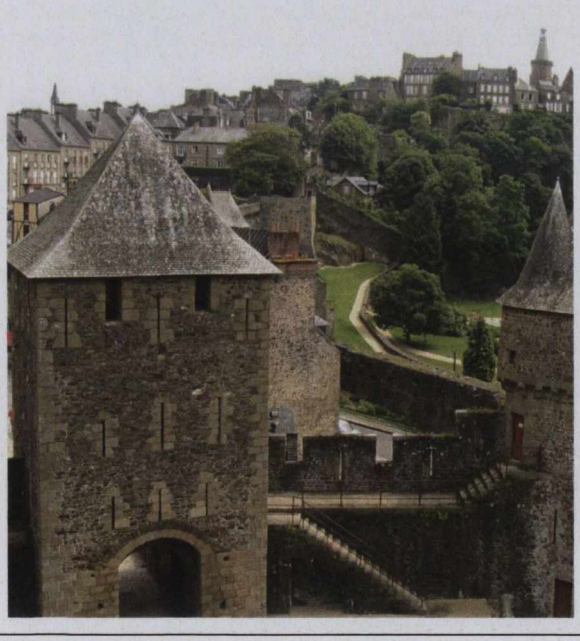
2.18 Norham (Northumberland), keep (Flikr, Steven F. Watson)



2.19 Map of sites associated with the de Lacy's marked in red



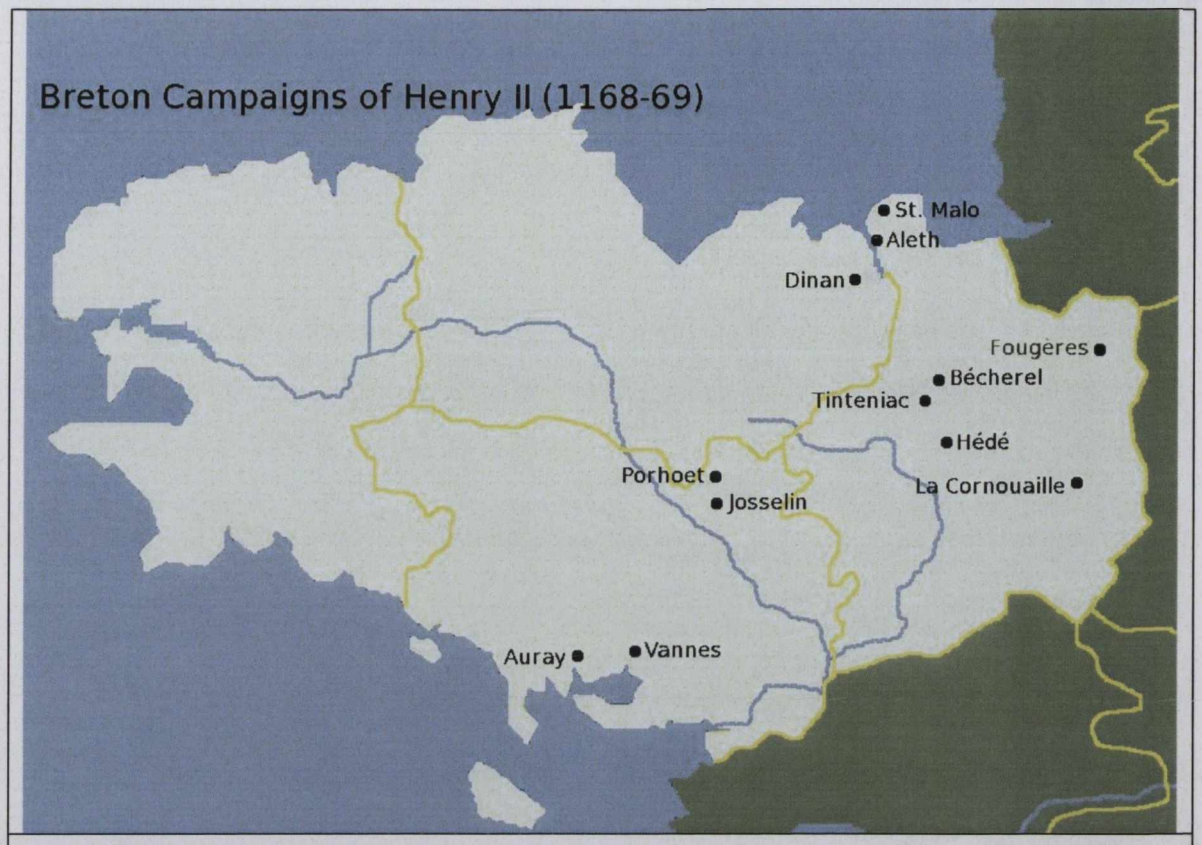
2.20 Shrewsbury castle (Shropshire), aerial view



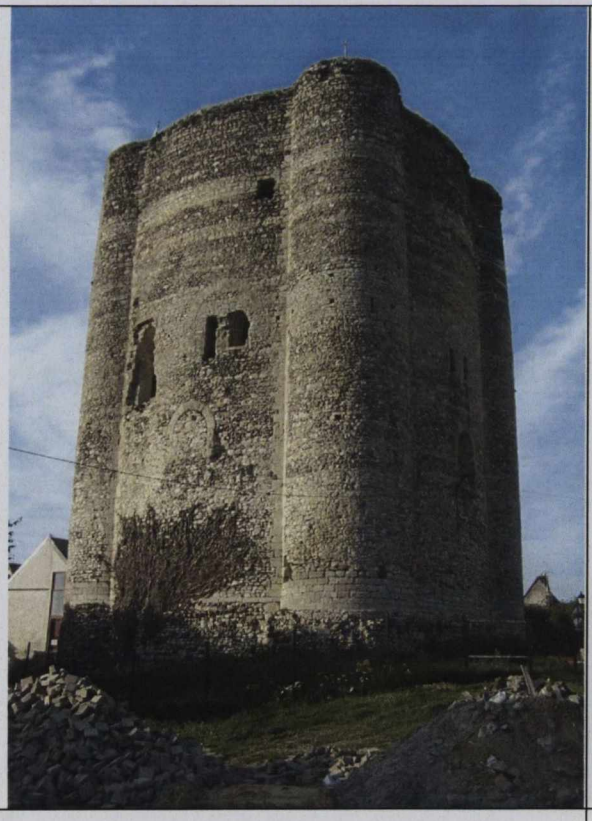
2.21 Château Fougères (Ille et Vilaine), gate tower (panoramio.com)



2.22 Trim, northeast mural tower



2.23 Breton Campaigns of Henry II (1168-69), showing the various castles that Henry attacked and the relative location of Fougères



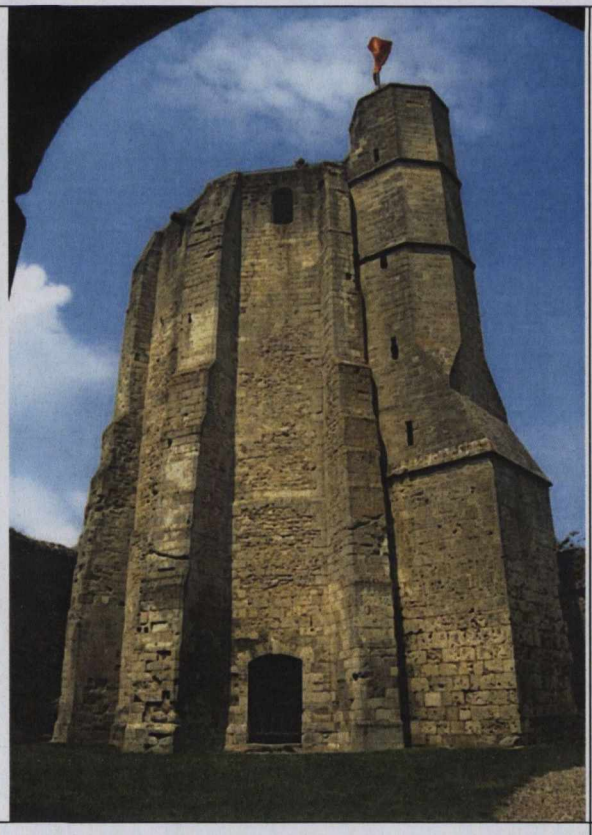
2.24 Houdan (Yvelines), keep (wikimedia.com)



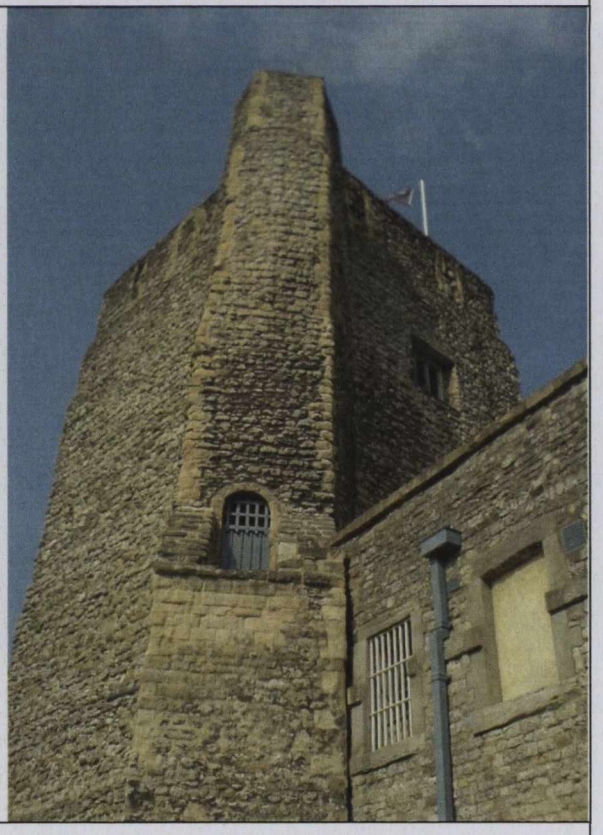
2.25 Étampes (Ile-de-France), Tour Guinette (wikimedia.com)



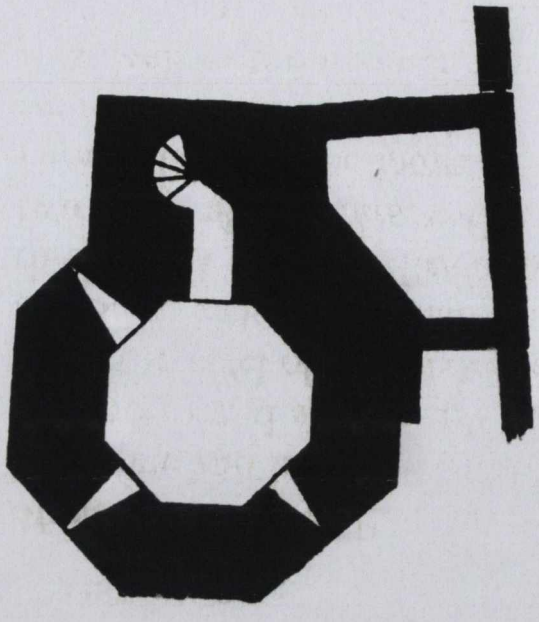
2.26 Pontefract (Yorkshire), keep



2.27 Gisors (Eure), keep (panoramio.com)



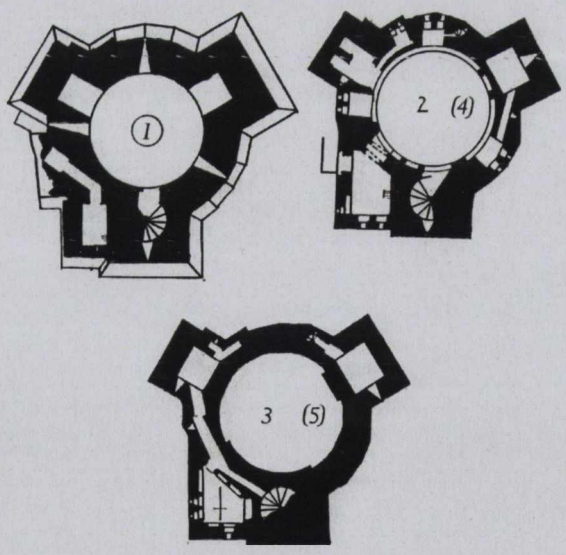
2.28 Oxford, keep (wikimedia.com)



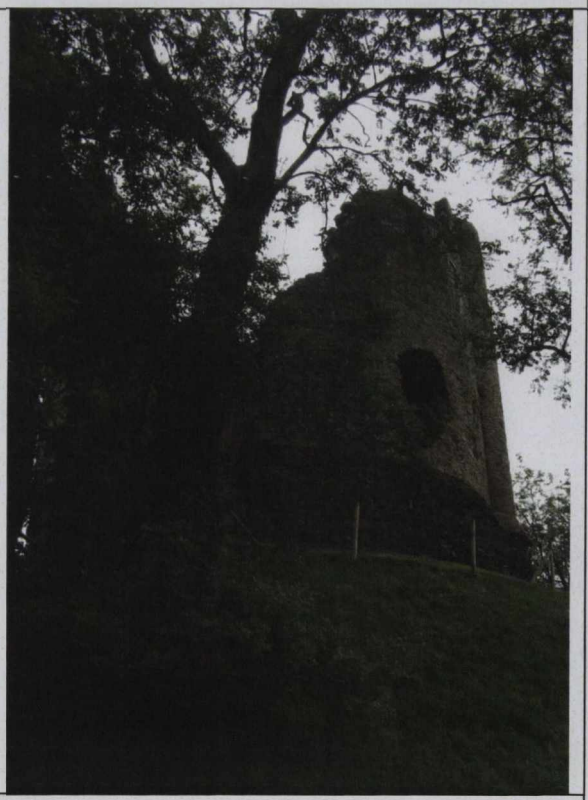
2.29 Chilham castle (Kent), plan of the keep (Renn, *Norman Castles of Britain*, fig. 17)



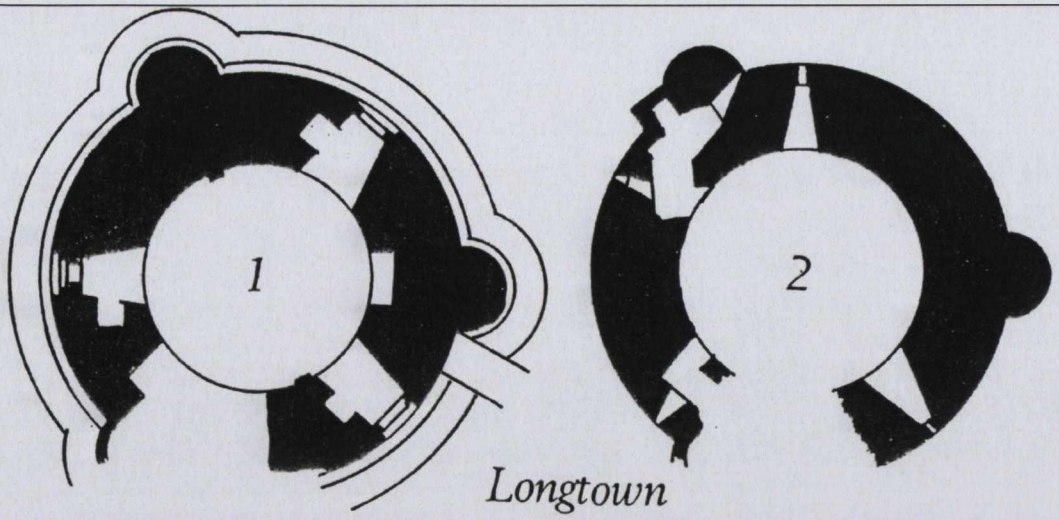
2.30 Orford castle (Suffolk), keep (great-castles.com/images)



2.31 Orford (Suffolk), plan of the keep (Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain*, fig. 51)



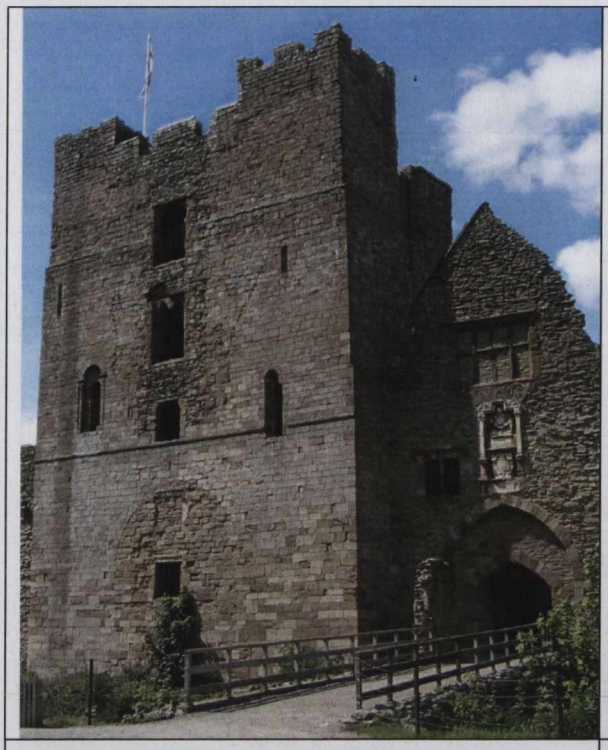
2.32 Longtown (Herefordshire), keep



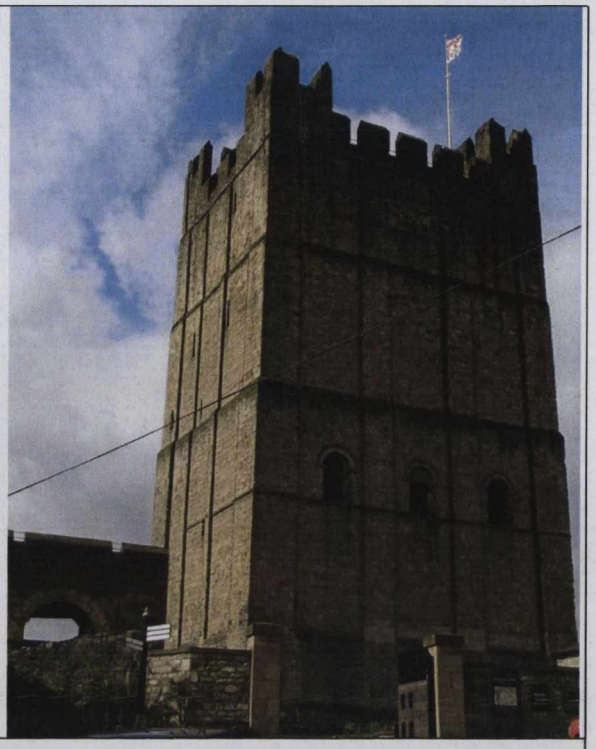
2.33 Longtown (Herefordshire), plan of the keep (Renn, *Norman Castles of Britain*, fig. 42)



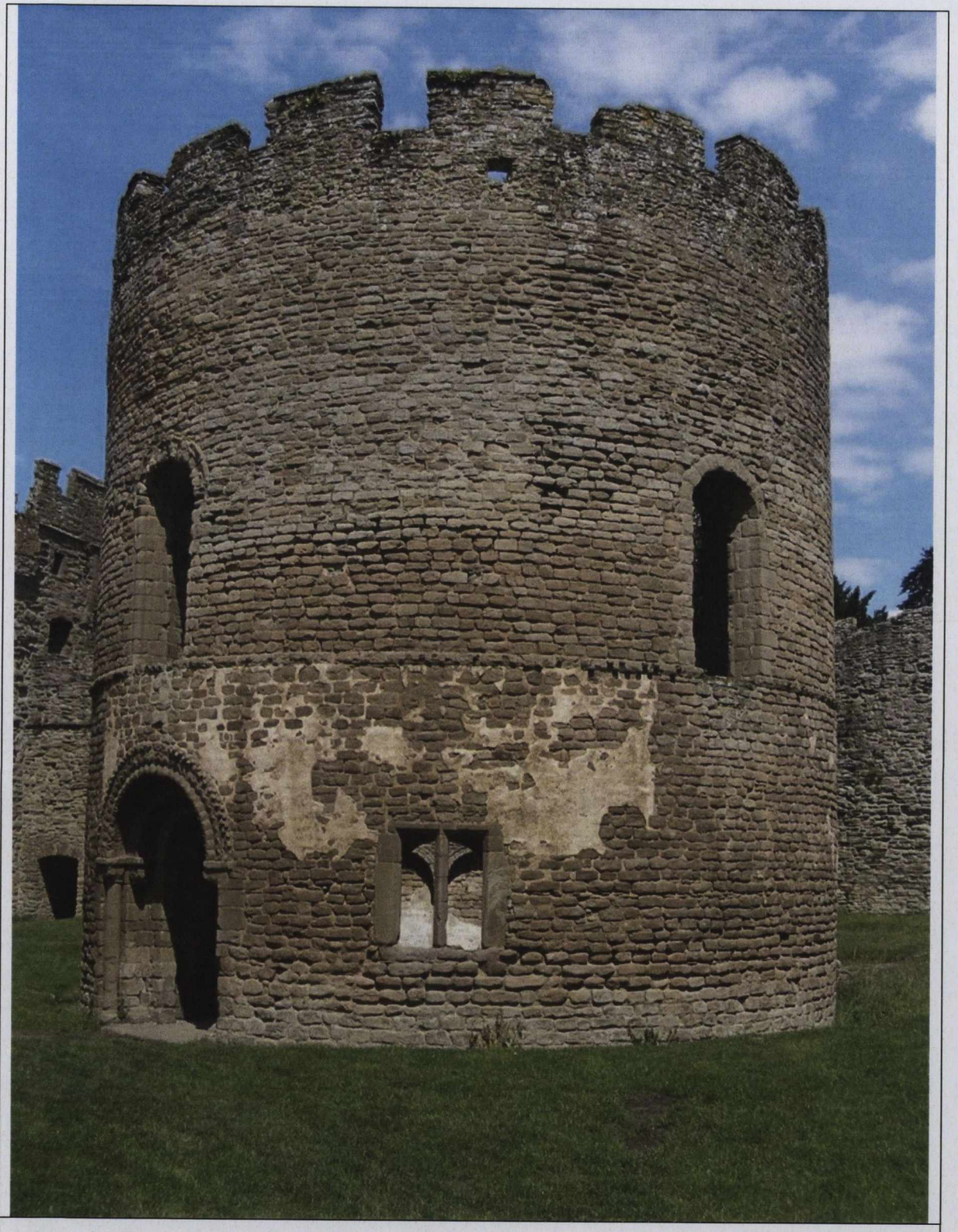
2.34 Longtown (Herefordshire), keep, first floor window ornamentation



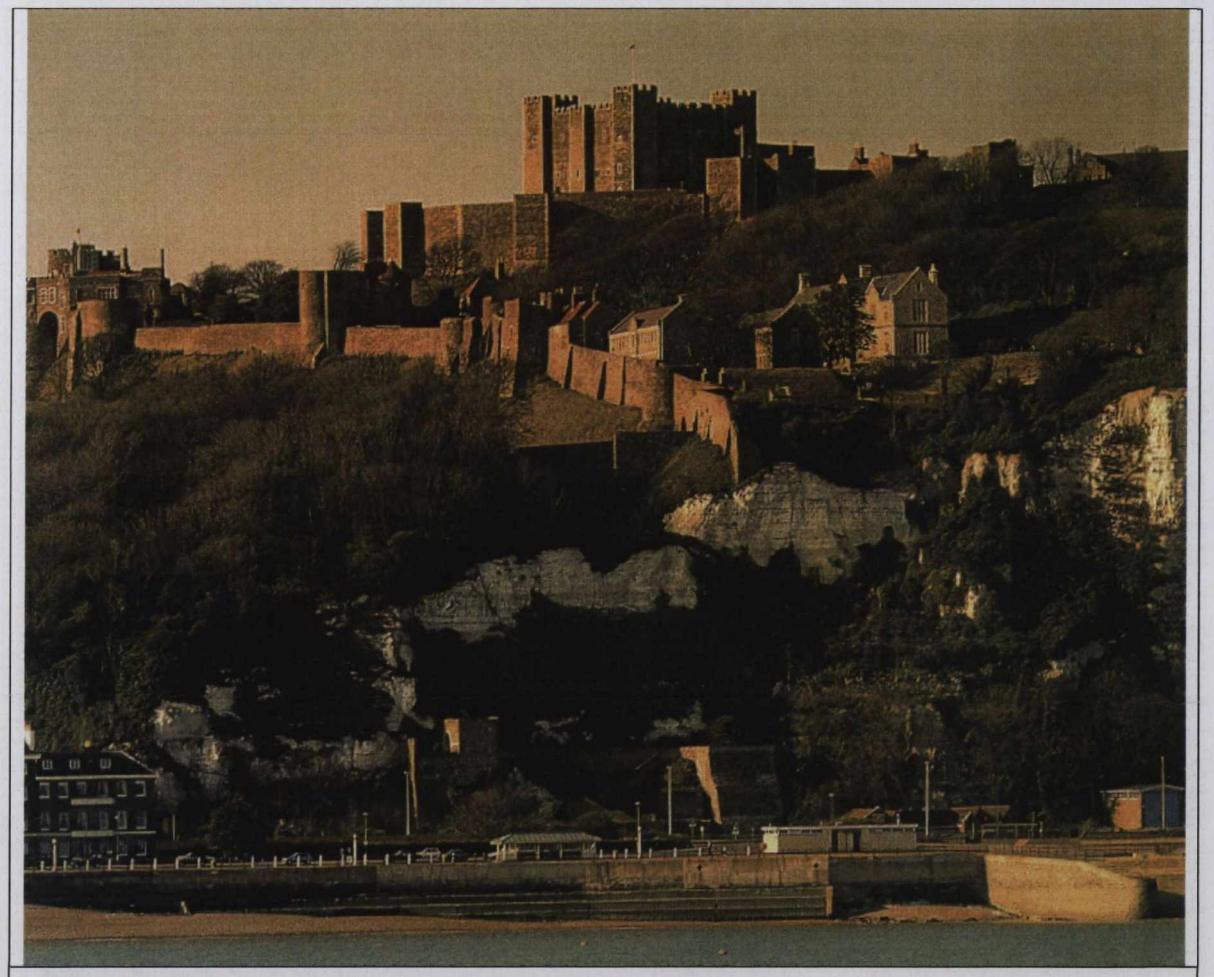
2.35 Ludlow (Shropshire), gate tower-cum-residential keep



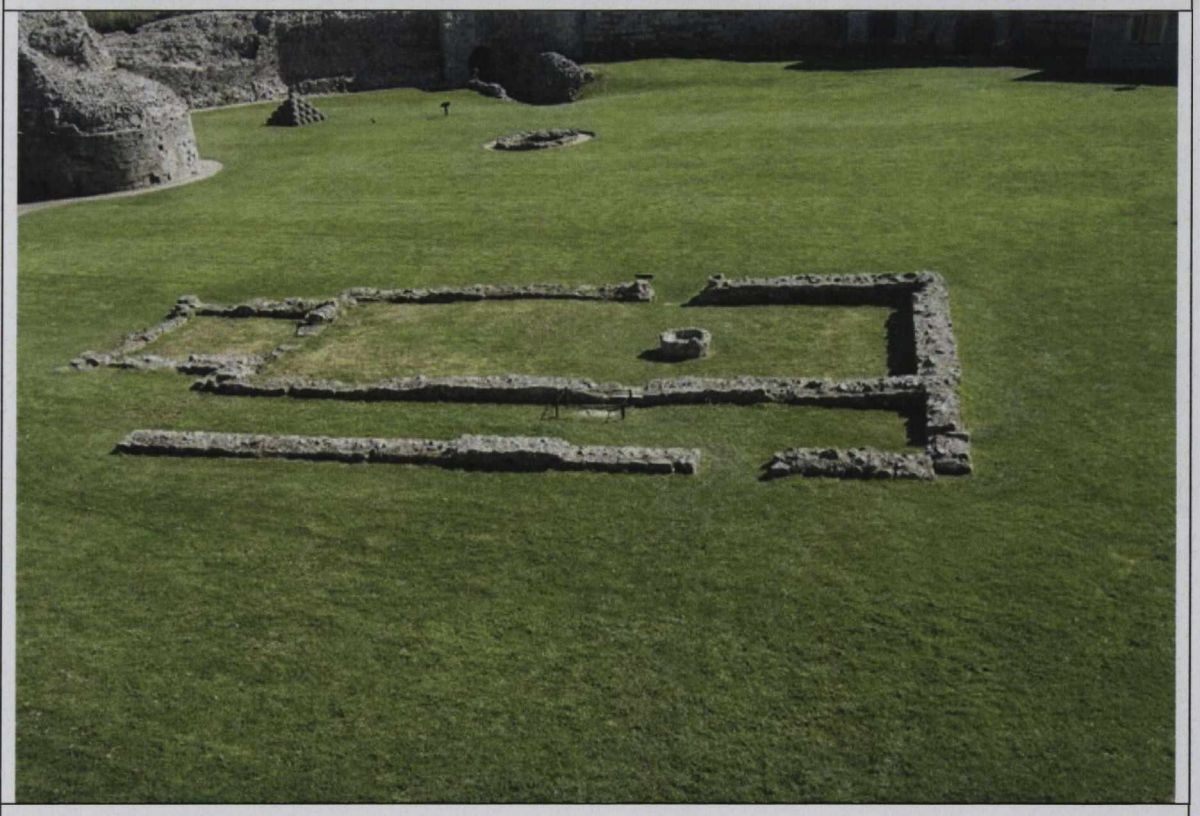
2.36 Richmond (Yorkshire), gate tower-cum-residential keep



2.37 Ludlow castle (Shropshire), chapel



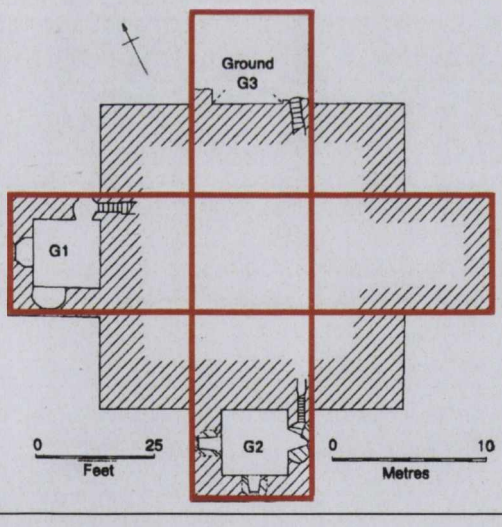
2.38 Dover castle (Kent) (volokh.com)



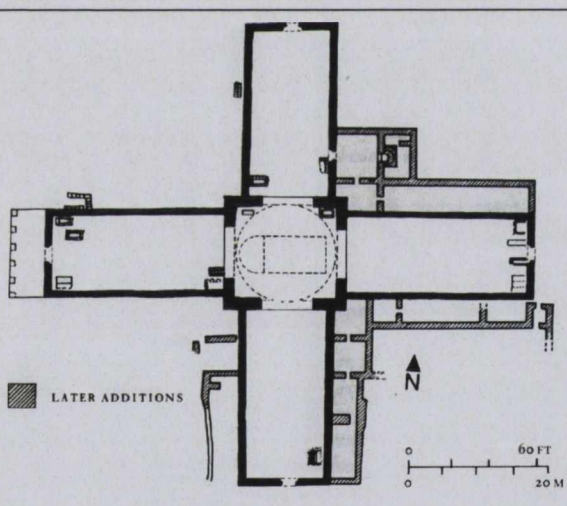
2.39 Pevensey castle (Sussex), foundations of chapel (Goodall, *Pevensey Castle, East Sussex*, 3)



2.40 Ludlow castle (Shropshire), chapel, blind arcade



2.41 Trim, plan of the keep depicting the Greek Cross



2.42 St. Babylas martyrium, Kaoussié (Antioch), Greek Cross plan (Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, fig. 34)



2.43 William of Tyre, *Histoire d'Outremer*, French, 13th century, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Fr. 9081, f.20v (blessed-gerard.org/godfboui.htm)



2.44 Effigy of Gerard I, Count of Vaudemont, and his wife in the Chapelle des Cordeliers, Nancy (Lorraine), (Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*,



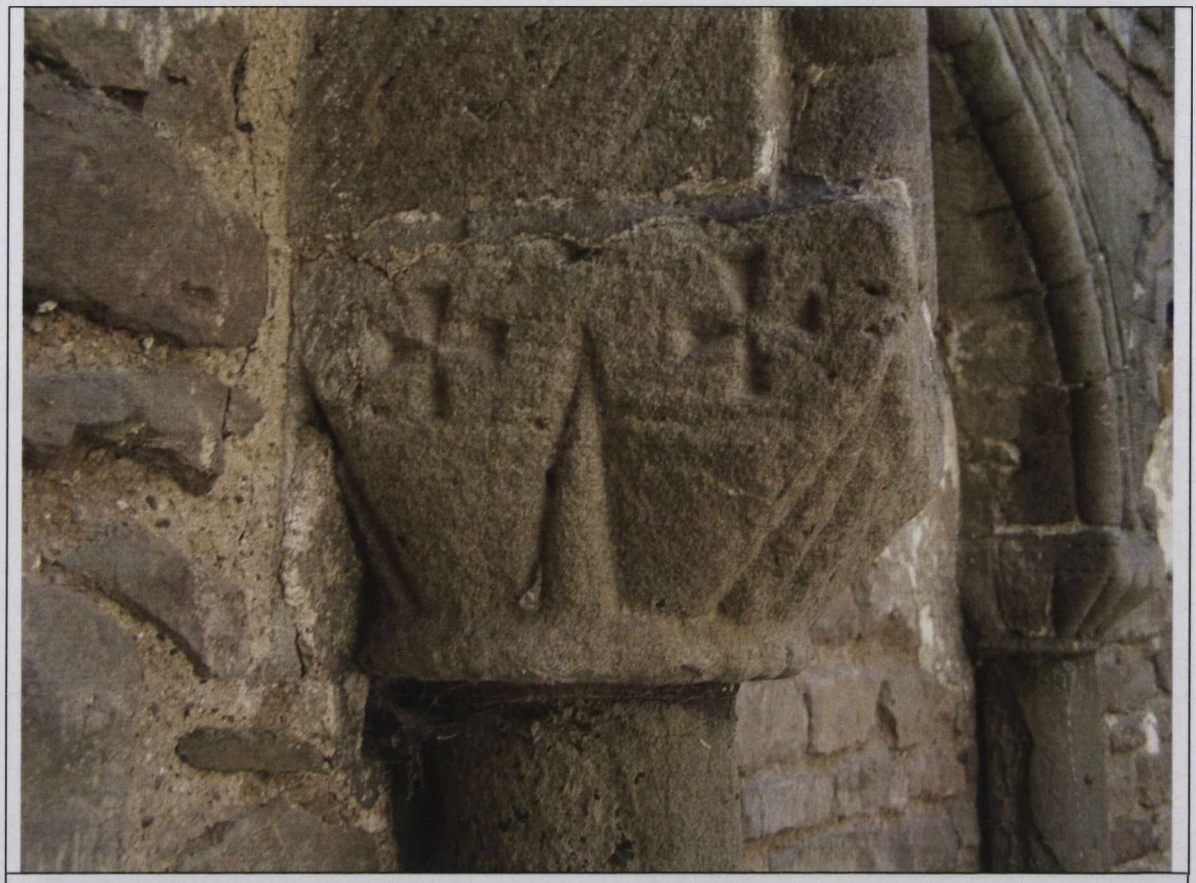
2.45 Templar church of Cressac-sur-Charente (Angoulême), twelfth century fresco of a Knight Templar (Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*,



2.46 Billion 'Helmet Denier, Antioch, late twelfth-early thirteenth century (Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, pl. 6.19)



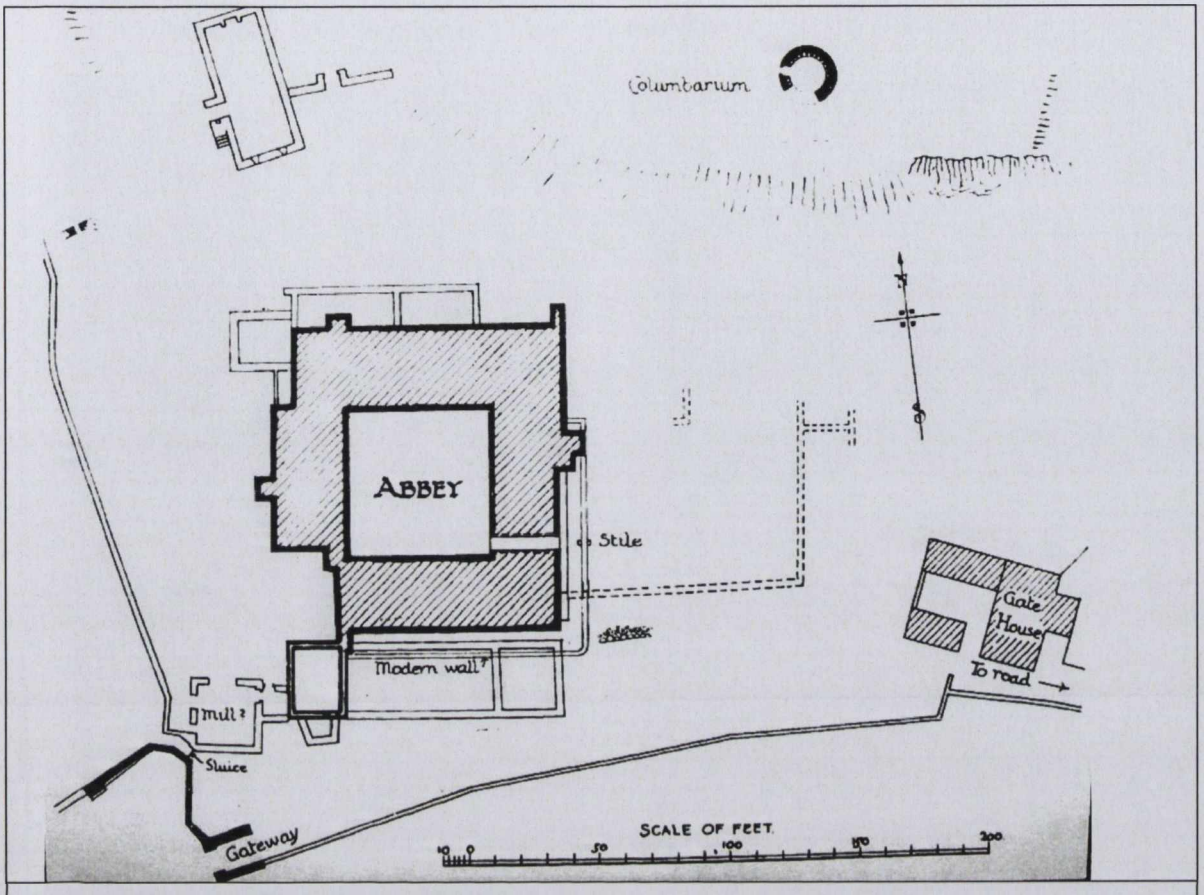
2.47 Coin, Baldwin I, Count of Edessa, (1098-1100), (Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*,



2.48 Ludlow castle (Shropshire), chapel, scallop capital ornamentation



2.49 Trim castle, view from across the river



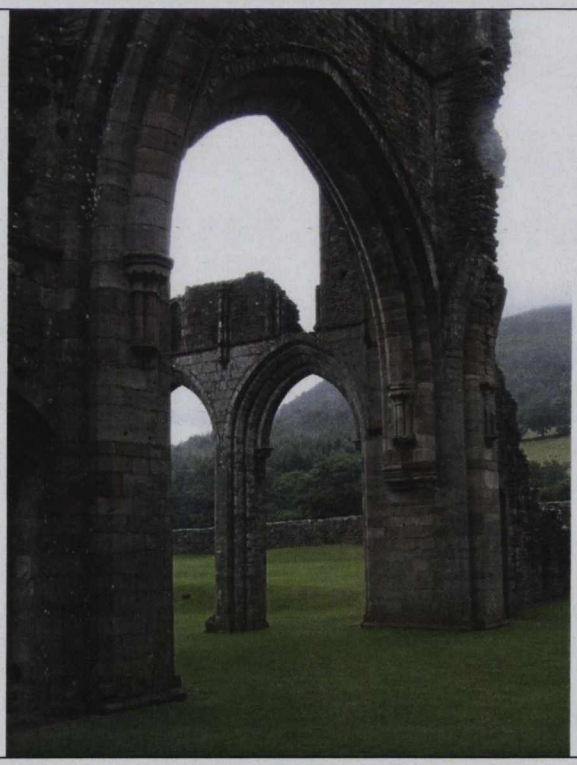
3.1 Fore Benedictine Priory cell (Westmeath), plan of the complex



3.2 Llanthony Prima (Monmouthshire), view from west



3.3 Bective (Meath), view of south nave arcade from north transept



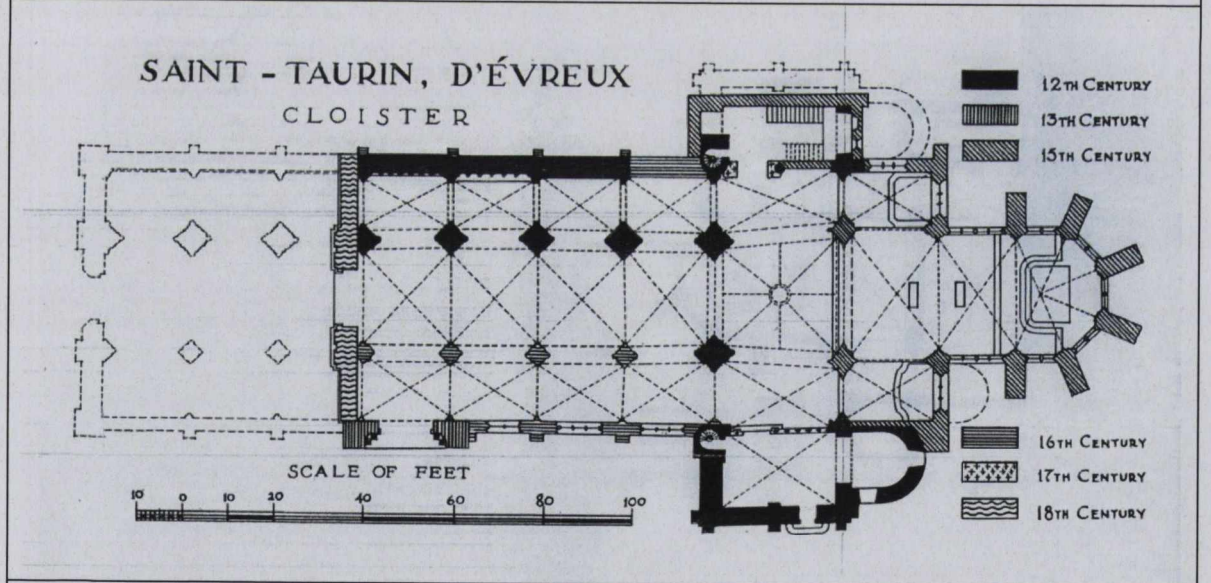
3.4 Llanthony Prima, view of crossing and north nave from south transept



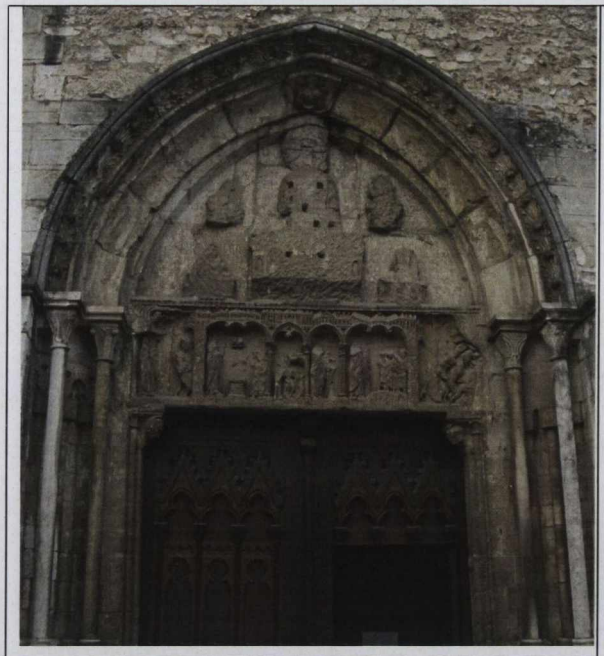
3.5 St. Fechin's, Fore (Westmeath), lintelled west doorway



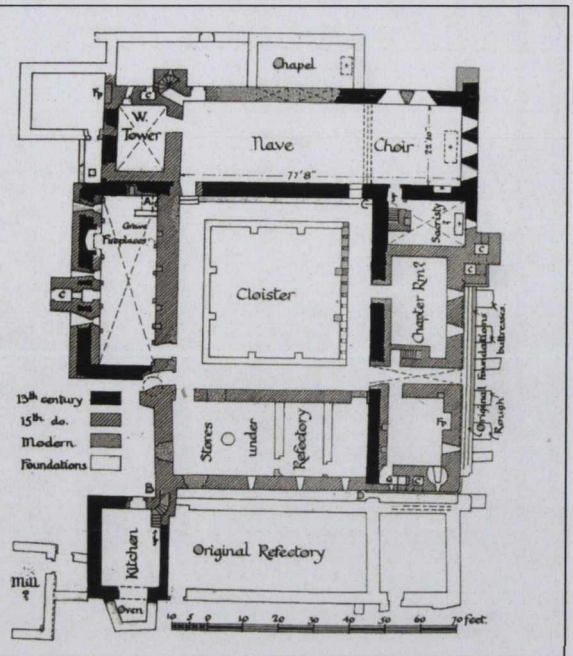
3.6 Fore, view from south



3.7 St. Taurin, Évreux (Eure), plan



3.8 St. Taurin, Évreux, south portal, north nave wall



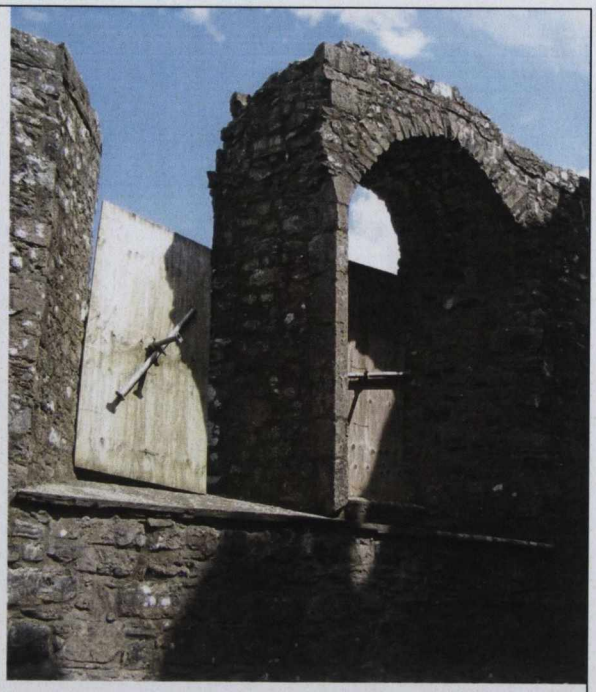
3.9 Fore Benedictine Priory cell (Westmeath), plan



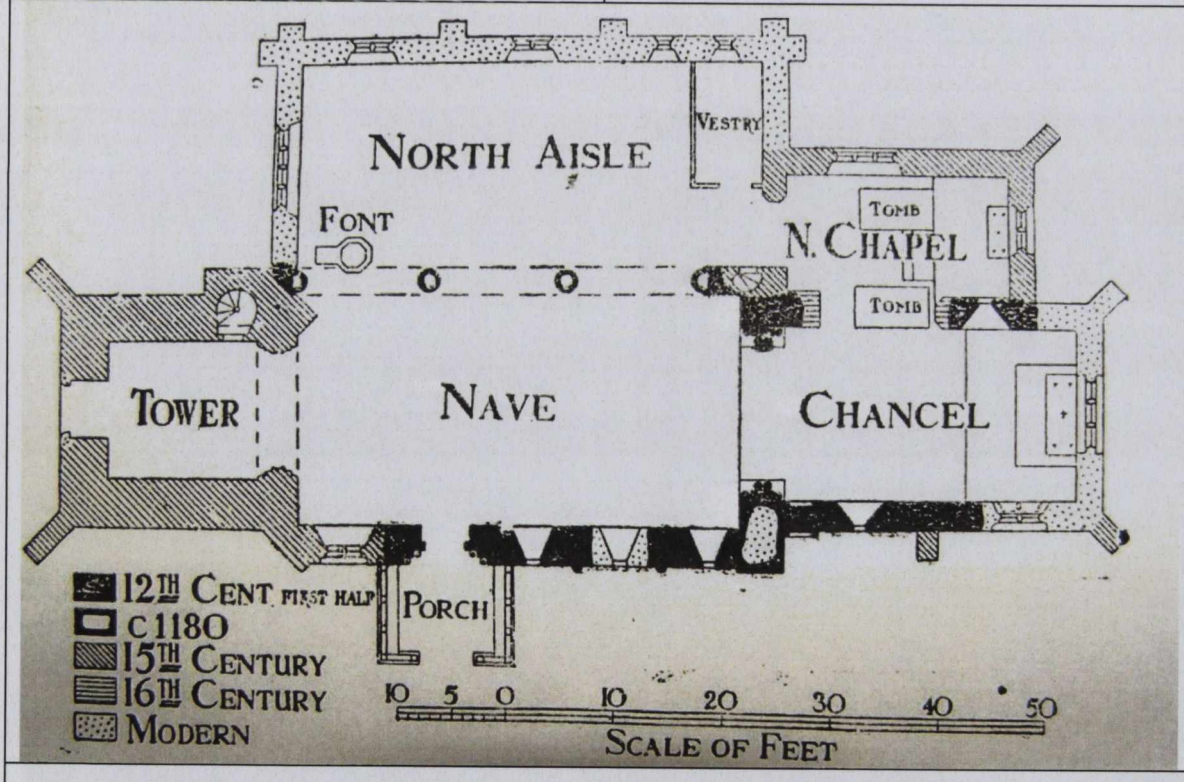
3.10 Fore, from the northeast



3.11 Fore, torus roll, interior chancel east wall



3.12 Fore, interior chancel, north wall lancets



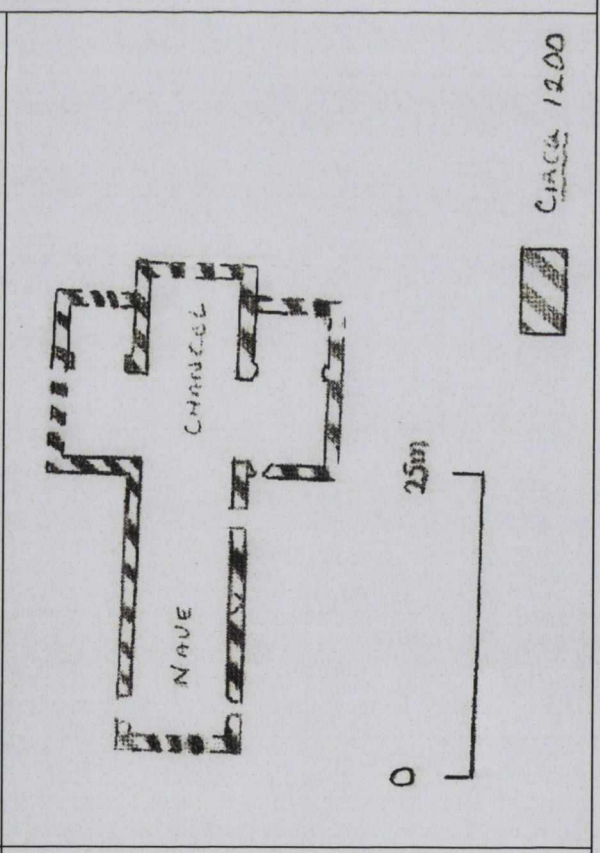
3.13 Astley Benedictine cell (Worcestershire) (VCH, *Worcestershire*)



3.14 Llangenith Benedictine cell (Glamorgan)



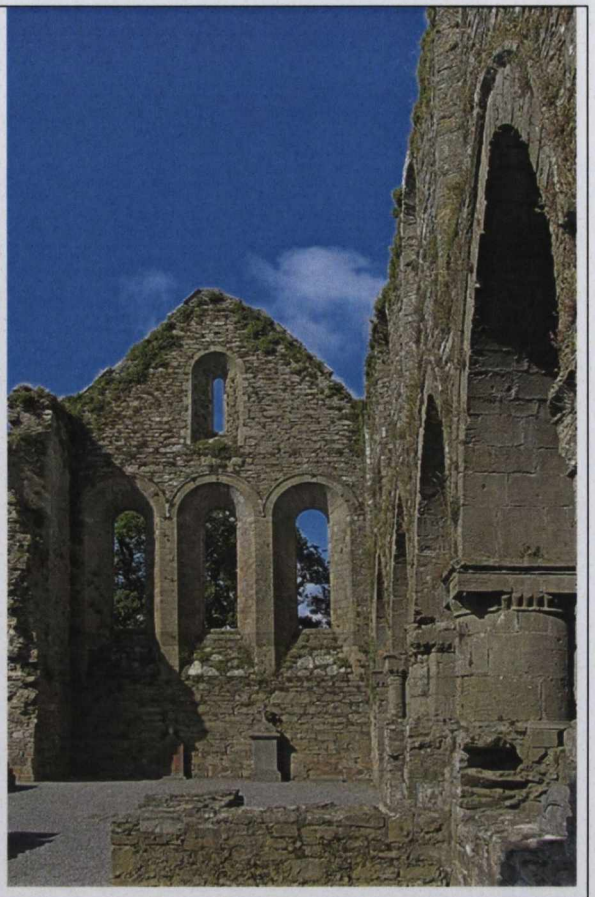
3.15 Notre-Dame-du-Parc, Rouen (Seine-Maritime), view of chancel (Grant, *Architecture and Society in Normandy*, pl. 94)



3.16 Kells priory (Kilkenny), plan *c.* 1200 (Clyne, M., *Kells Priory*)



3.17 Llanthony Prima Augustinian Priory (Monmouthshire), south transept



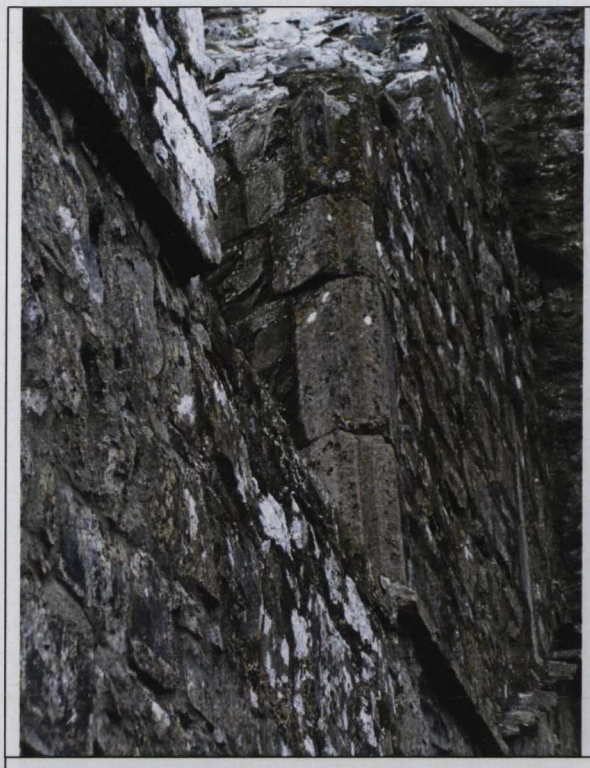
3.18 Jerpoint (Kilkenny), west end of nave



3.19 Fore, clerestory window



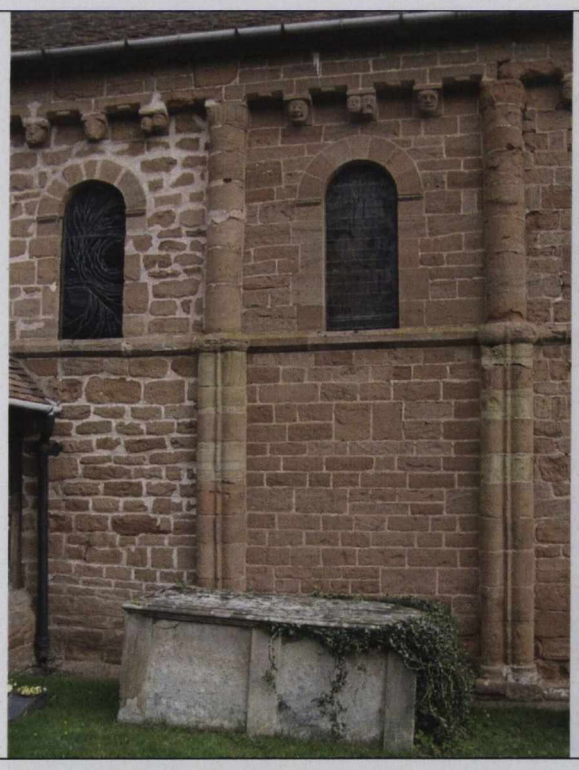
3.20 Fore, east clerestory window, crossed by scar of later cloister pentice roof line



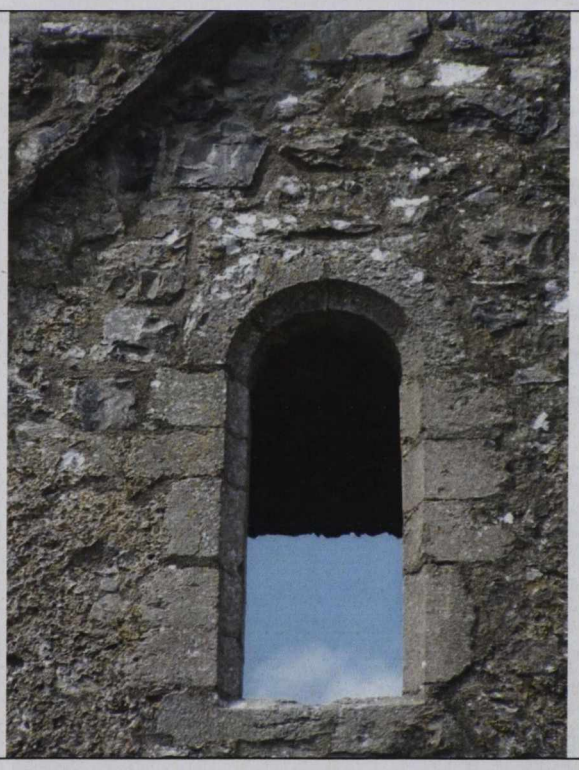
3.21 Fore, exterior clerestory window, rebated



3.22 St. Mary's Priory, Chepstow (Monmouthshire), exterior east nave bay



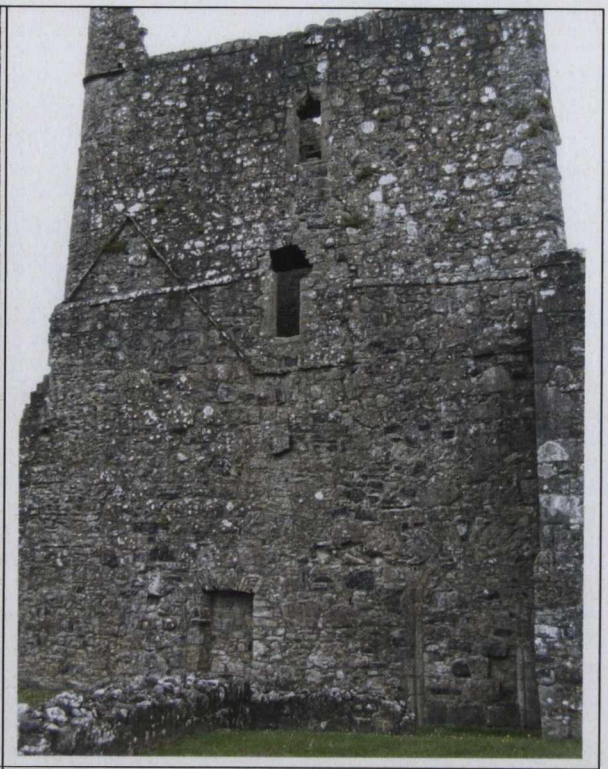
3.23 Astley priory cell, nave north exterior



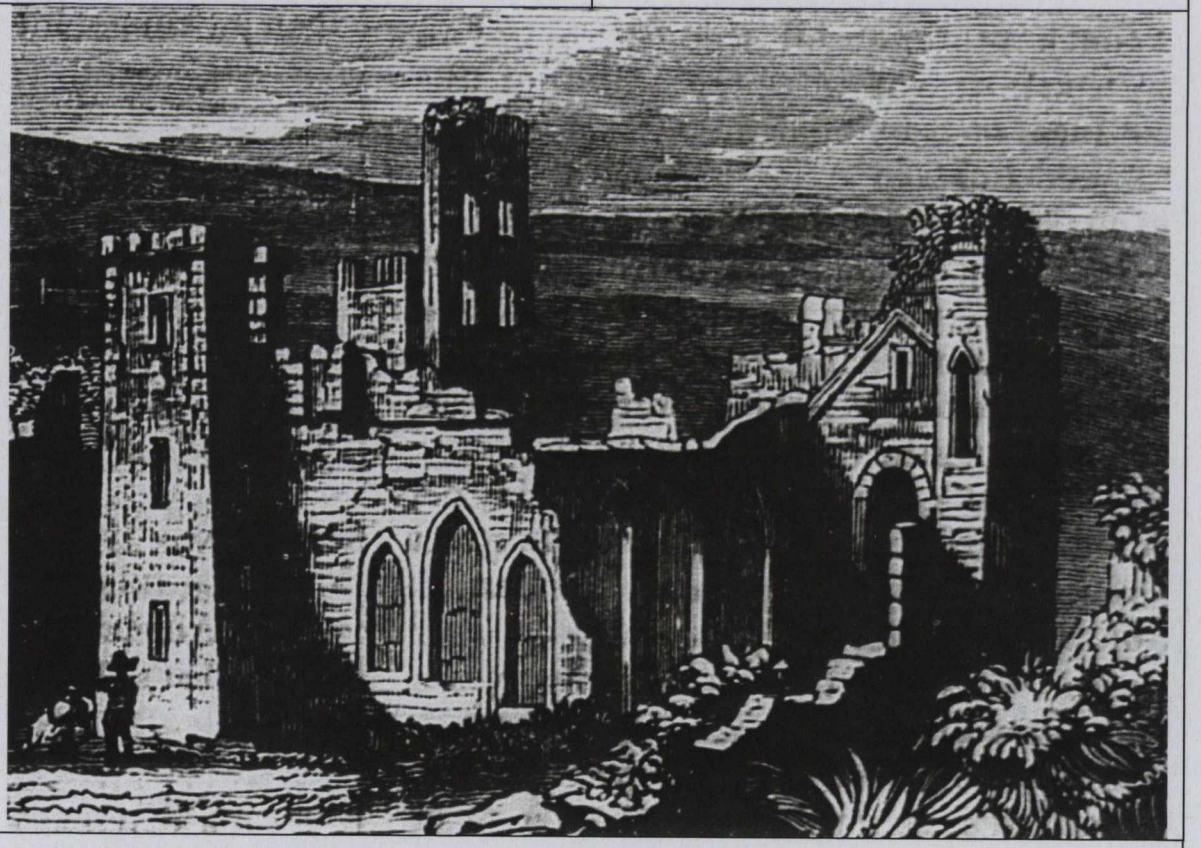
3.24 Fore, window in east wall of west tower



3.25 Fore, west tower, west façade, pointed ogee window



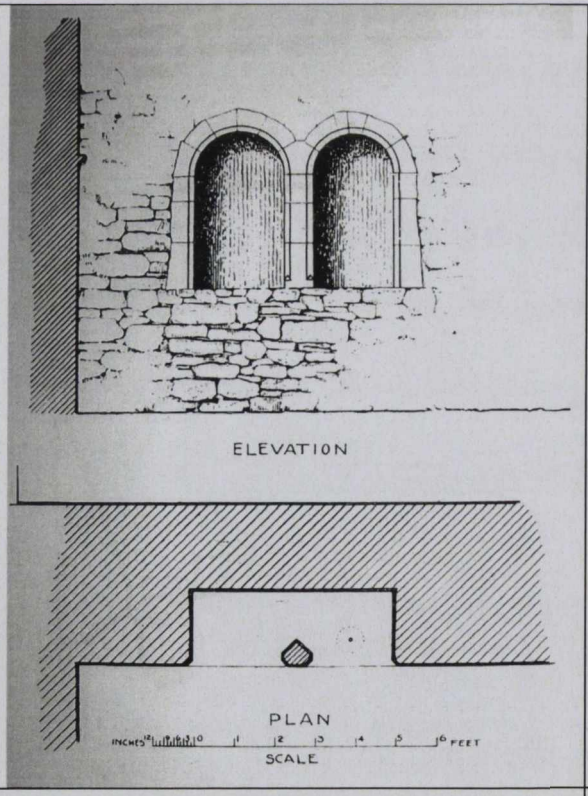
3.26 Fore, west tower, west façade



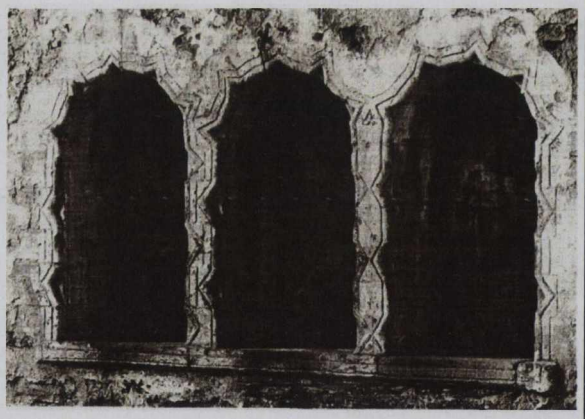
3.27 Fore, nineteenth century engraving (Saturday Magazine, October 1837)



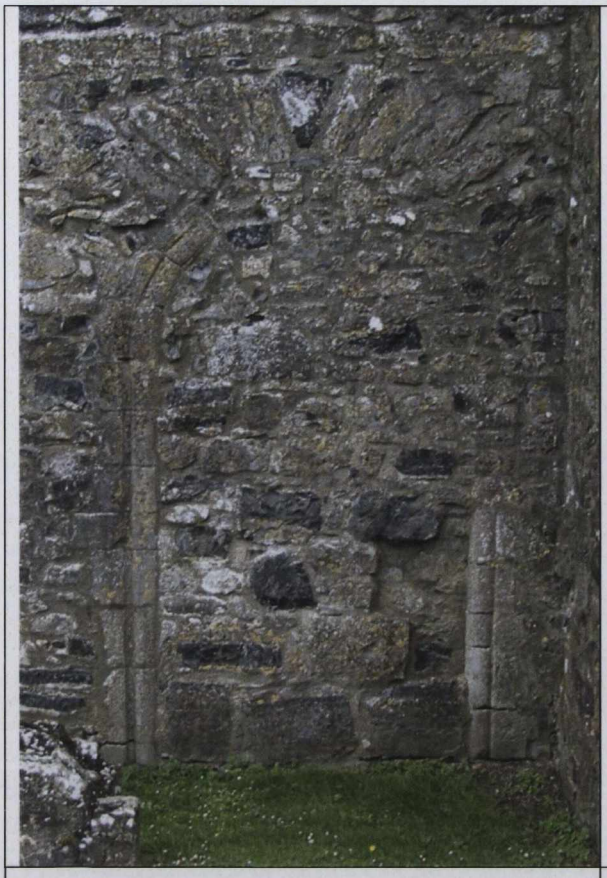
3.28 Fore, from northeast



3.29 Fore, drawing of ambry and piscina in the chancel south wall (Leask, *Fore*, fig. 15)



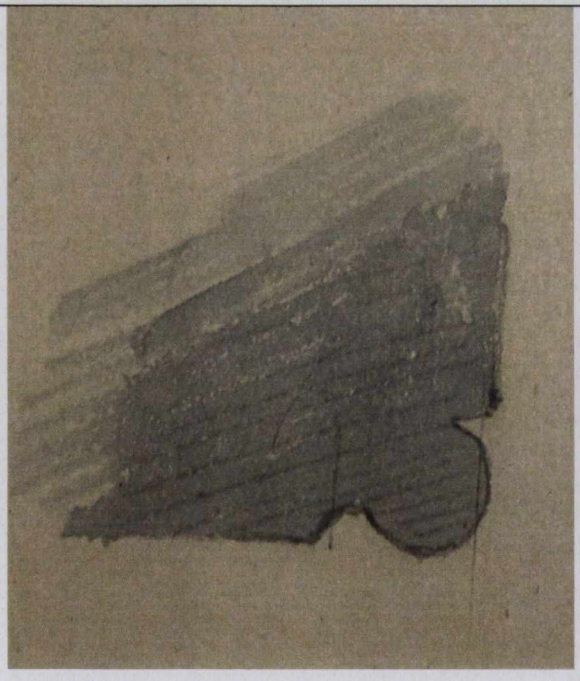
3.30 Jerpoint (Kilkenny), sedilia (Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 232)



3.31 Fore, blocked doorway in west wall of west tower



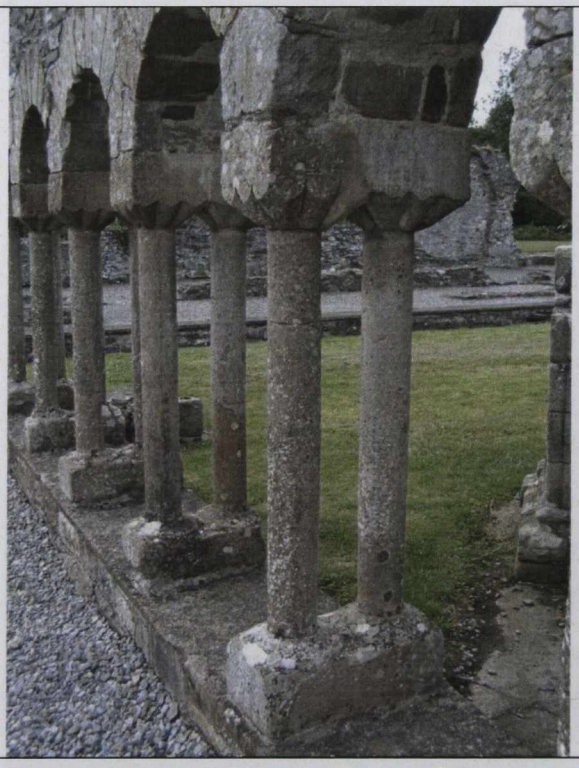
3.32 Fore, proposed main doorway (unfinished and blocked) G.V. Du Noyer, *Antiquarian Sketches VI* (RIA)



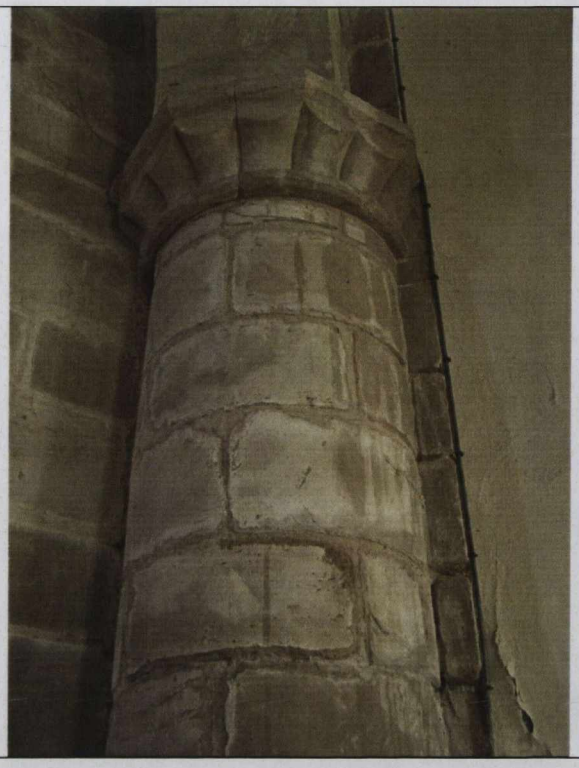
3.33 Fore, moulding of west doorway north jamb, G.V. Du Noyer, *Antiquarian Sketches VI* (RIA)



3.34 Fore, trumpet scallop capital built into west tower



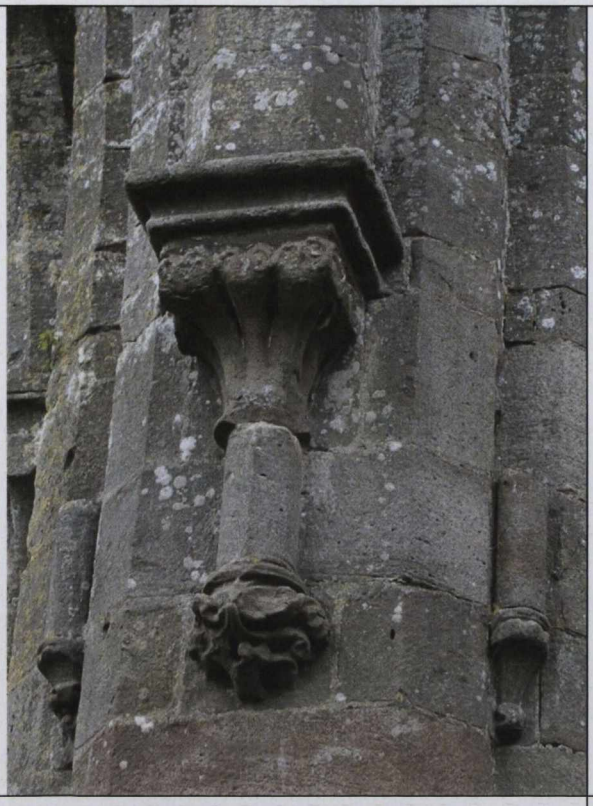
3.35 Mellifont (Louth), south cloister arcade with twin scallop capitals



3.36 Astley, trumpet scallop capital of north nave aisle arcade west



3.37 Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, south transept chapel, double trumpet scallop capital



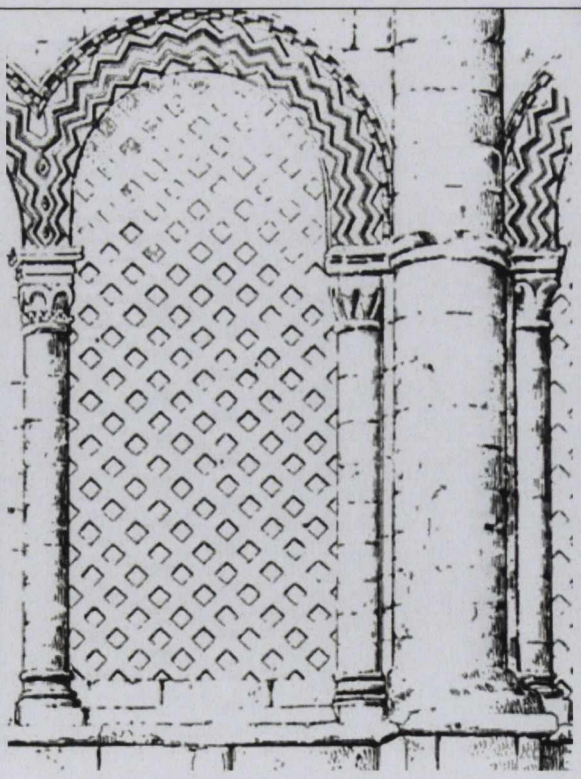
3.38 Llanthony Prima (Monmouthshire), soffit corbel in the nave arcade



3.39 Little Malvern (Worcestershire), trumpet scallop capital (CRSBI)



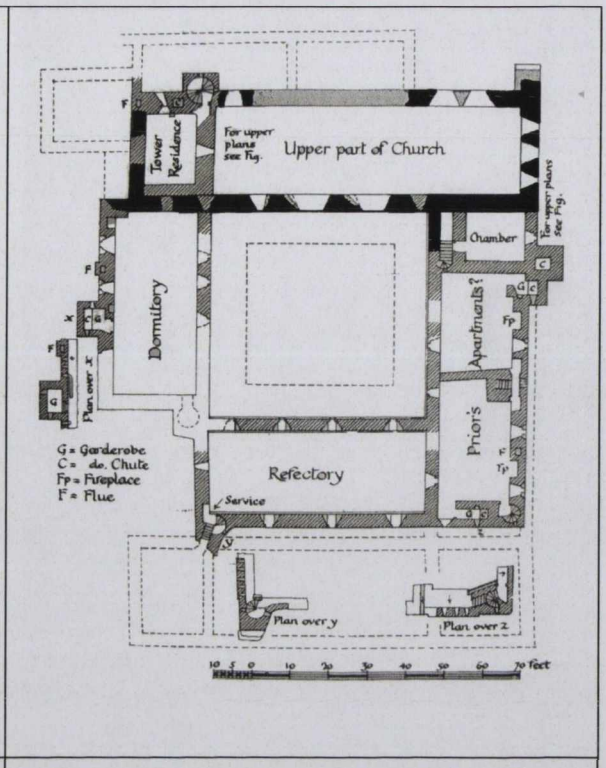
3.40 St. Taurin (Évreux), south transept from southwest



3.41 St. Taurin, scallop capital, south transept west façade (Knight, *Tour of Normandy,* 176)



3.42 Astley, south porch east



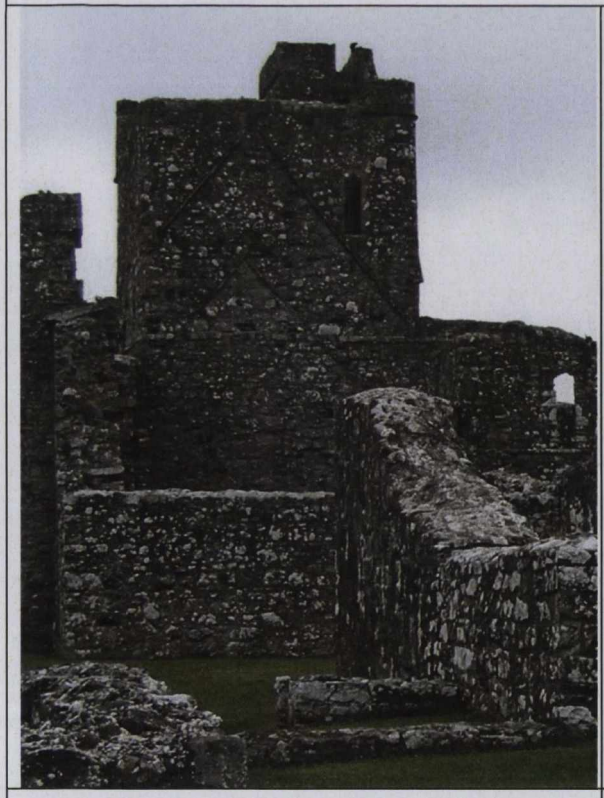
3.43 Fore, plan of upper floors depicting fourteenth century cloistral ranges (Leask)



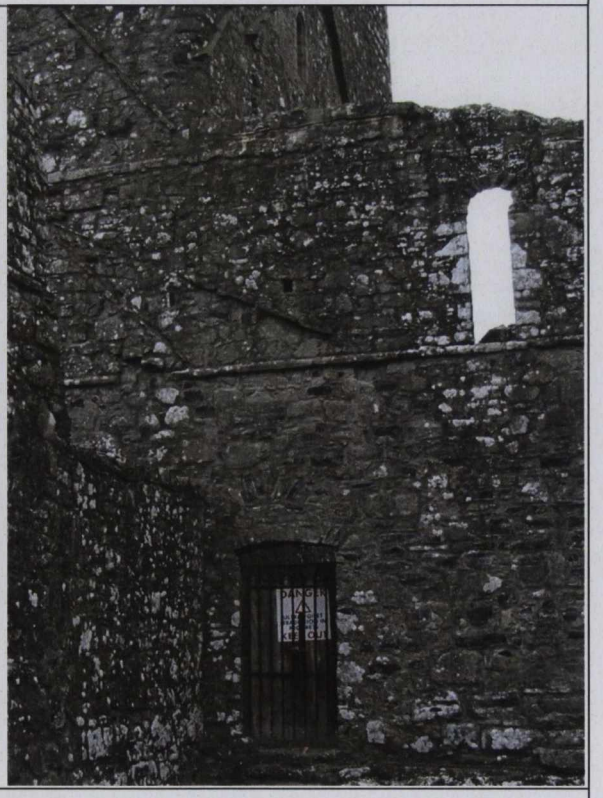
3.44 Foundations of buildings outside the fifteenth century with presumed use of buildings indicated



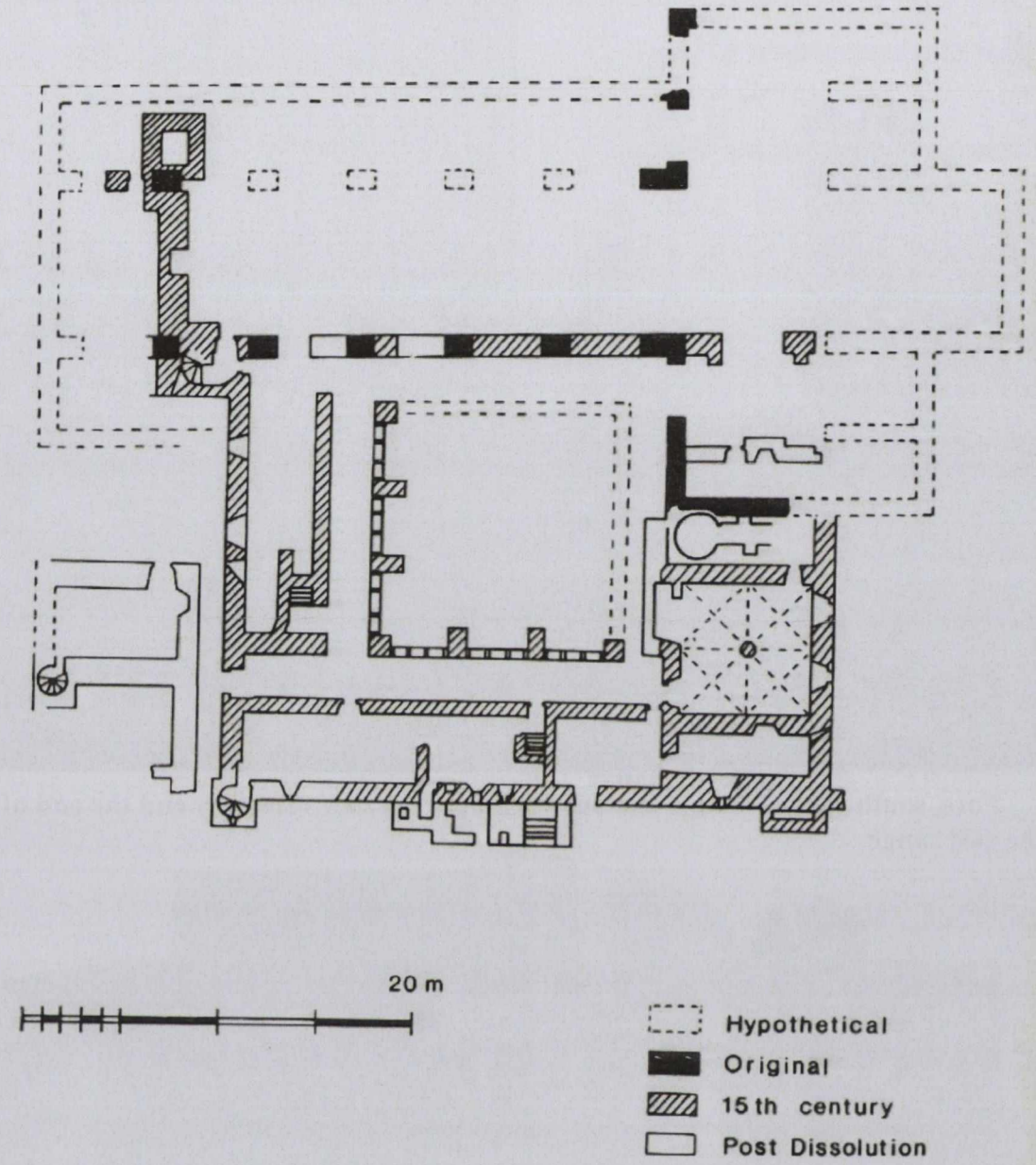
3.45 Fore, south range, change in stonework between new refectory and the end of the east range



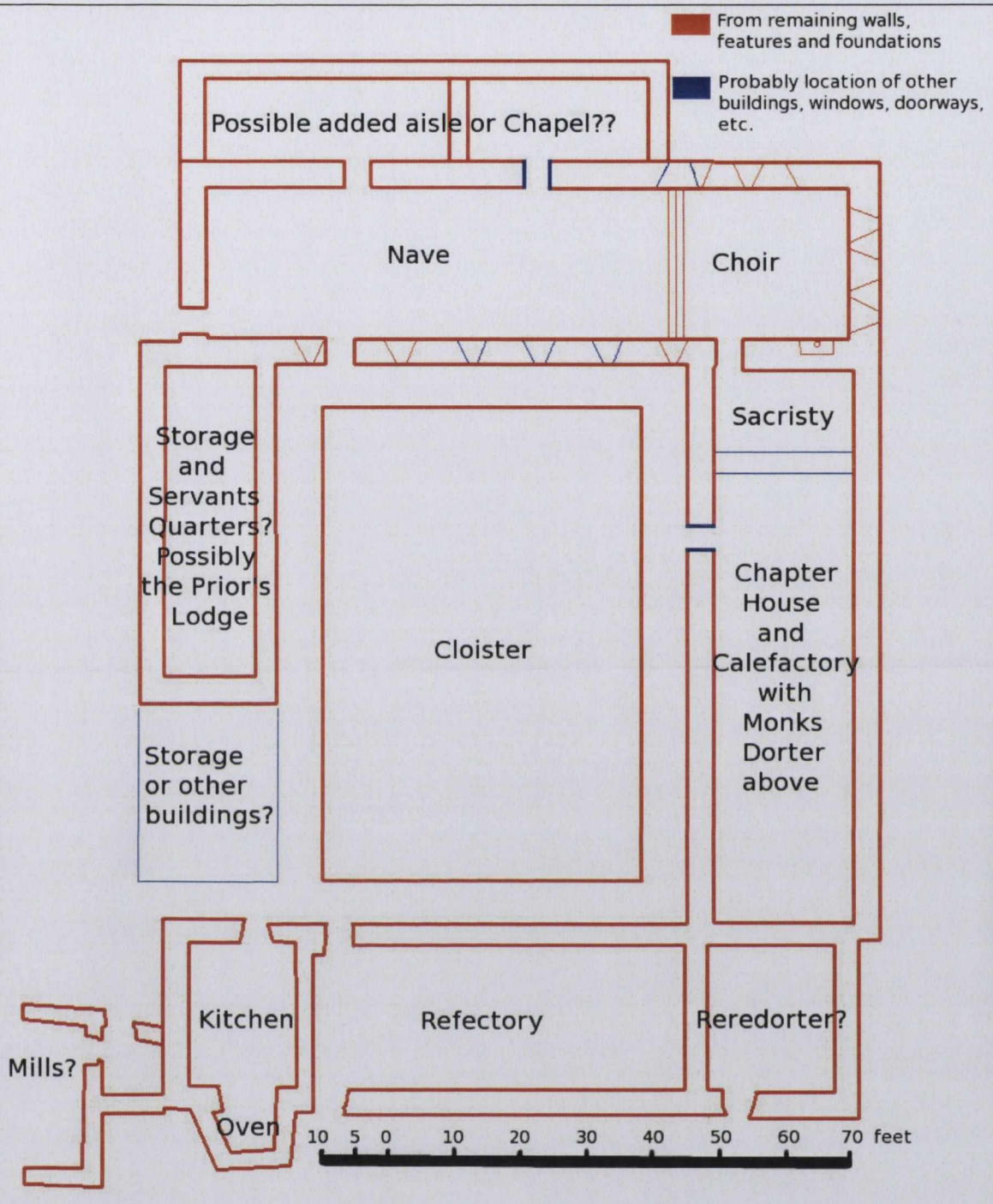
3.46 Fore, where the west range abuts the church, depicting the scars of the original roof and the later higher roof on a slightly larger building



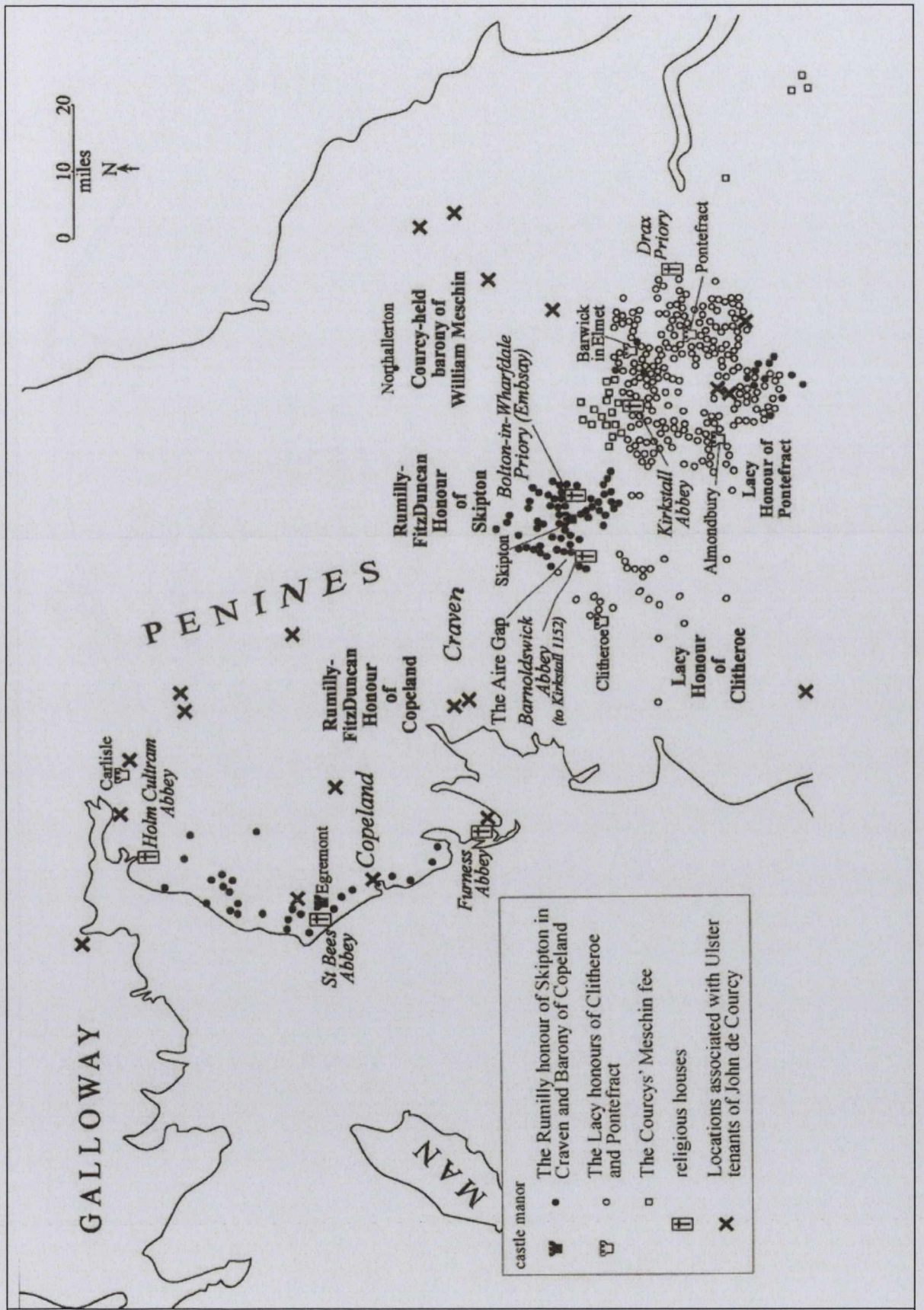
3.47 Fore, southwest corner of the cloister, depicting the scars of the original west range roof and original pentice roof for the cloister walk



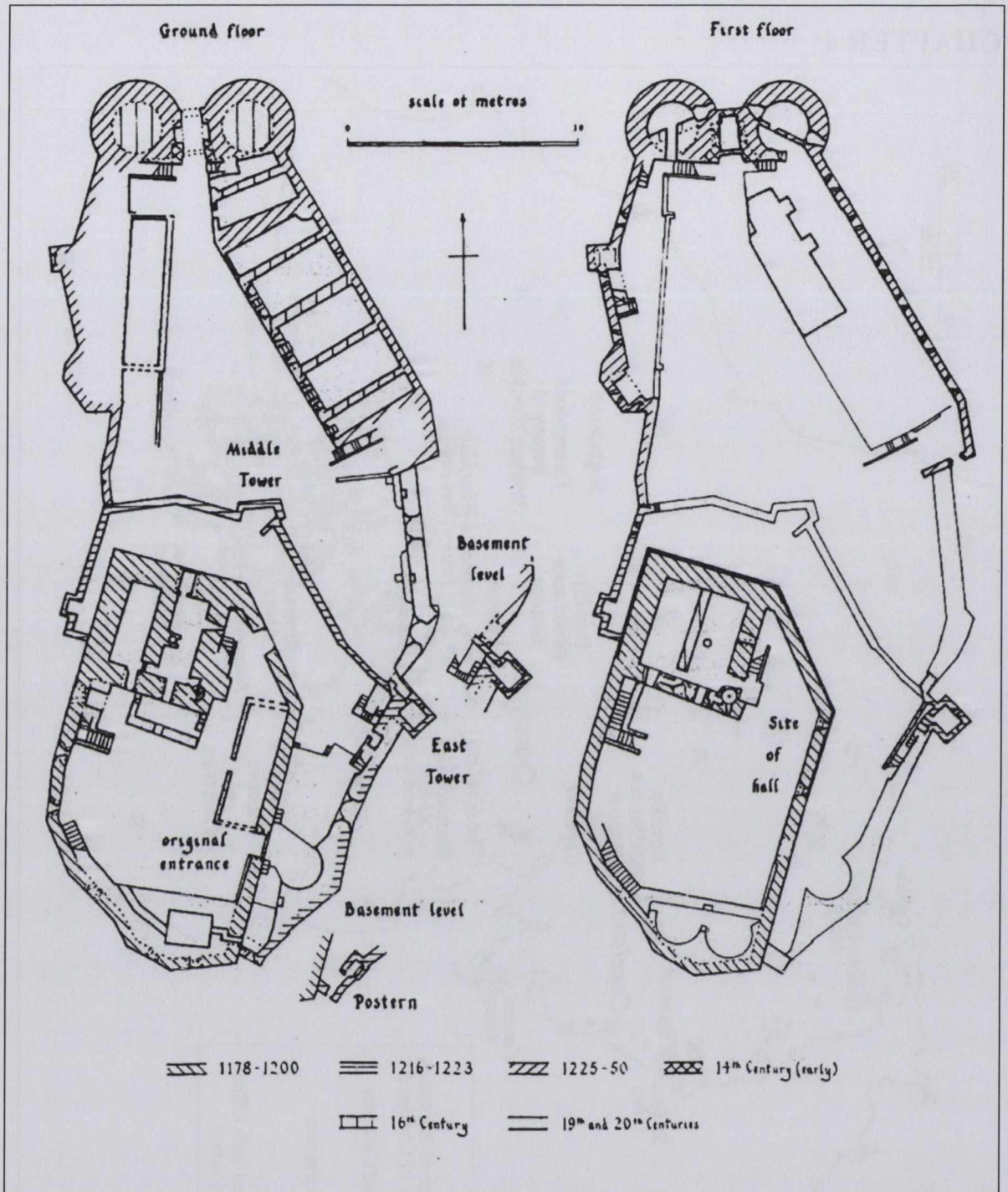
3.48 Bective (Meath), plan of the abbey (Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, fig. 63)



3.49 Fore, approximate projected twelfth century plan of the abbey



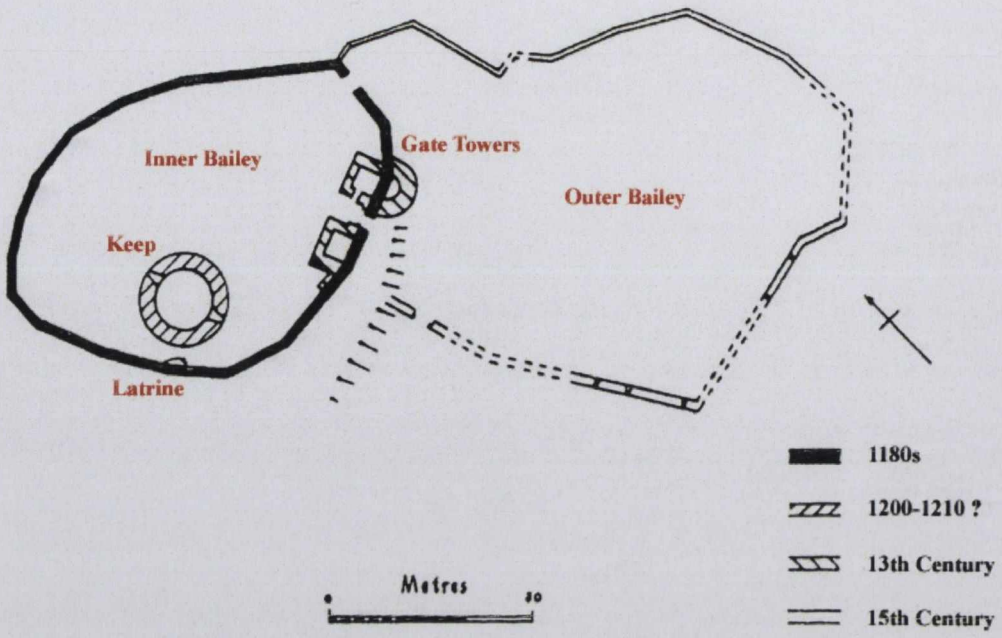
4.1 Map of the de Courcy Meschin estates (after Flanders, *De Courcy*, map 7)



4.2 Carrickfergus castle, plan, phases of the castle (McNeill, *Anglo-Norman Ulster*, fig. 3)



4.3 Map of castles in Ulster (after Flanders, *De Courcy*, map 8)



4.4 Dundrum castle (Down), plan with garderobe marked at late twelfth century 'hall' (after McNeill, *Anglo-Norman Ulster*, fig. 2, after ASCD, fig. 1333)



4.5 View of the bay from Dundrum castle



4.6 St. Mary's, Carrickfergus, blocked arcade capital



4.7 Abbey Dore (Herefordshire), nave arcade capital



4.8 Carrickfergus gatehouse, chapel windows, interior



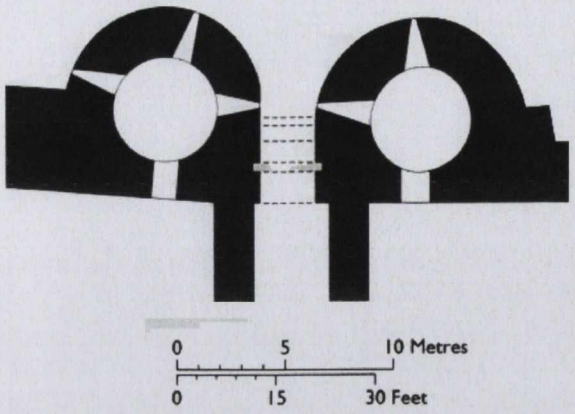
4.9 Carrickfergus gatehouse, chapel windows, exterior



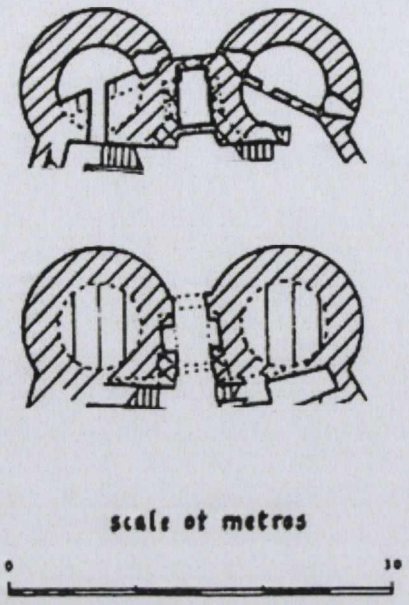
4.10 Carrickfergus gatehouse, chapel capital



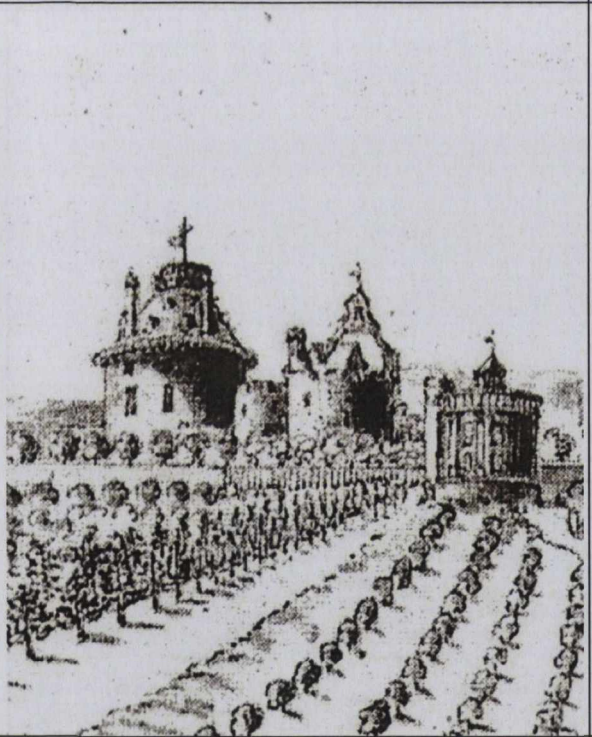
4.11 Graiguenamanagh (Kilkenny), nave clerestory windows



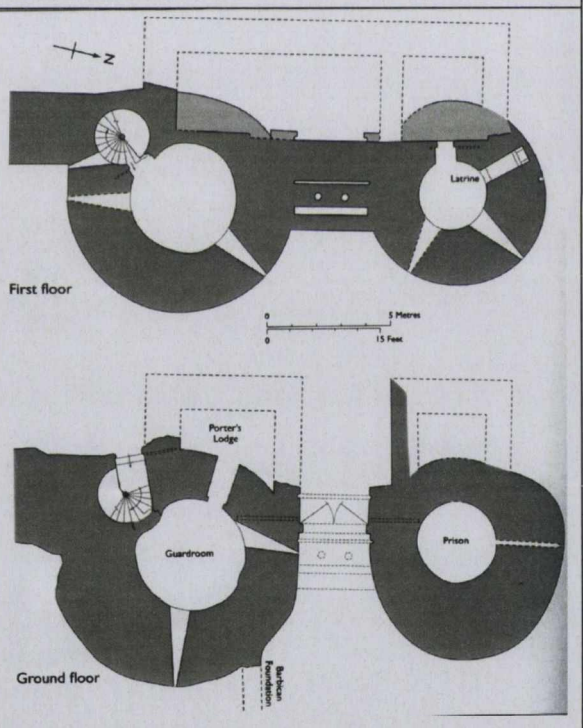
4.12 Limerick castle, plan of gatehouse (after *Ludlow Castles, Its Buildings and History*, fig. 68)



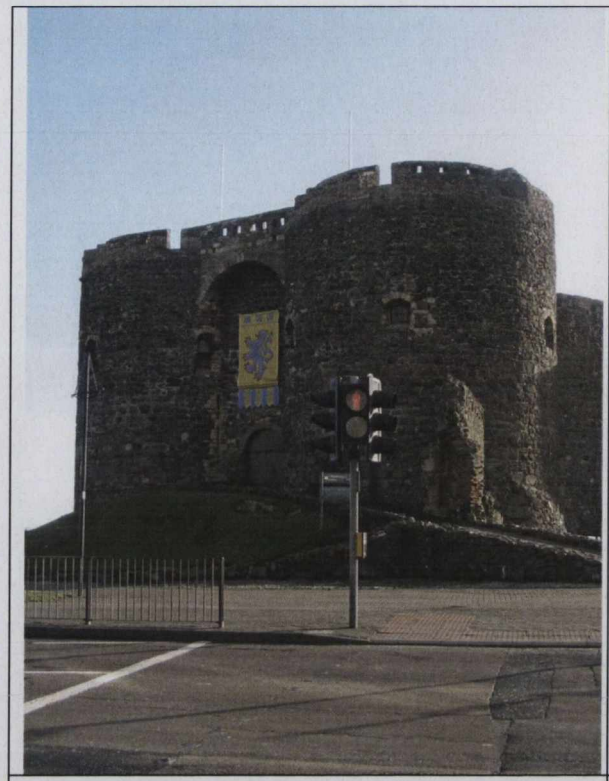
4.13 Carrickfergus castle, plan of gatehouse (after McNeill, *Anglo-Norman Ulster*, fig. 3)



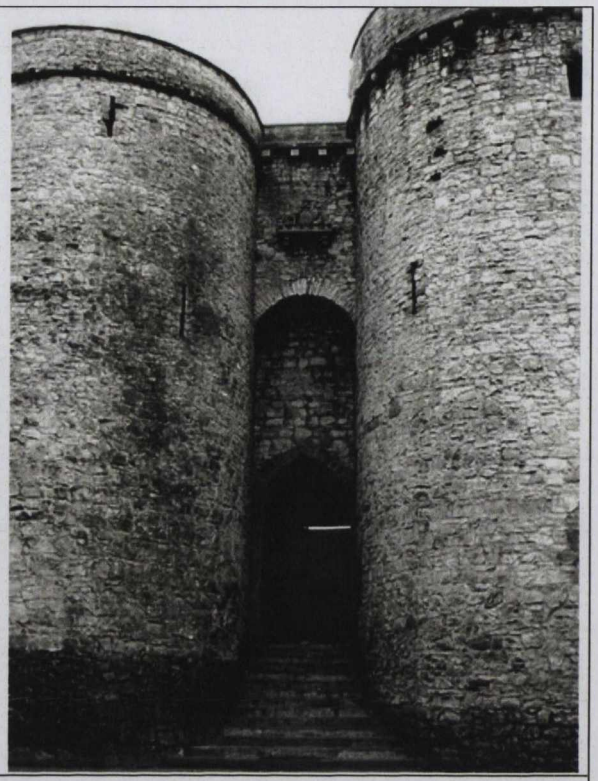
4.14 Kilkenny castle, gatehouse detail of drawing by F. Place, *c.*1698 (Atlas of Irish History)



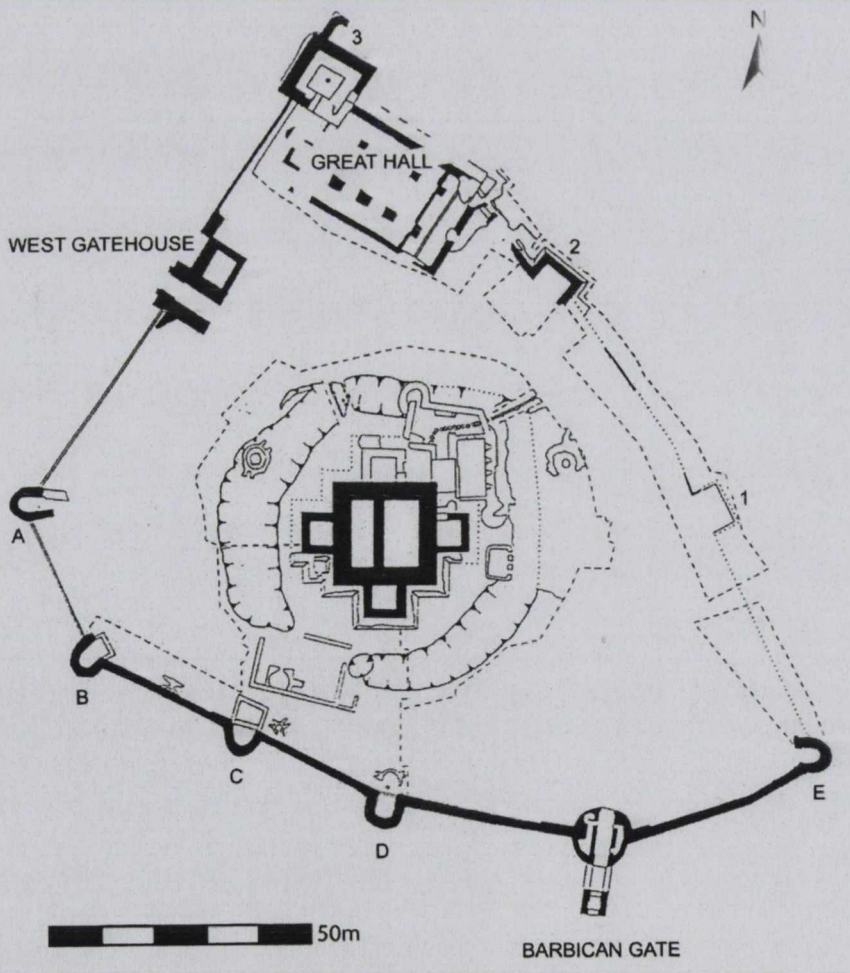
4.15 Chepstow, gatehouse (Ludlow Castle, Its History and Buildings, fig. 43)



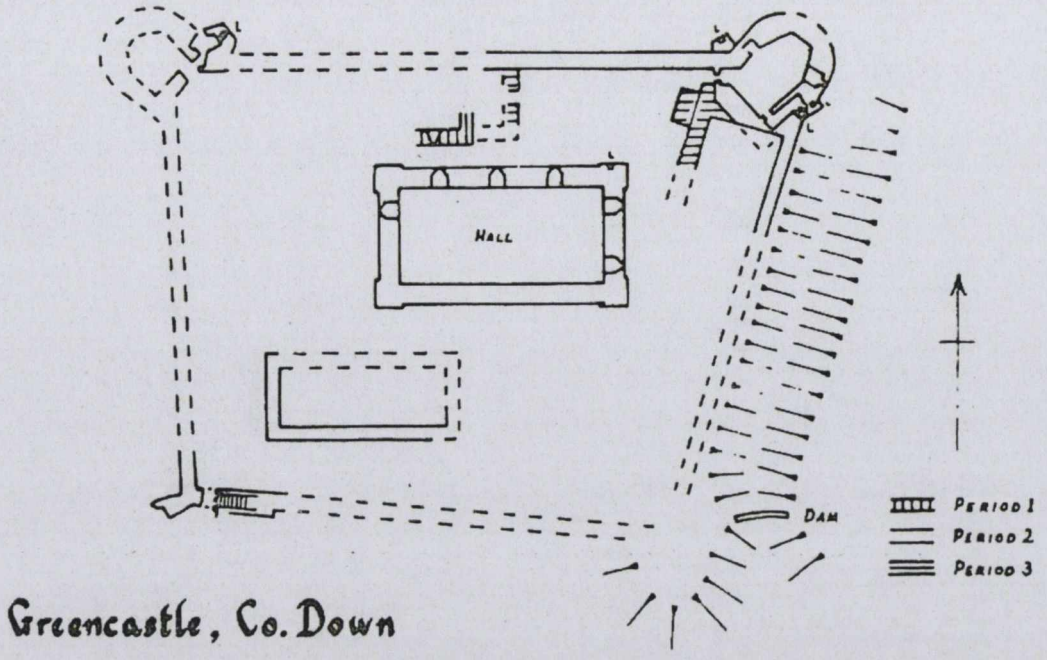
4.16 Carrickfergus gatehouse



4.17 Limerick castle gatehouse



4.18 Trim castle (Meath), plan (Sweetman, 'The Development of Trim Castle', fig. 1)



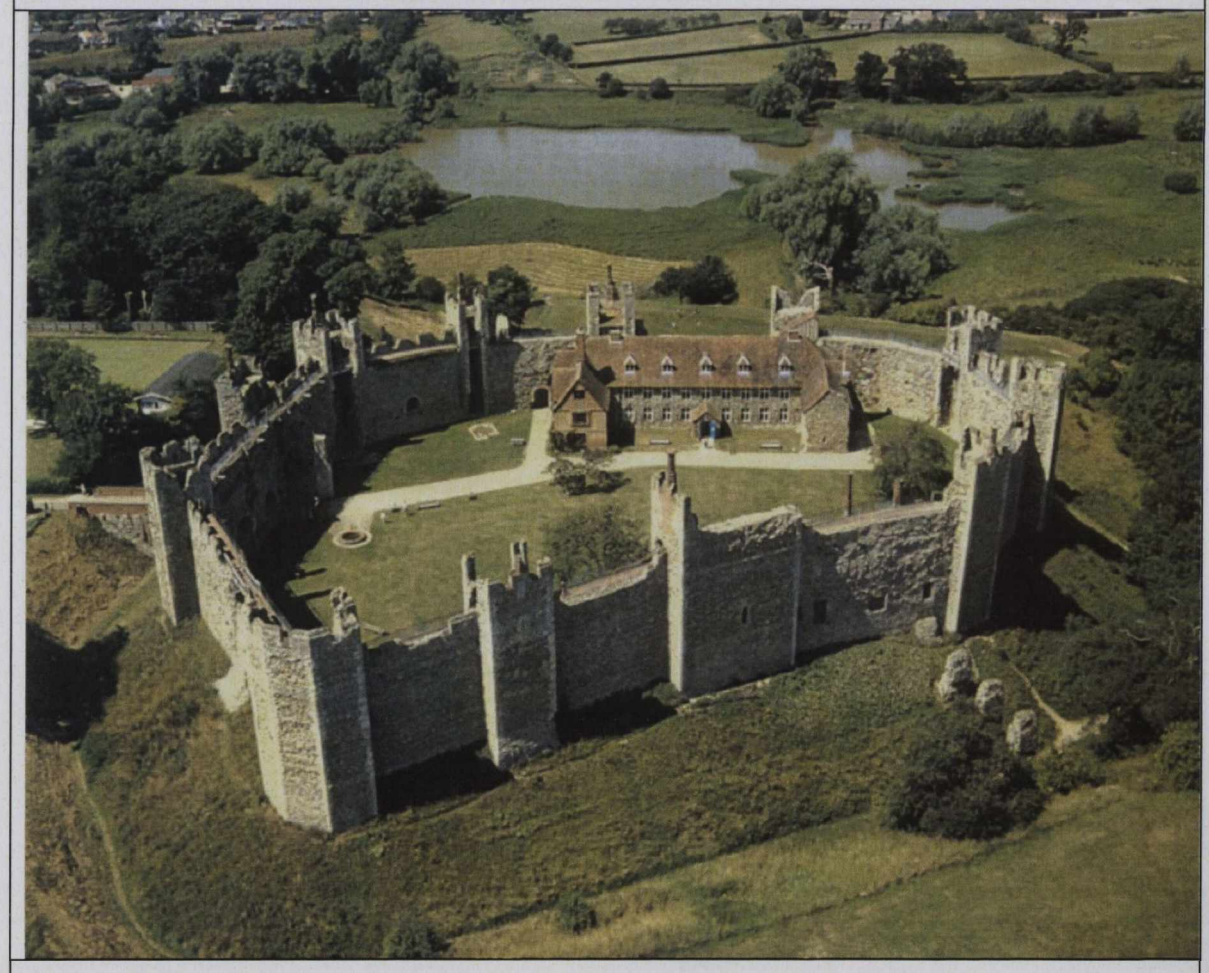
4.19 Greencastle (Down), plan (Waterman, 'Greencastle, Co. Down', facing 88)



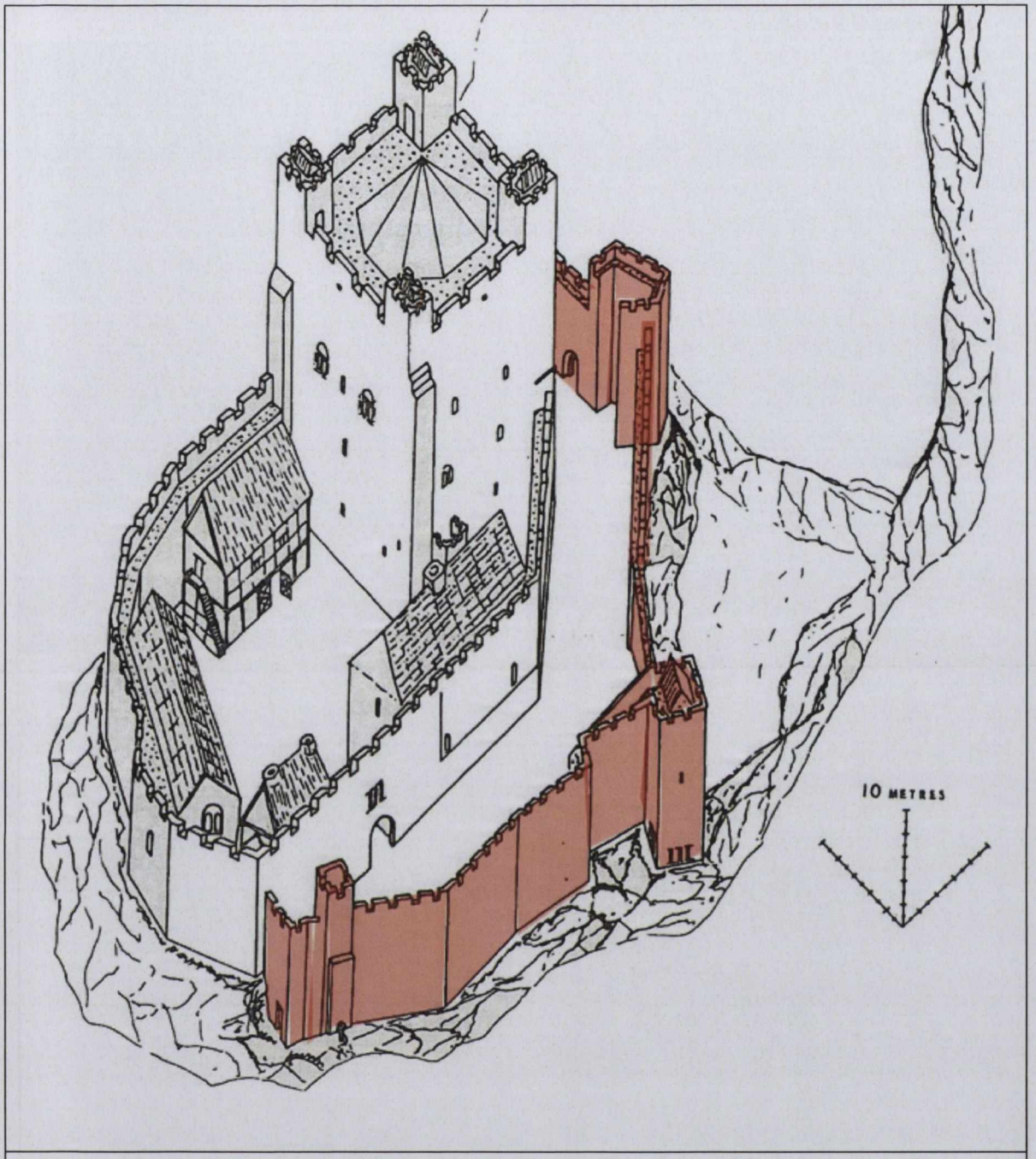
4.20 Dundrum castle keep



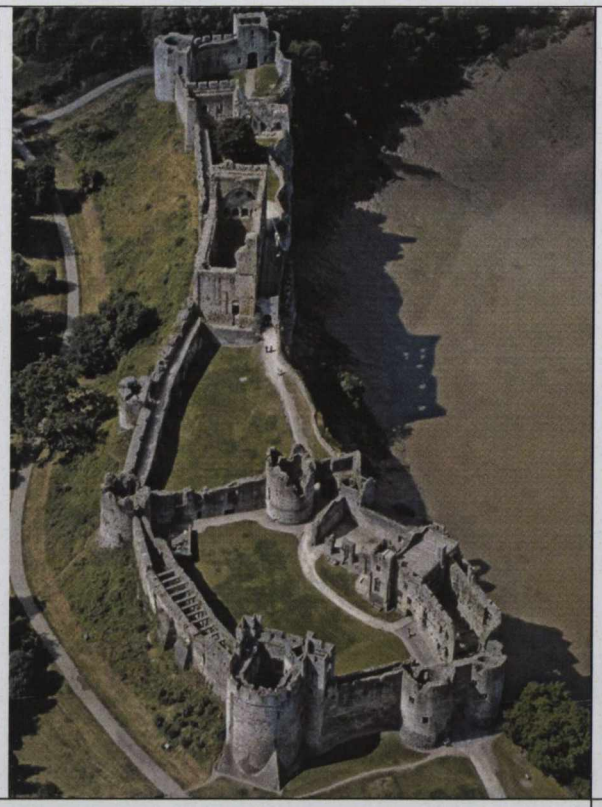
4.21 Dover castle (Kent), aerial view (Kent NGfL)



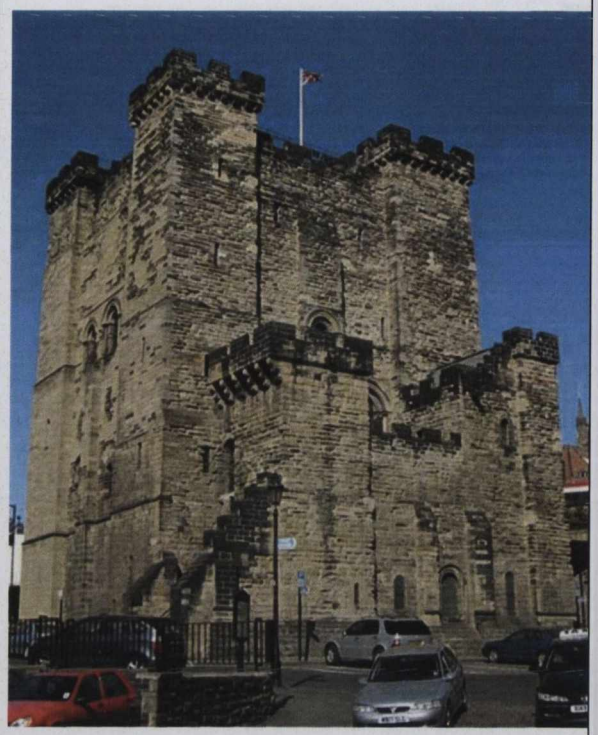
4.22 Framlingham castle (Suffolk), aerial view (Skyscan Balloon Photography, www.english-eritage.org.uk)



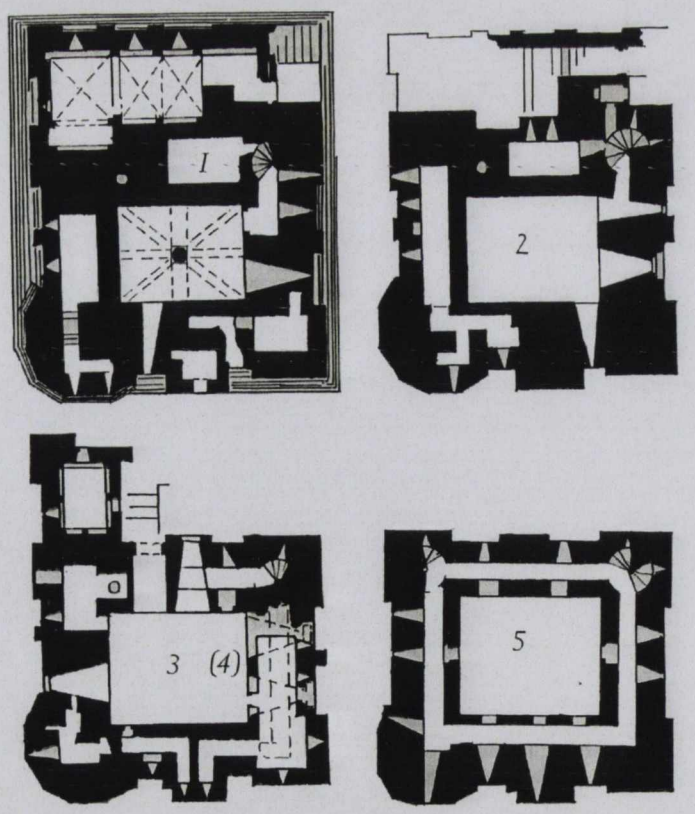
4.23 Carrickfergus castle middle ward (after McNeill, *Carrickfergus Castle*, fig. 15)



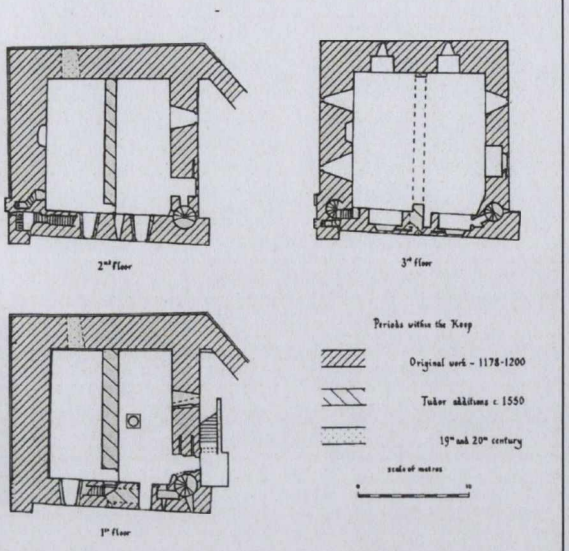
4.24 Chepstow castle (Monmouthshire), aerial view (*Ludlow Castle, Its History and Buildings*, pl. 1)



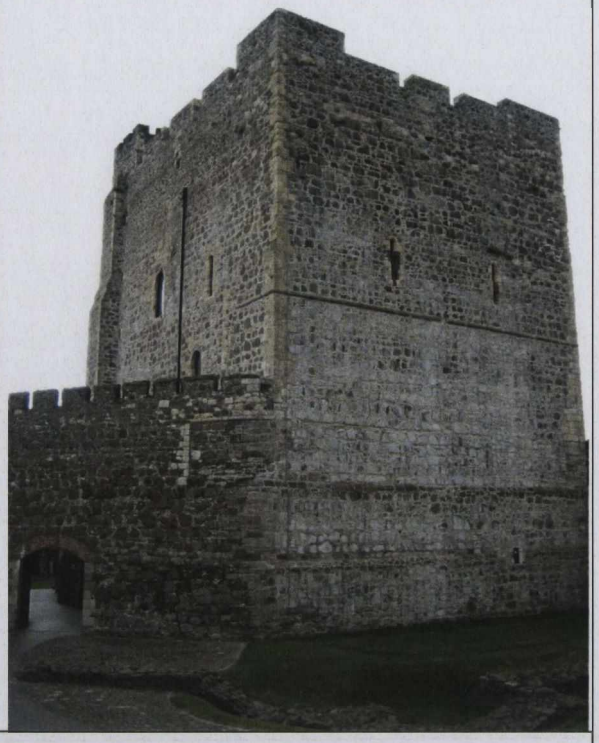
4.25 Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Northumberland), keep with forebuilding (northoftheytyne.co.uk/castles)



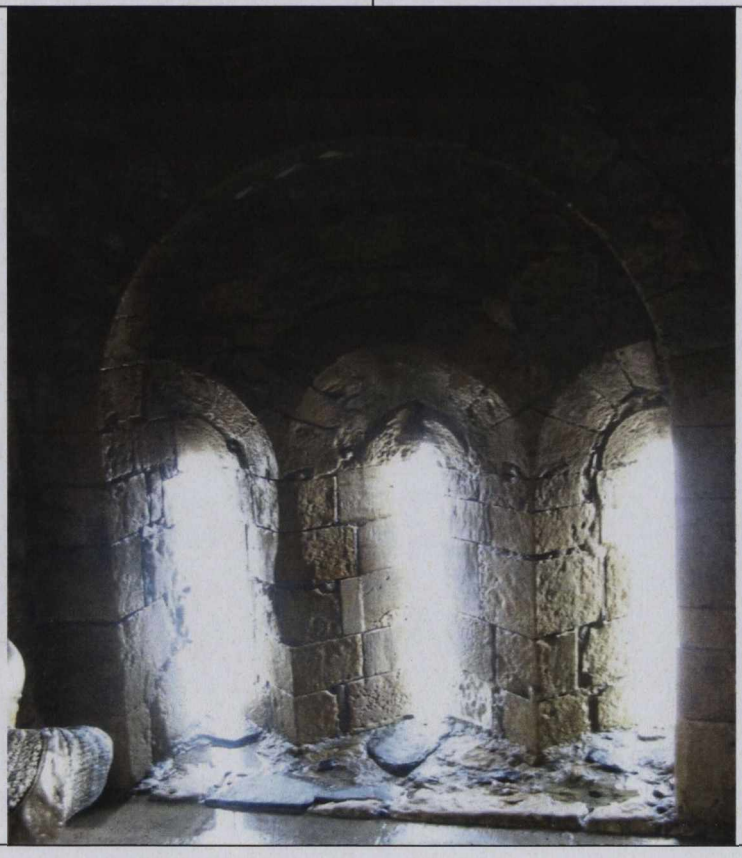
4.26 Newcastle-upon-Tyne, plan of the keep (Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain*, fig. 48)



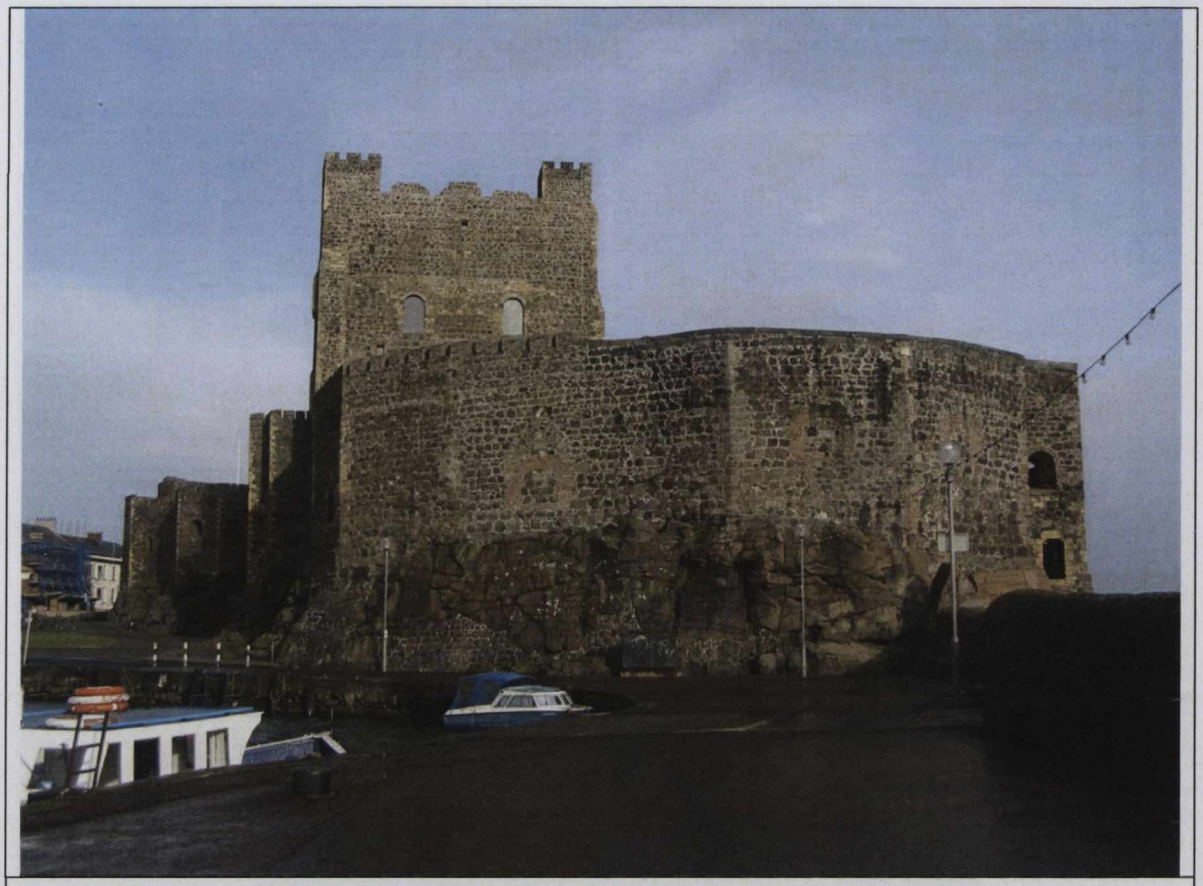
4.27 Carrickfergus keep, plan of floors (McNeill, *Carrickfergus Castle*, fig. 7)



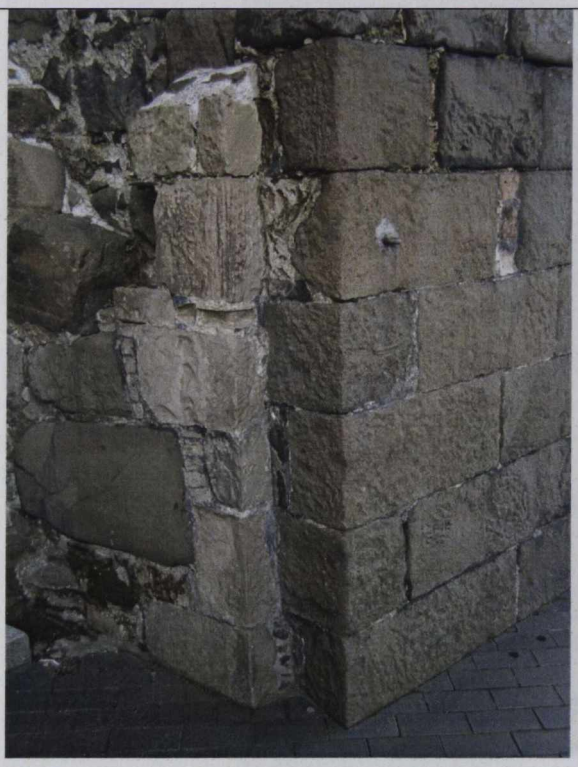
4.28 Carrickfergus keep, view from the north



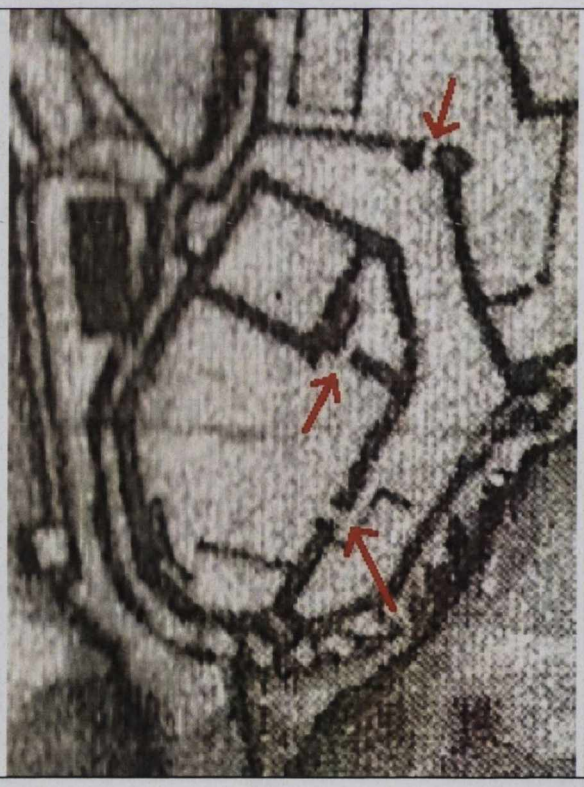
4.29 Carrickfergus northeast tower, arrow loops



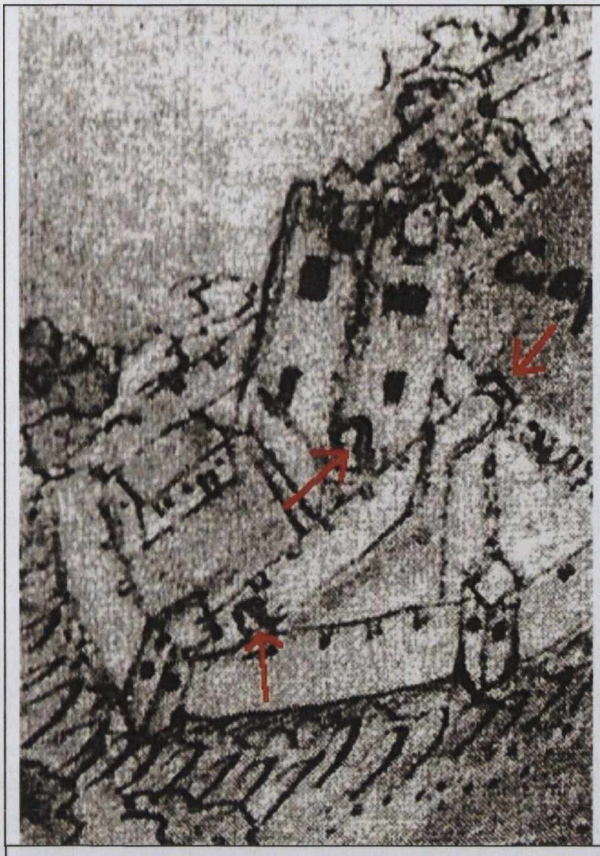
4.30 Carrickfergus castle, view from the south



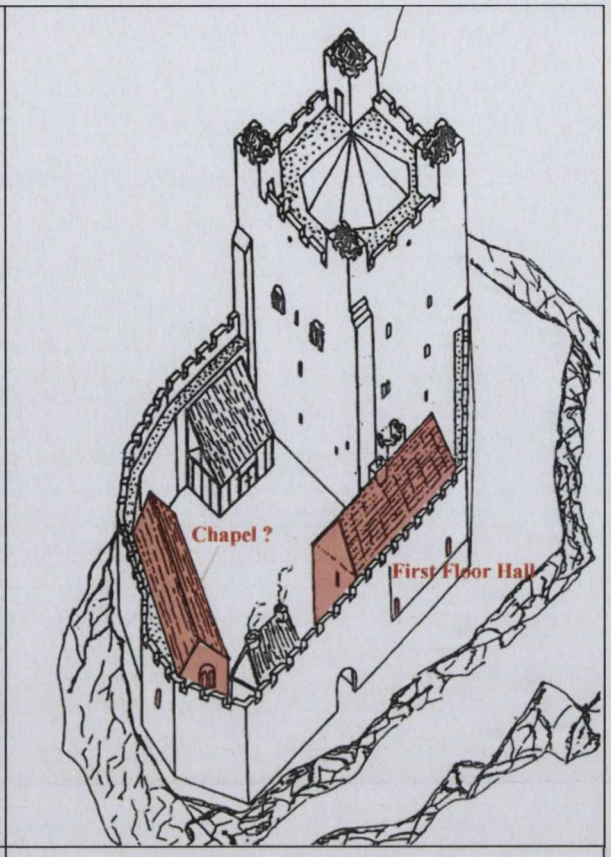
4.31 Carrickfergus, jamb from the possible original entrance to the inner ward



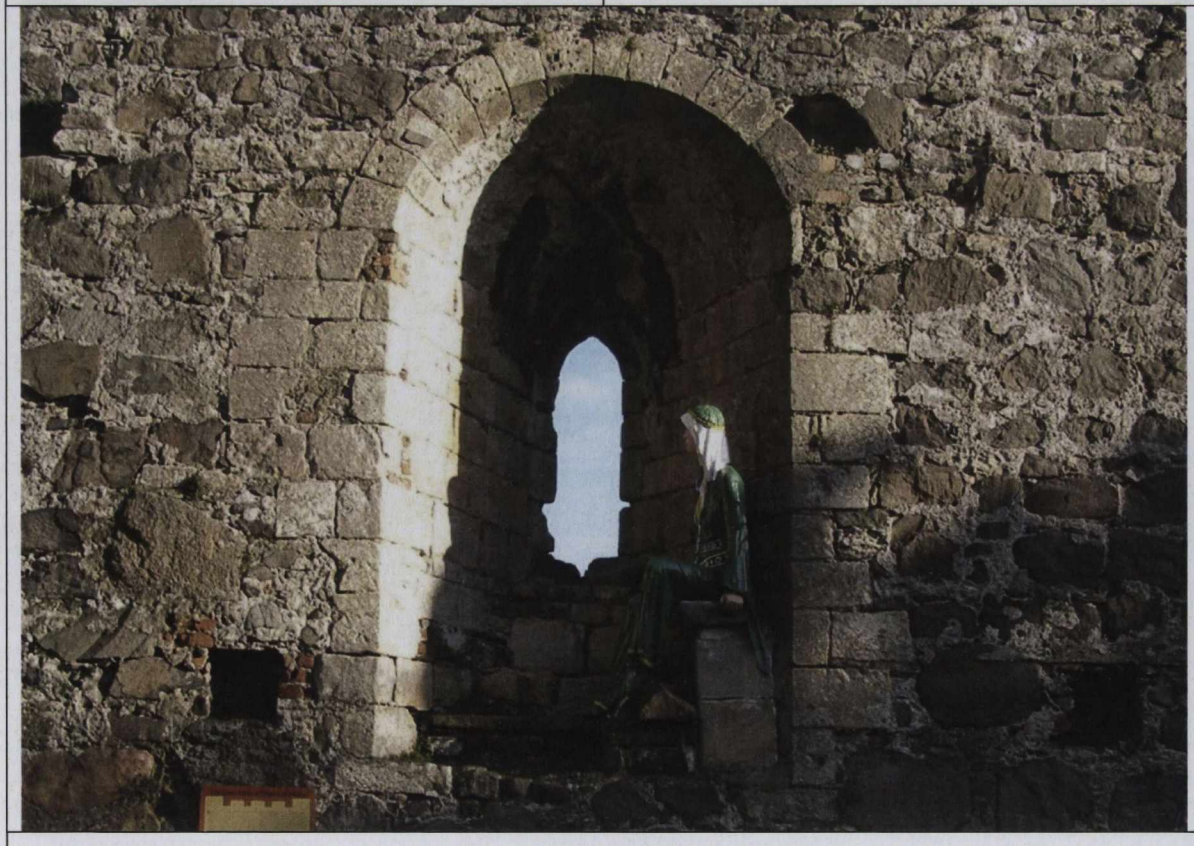
4.32 Carrickfergus, 1685, by Thomas Phillips (NLI, MS 3137 (42)), detail of the castle showing main doorways (Atlas of Irish Towns)



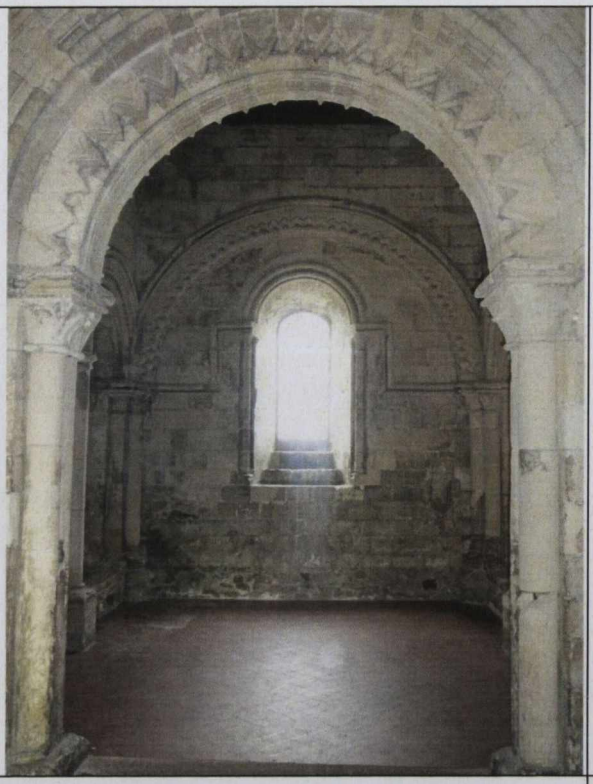
4.33 Carrickfergus, 1567, Robert Lythe (TCD, MS 1209 (26)), detail of castle showing main doorways (Atlas of Irish Towns)



4.34 Carrickfergus castle, reconstruction of the inner ward (McNeill, *Carrickfergus Castle*, fig. 14)



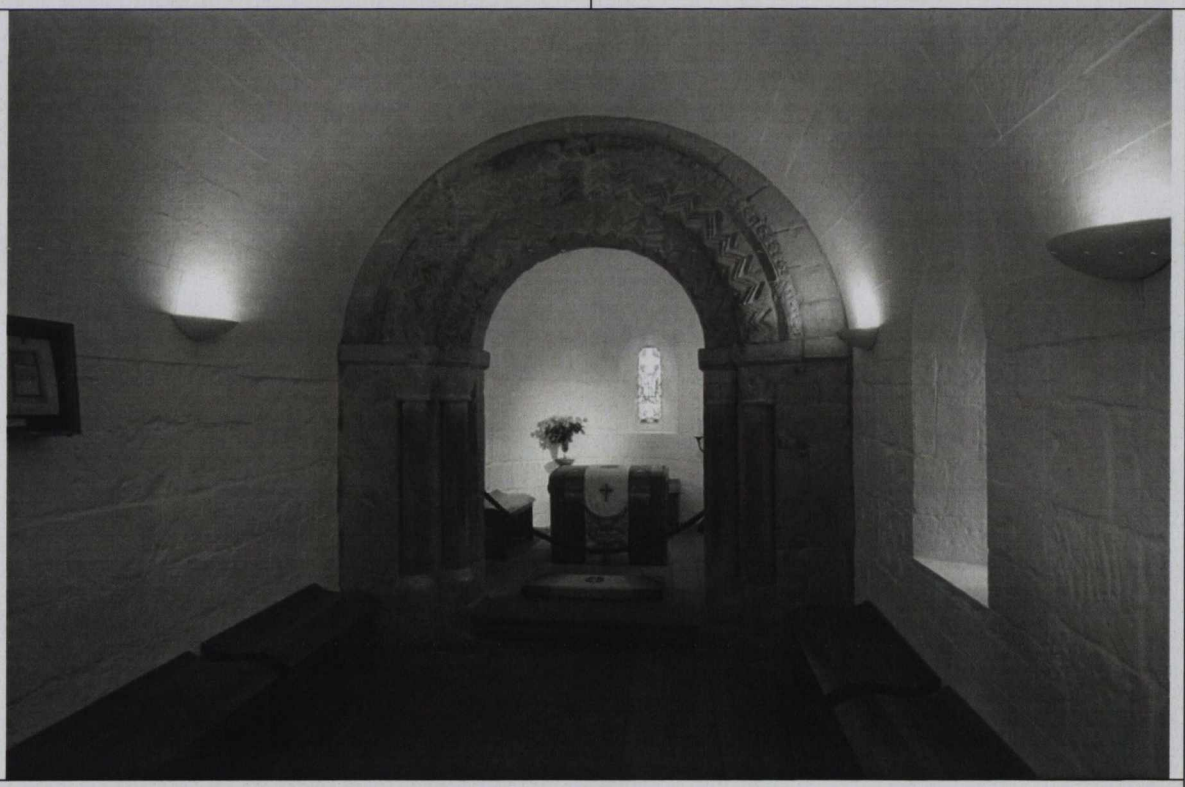
4.35 Carrickfergus castle, window of the 'first floor hall'



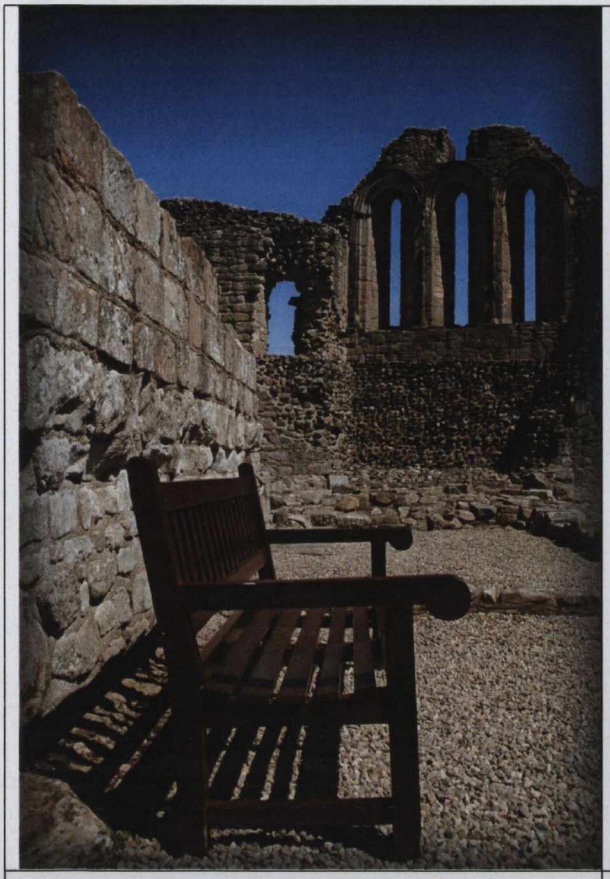
4.36 Dover castle, keep, first floor chapel (travel.webshots.com/photo)



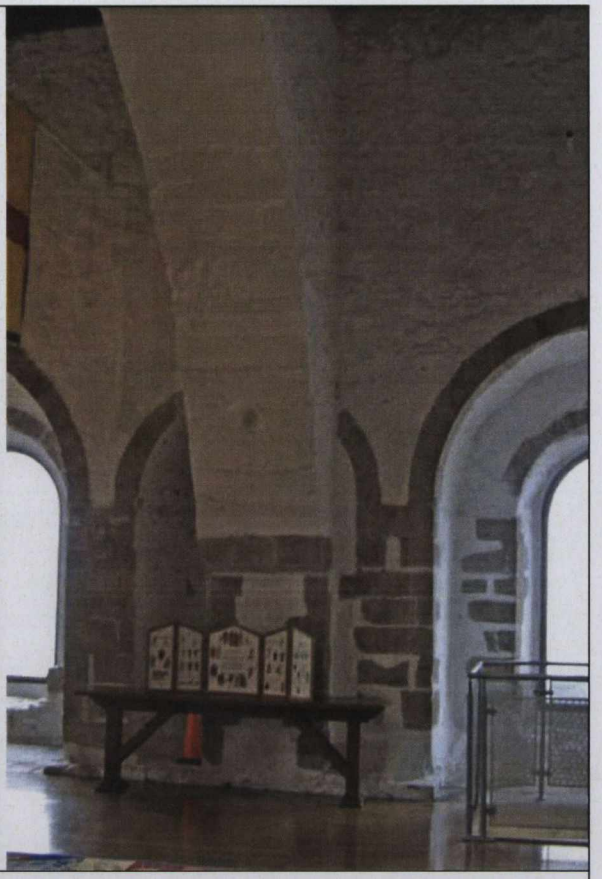
4.37 Edinburgh castle, St. Margaret's chapel, exterior south (thewoundedbird.blogspot.com)



4.38 Edinburgh castle, St. Margaret's, interior facing east (thewoundedbird.blogshot.com)



4.39 Kildrummy castle chapel, interior view of windows (panoramio.com)



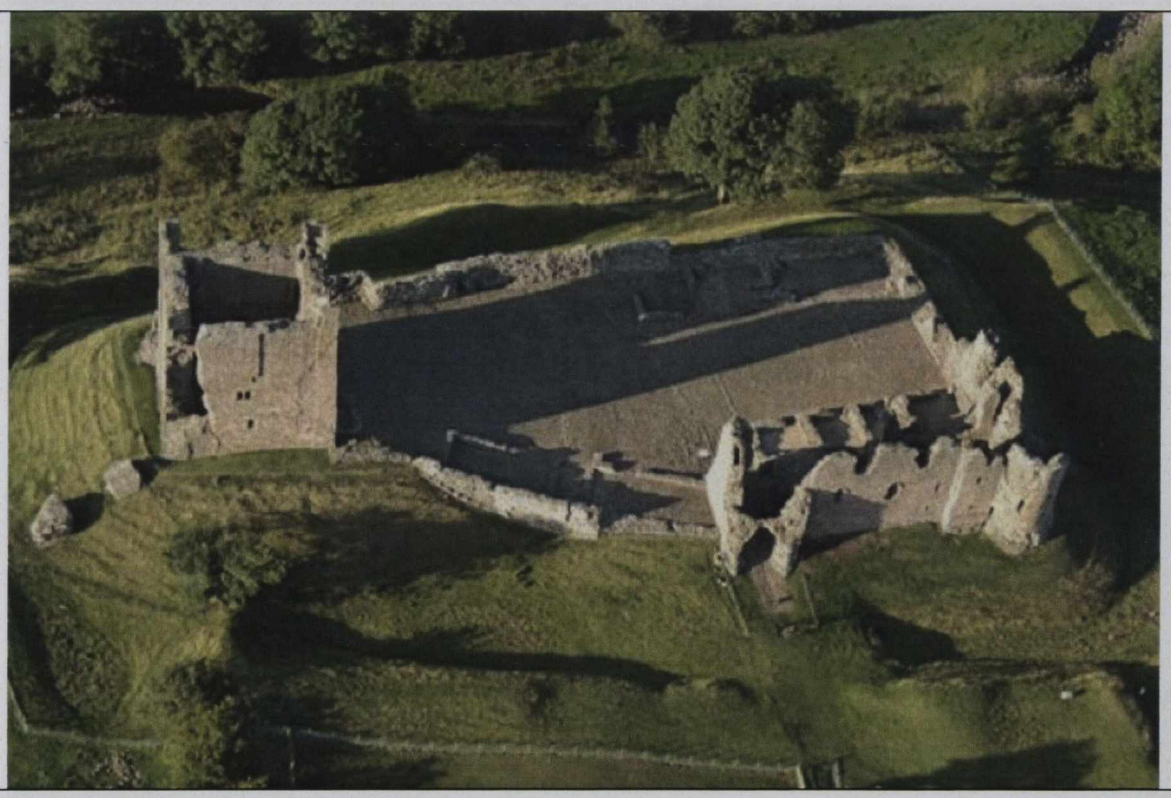
4.40 Carrickfergus keep, third floor, arch cutting through embrasure



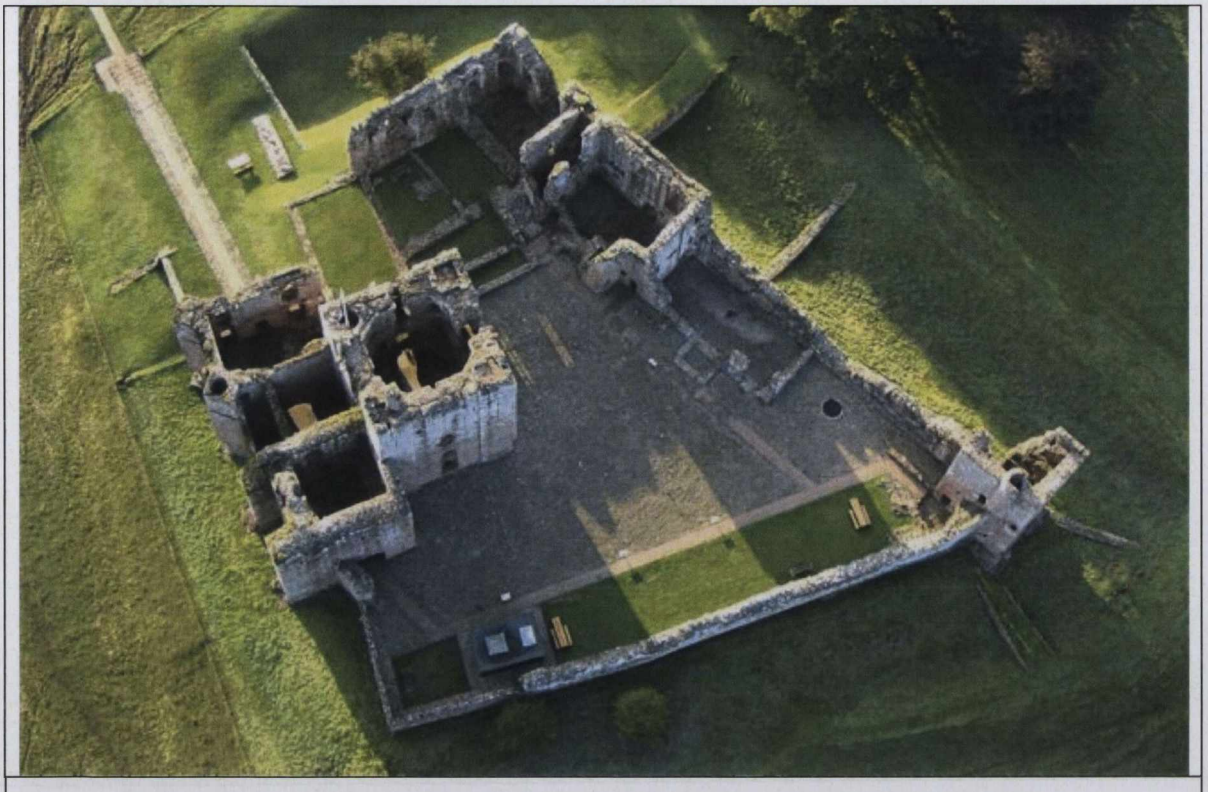
4.41 Richmond castle (Yorkshire), keep, first floor, central pier support



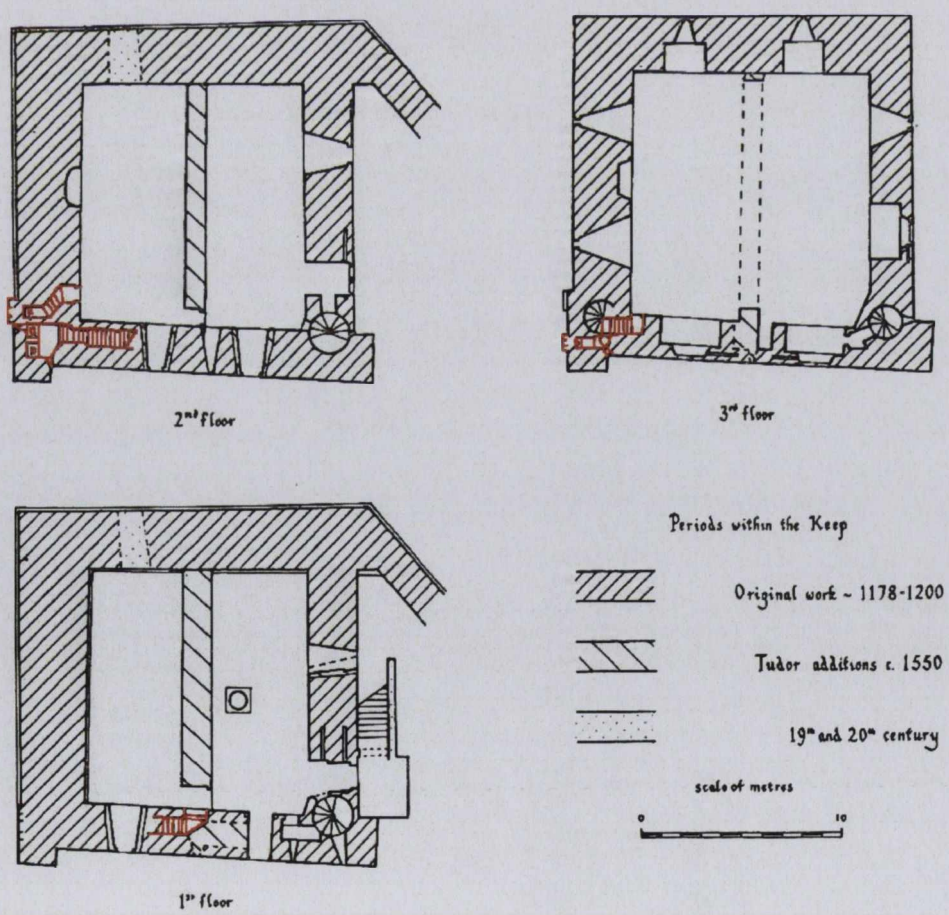
4.42 Hedingham castle (Essex), arch in keep (castlexplorer.co.uk/…/hedingham_photos)



4.43 Brough castle (Cumbria), aerial view



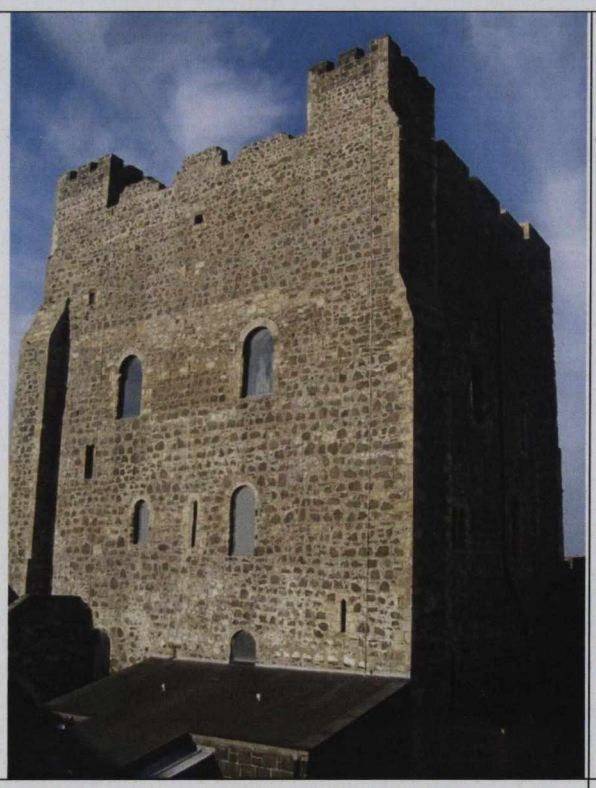
4.44 Brougham castle (Cumbria), aerial view (visitcumbria.com, Simon Ledingham)



4.45 Carrickfergus keep, plan marking location and access to garderobes (after McNeill, *Anglo-Norman Ulster*, fig. 8)



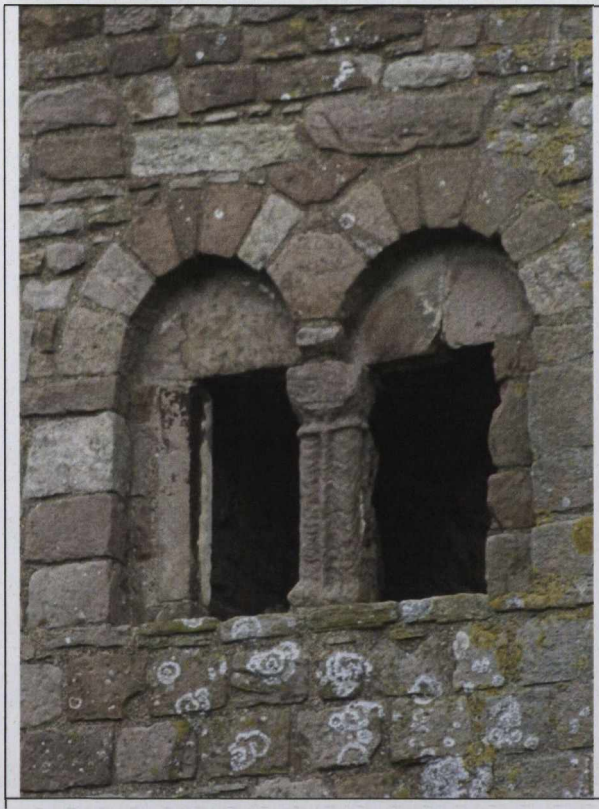
4.46 Carrickfergus keep, third floor west wall showing fireplace



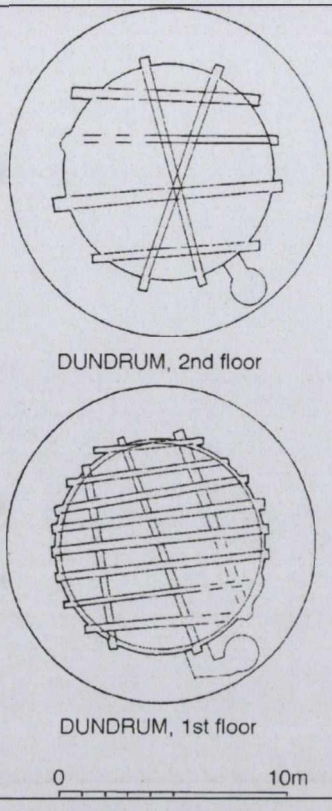
4.47 Carrickfergus keep, exterior south wall



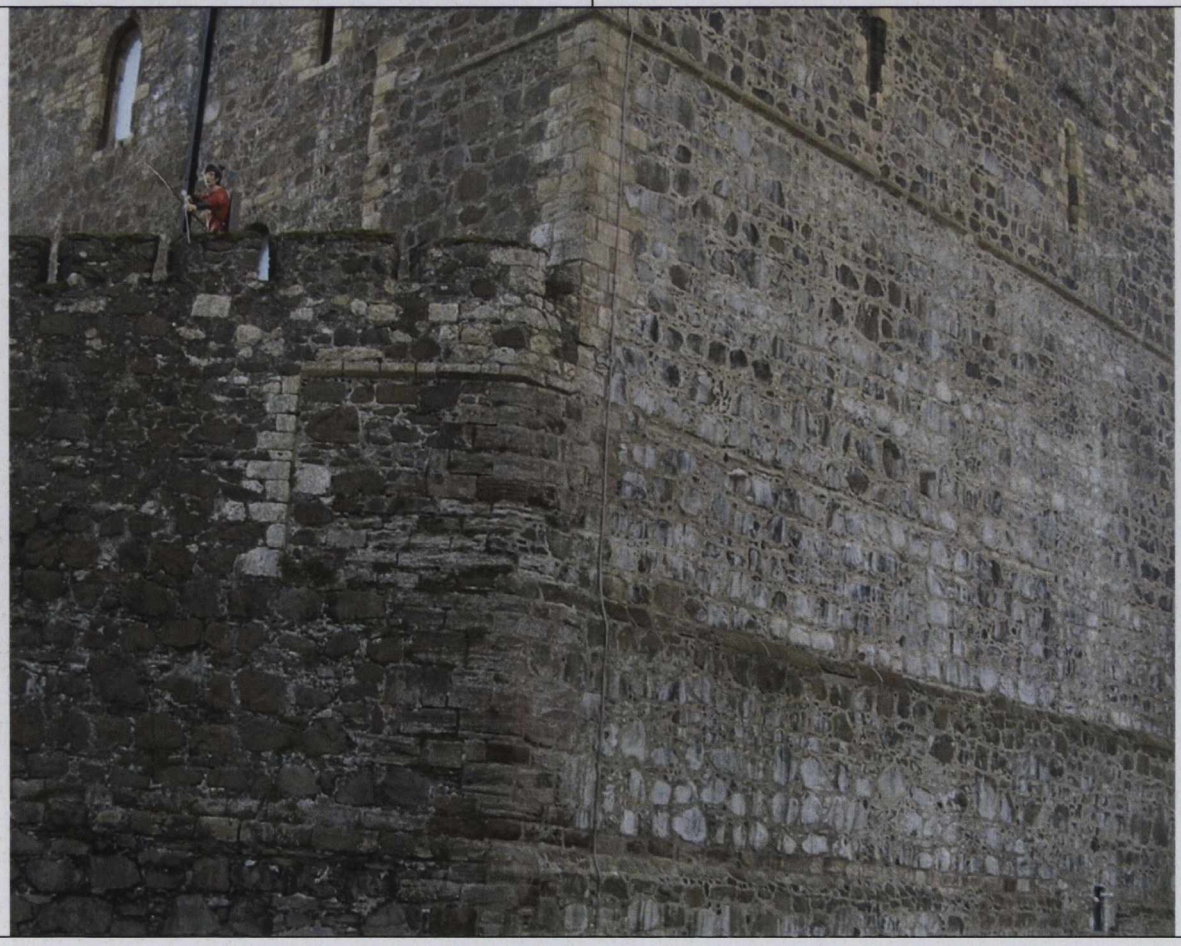
4.48 Carrickfergus keep, exterior east wall, second floor window



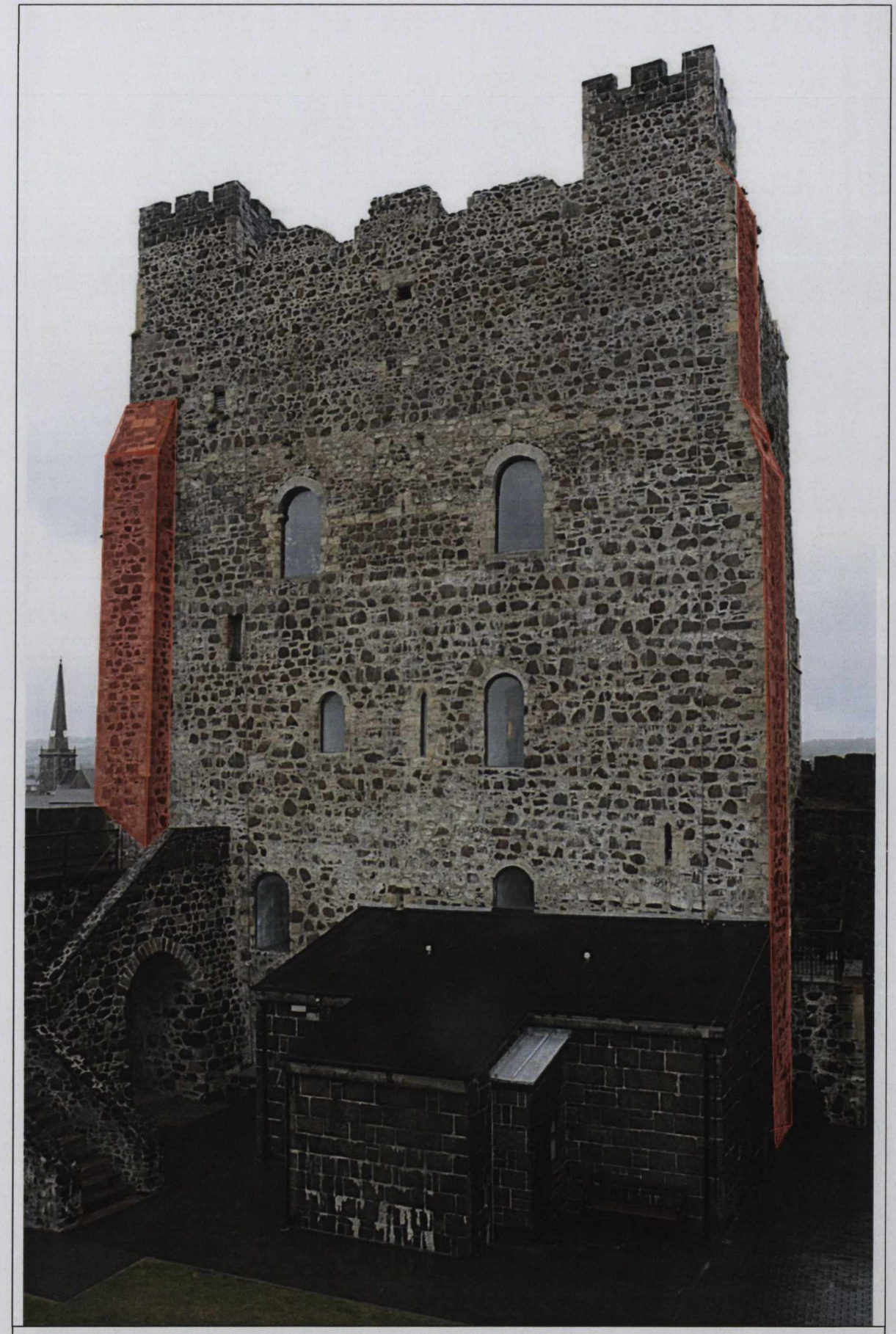
4.49 Brough castle (Cumbria), exterior keep, second floor window



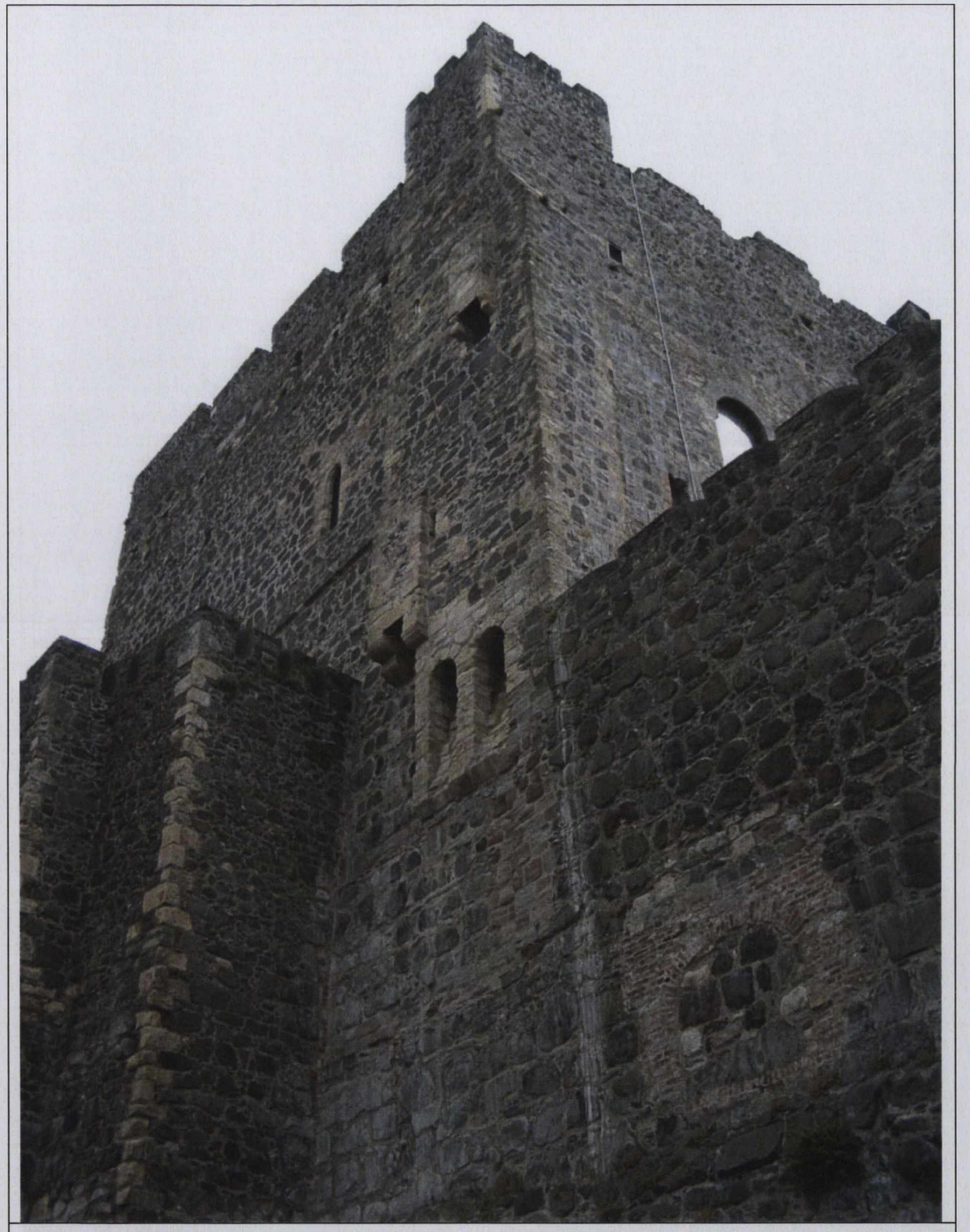
4.50 Dundrum keep floor joists (McNeill, 'Squaring Circles', fig. 5)



4.51 Carrickfergus keep, east façade with chamfered stringcourse



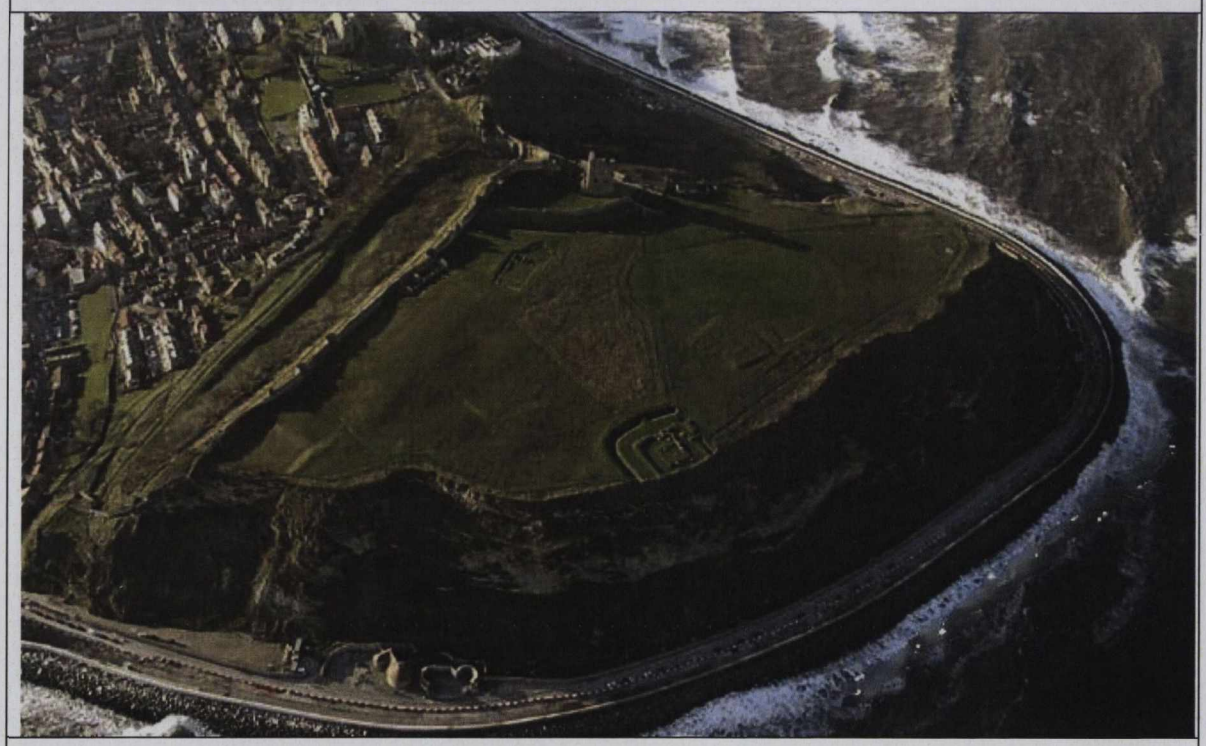
4.52 Carrickfergus keep with buttresses on the south-east and south-west corners



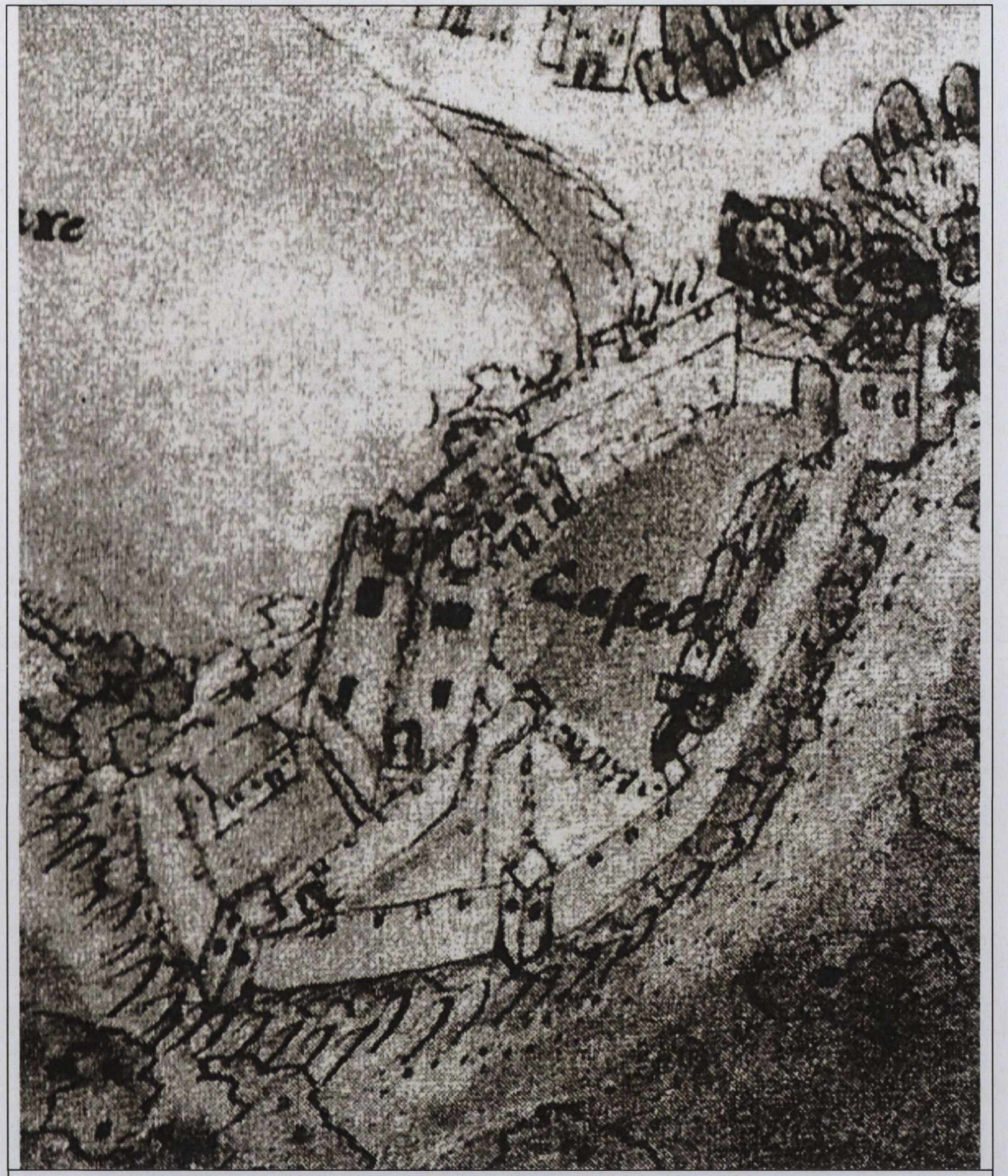
4.53 Carrickfergus keep, latrine shoots on the west face



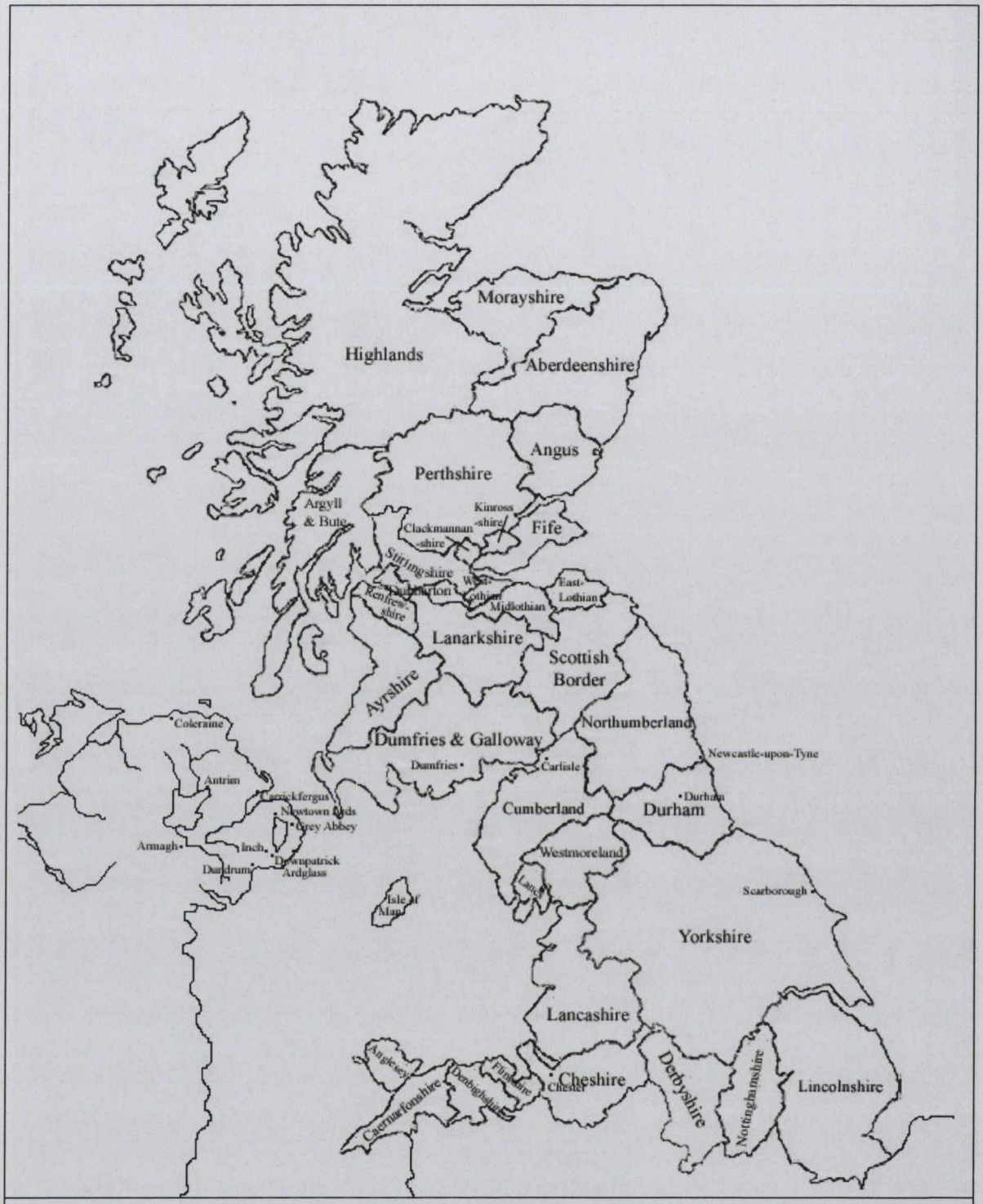
4.54 Carrickfergus castle, view from the pier



4.55 Scarborough castle (Northumberland), aerial view (webbaviation.co.uk)



4.56 Carrickfergus, 1567, by Robert Lythe (TCD MS 1209 (26)), detail (Atlas of Irish Towns)



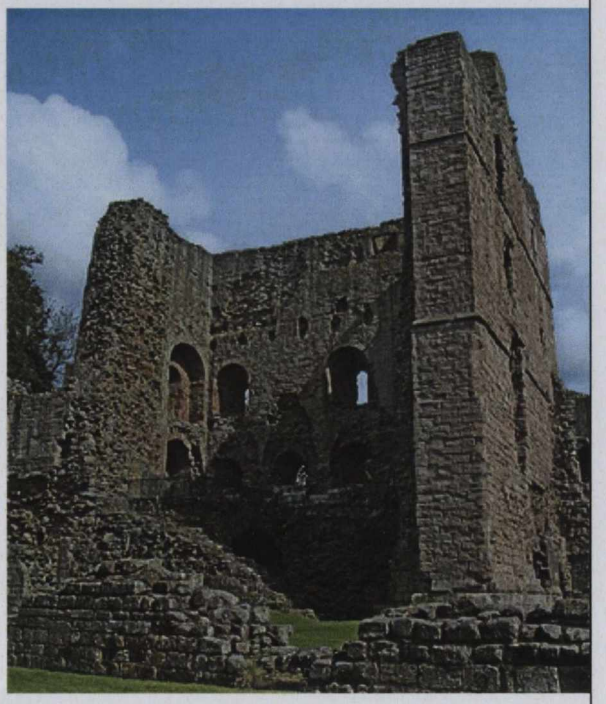
4.57 Map of Northern Ireland, Northern England, Scotland and Northern Wales



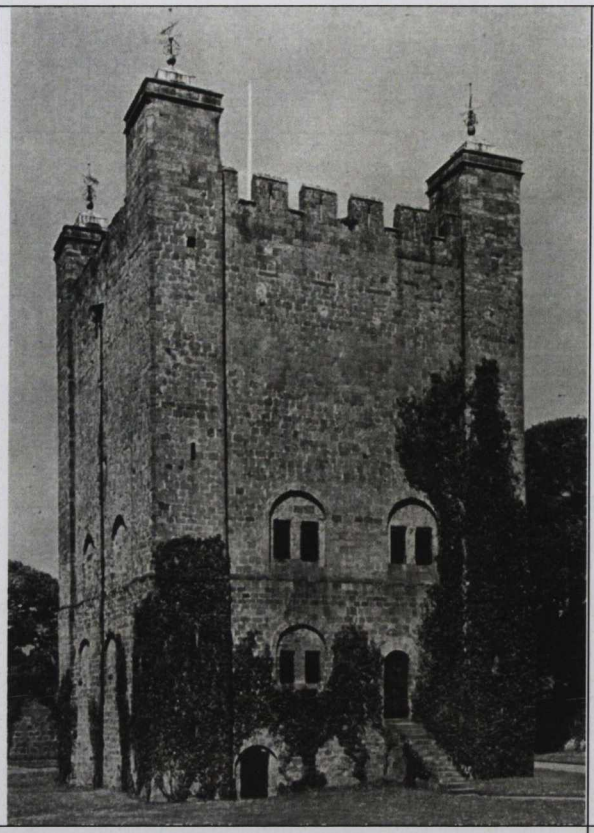
4.58 Bowes castle (Durham), keep



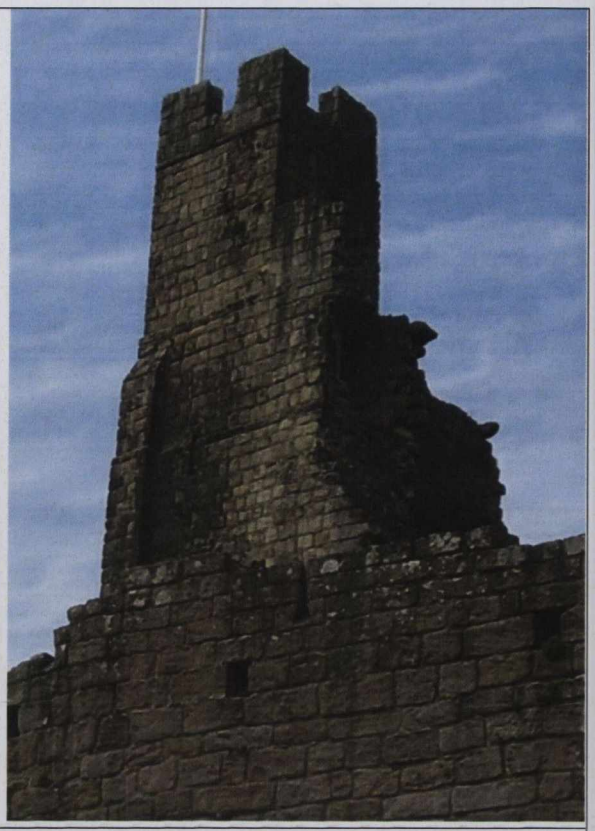
4.59 Brough castle (Cumbria), keep



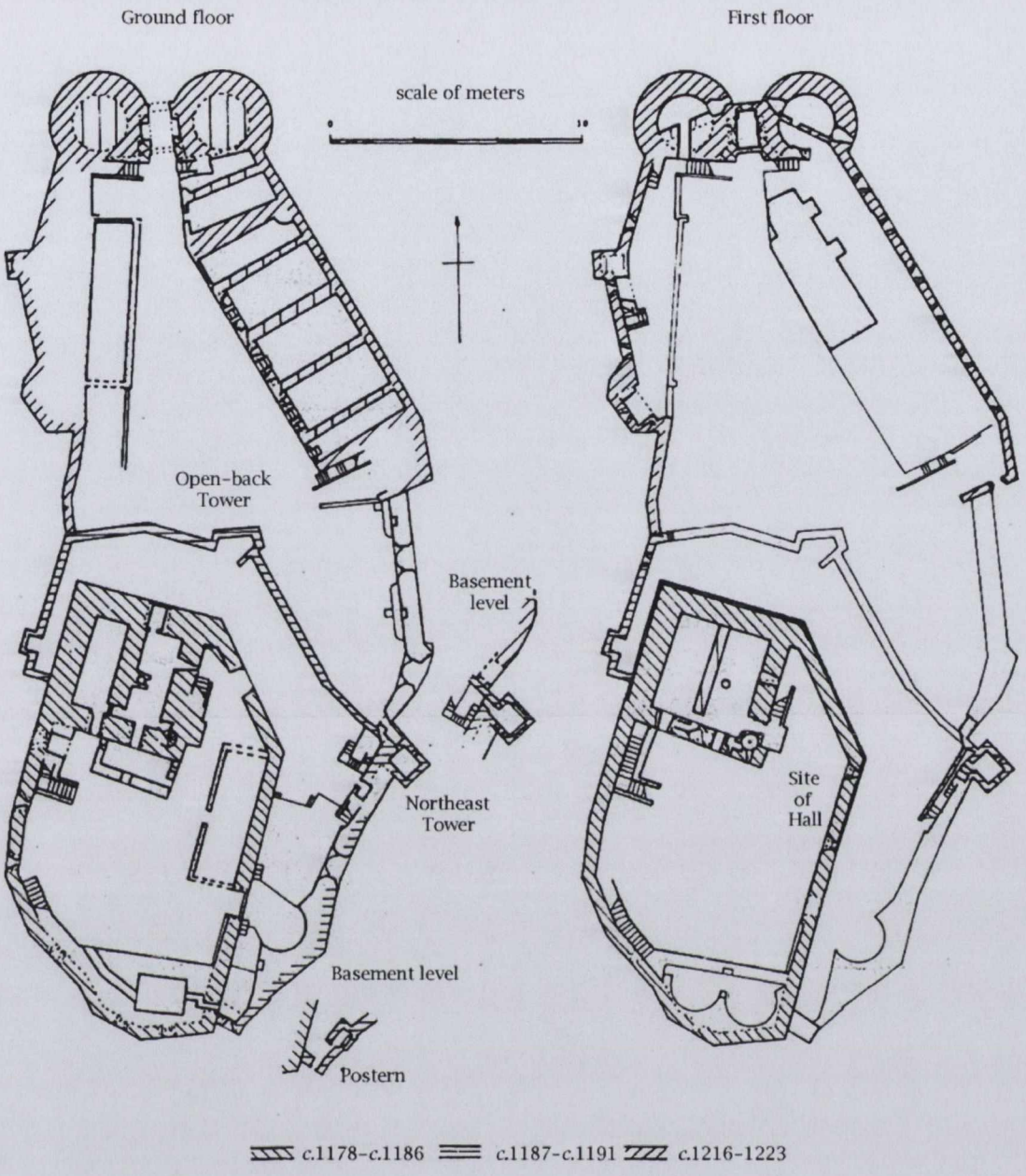
4.60 Norham castle (Northumberland), keep (Flickr.com, Stephen F. Watson)



4.61 Appleby castle (Westmoreland), keep



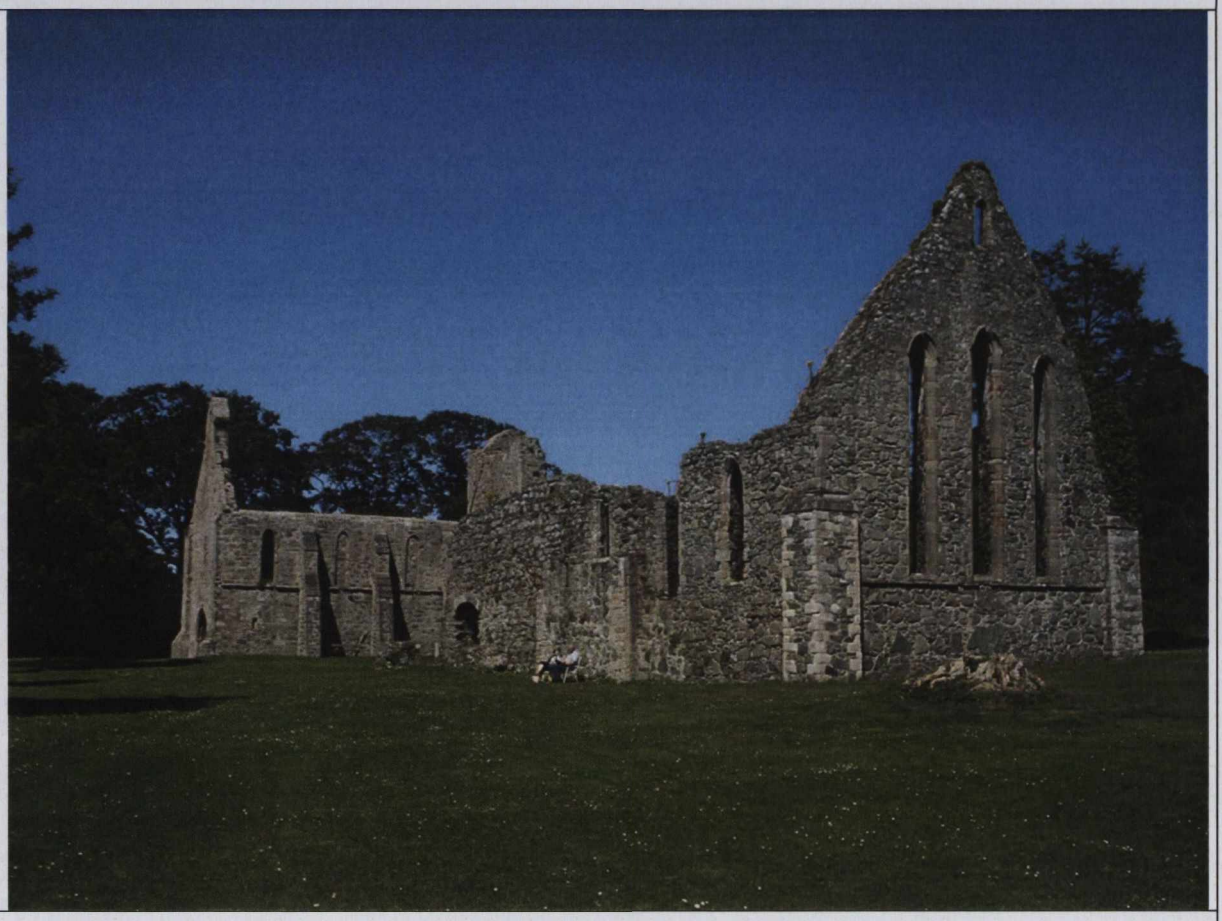
4.62 Prudhoe castle (Northumbria), keep (panoramio.com)



4.63 Carrickfergus castle, new dating (after McNeill, *Anglo-Norman Ulster*, fig. 3)



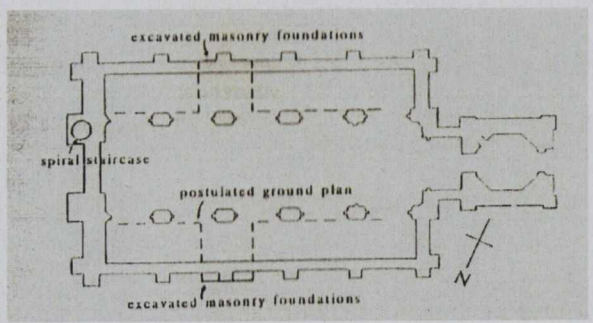
5.1 Inch Abbey (Down), from southwest



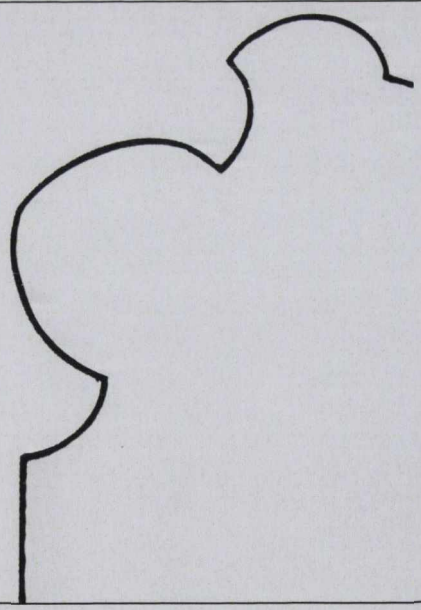
5.2 Grey Abbey (Down), view of refectory and nave from southwest



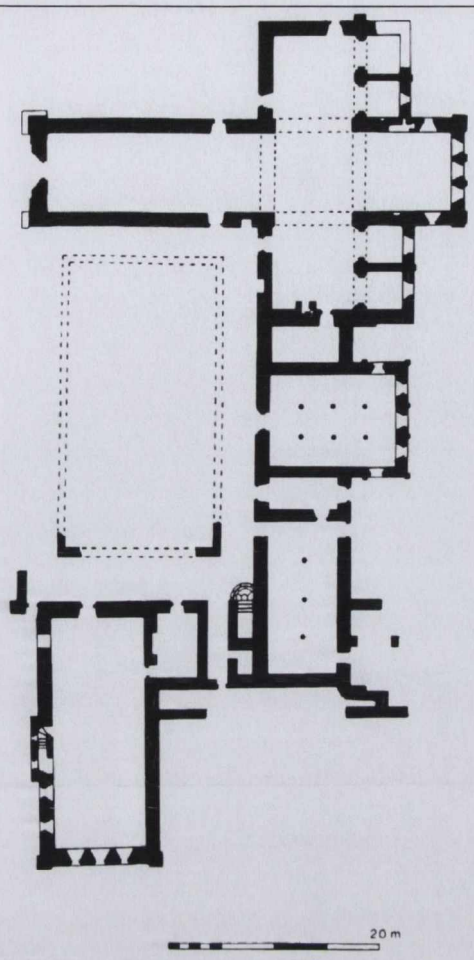
5.3 Downpatrick Cathedral (Down), pre-1790 (BL K.TOP.52.47.2A, in Rankin, *Down Cathedral*, 86)



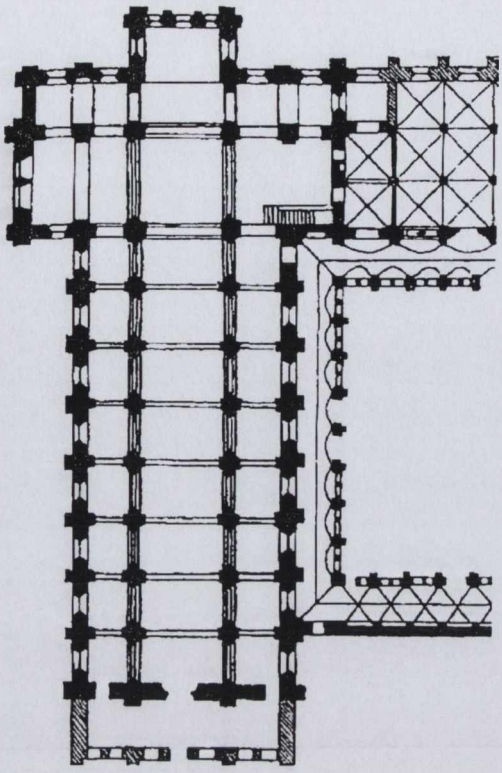
5.4 Downpatrick Cathedral, plan of the earlier church with transepts postulate by Nick Brannon (*Lecale Miscellany*, 5 (1987), printed in Rankin, *Down Cathedral*, 41)



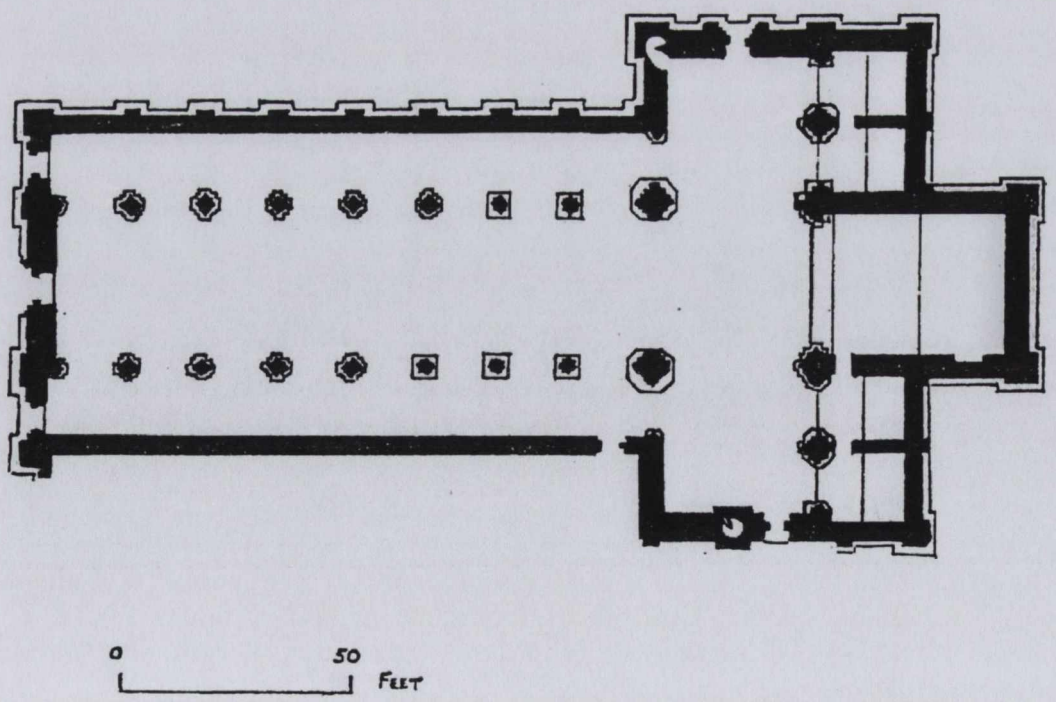
5.5 Downpatrick Cathedral, fragment of a moulding with keel roll



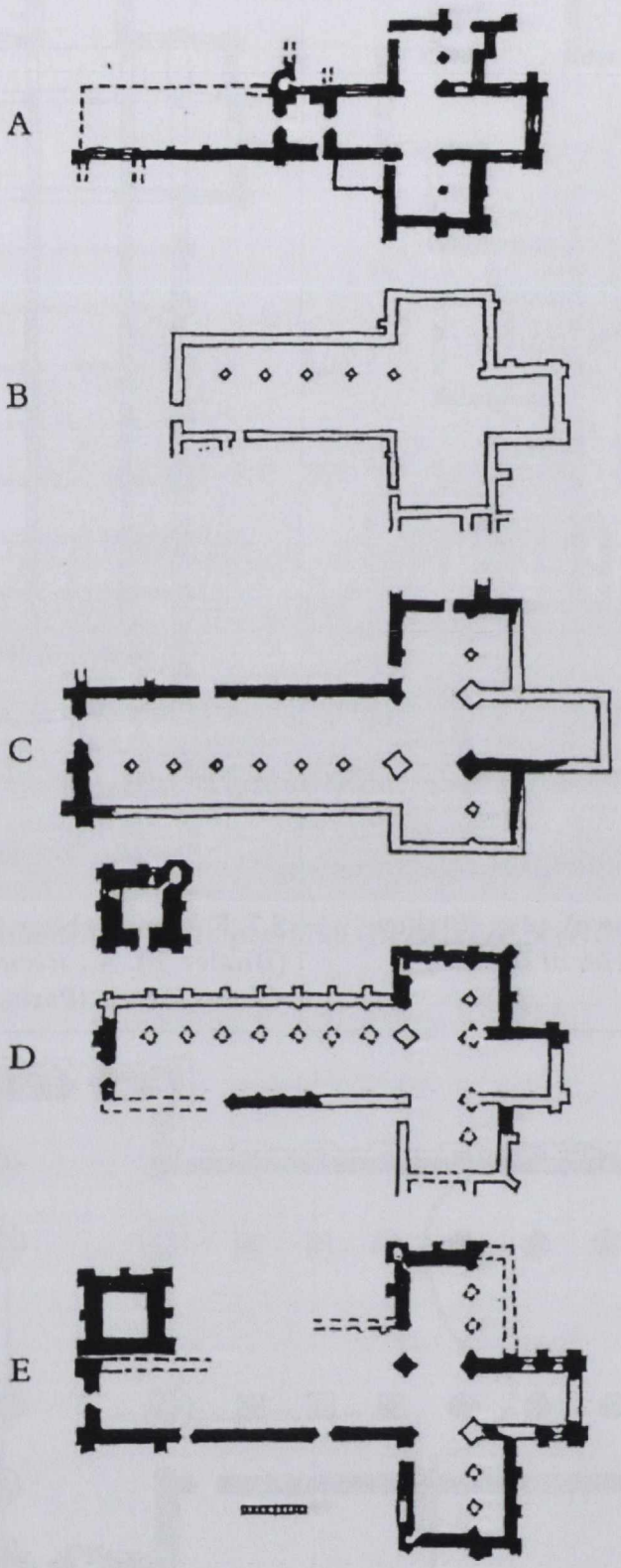
5.6 Grey Abbey (Down), plan (Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*)



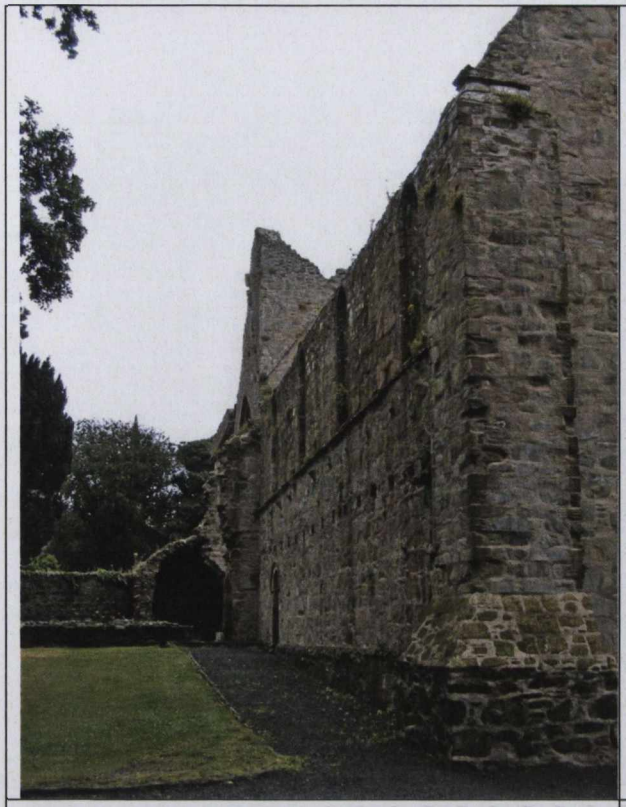
5.7 Fontenay abbey (Côte-d'Or), plan (Dimier, M. A., *Recueil de Plans d'Églises Cisterciennes*, (Paris, 1949), pl. 117)



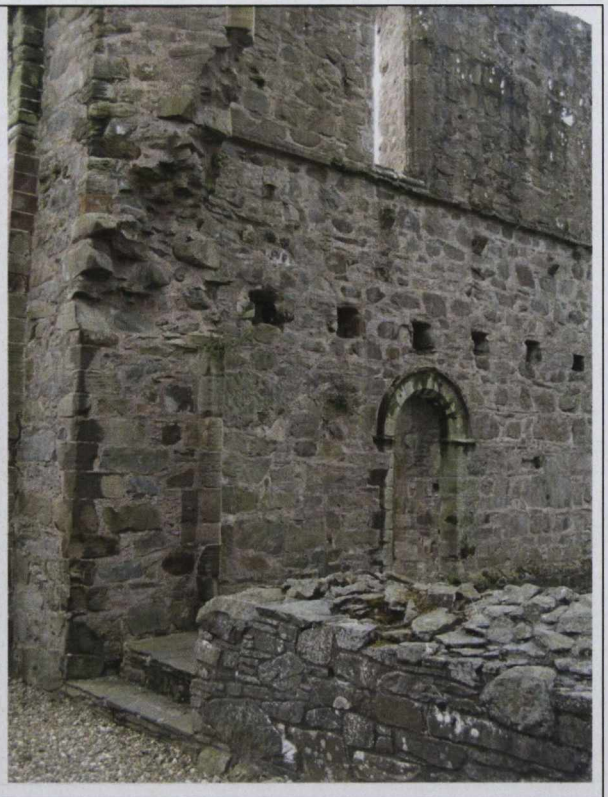
5.8 Roche abbey (Yorkshire), plan



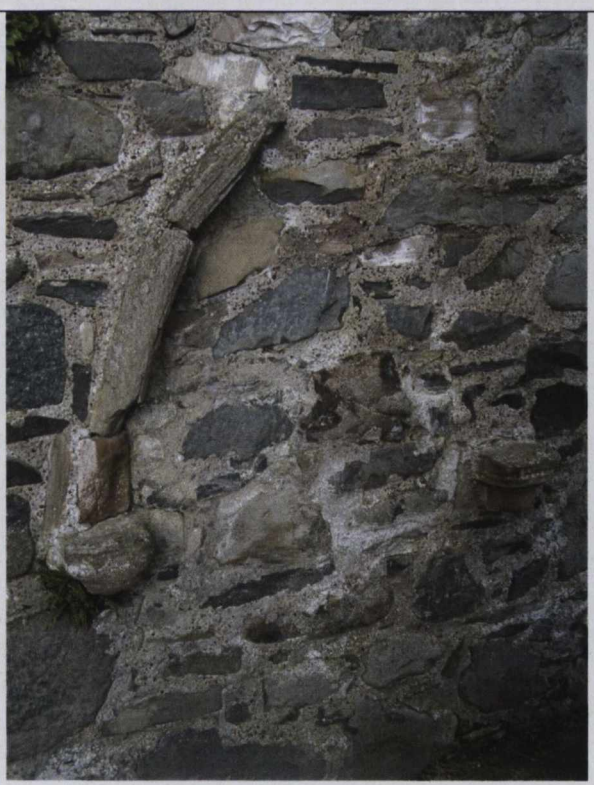
5.9 Sketch plans of churches drawn to the same scale (P. Fergusson): A. Culross Abbey (Fife), B. Deer Abbey (Aberdeenshire), C. Balmerino Abbey (Fife), D. Cambuskenneth Abbey (Stirling), E. Lindores Abbey (Fife), (Fergusson, *The Architecture of Solitude*)



5.10 Grey, Exterior view, north side of nave, putlog holes



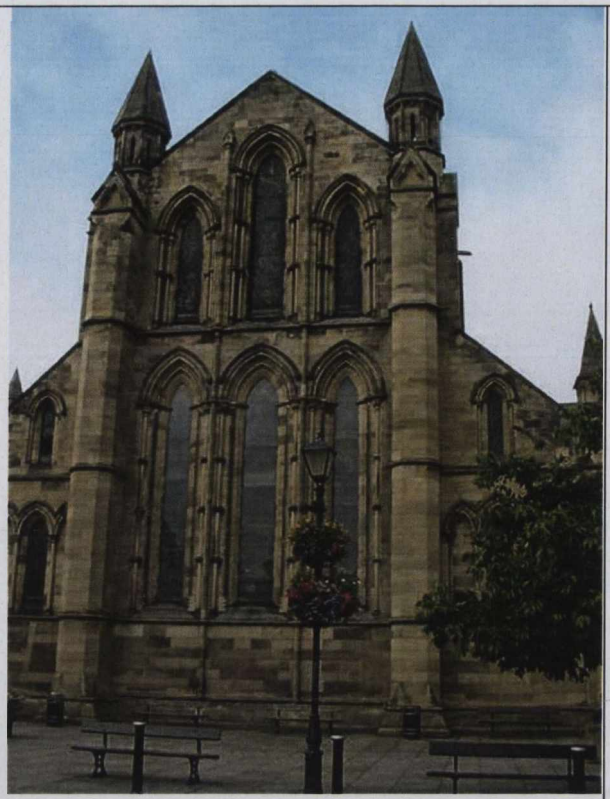
5.11 Grey, north nave doorway from north transept



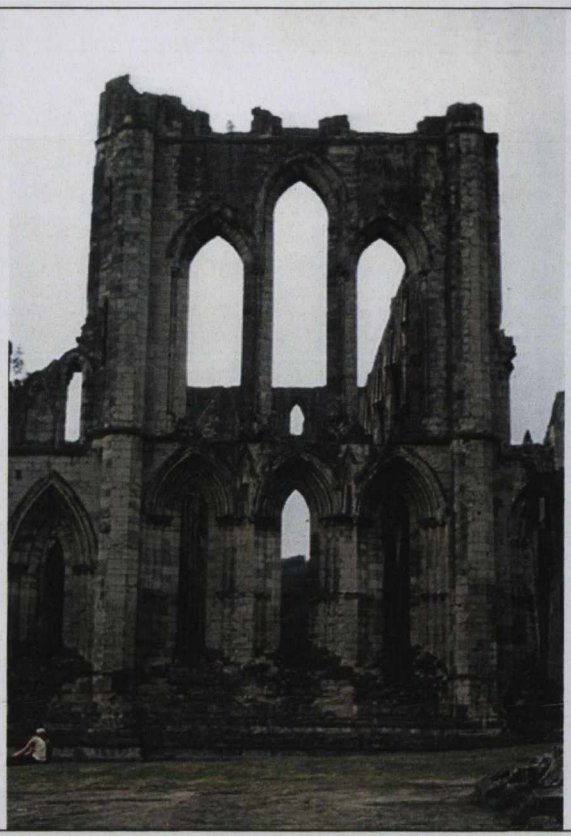
5.12 Grey, collation seat, exterior south nave wall



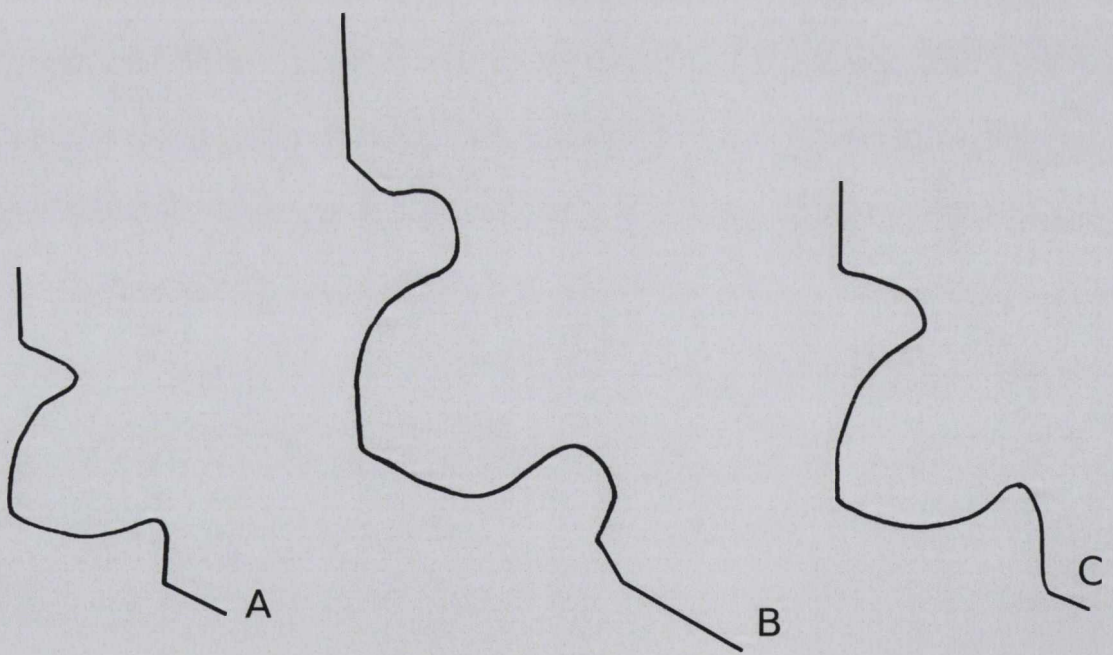
5.13 Grey, chancel east lancets



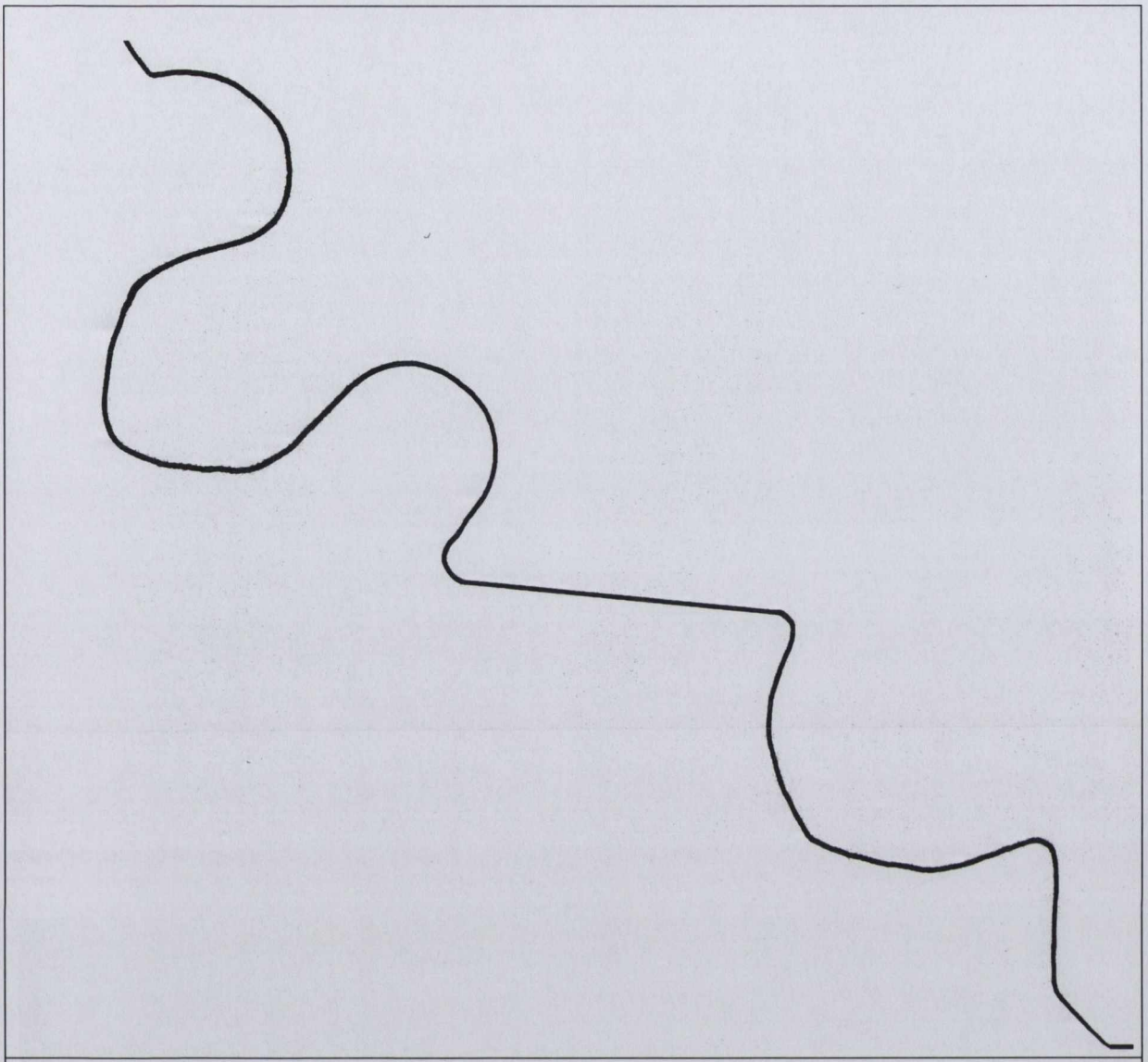
5.14 Hexham (Northumberland), east windows, double tier of Lancets



5.15 Rievaulx (Yorkshire), chancel east lancets exterior



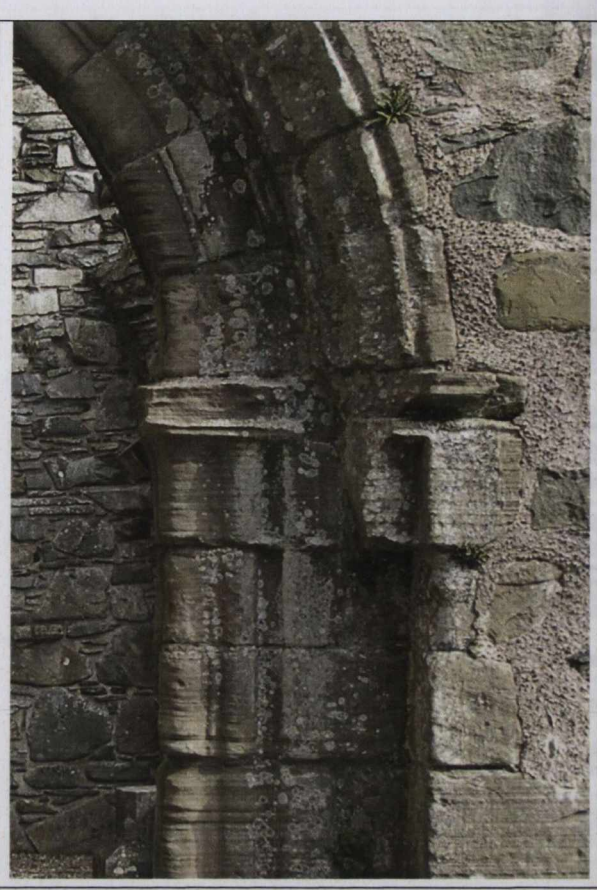
5.16 Keel mouldings, A. Grey, east window, B. Grey, chancel window, C. Inch, east window



5.17 St. Bees (Cumbria), chancel lancet moulding north wall



5.18 Grey, piscina, chancel south wall



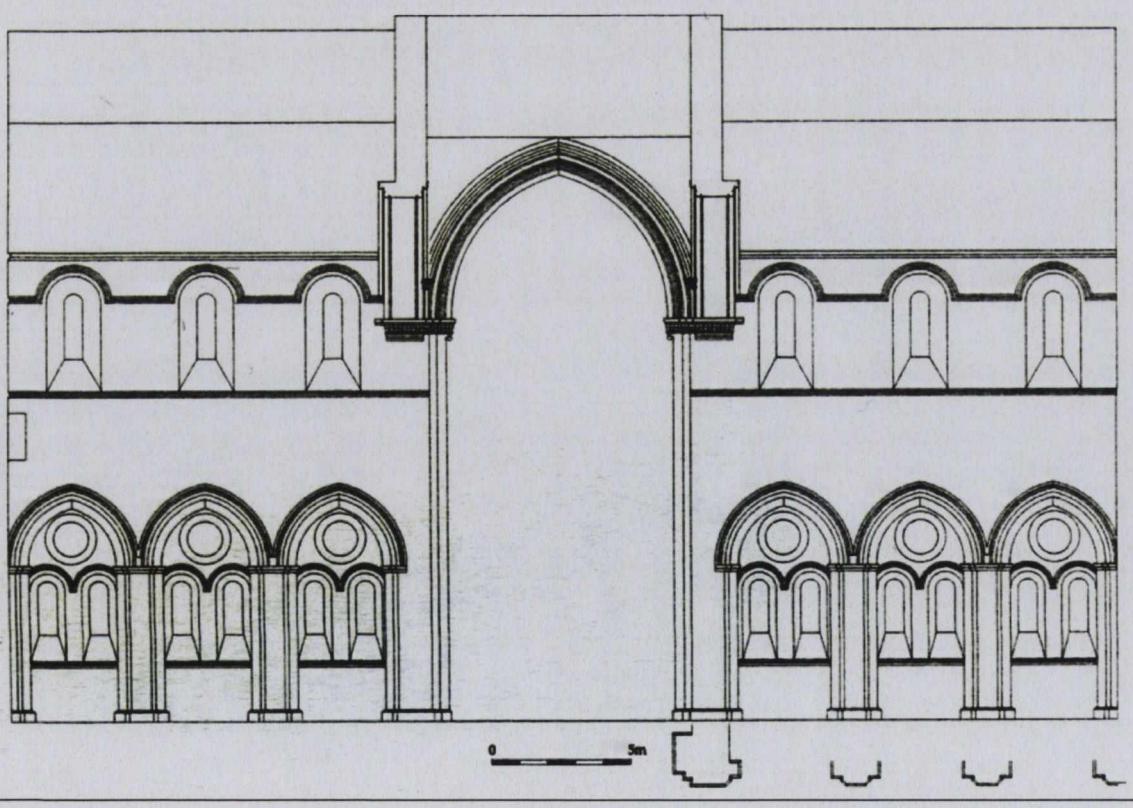
5.19 Grey, south transept west doorway south



5.20 Inch Cistercian Monastery (Down), sedilia in the south wall of the chancel



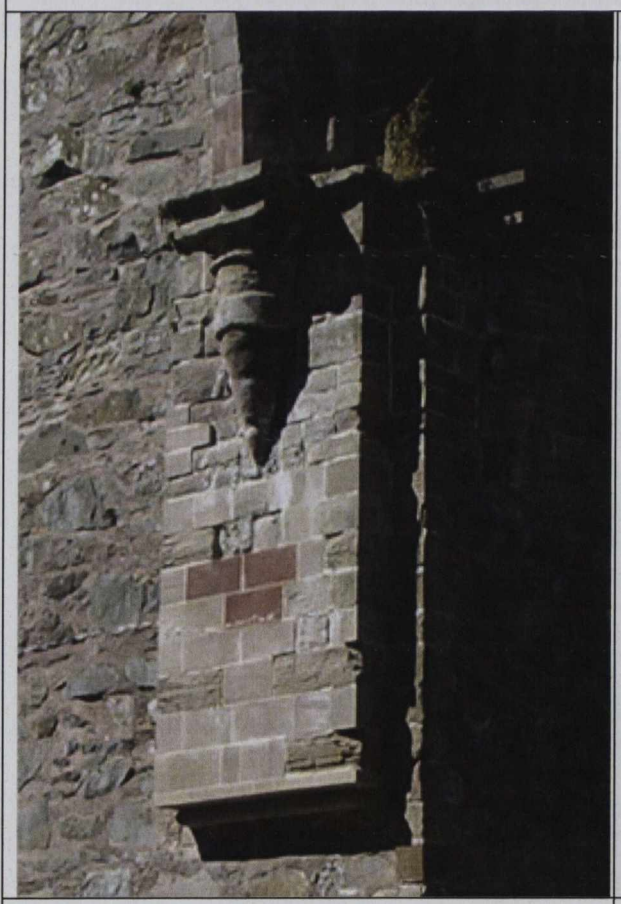
5.21 Grey Abbey, north transept, pier separating the chapels



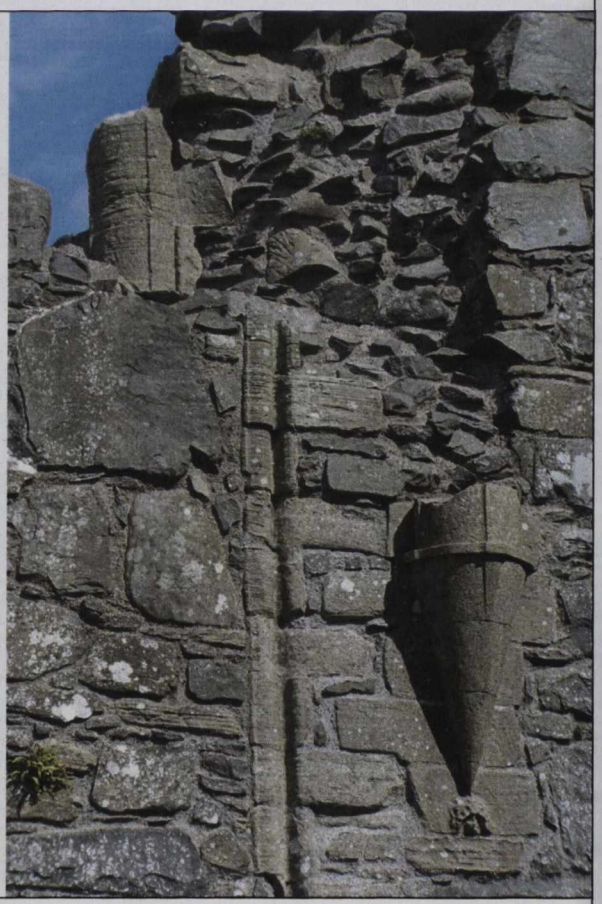
5.22 Fountains (Yorkshire), reconstructed cross section looking east, crossing and transept elevation with moulding profiles of transept piers by Fergusson (after Reeves)



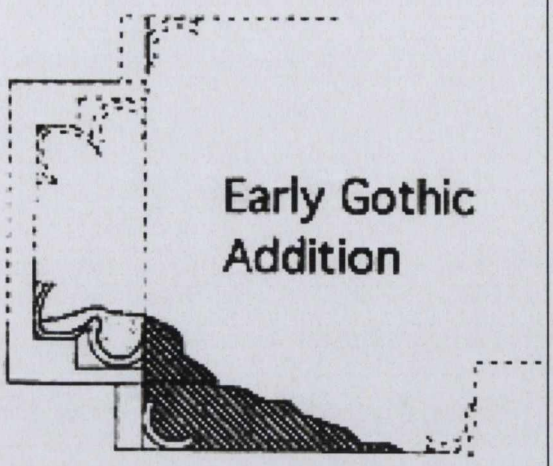
5.23 Grey Abbey, South transept spiral stairs



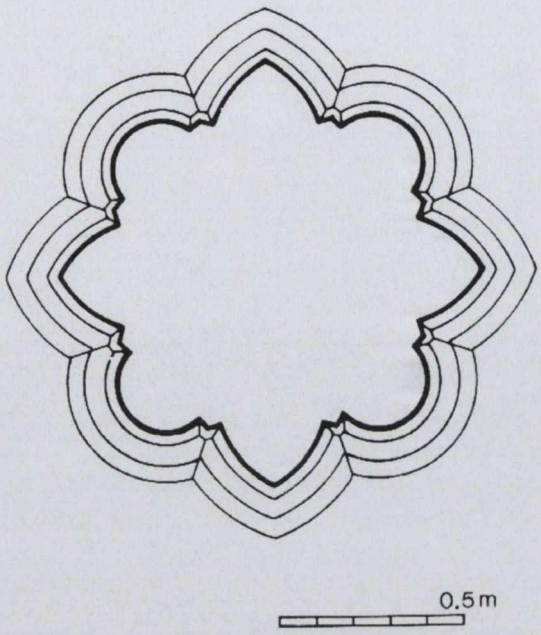
5.24 Grey, northwest crossing pier showing the corbels



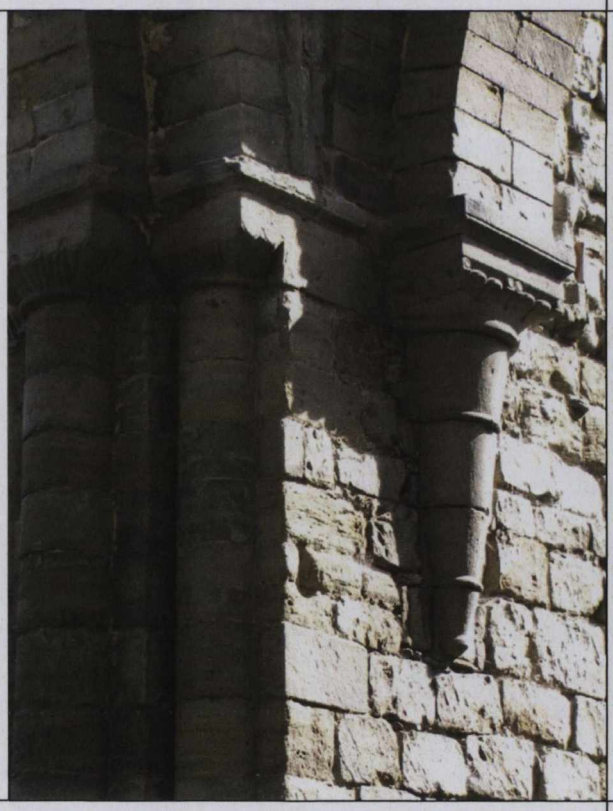
5.25 Inch, corbel from the northeast crossing pier



5.26 Holm Cultram (Lancashire), crossing pier moulding profile (Harrison, *Holm Cultram Abbey*, fig. 11)



5.27 Inch, transept pier (Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, fig. 33)



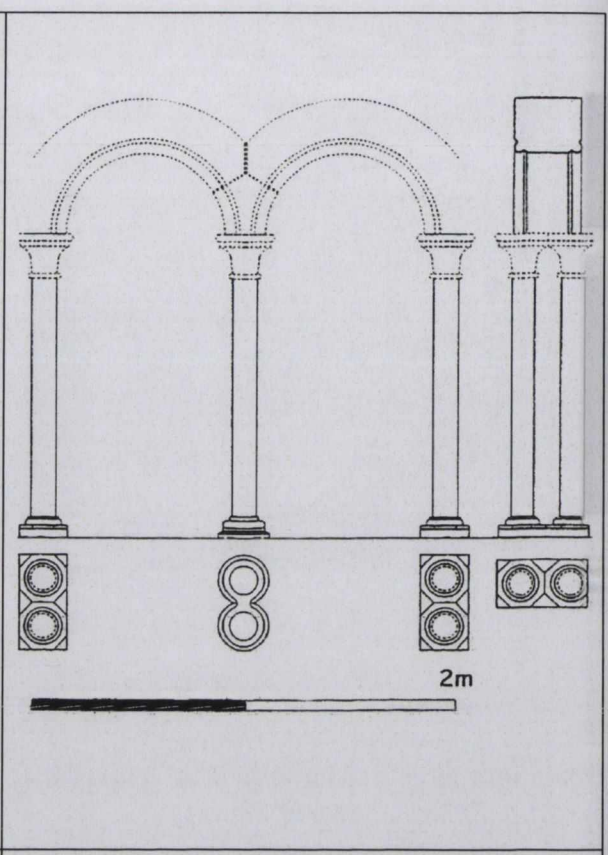
5.28 Buildwas, corbel, north-east crossing pier



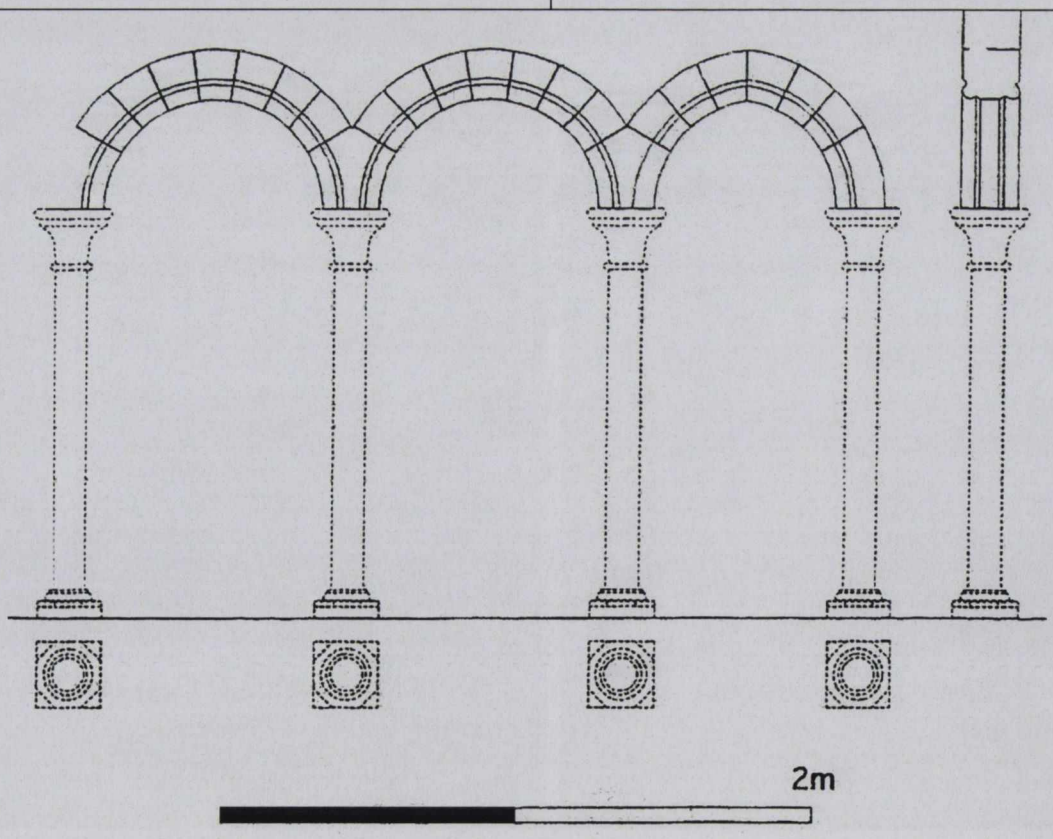
5.29 Furness Abbey, Lancashire, north crossing piers



5.30 Grey, chamfered corbel, north wall of crossing tower



5.31 Grey, possible cloister arcade reconstructions with twin columns (Harrison, 'Grey Abbey', fig. 32)



5.32 Grey, reconstruction of a single column arcade (Harrison, 'Grey Abbey', fig. 31)



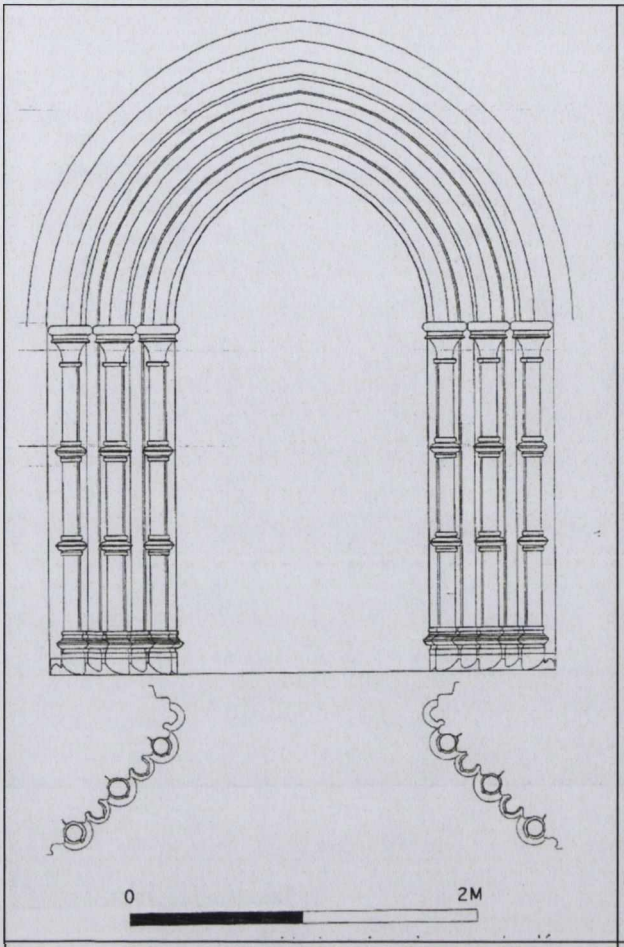
5.33 Grey, chapter house circular pier (Visitor's Centre)



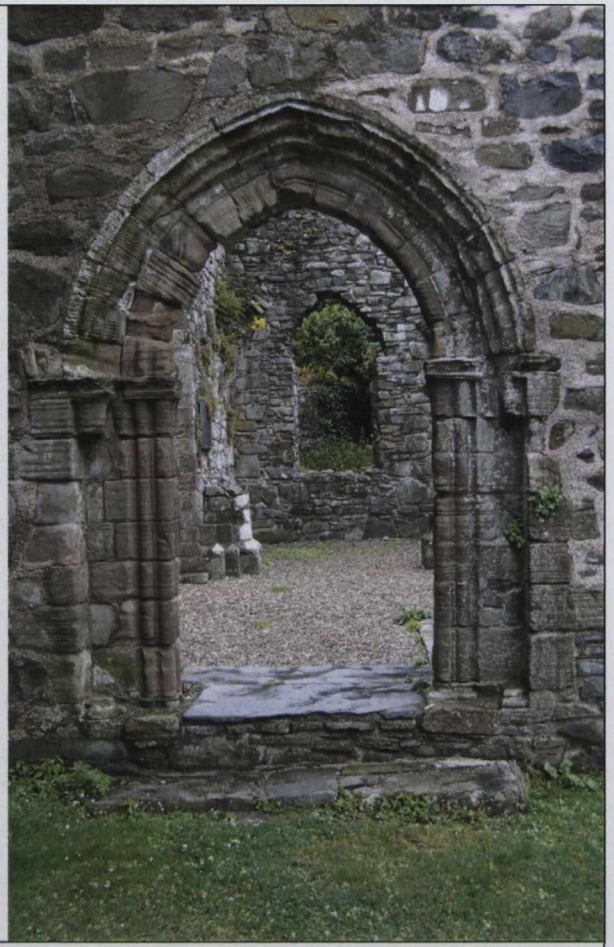
5.34 Buildwas (Shropshire), chapter house, alternating cylindrical and octagonal piers



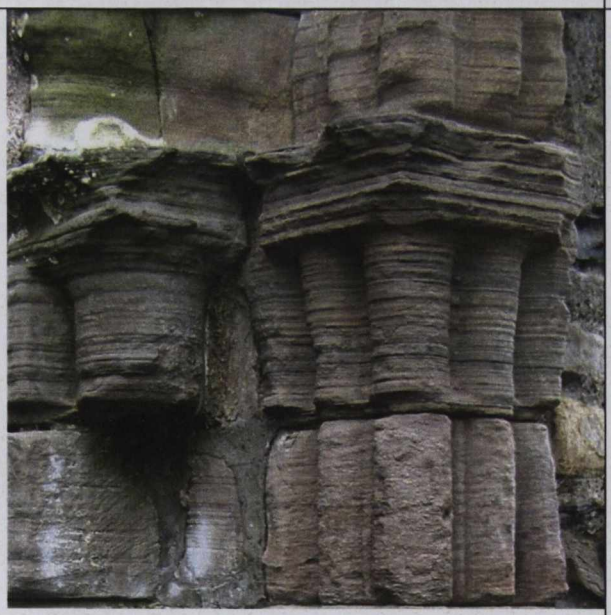
5.35 Grey Abbey, chapter house doorway bases



5.36 Grey, reconstruction drawing projection of chapter house doorway (Harrison, *Grey Abbey*, fig. 17)



5.37 Grey, south transept west doorway



5.38 Grey, south transept west doorway, north side capitals



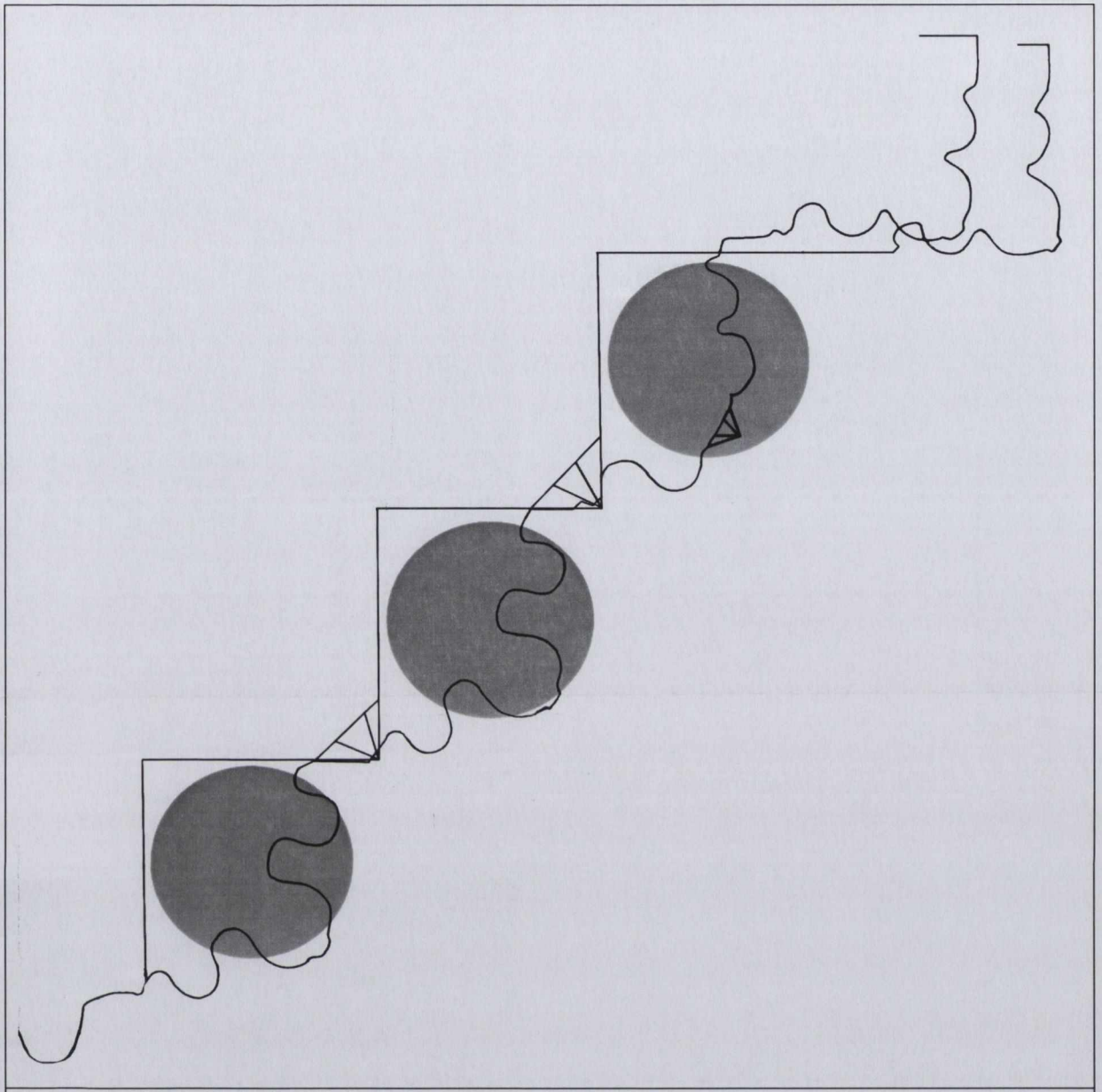
5.39 Grey, west doorway, south side inner order capital



5.40 Valle Crucis (Denbighshire), south nave doorway west



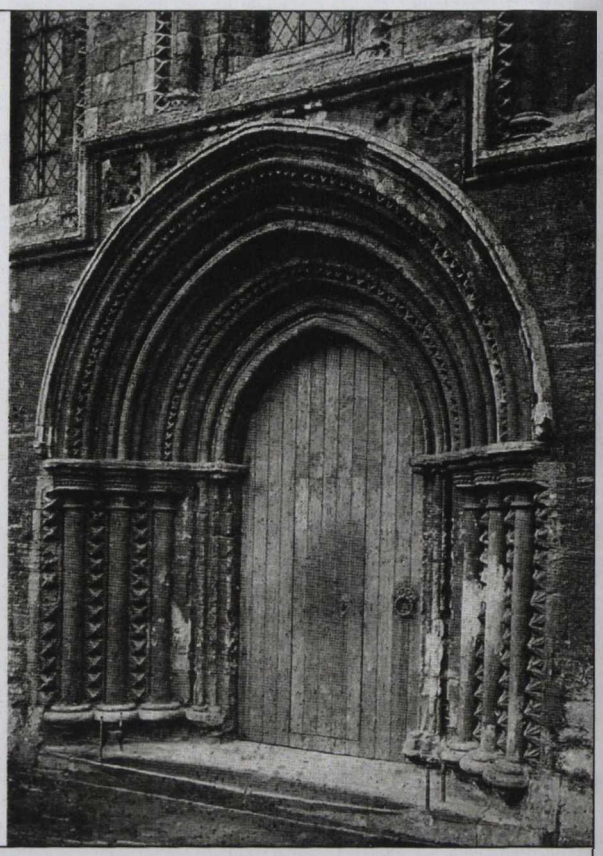
5.41 Grey Abbey, west doorway



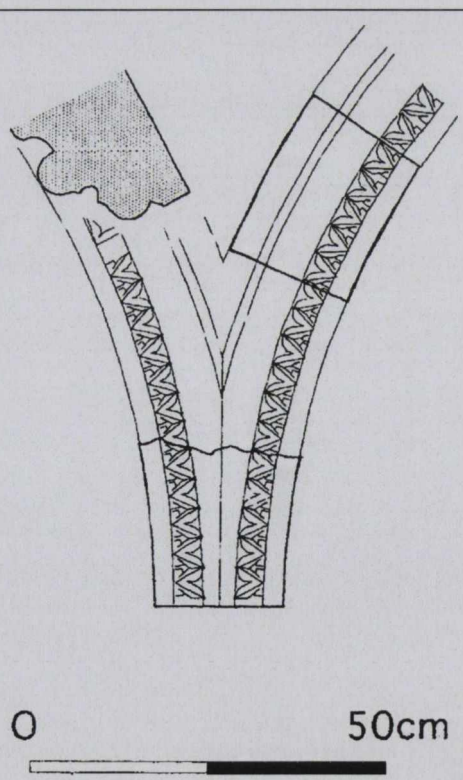
5.42 Grey Abbey, west doorway arch mouldings (shaft sizes are approximate)



5.43 Jervaulx (Yorkshire), doorway in southwest end of nave



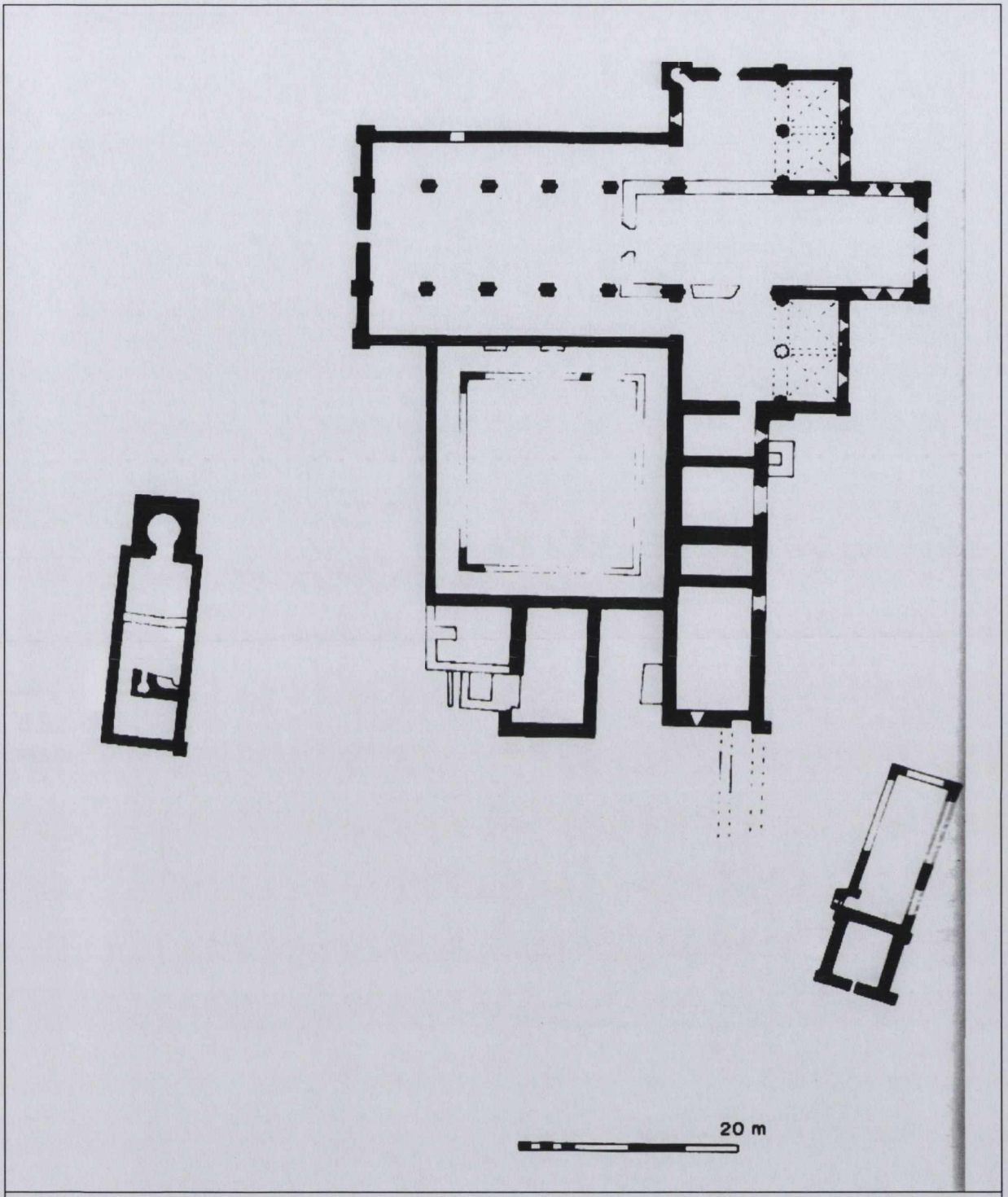
5.44 Hedon, St. Augustine's (Yorkshire), north transept doorway (Bond)



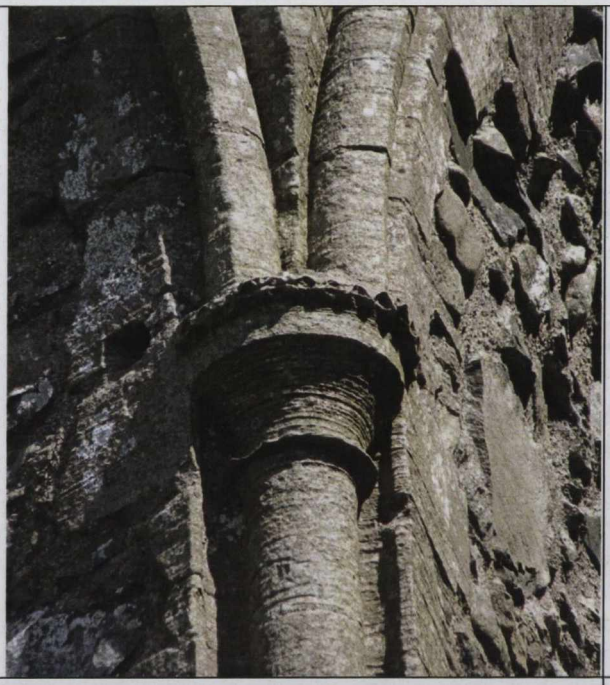
5.45 Grey, part reconstructed drawing of an elaborate wall arcade (Harrison, *Grey Abbey*, fig. 27)



5.46 Rievaulx (Yorkshire), laver arcade on the exterior of the refectory



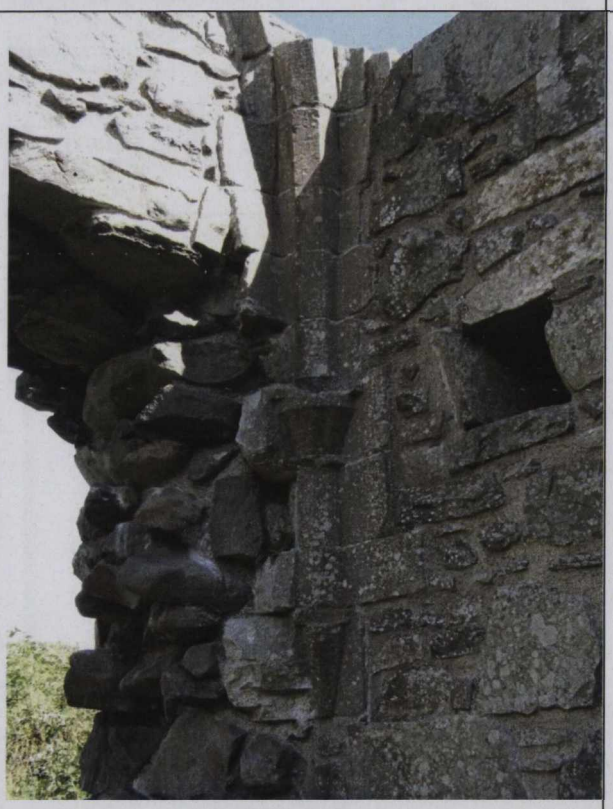
5.47 Inch Cistercian Monastery (Down), plan (Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*)



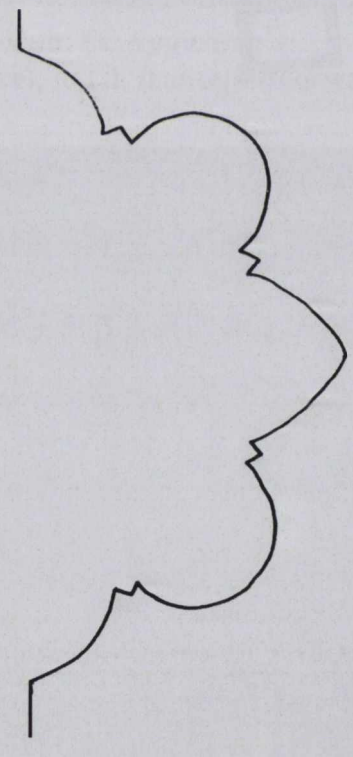
5.48 Inch, bell capital between east lancets in chancel



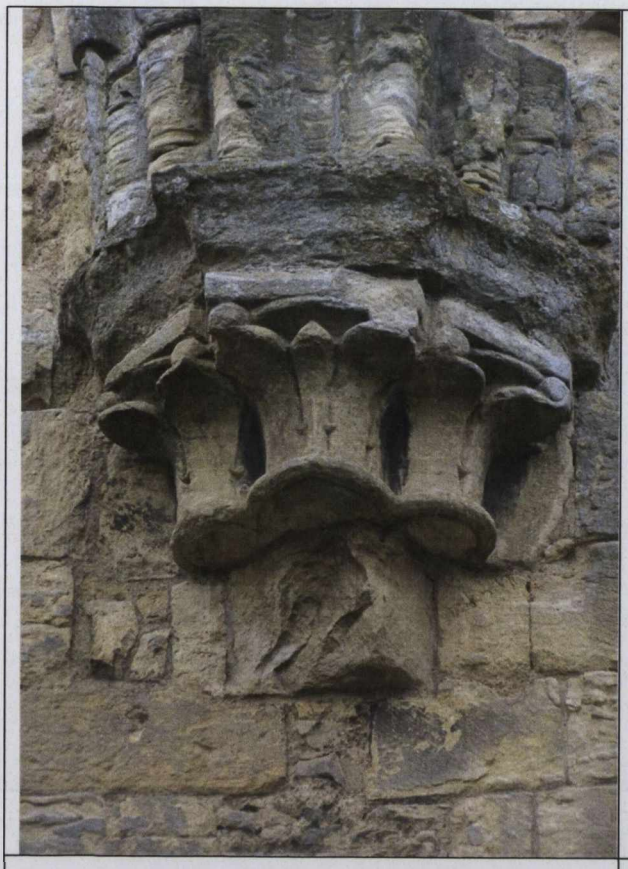
5.49 Inch, north transept central pier



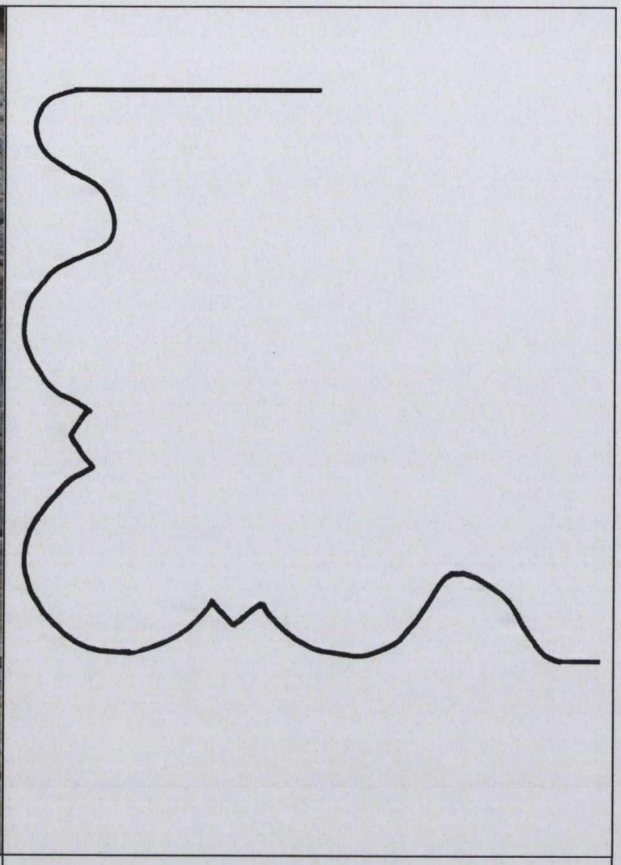
5.50 Inch, north transept, northeast corner depicting vault respond and formerets



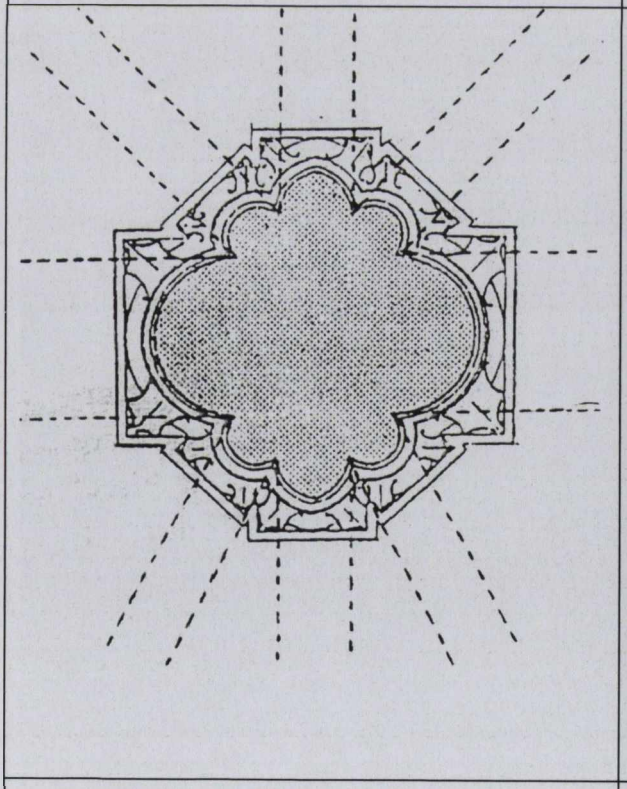
5.51 Inch, north transept central corbel respond



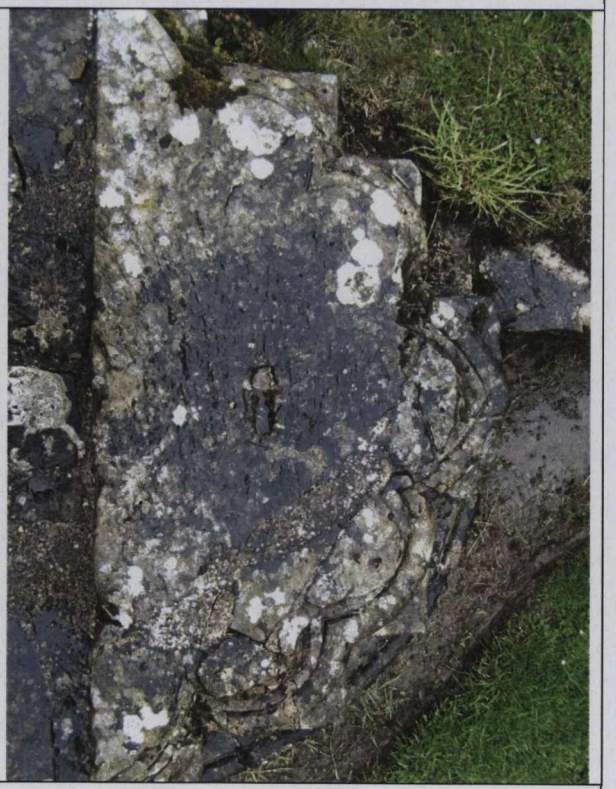
5.52 Byland (Yorkshire), choir aisle wall respond



5.53 Grey, south transept west doorway, inner order



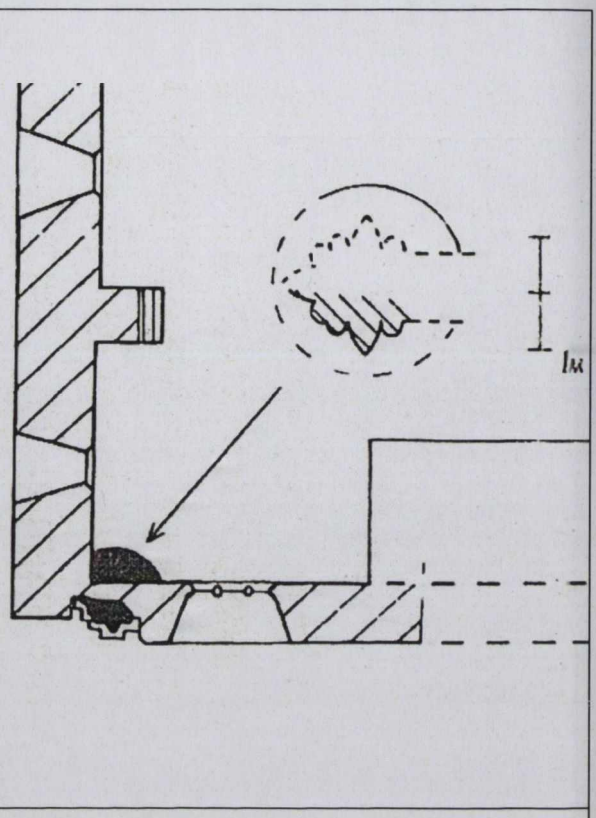
5.54 Dommartin (Pas-de-Calais), choir pier profile (Wilson after Enlart, *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, fig. 7)



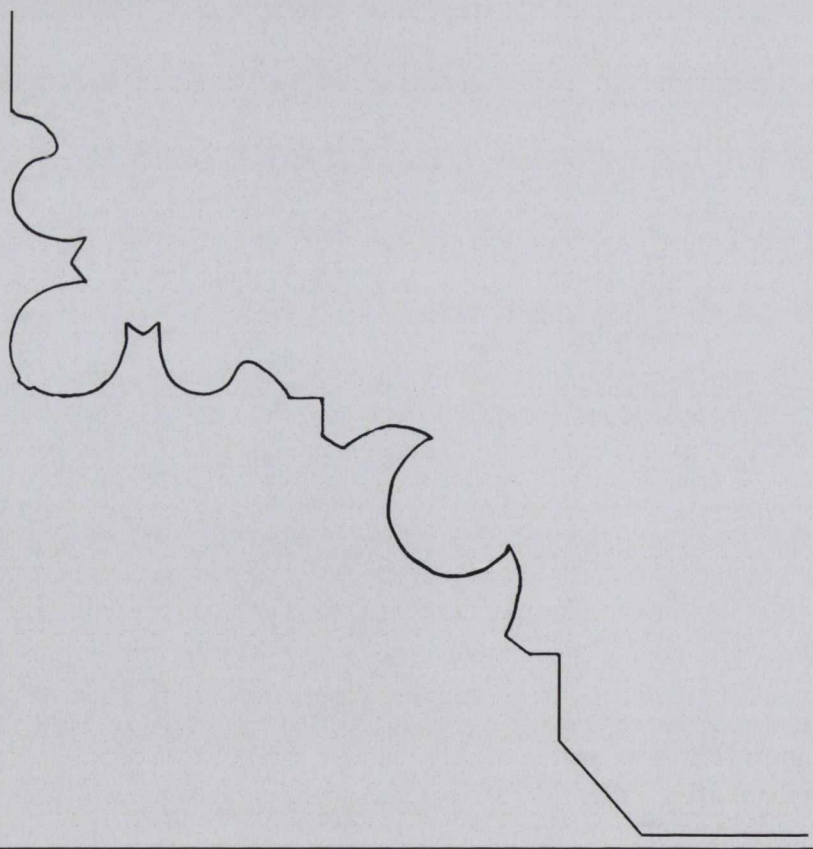
5.55 Byland, choir pier



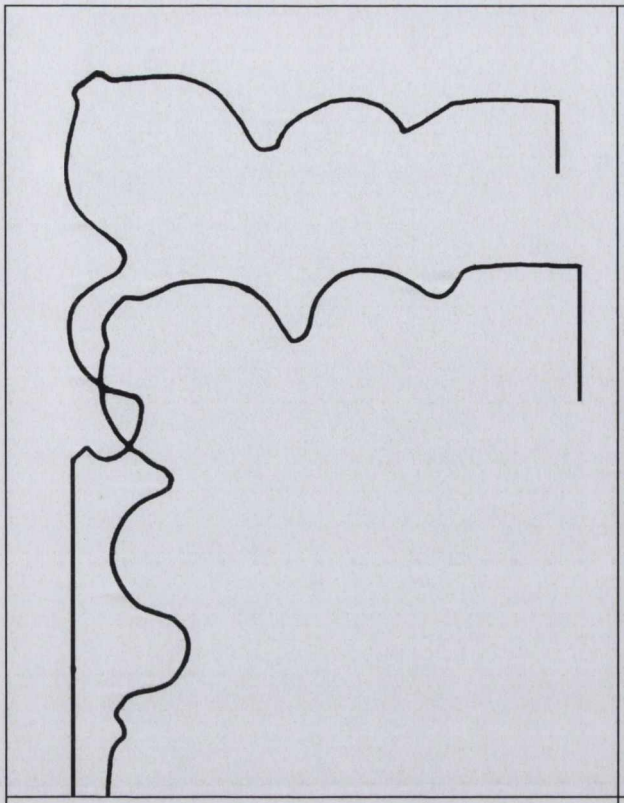
5.56 St. Andrew's Cathedral, choir pier (Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 3.20)



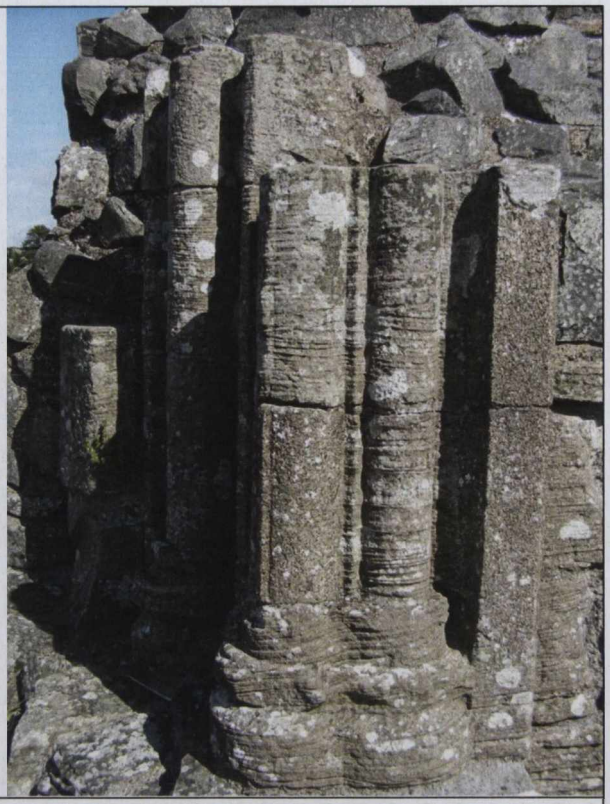
5.57 St. Nicholas, Carrickfergus Premonstratensian abbey (Antrim), exposed crossing pier (McNeill, *Anglo-Norman Ulster*, 13)



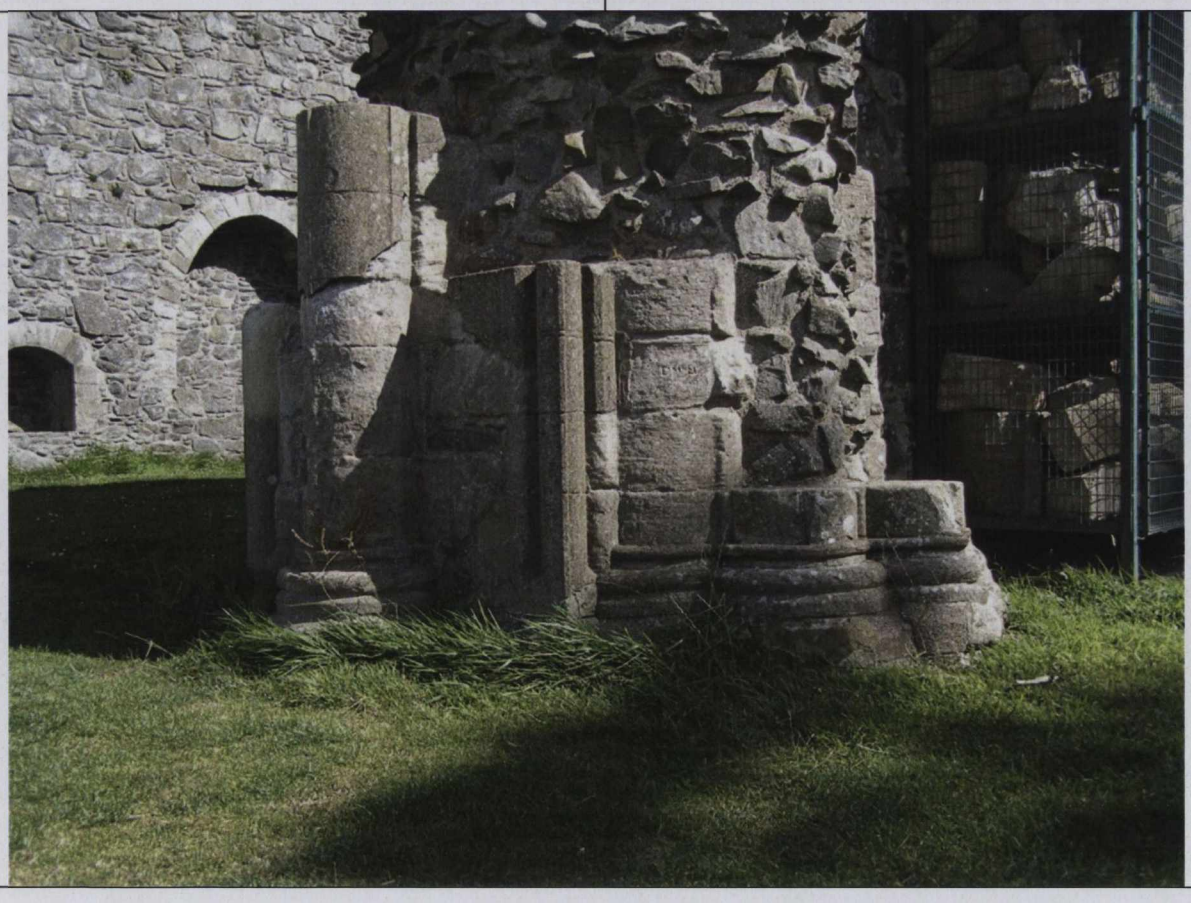
5.58 Inch, *porte des morts* doorway, north transept north wall, moulding profile



5.59 Grey, west doorway inner order north



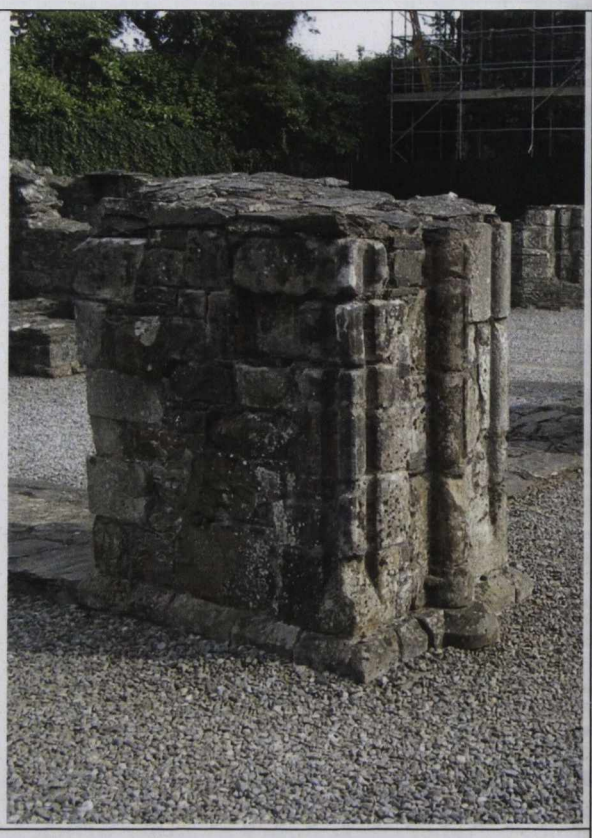
5.60 Inch, 'west doorway'



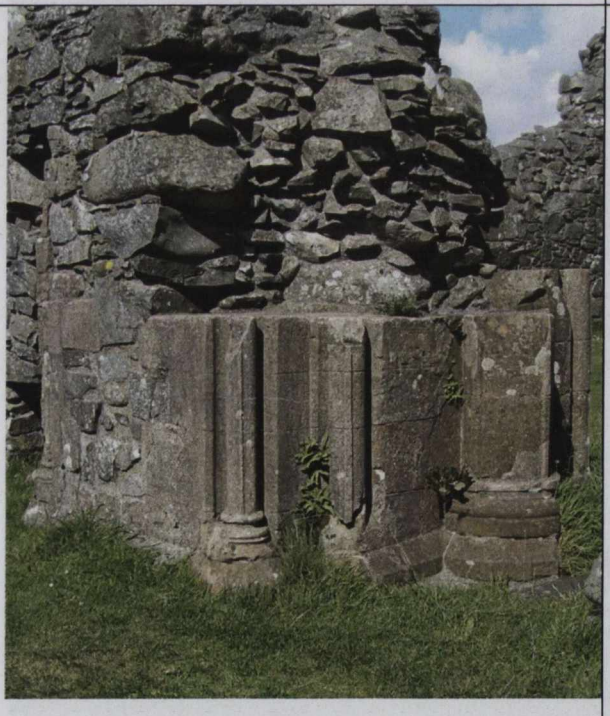
5.61 Inch Abbey, south-east crossing pier abutting south transept chapel pier



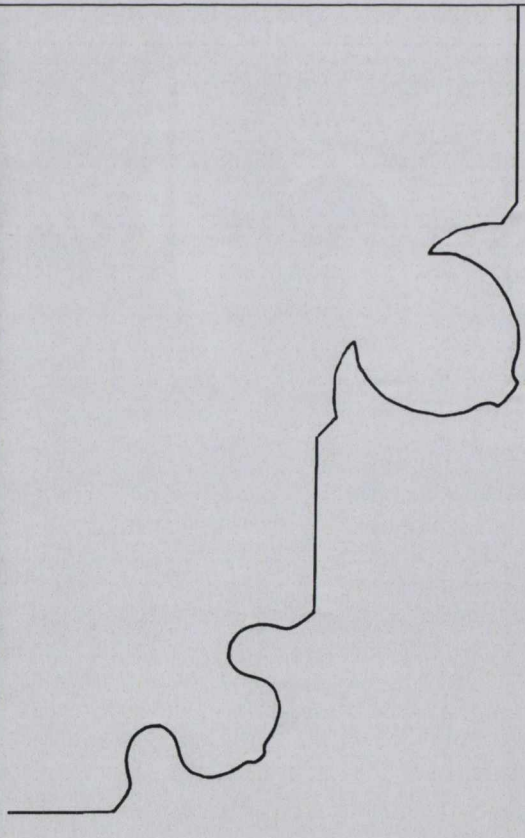
5.62 Graiguenamanagh (Kilkenny), north nave elevation



5.63 Mellifont II (Louth), north transept west aisle pier



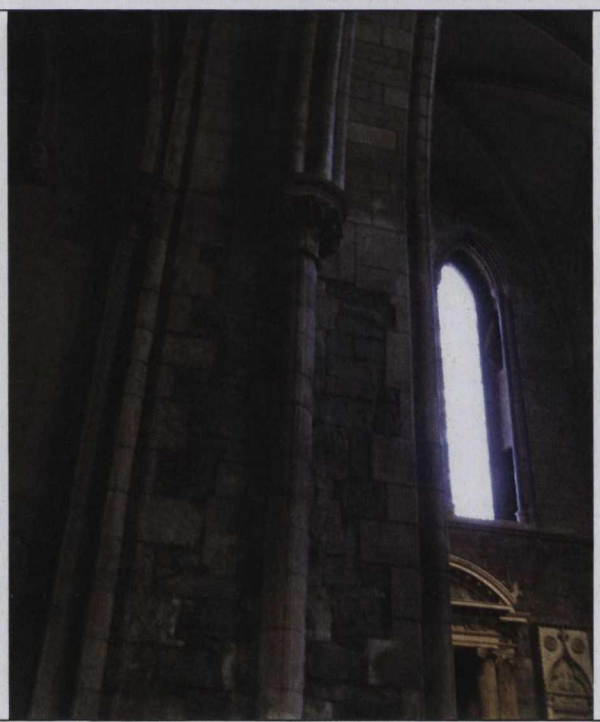
5.64 Inch, southwest crossing pier from southeast



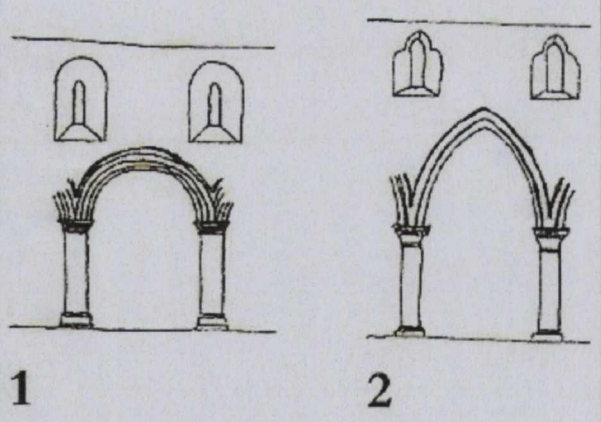
5.65 Inch, southwest crossing pier, coursing between filleted roll and 'squashed' filleted roll



5.66 View of Downpatrick Cathedral from the cloister at Inch



5.67 St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, south transept pier arcade



5.68 Thirteenth century two-storey elevations: 1. Iona Nunnery (Argyll and Brute), 2. Crail church (Fife) (Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 3.7)



5.69 Abington (Limerick), sketch by Thomas Dinely in 1681 (Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, fig. 76)

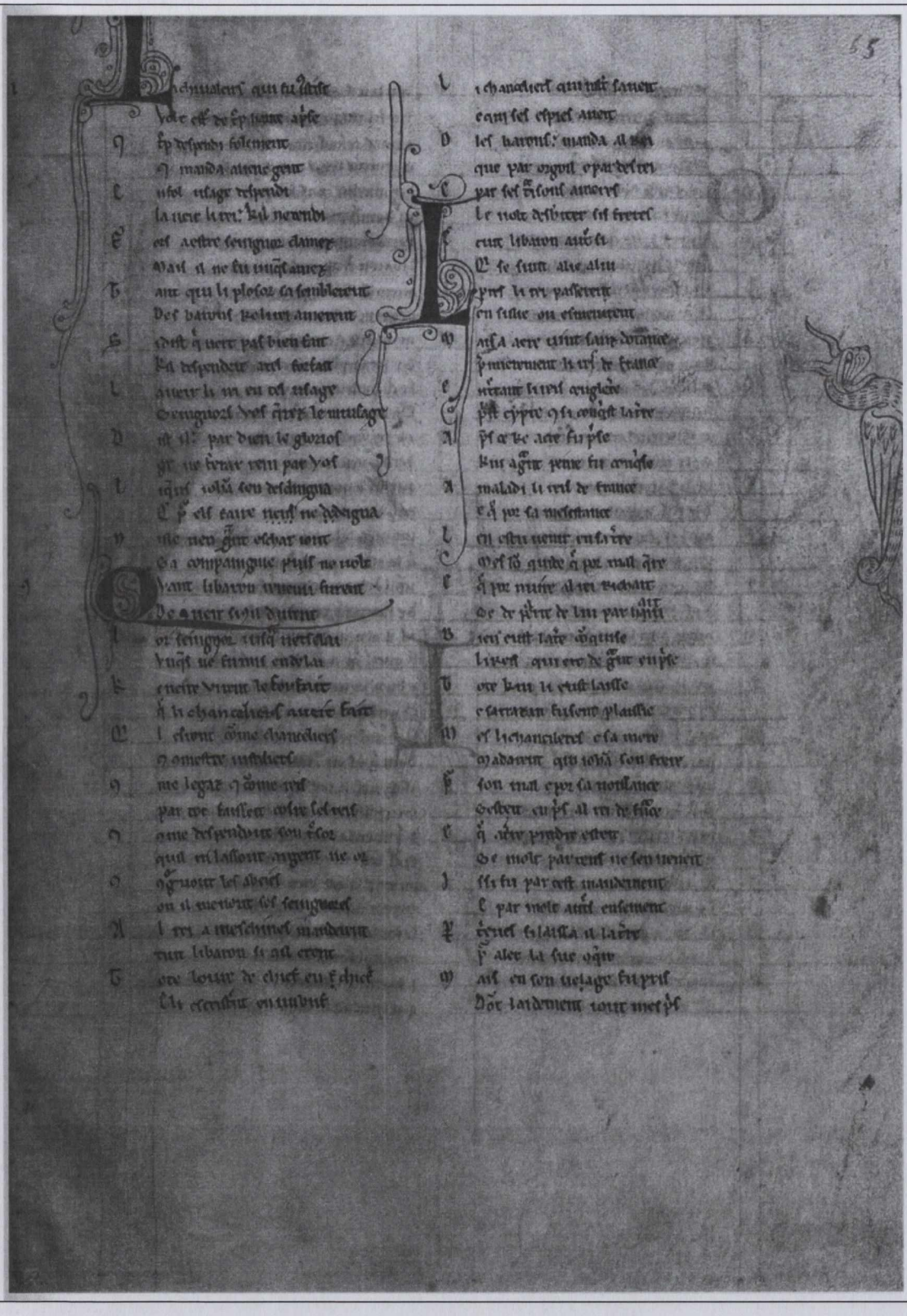


5.70 Holm Cultram, northeast pier of crossing, inserted doorway into choir (Martindale, *Holm Cultram*, facing 245)

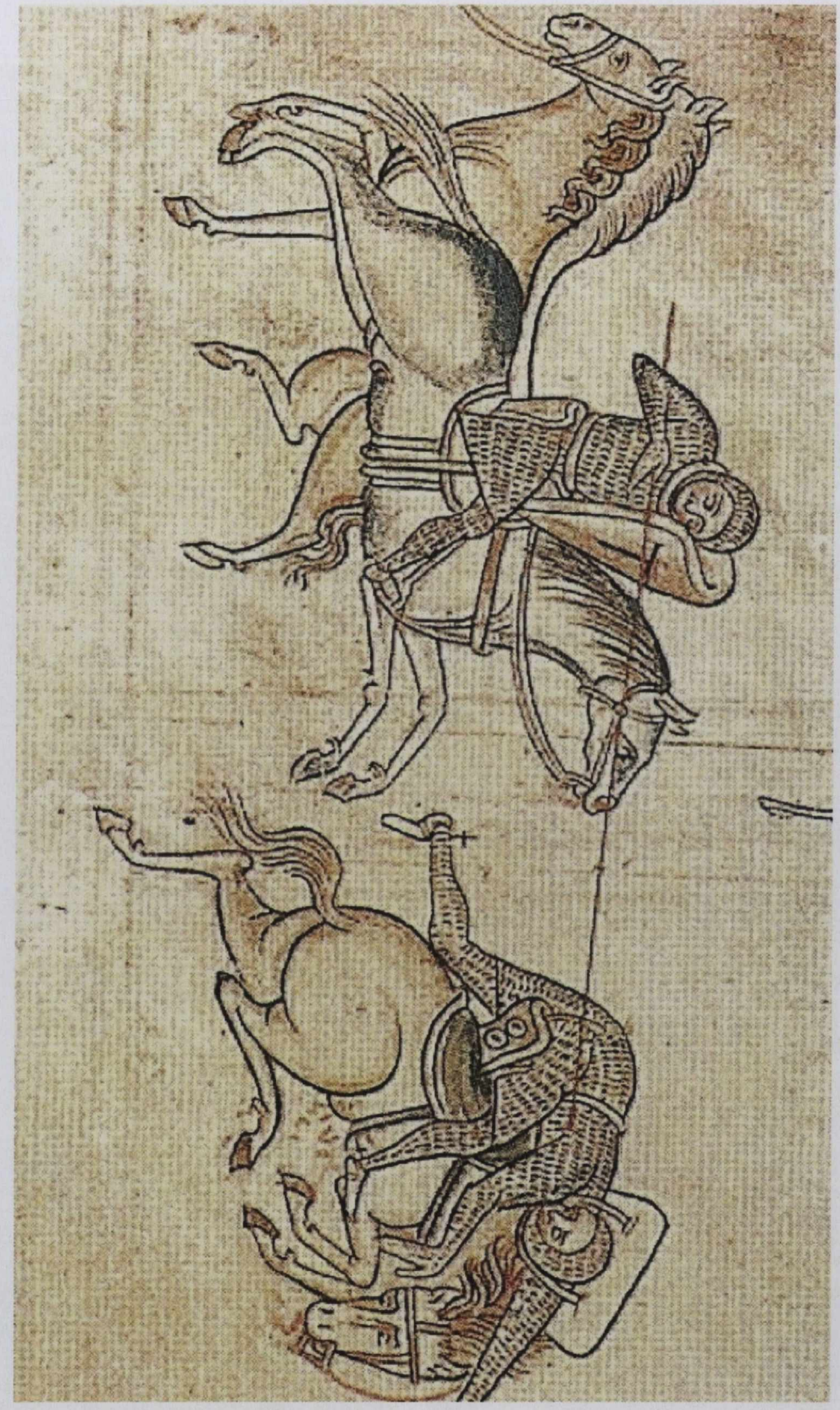


5.71 Inch, west doorway south

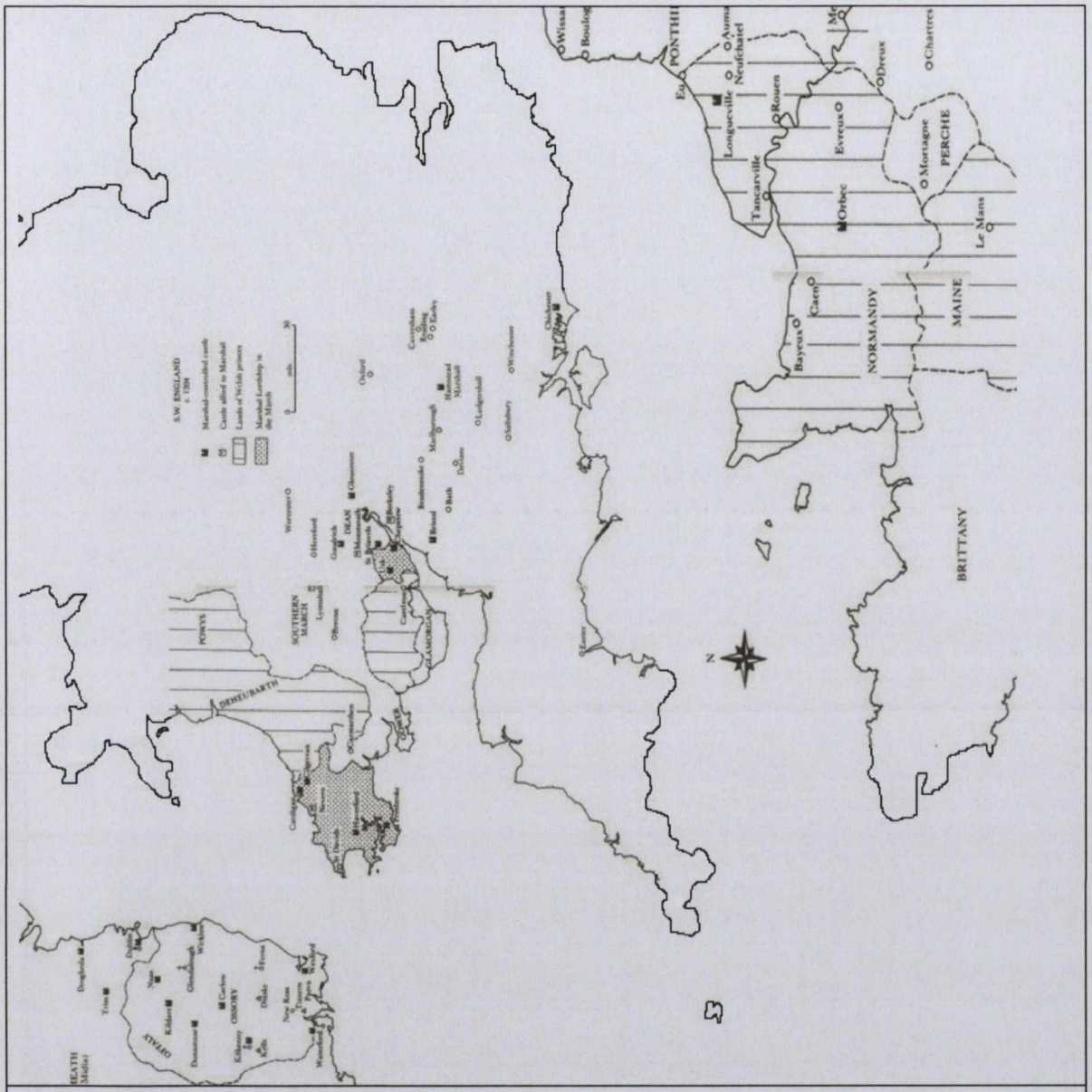
CHAPTER 6



6.1 Folio from the only surviving medieval mss of the *History* (second half of the thirteenth century), a copy of the author's original drafts (Crouch, *William Marshal*, facing 118)



6.2 William Marshal unhorsing Baldwin Guisnes at a joust, Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora II*, f. 88r (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, Parker Library on the web)


S.W. ENGLAND
c. 1204
Marshal-controlled castle
Castle allied to Marshal
Lands of Welsh princes
Marshal Lordship in the March
PONTHIEU
Longueville
Rouen
Tancarville
Orbec
Evreux
Dreux
Chartres
Mortagne
PERCHE
Le Mans
Caen
Bayeux
NORMANDY
MAINE
BRITTANY
N
Wissant
Boulogne
Neufchatel
Oxford
Winchester
Salisbury
Ludgershall
Hereford
Gloucester
Bristol
Bath
Worcester
Monmouth
Chepstow
Usk
Abergavenny
Brecon
Builth
Montgomery
Hereford Marshall
Ledbury
Gloucester
Reading
Eaton
Chichester
DEHEUBARTH
POWYS
SOUTHERN MARCH
GLAMORGAN
Carmarthen
Pembroke
Haverfordwest
Tenby
Cardigan
Aberystwyth
Llandovery
Brecon
Hereford
Monmouth
Chepstow
Usk
Caerleon
Newport
Cardiff
Kidwelly
Swansea
Neath
Margam
Dublin
Drogheda
Trim
Kildare
Dunamase
Carlow
Kilkenny
Kells
Glendalough
Wicklow
Arklow
Wexford
New Ross
Tintern
Dover
Sandwich
Canterbury
Rochester
Guildford
Reigate
Winchester
Farnham
Odiham
Basing
Wallingford
Marlborough
Ludgershall
Salisbury
Devizes
Bristol
Bath
Chepstow
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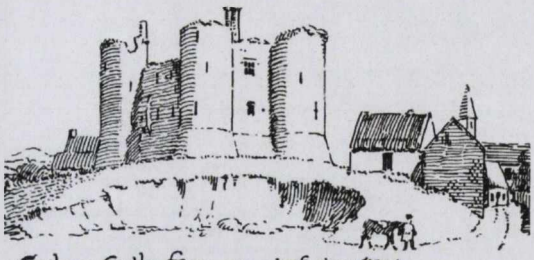
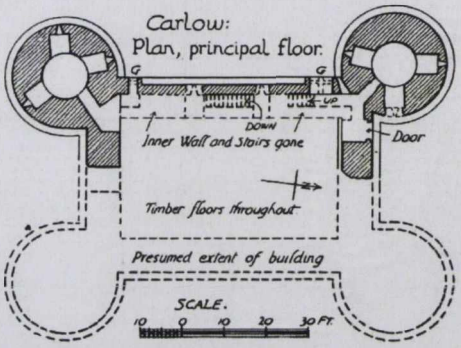
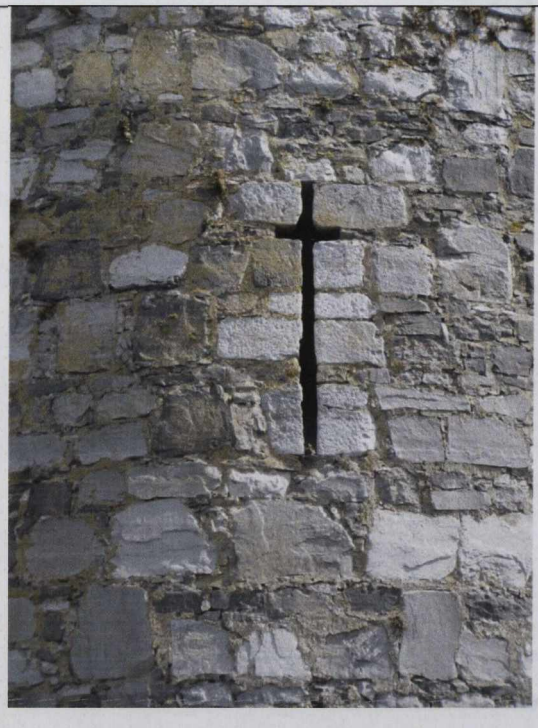
Oxford
Reading
Windsor
Eaton
Chichester
Arundel
Lewes
Pevensey
Hastings



Carlow Castle from a print of circa 1791



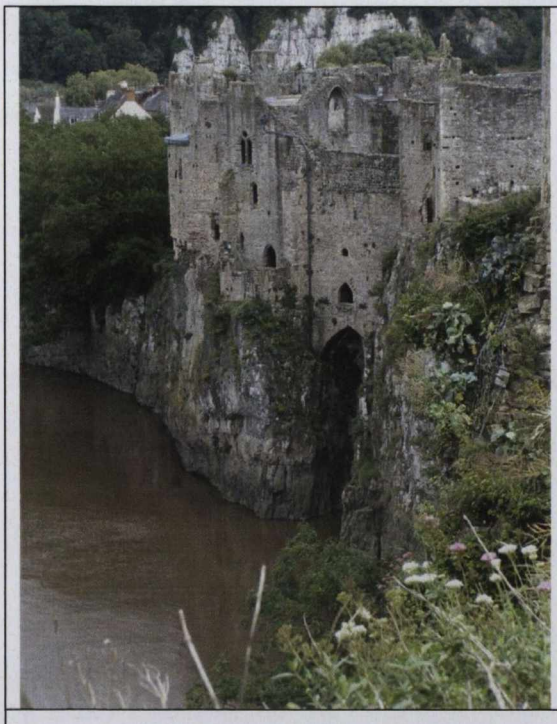
6.4 Carlow Castle, plan and reconstruction (Leask, *Irish Castles*, fig. 32)



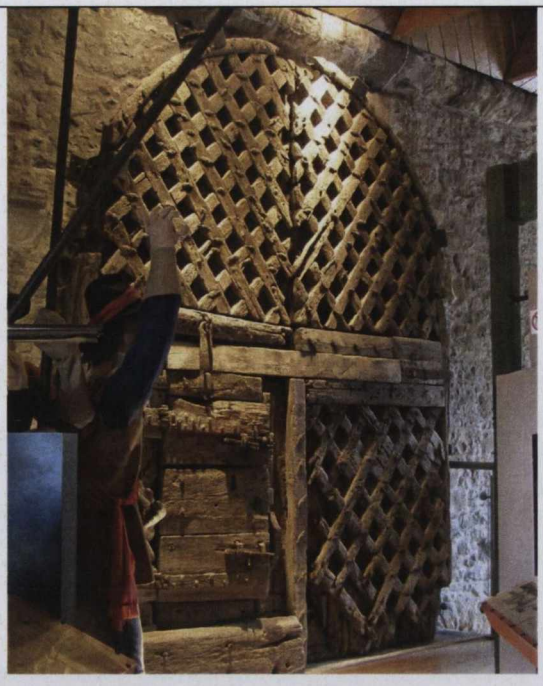
6.5 Carlow castle, plunging cross loop in the southwest tower



6.6 Château Noirt (Deux-Sèvres) (panoramio.com)



6.7 Chepstow castle (Monmouthshire), view of River Wye and castle from the upper barbican



6.8 Chepstow castle (Monmouthshire, medieval timber gate door



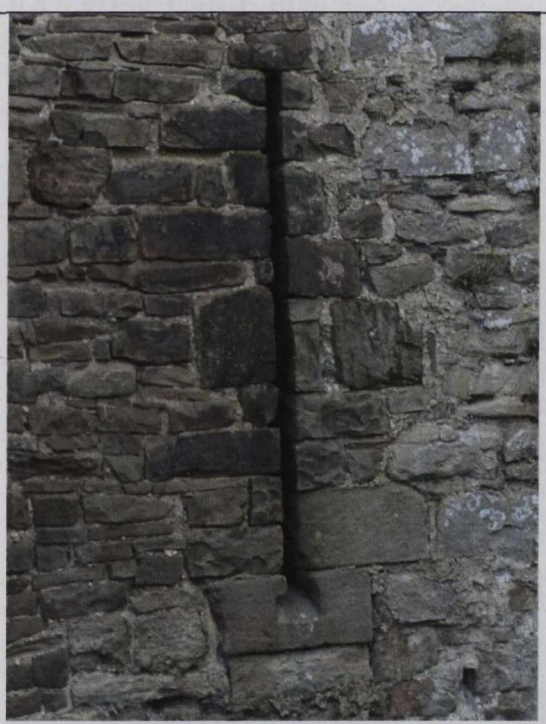
6.9 Chepstow castle (Monmouthshire), gatehouse



6.10 Chepstow castle, rounded basal oillet



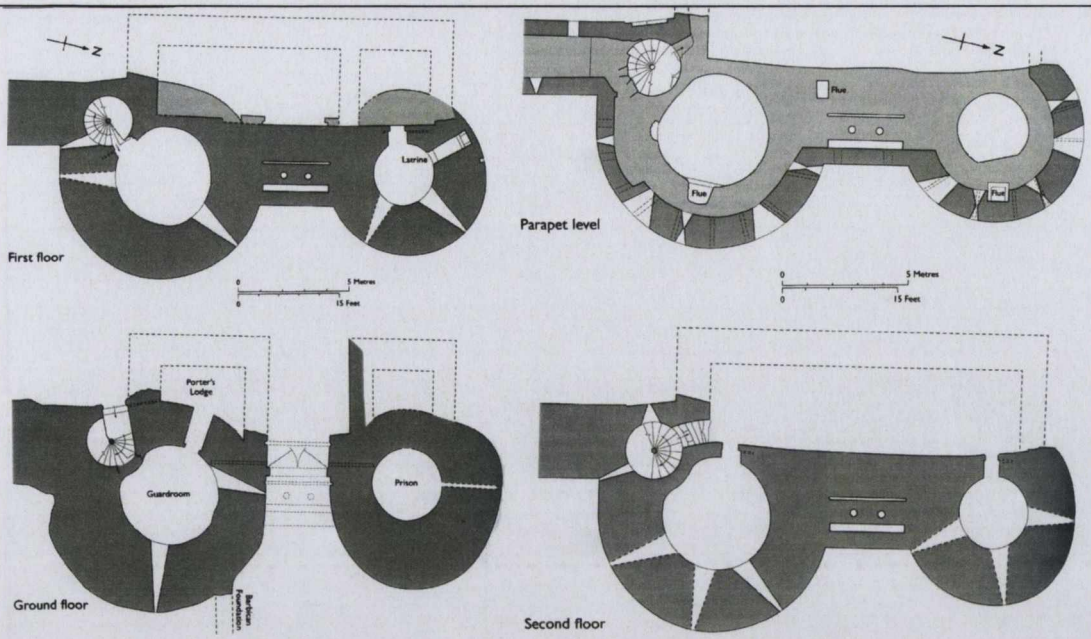
6.11 Chepstow castle, cross-slit with rounded basal oillets



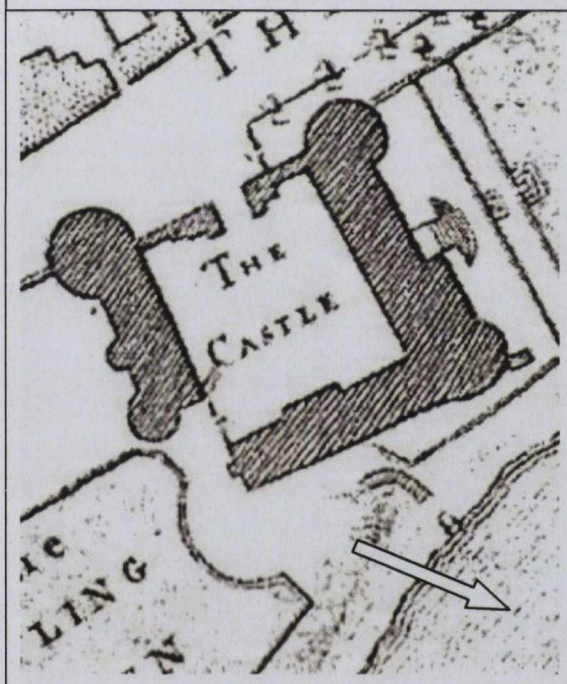
6.12 Usk castle, Garrison Tower, square oillet



6.13 Pembroke castle, Dungeon Tower, square oillet



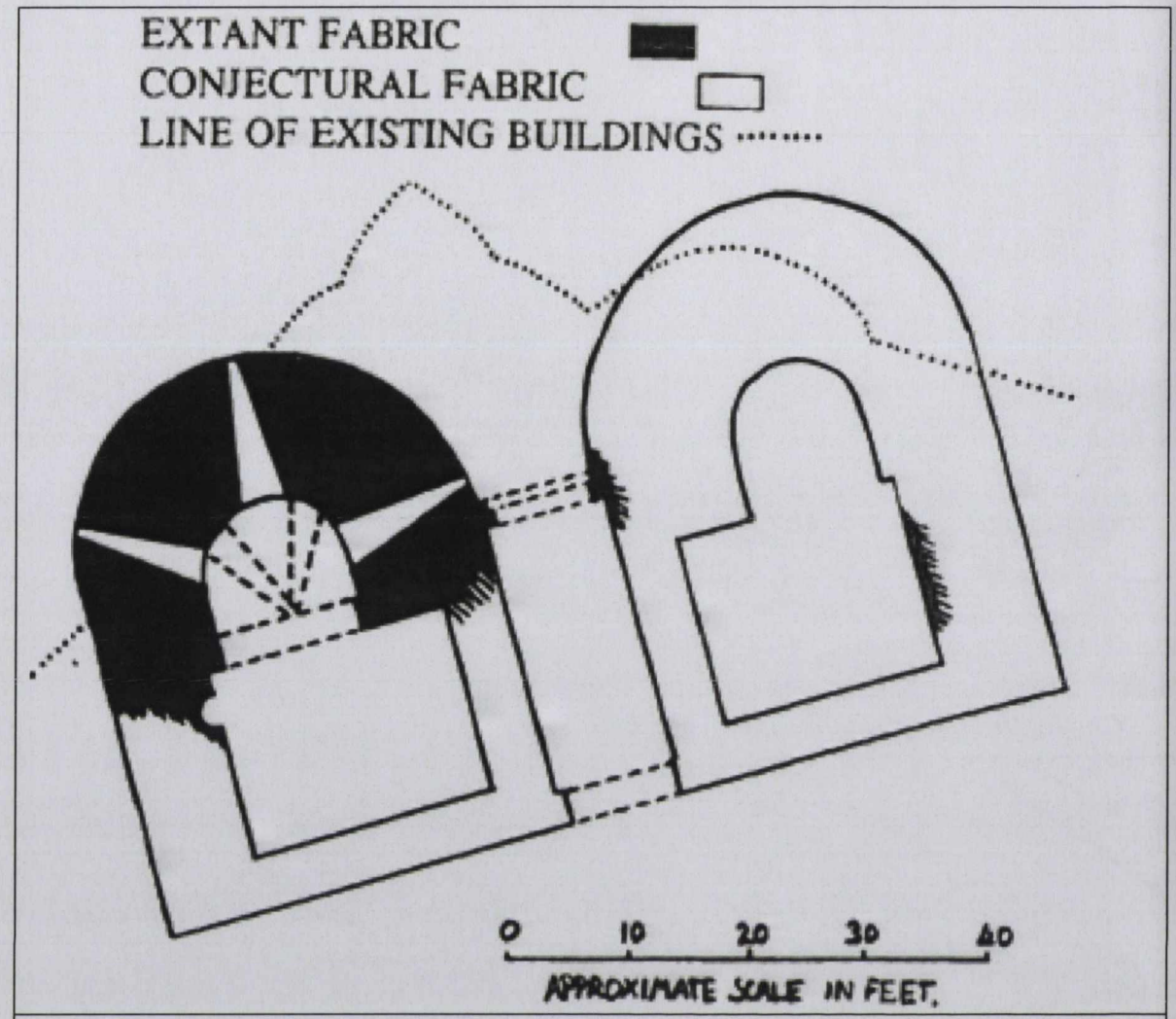
6.14 Chepstow castle, gatehouse, plan of the ground and first floors (*Chepstow Castle, Its History and Buildings*, figs. 43, 44)



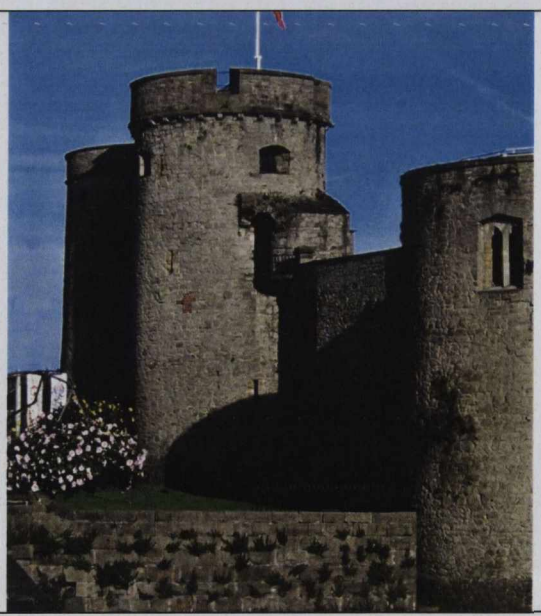
6.15 Kilkenny, 1758, by J Rocque (TCD), view of the castle before the gatehouse was removed but after the southeast tower was demolished (Irish Historic Towns Atlas)



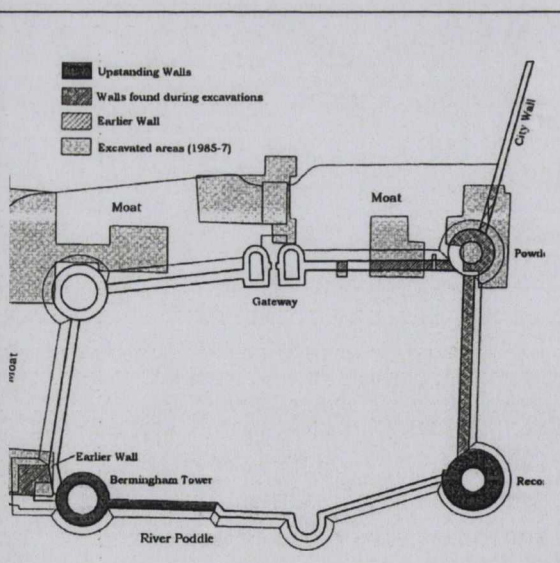
6.16 Chepstow castle (Monmouthshire), tooling in the façade of the southern tower of the gatehouse



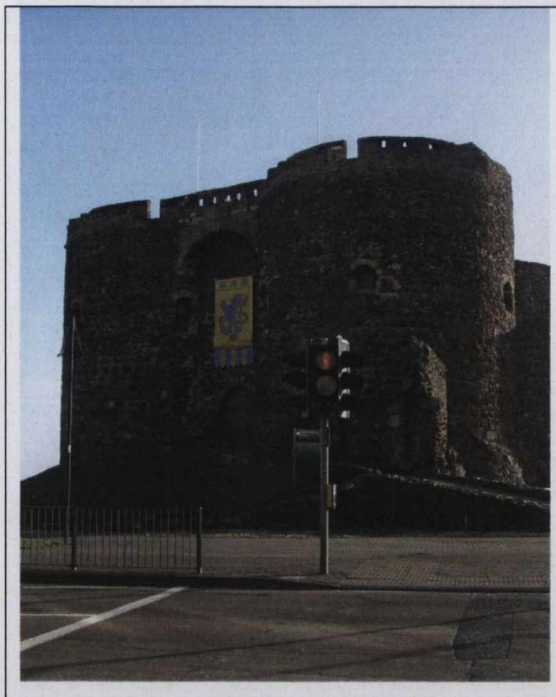
6.17 Dover castle (Kent), D-shaped gatehouse by King John (Goodall, 'Dover Castle and the Great Siege of 1216', fig. 9)



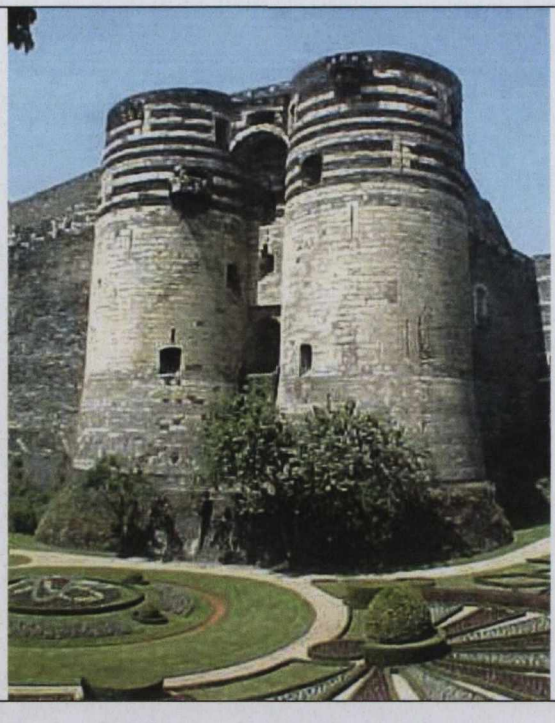
6.18 Limerick castle, gatehouse



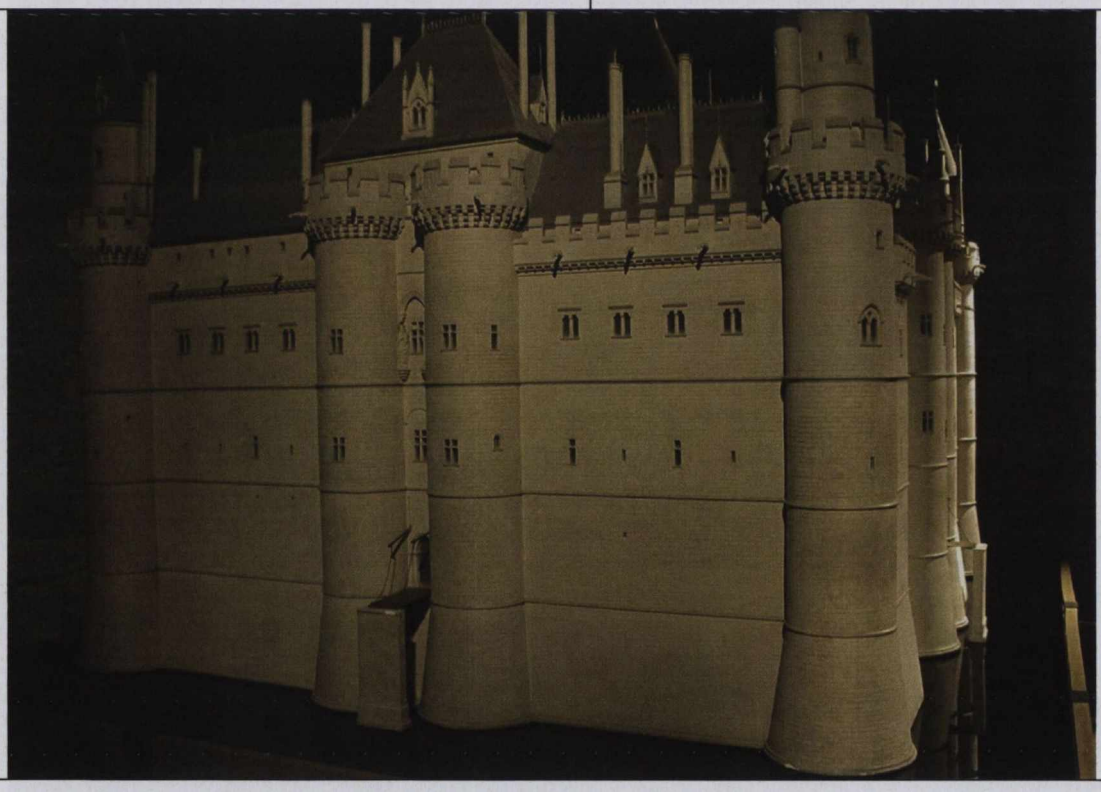
6.19 Dublin castle, composite plan depicting D shaped gatehouse towers (Maguire, 'Seventeenth Century Plans of Dublin Castle')



6.20 Carrickfergus castle, Co. Antrim gatehouse



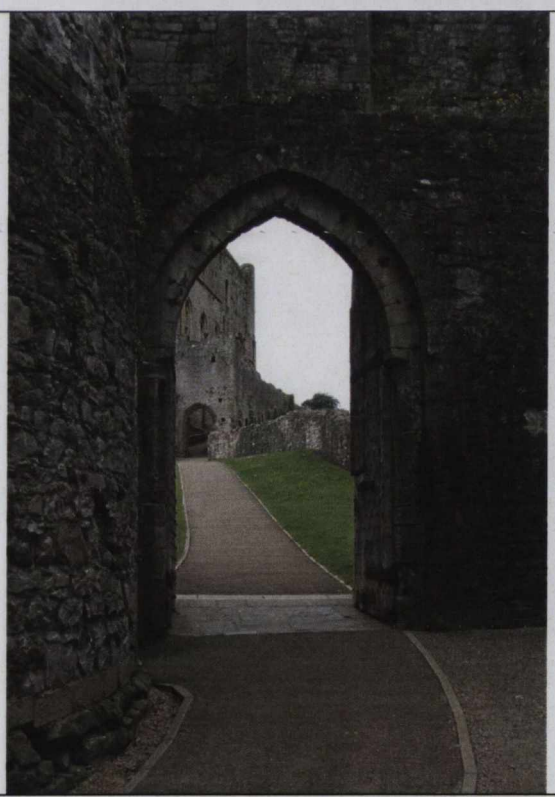
6.21 Château d'Angers (Maine-et-Loire) gatehouse (panoramio.com)



6.22 Tower of Paris (Louvre) model under the museum



6.23 Pevensey castle (Sussex), gatehouse (panoramio.com)



6.24 Chepstow castle, arch into the middle bailey



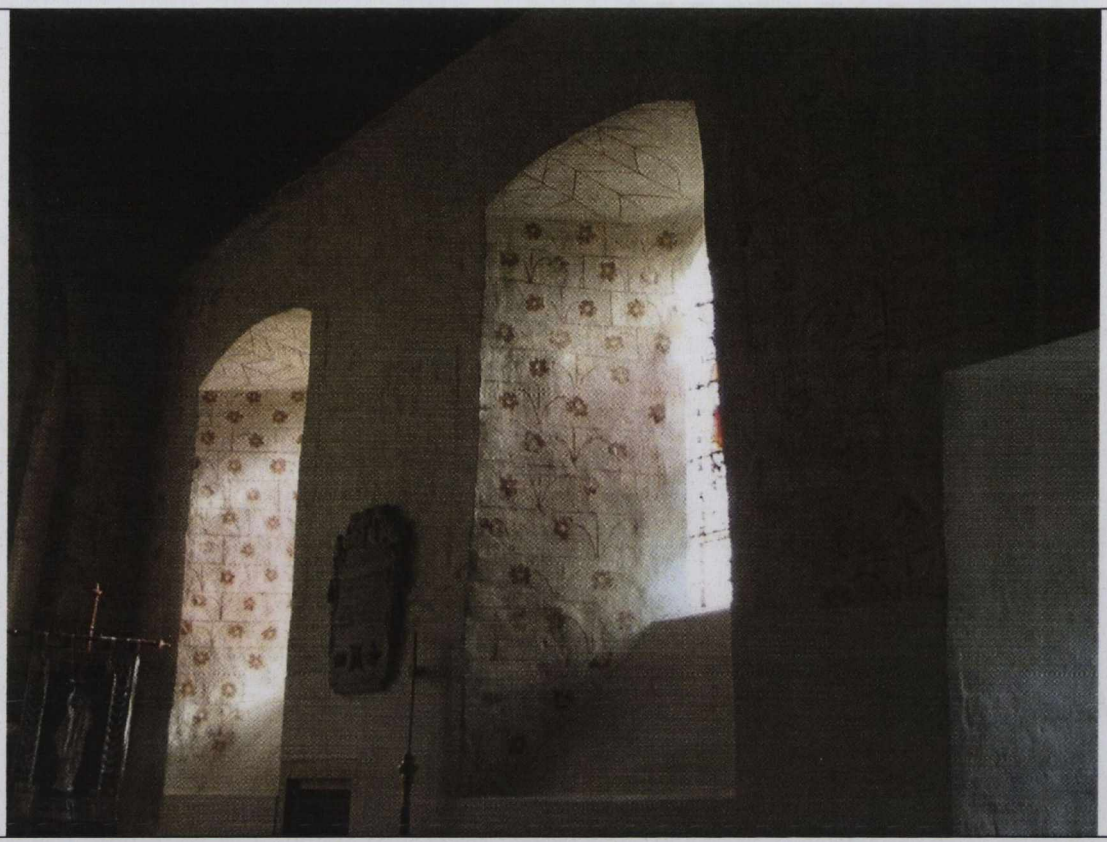
6.25 Chepstow castle, arch into upper bailey



6.26 Chepstow castle, Marshal Tower from upper barbican



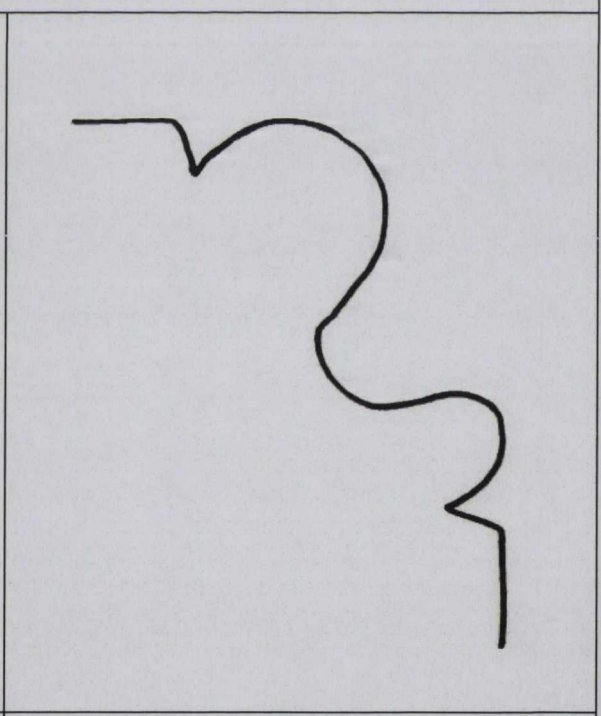
6.27 Chepstow castle, Marshal Tower, windows



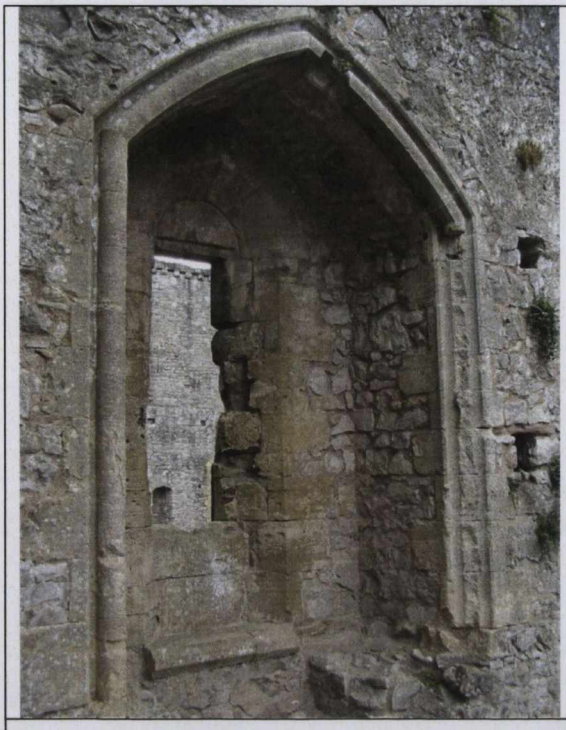
6.28 Silchester, St. Mary, ashlar and rosette pattern painted in the embrasures (Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, fig. 142)



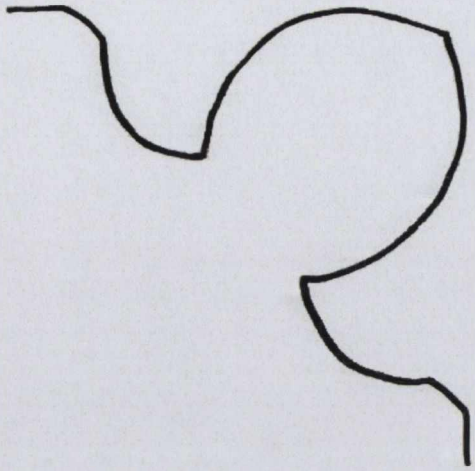
6.29 Chepstow castle, Marshal Tower, window south wall



6.30 Chepstow castle, Marshal Tower, window south wall, moulding profile



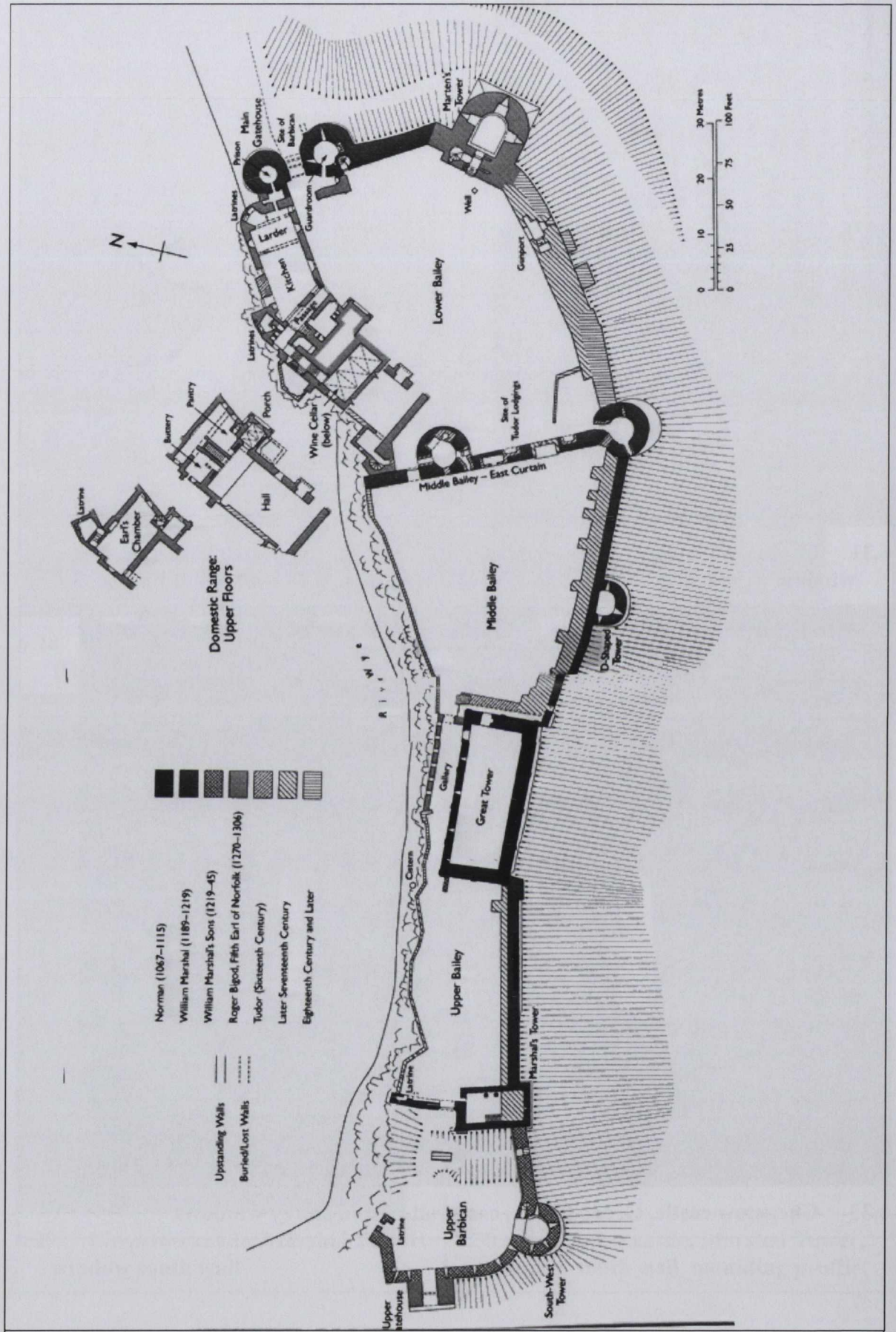
6.31 Chepstow castle, Marshal Tower, window west wall



6.32 Chepstow castle, Marshal Tower, window west wall, moulding profile

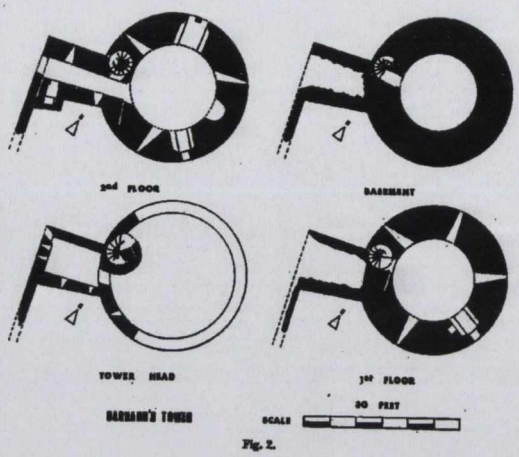


6.33 Chepstow castle, Great Tower, east wall second storey windows



6.34 Chepstow castle (Monmouthshire), plan of castle indicating phases of development (*Chepstow Castle, Its History and Buildings*)

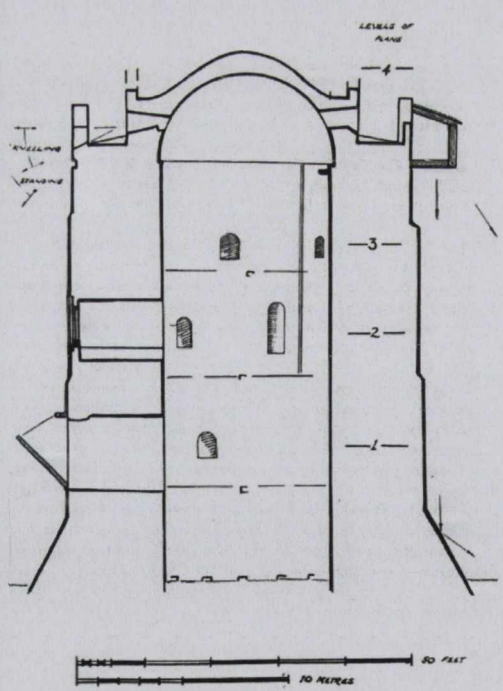
6.35 Pembroke castle, plan (Pembroke Castle Trust, *Pembroke Castle Guide Book*)



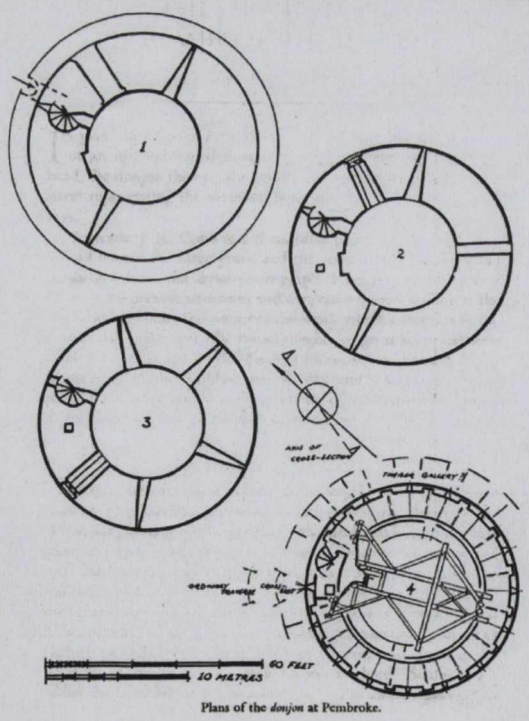
6.36 Pembroke town walls, Barnard's Tower (King and Cheshire, 'Town Walls of Pembroke')



6.37 Pembroke castle, Northgate Tower

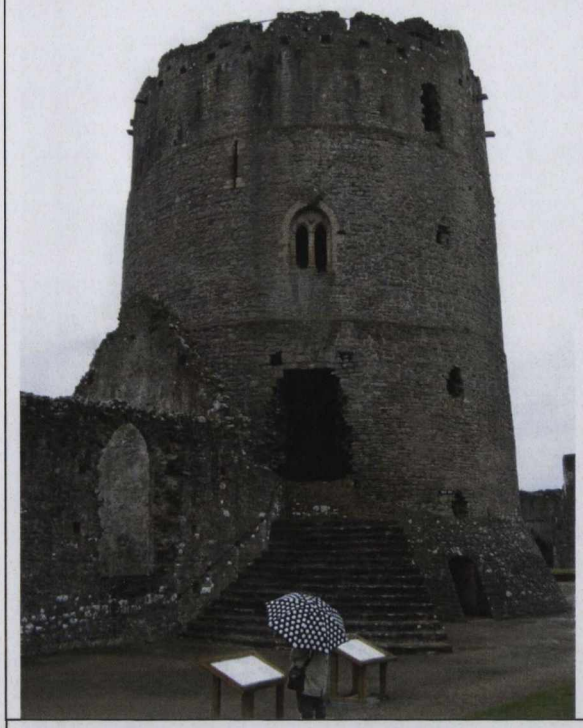


Cross-section of the *donjon* at Pembroke.



Plans of the *donjon* at Pembroke.

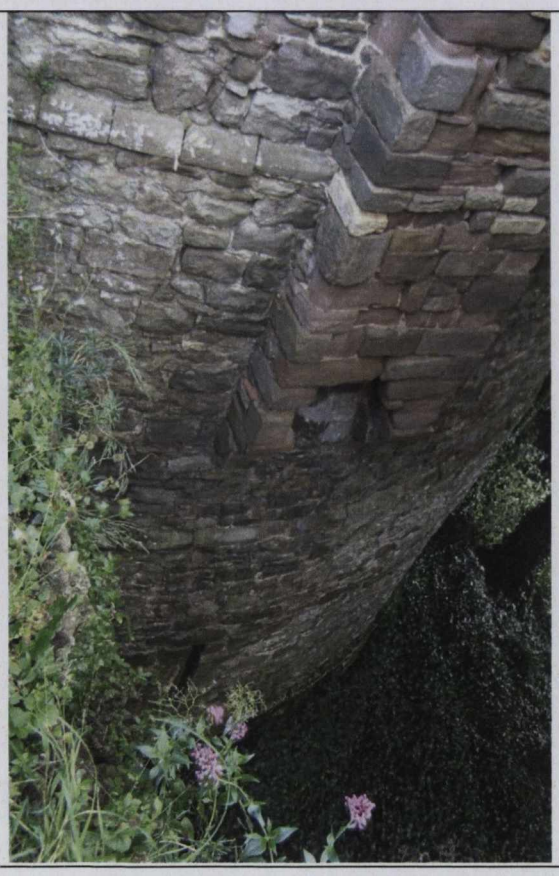
6.38 Pembroke castle, plan (Renn, 'The Donjon at Pembroke Castle')



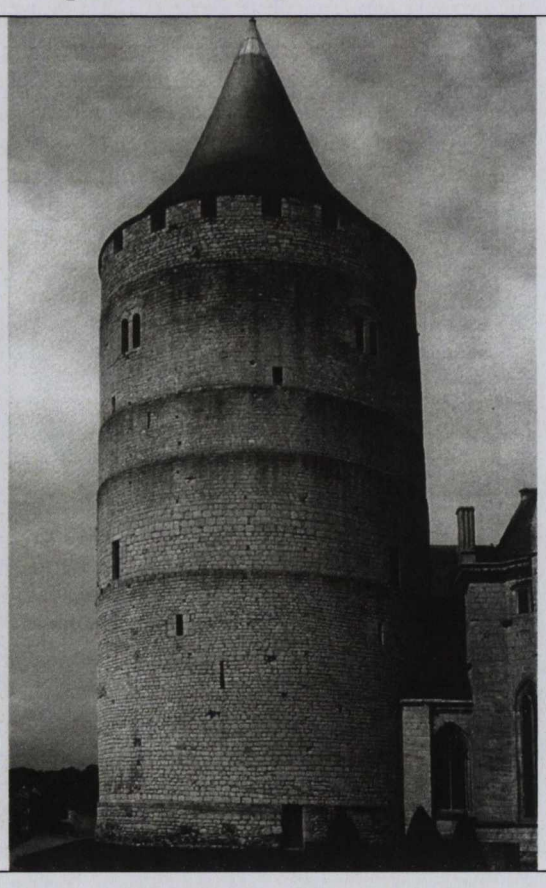
6.39 Pembroke castle, *donjon*



6.40 Laval (Mavenne), *donjon* (panoramio.com)



6.41 Usk castle, Garrison Tower, note the chamfered offset and garderobe shute



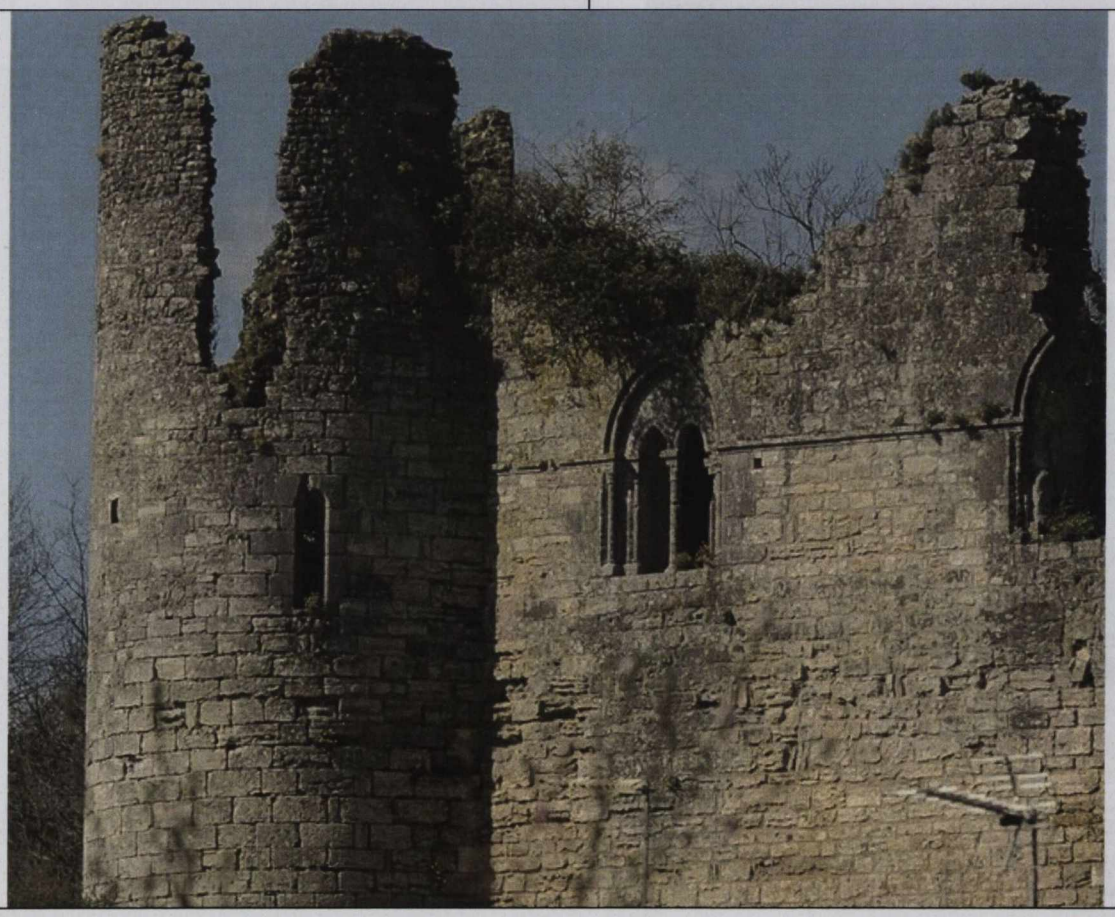
6.42 Châteaudun (Eure-et-Loire)



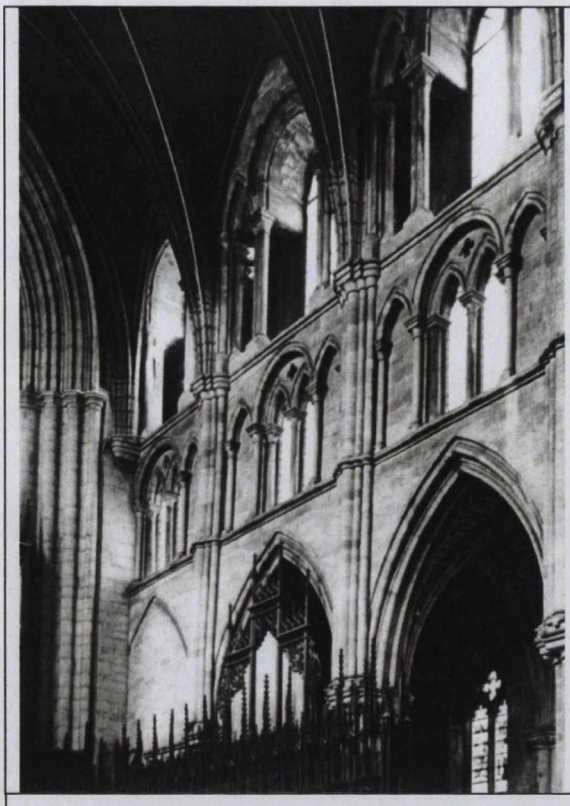
6.43 Pembroke castle, *donjon*, second storey window



6.44 Pembroke castle, *donjon*, third storey window



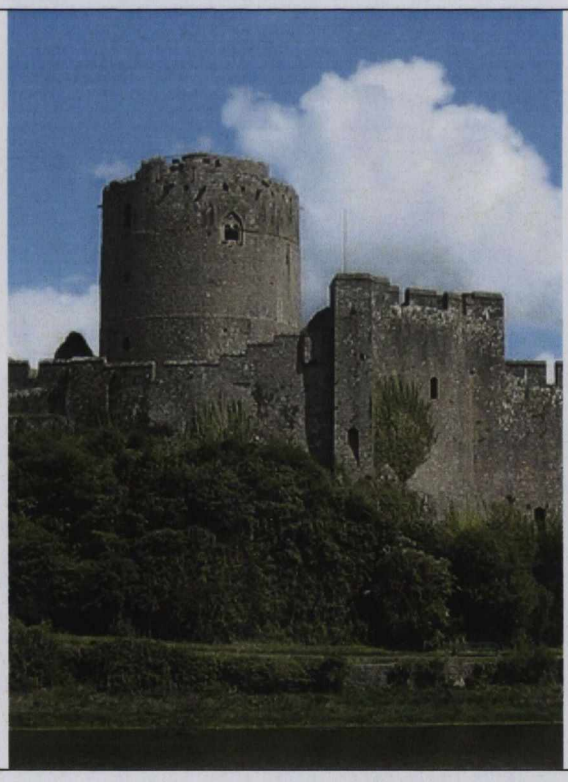
6.45 Montreuil-Bonnin (Vienne), curtain wall (picasaweb.google.com)



6.46 Ripon Minster, north choir aisle



6.47 St. Mary, Shrewsbury, porch



6.48 Pembroke castle, Point Turret



6.49 Pembroke, *donjon*, doorway leading to the curtain



6.50 Pembroke castle, *donjon* battlements



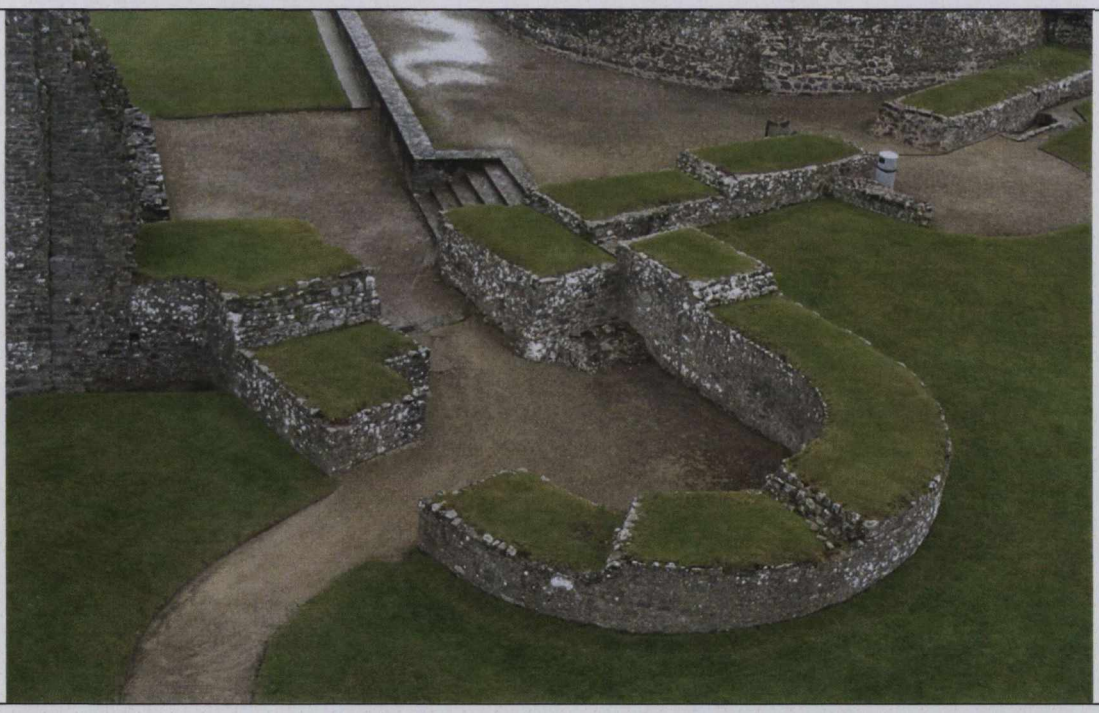
6.51 Kilkenny, view looking north-west, *c.*1698, by Francis Place, pen and ink wash (NGI) (Irish Historic Towns Atlas)



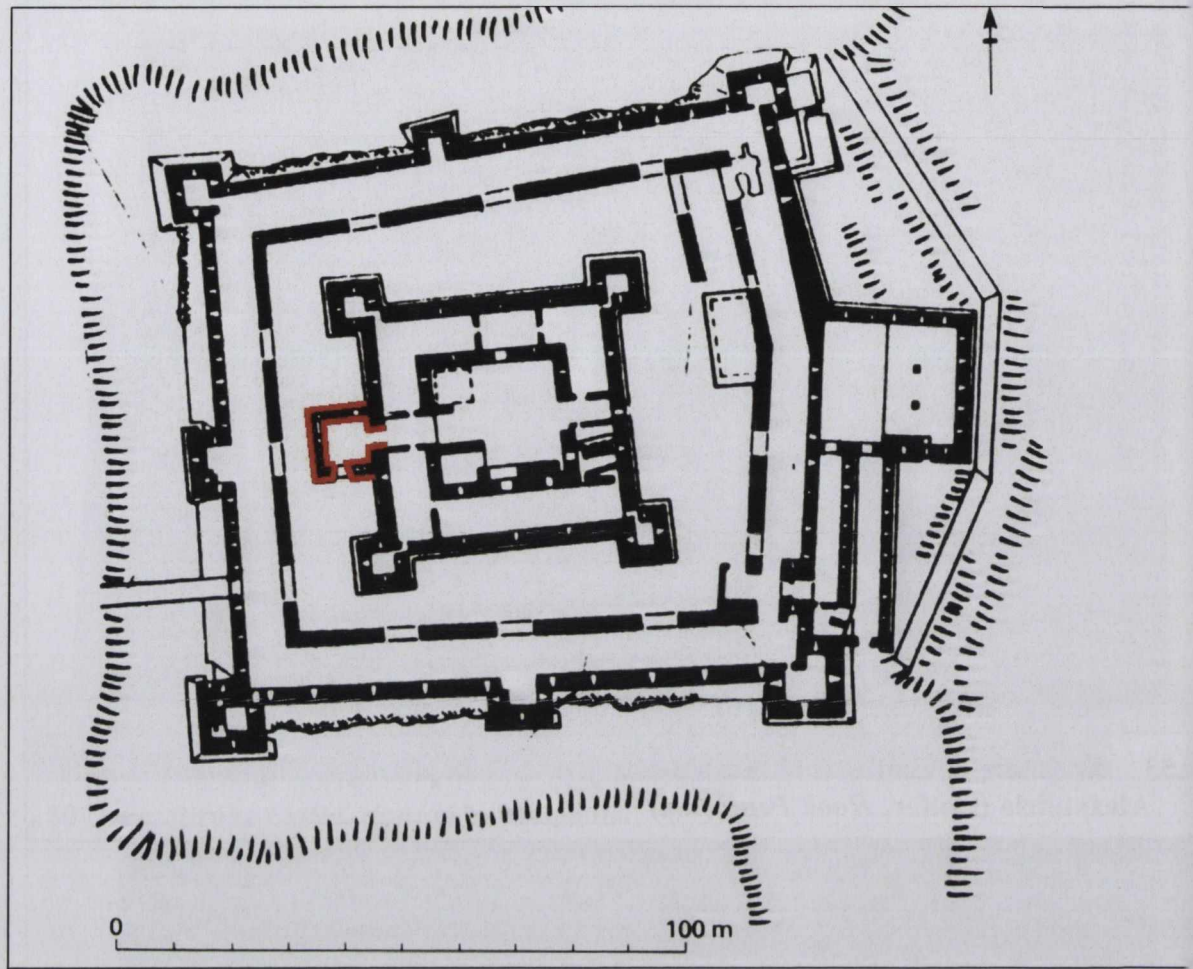
6.52 Tower of Hook, detail from an aerial perspective of the Hook c.1685. The glass lantern was erected in the 1670s (Colfer, *The Hook Peninsula*, fig. 9)



6.53 St. Mark's, Venice, thirteenth century mosaic depicting the lighthouse in Alexandria (Colfer, *Hook Peninsula*)



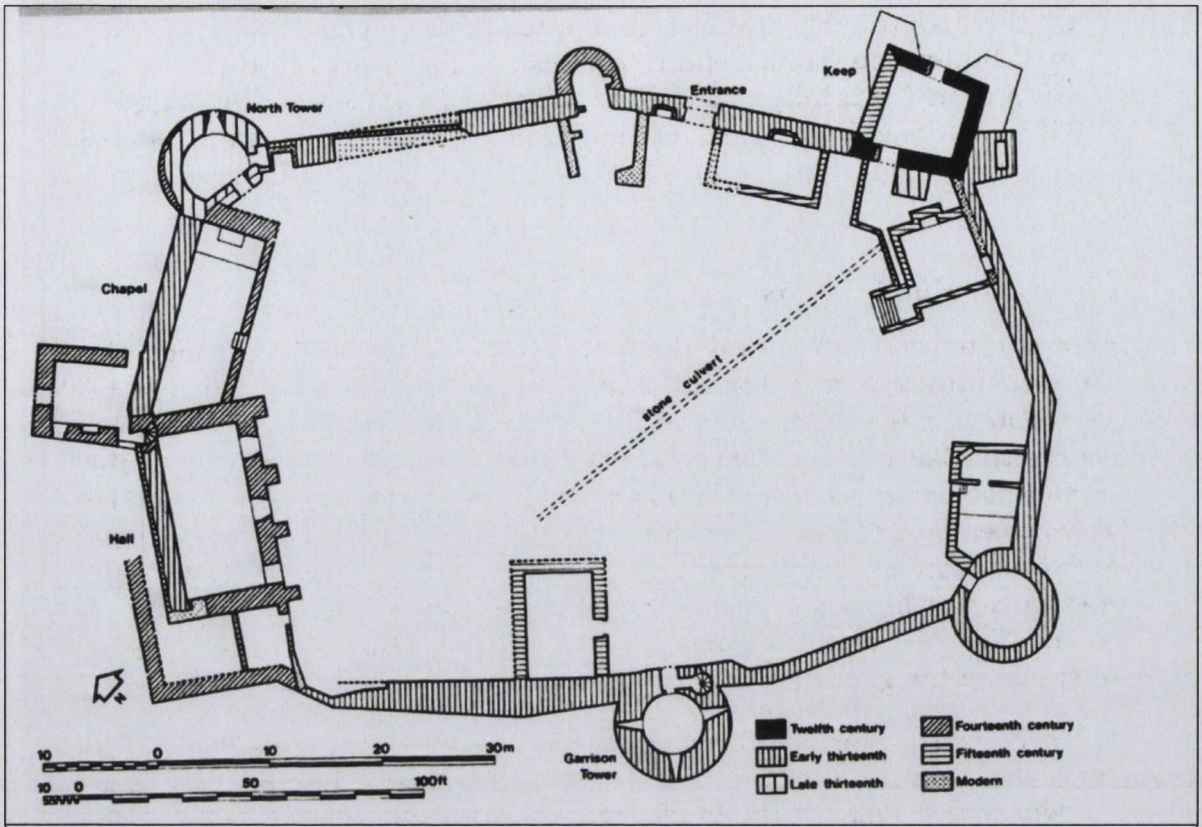
6.54 Pembroke castle, Horseshoe Gate



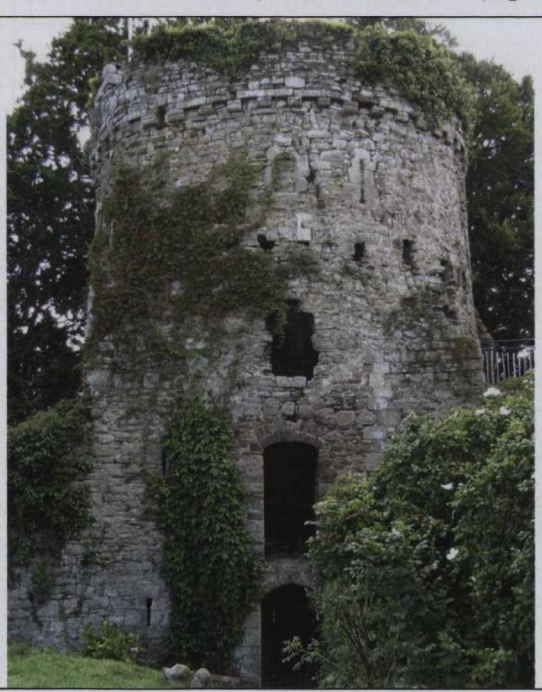
6.55 Belvoir Hospitaller castle (Jordan), plan of the upper storeys with the note location of the gate tower entrance doorways marked in red (Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*)



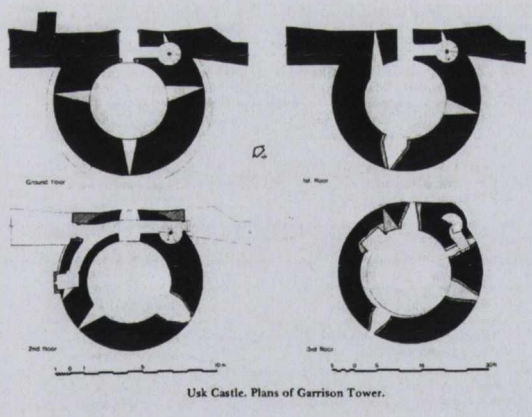
6.56 Cafarlet, Kaft Lam (Palestine), Hospitallers castle, plan (wikimedia.com)



6.57 Usk castle (Monmouthshire), plan (King, 'Usk Castle and its Affinities')

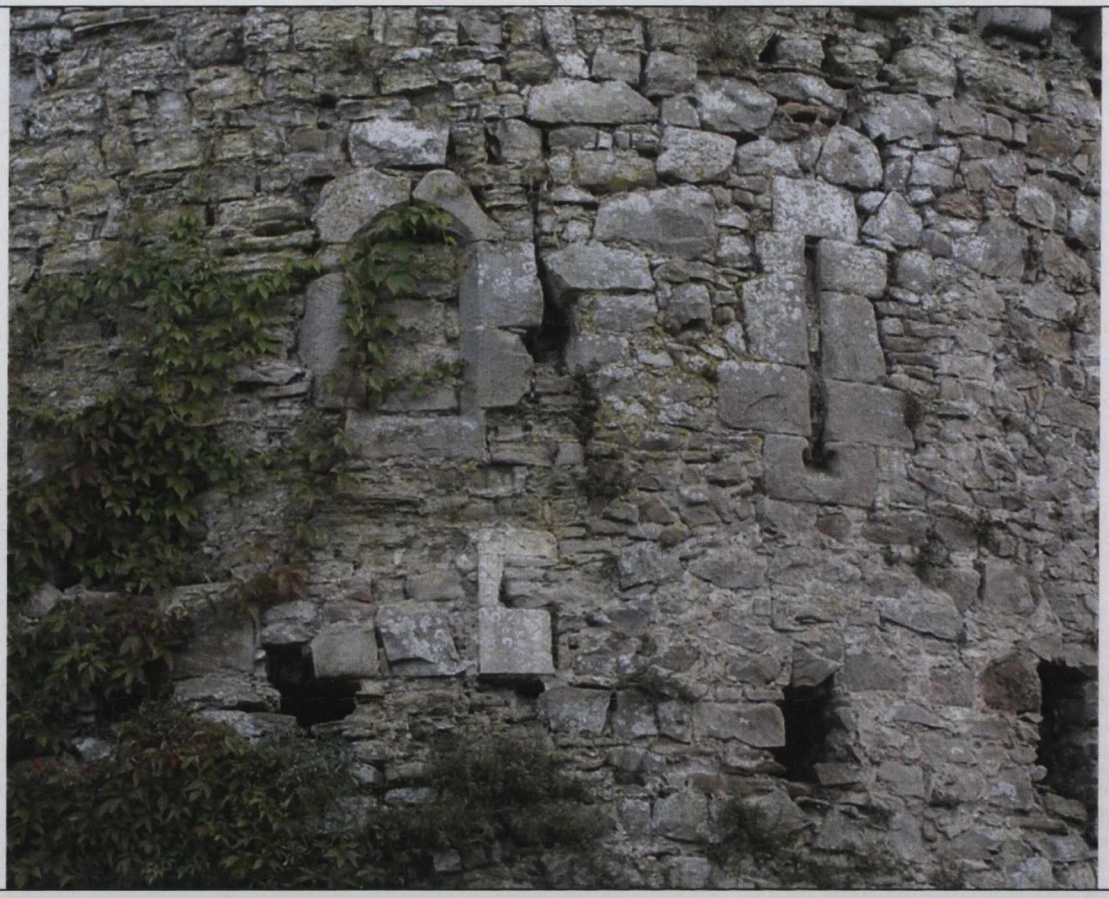


6.58 Usk Castle, Garrison Tower



Usk Castle. Plans of Garrison Tower.

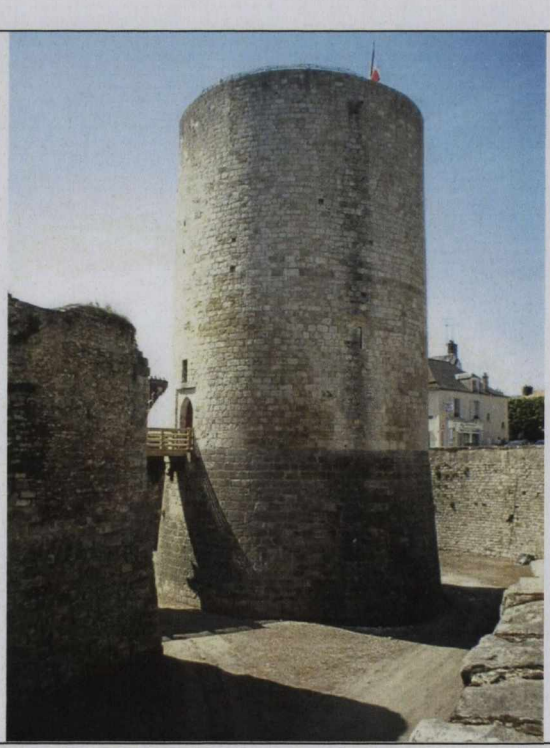
6.59 Usk Castle, Garrison Tower, plan (King, 'Usk Castle and its Affinities')



6.60 Usk Castle, Garrison Tower, blocked square basal oillet, pointed lancet and post holes



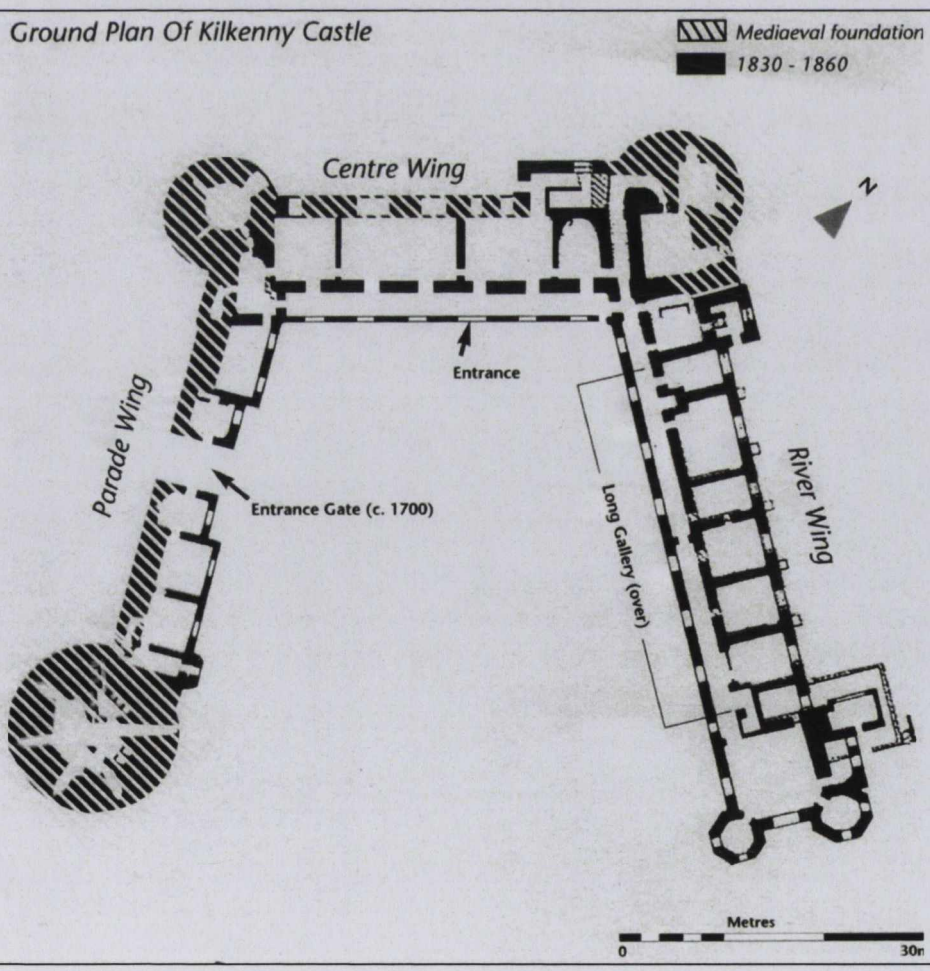
6.61 Laval (Mayenne), stone hourd extending outward of the top of the tower , wooden posts support it (panoramio.com)



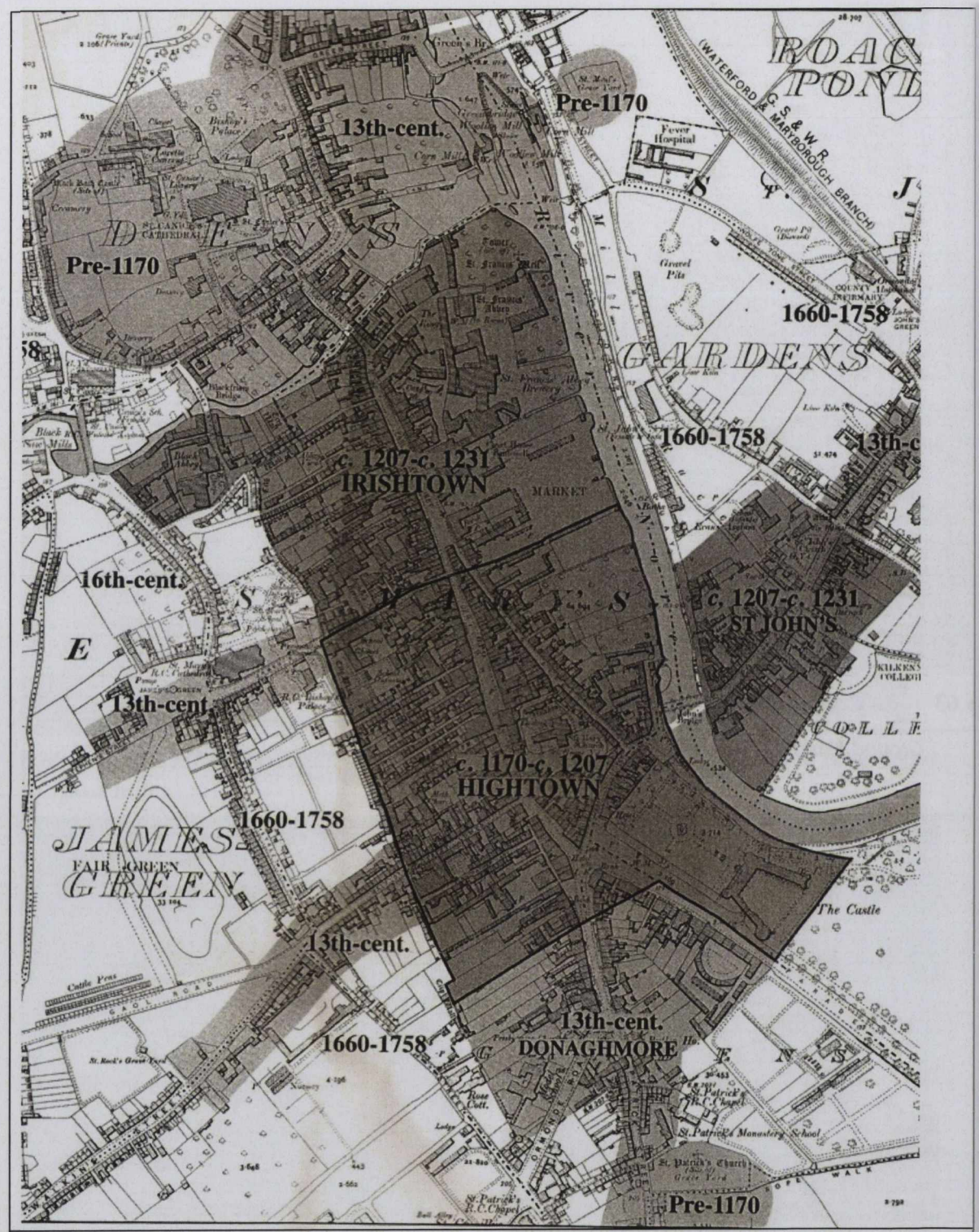
6.62 Château Dourdan (Ile-de-France), keep (panoramio.com)



6.63 Le Coudray-Salbart (Poitou) (panoramio.com)



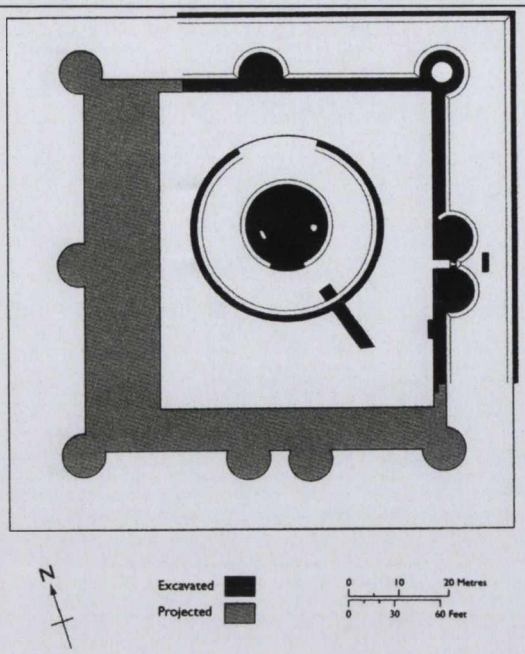
6.64 Kilkenny castle, plan (Fenlon, *Kilkenny Castle, Visitor's Guide*)



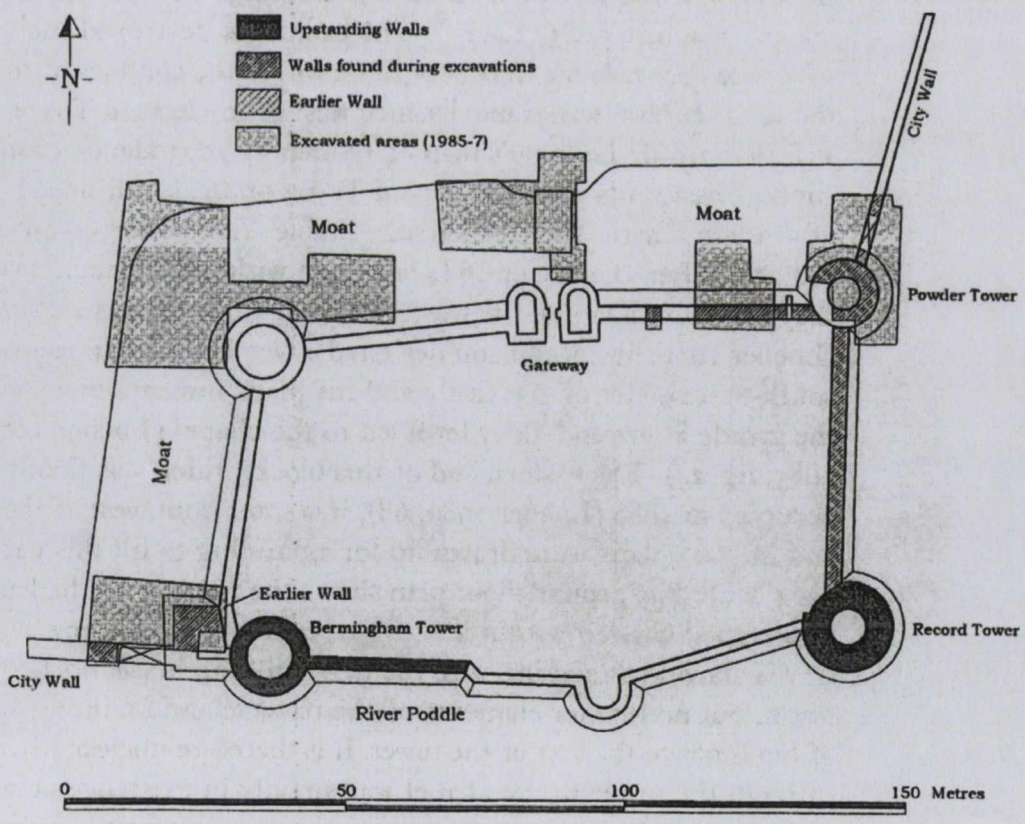
6.65 Growth of Kilkenny, (Rocque's map), by John Bradley (Irish Historic Towns Atlas)



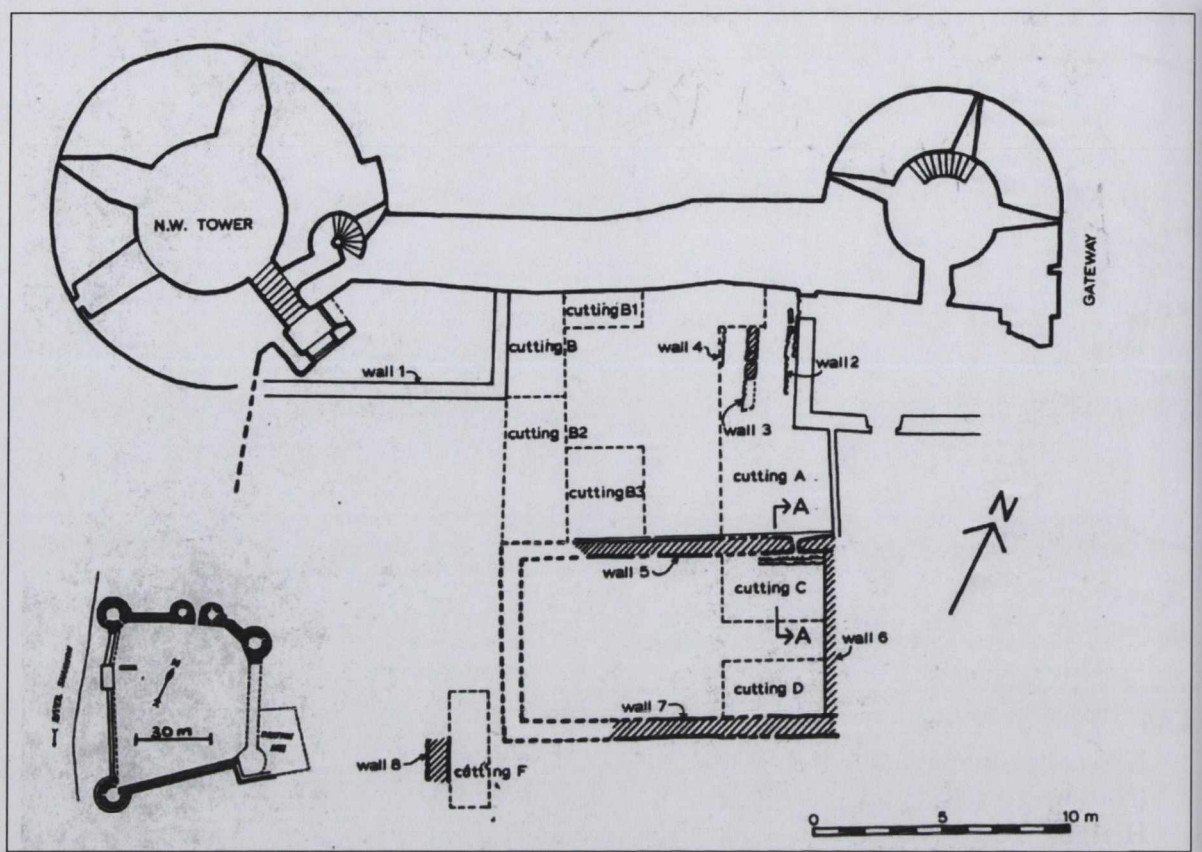
6.66 **Part of 'The liberties of the city of Kilkenny', *c.*1655, Down Survey (National Archives of Ireland) (Irish Historic Towns Atlas)**



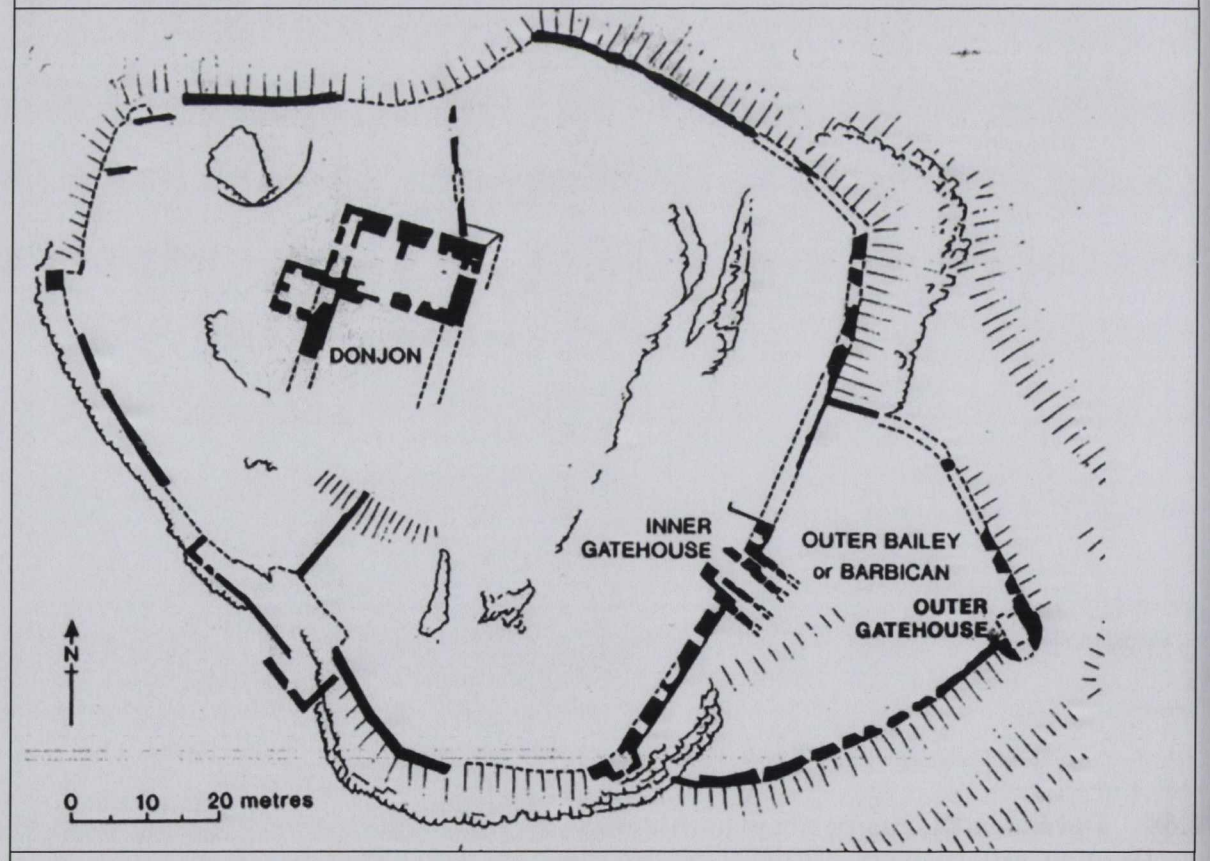
6.67 **Tower of Paris (Louvre)**



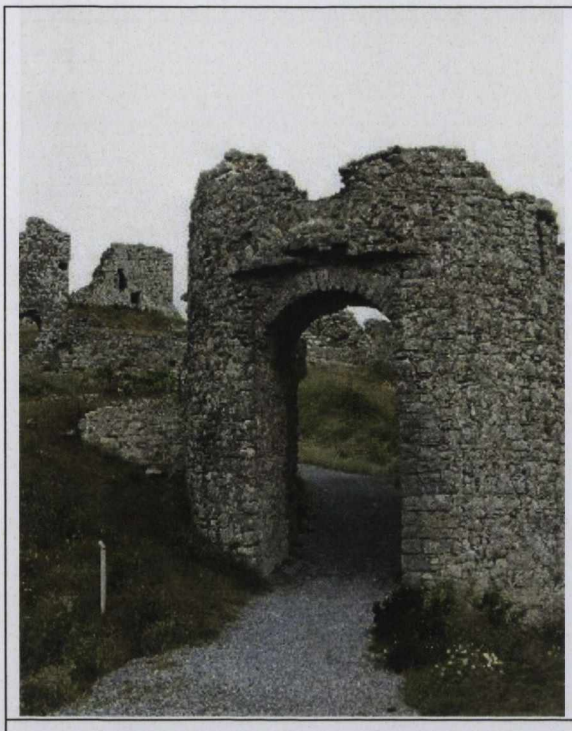
6.68 **Dublin castle, composite plan (Maguire, 'Seventeenth Century Plans of Dublin Castle')**



6.69 Limerick castle, plan (Sweetman, 'King John's Castle, Limerick')



6.70 Dunamase castle (Laois), plan ('The Outer Gatehouse at Dunamase')



6.71 Dunamase, outer barbican gate tower



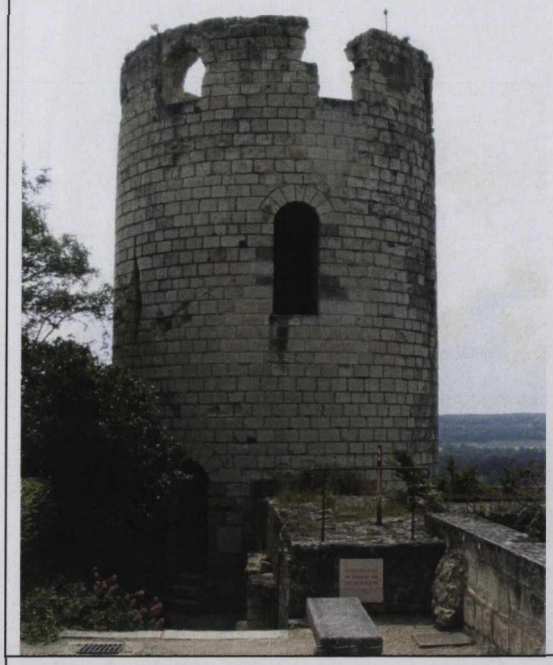
6.72 Trim castle, south gate tower



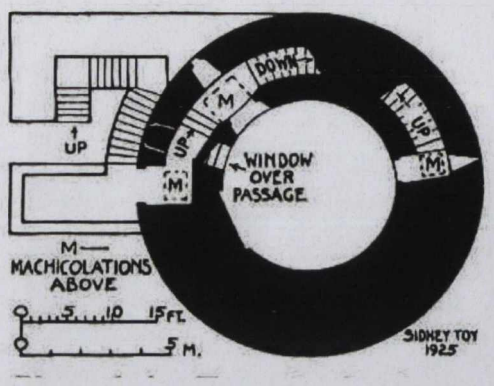
6.73 Coudray-Salbart gate tower



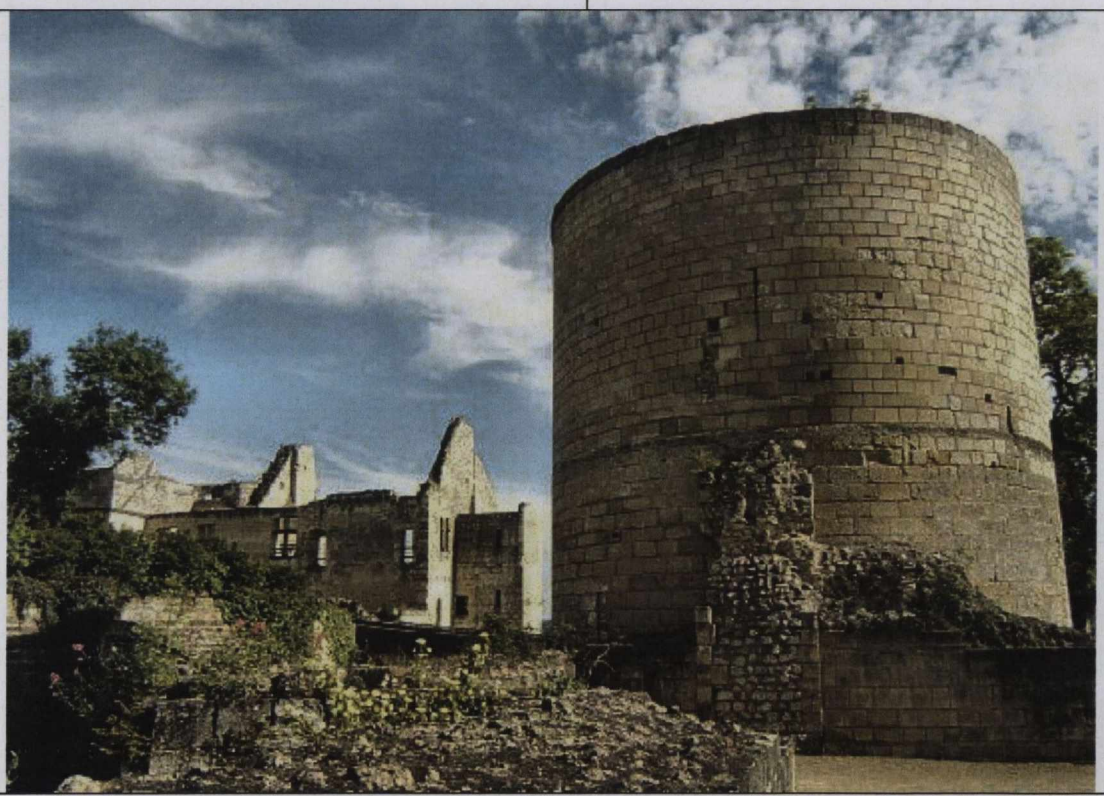
6.74 Château Dourdan (Ile-de-France), keep (panoramio.com)



6.75 Chinon (Indre-et-Loire), Tour du Moulin (panoramio.com)



6.76 Chinon (Indre-et-Loire), Tour du Moulin, plan (Sidney Toy, 1925)



6.77 Chinon (Indre-et-Loire), Tour du Coudray (panoramio.com)

CHAPTER 7



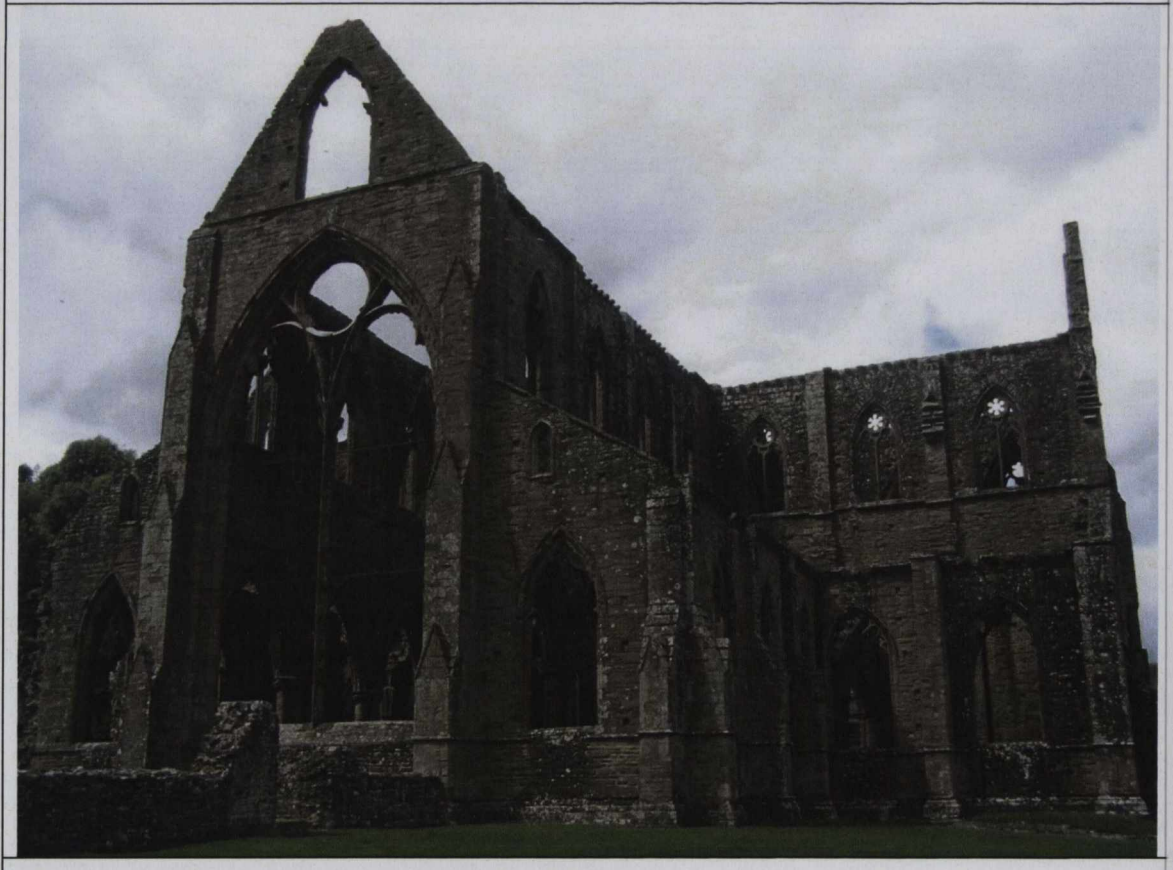
7.1 Gilbert Marshal's death at a tournament, Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora , II*, f. 147v (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, Parker Library on the web)



7.2 Cartmel Priory (Lancashire), view of south transept and porch from southwest



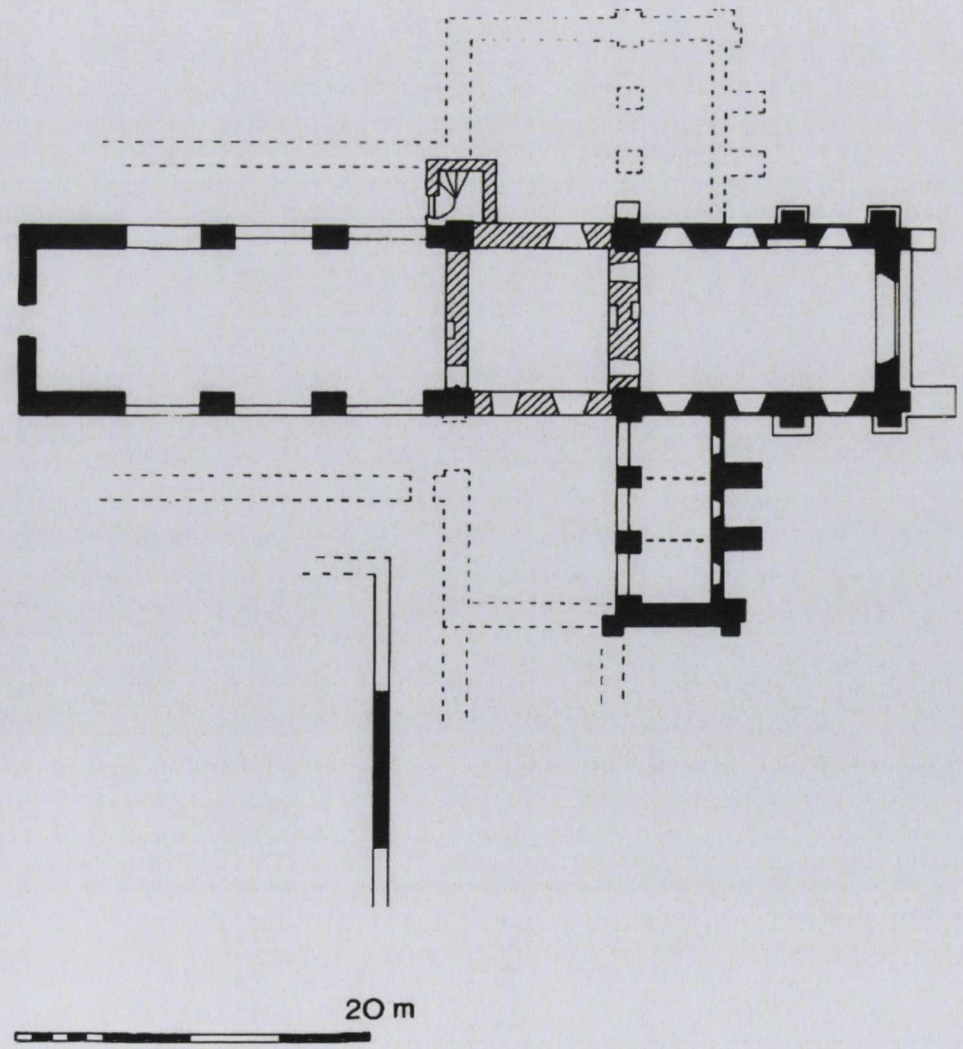
7.3 Tintern Minor or *de Voto* (Wexford), from the southeast



7.4 Tintern Major (Monmouthshire), from northeast



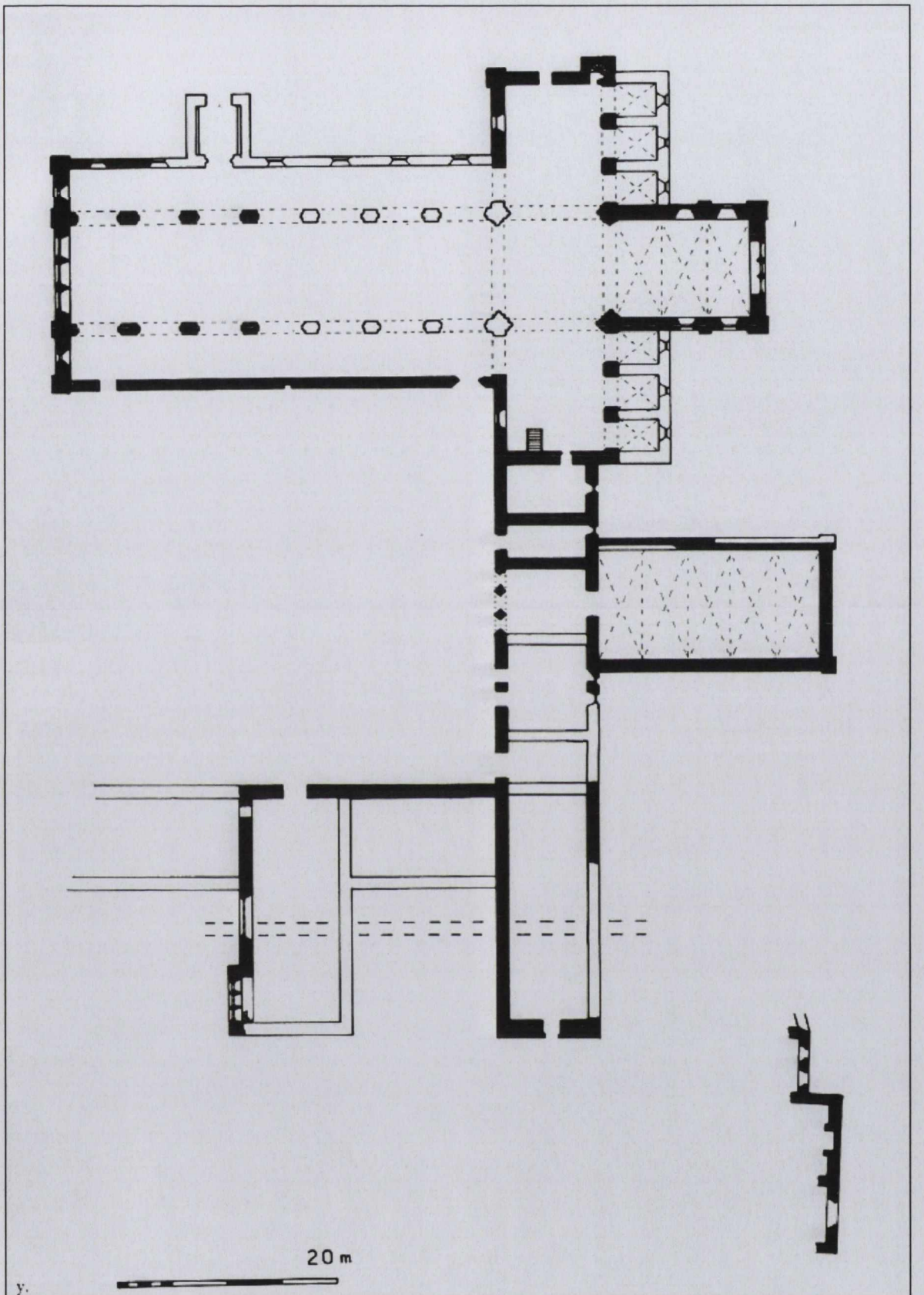
7.5 Dunbrody Cistercian Monastery (Wexford), from southeast



7.6 Tintern Minor, plan (Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, Fig. 28)



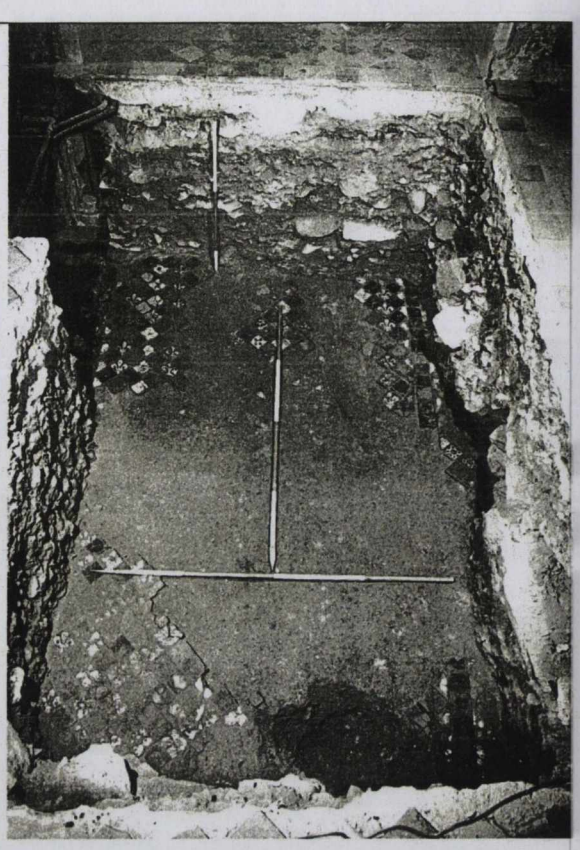
7.7 Effigy of William Marshal the elder, Temple Church, London, detail



7.8 Graiguenamanagh Cistercian Monastery (Kilkenny), plan (Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, Fig. 27)



7.9 Graiguenamanagh, collation seat in cloister (Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 154)



7.10 Graiguenamanagh, north transept tiles found *in situ*, excavated in 1977 (Bradley and Manning, *Duiske Excavated*)



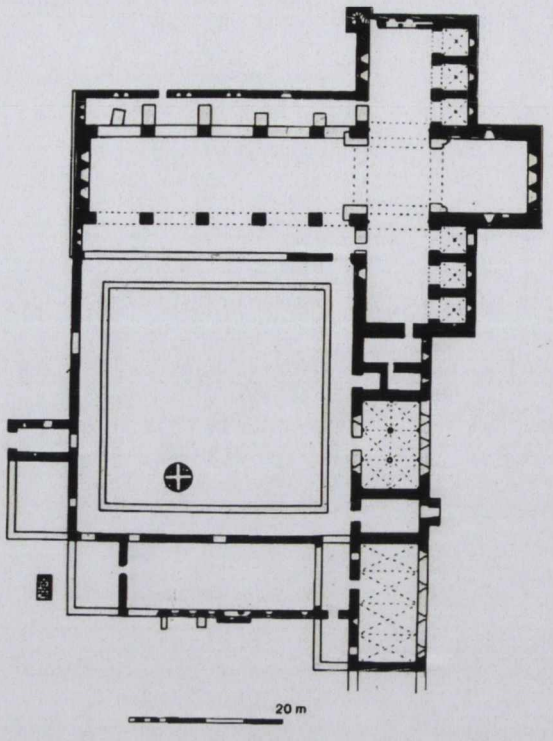
7.11 Tristernagh Augustinian Abbey (Westmeath) (Grose, *Antiquities of Ireland* v1)



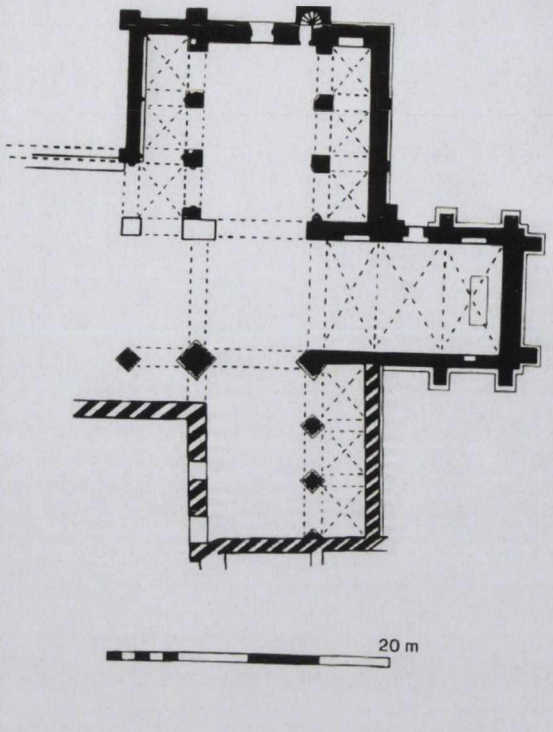
7.12 Graiguenamanagh, view from south transept, 1792 (Grose, F., *Antiquities of Ireland*, vol.1, pl 49)



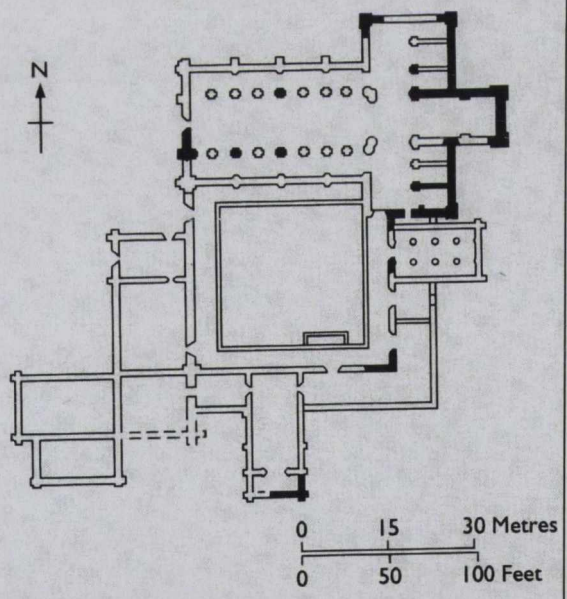
7.13 Beranger's watercolour of Graiguenamanagh Cistercian Monastery (Kilkenny), (Beranger, *Antique Buildings of Ireland*, 65)



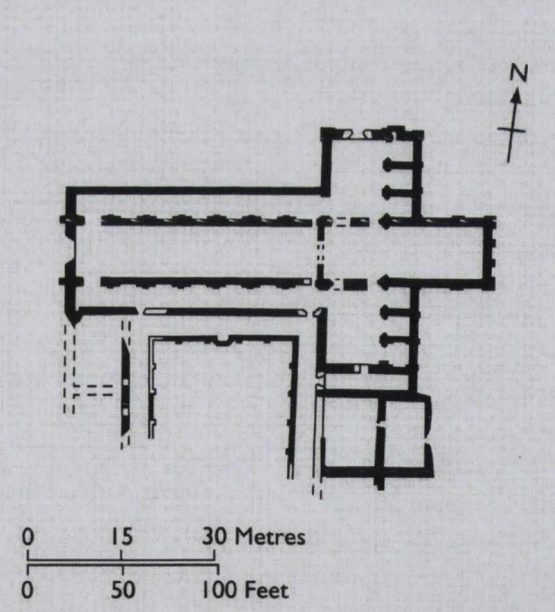
7.14 **Dunbrody, plan (Stalley, Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland)**



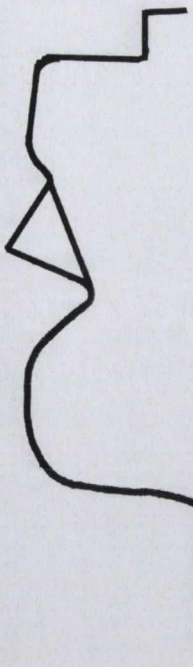
7.15 **Mellifont Cistercian Monastery (Louth), plan (Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, Fig. 19)**



7.16 **Bordesley Cistercian Monastery (Worcestershire), plan (Robinson, *Cistercian Monasteries of Britain*)**



7.17 **Strata Florida (Cardiganshire), plan (Robinson, *Cistercian Monasteries of Britain*)**



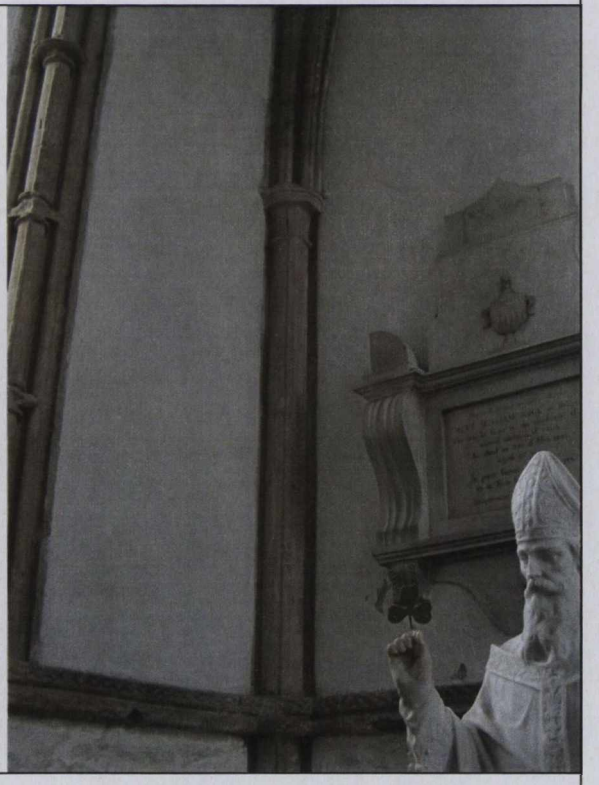
7.18 Graiguenamanagh, moulding profile of the chancel stringcourse



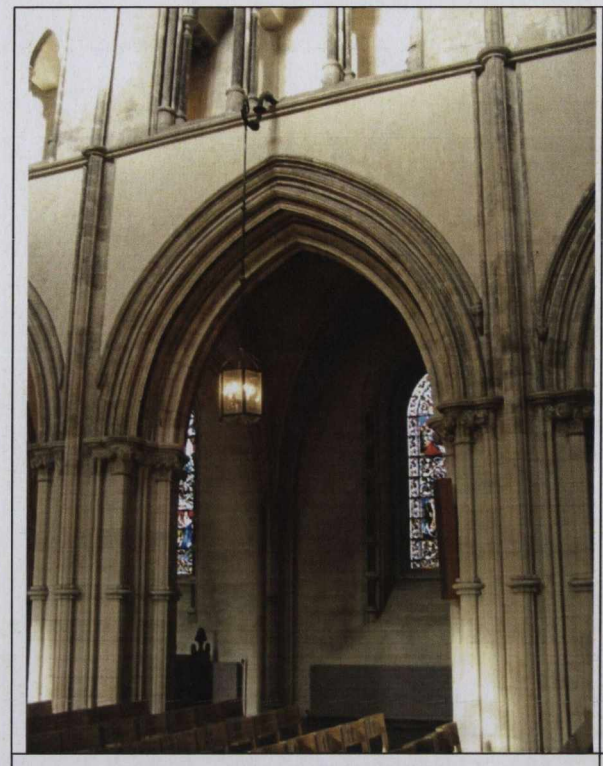
7.19 Graiguenamanagh, chancel stringcourse label stop, southeast corner abutting crossing pier



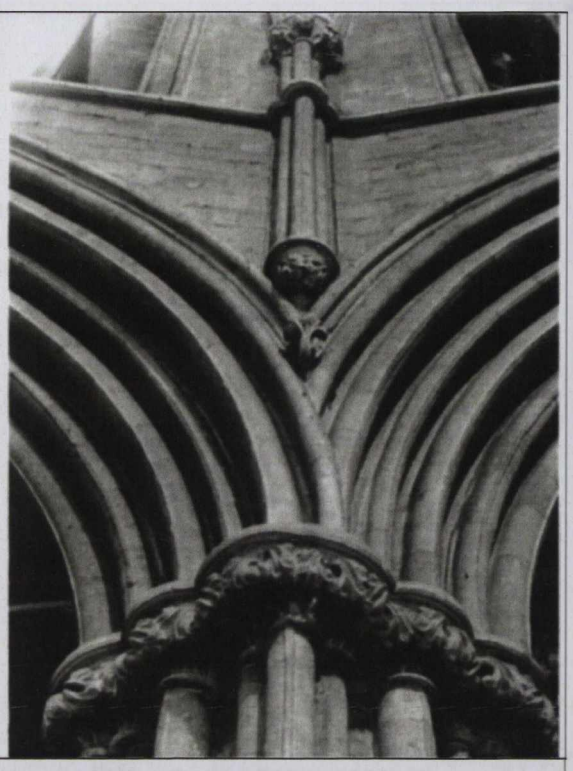
7.20 Bristol, Elder Lady Chapel, label stop, east end, south side (Reeves, *English Stiff Leaf*)



7.21 Graiguenamanagh, chancel northeast corner, showing vault shaft set back into wall



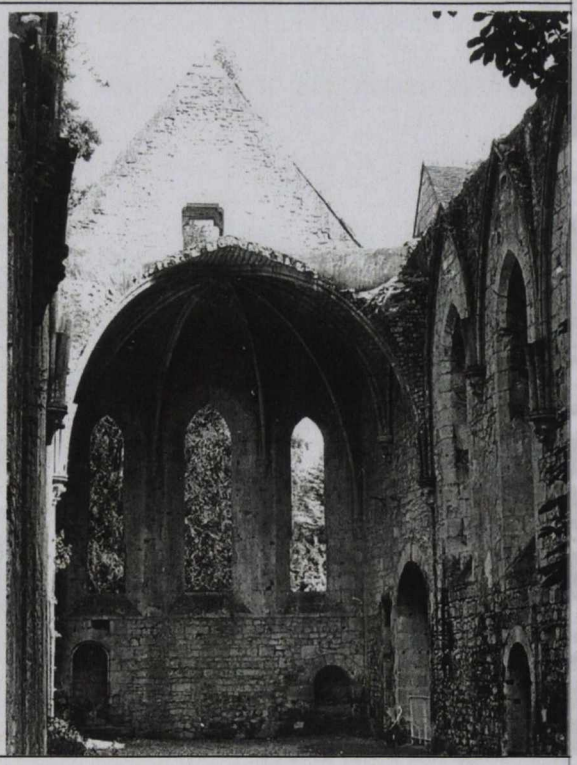
7.22 Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, north nave wall, recessed wall shafts



7.23 Pershore Abbey (Worcestershire), recessed vault shaft above third freestanding pier from west, north choir arcade (Stalley and Thurlby, *Pershore Gothic*)



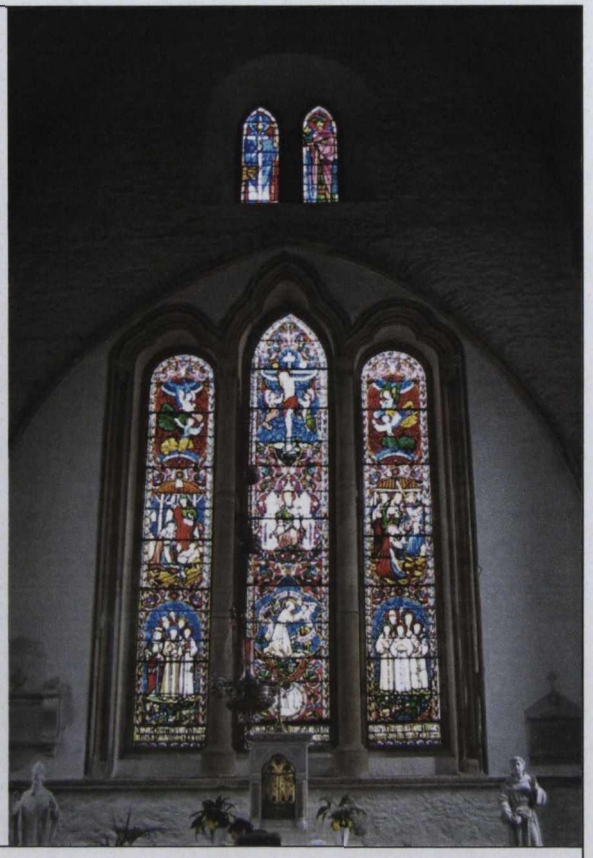
7.24 Llanthony Augustinian Priory (Monmouthshire) chancel, northeast bay



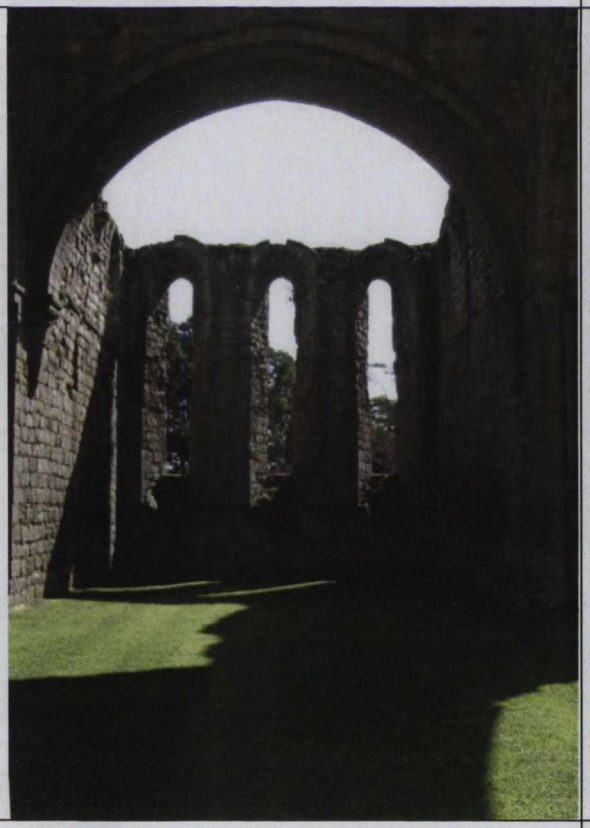
7.25 Nunnery of Fontaine-Guérard (Eure), the chancel looking east (Grant, *Architecture and Society in Normandy*, pl. 96)



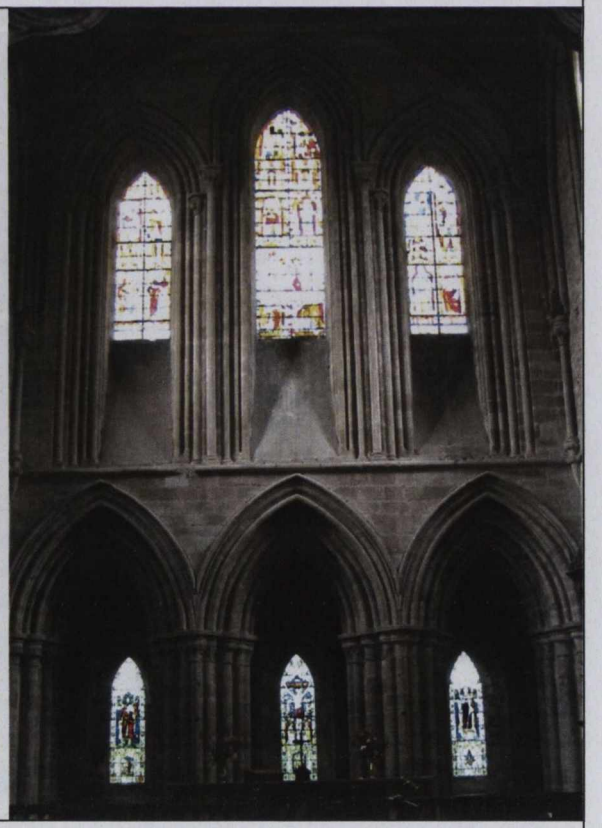
7.26 Graiguenamanagh, chancel looking northeast



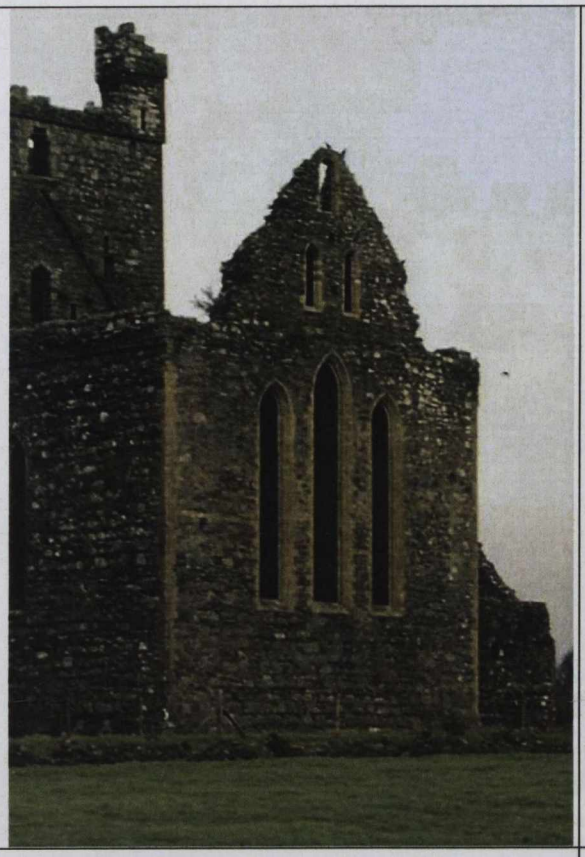
7.27 Graiguenamanagh, chancel east windows



7.28 Buildwas Cistercian Monastery (Shropshire), chancel east windows



7.29 Abbey Dore (Hereford), chancel lancets



7.30 Dunbrody Cistercian Monastery (Wexford), east windows



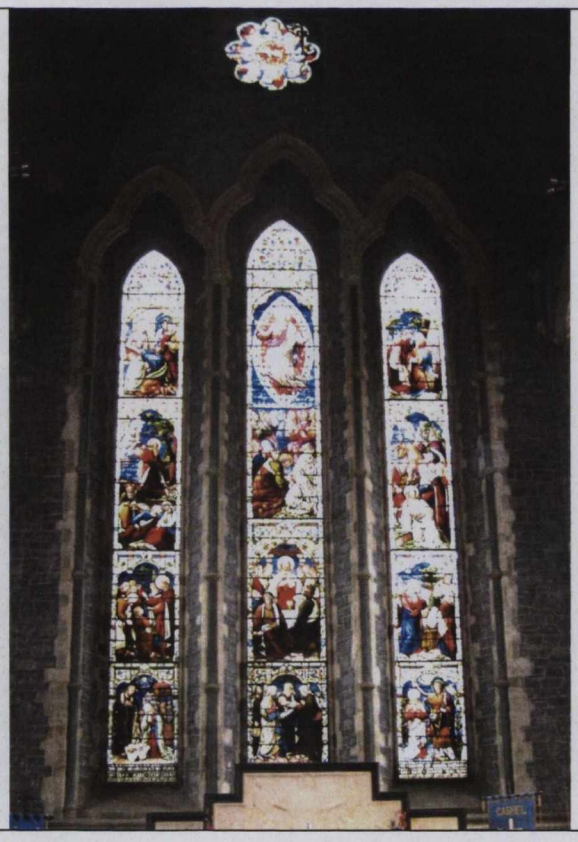
7.31 Chichester Cathedral, retrochoir triforium arcade east wall (Draper, *Formation of English Gothic*, pl. 57)



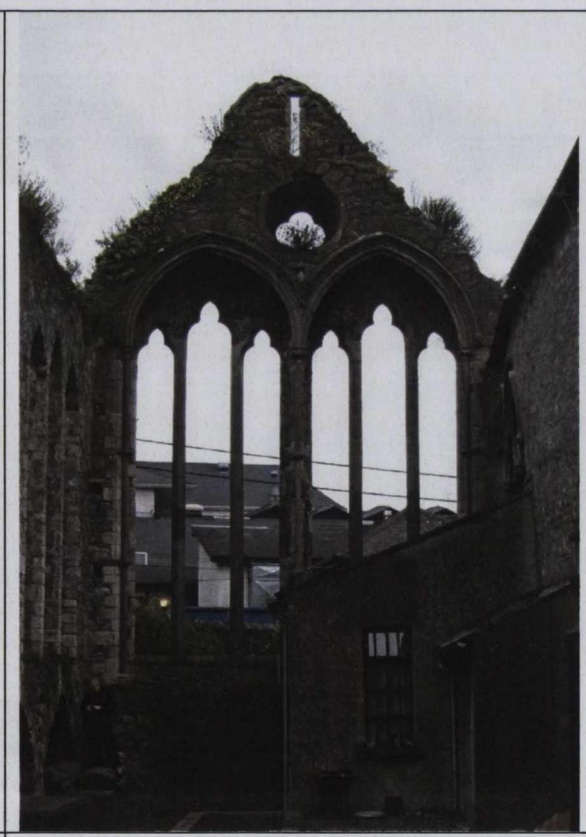
7.32 Ely Cathedral, presbytery east façade, upper lancets (Draper, *Formation of English Gothic*, pl. 48)



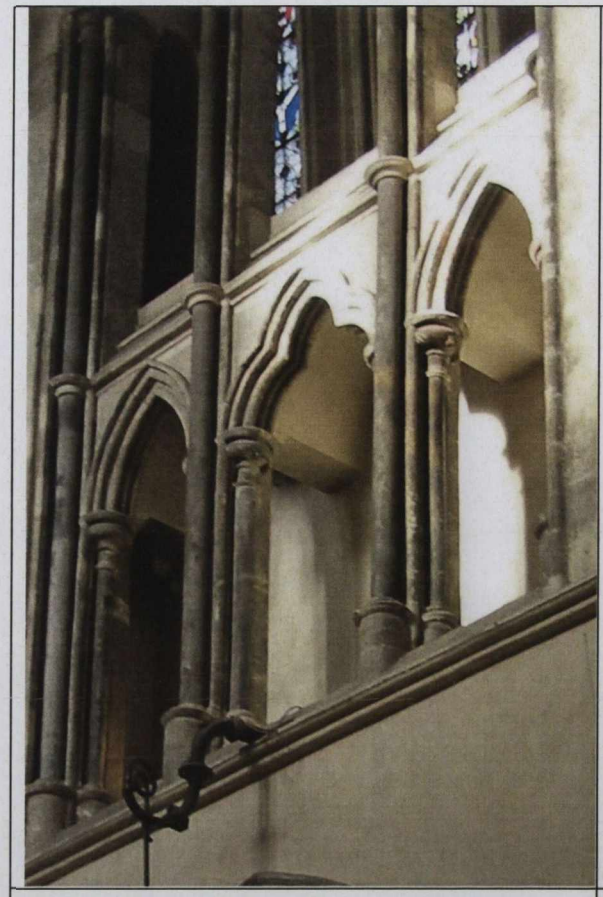
7.33 Llandaff Cathedral, west façade (Thurlby, 'Llandaff Cathedral', fig. 6)



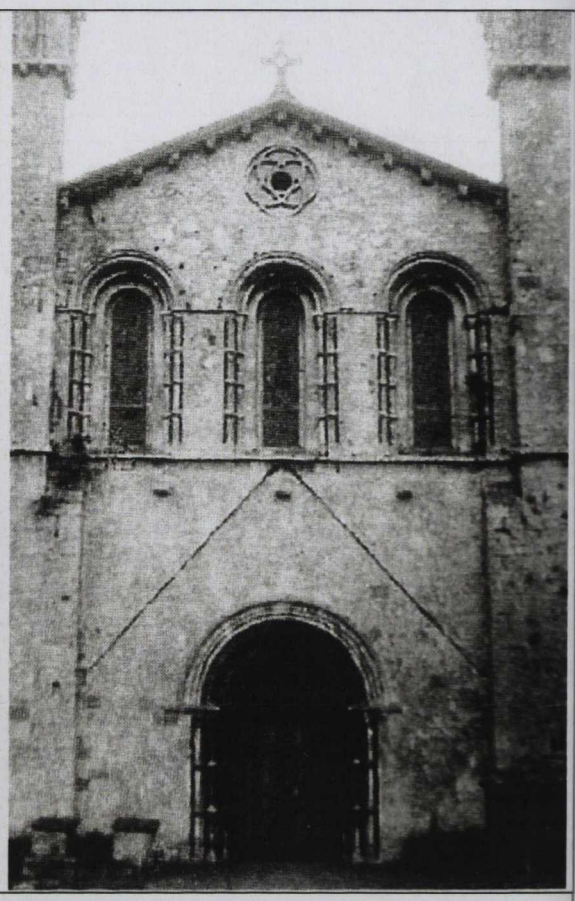
7.34 St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny, chancel east wall



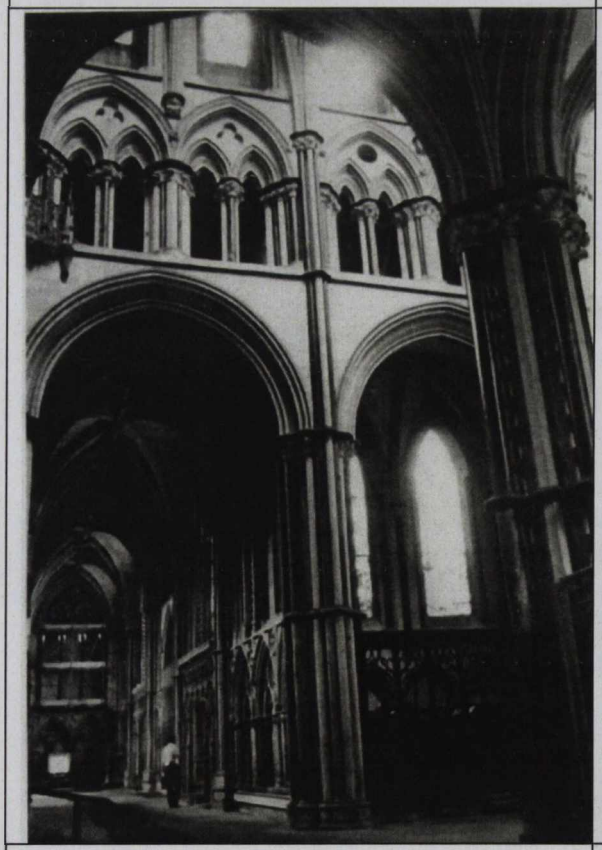
7.35 St. John's Augustinian Priory, Kilkenny, chancel east windows



7.36 Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, nave triforium



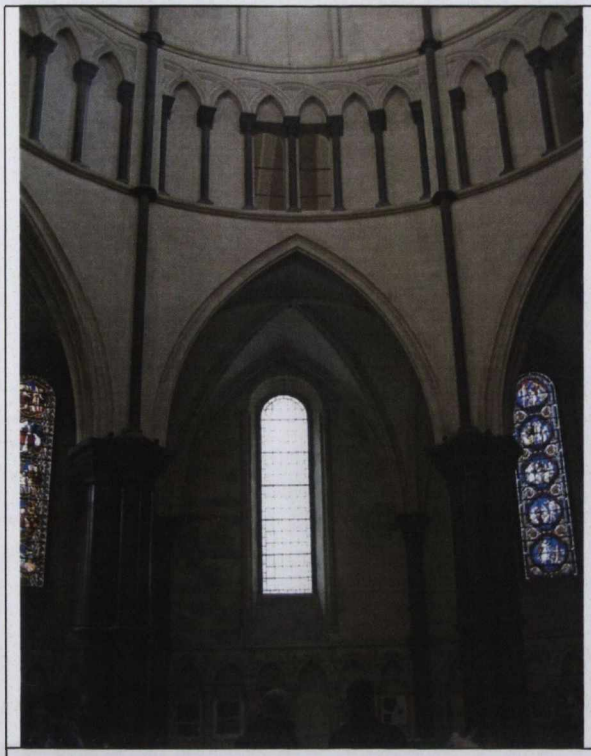
7.37 Margam Abbey (Glamorgan), west façade



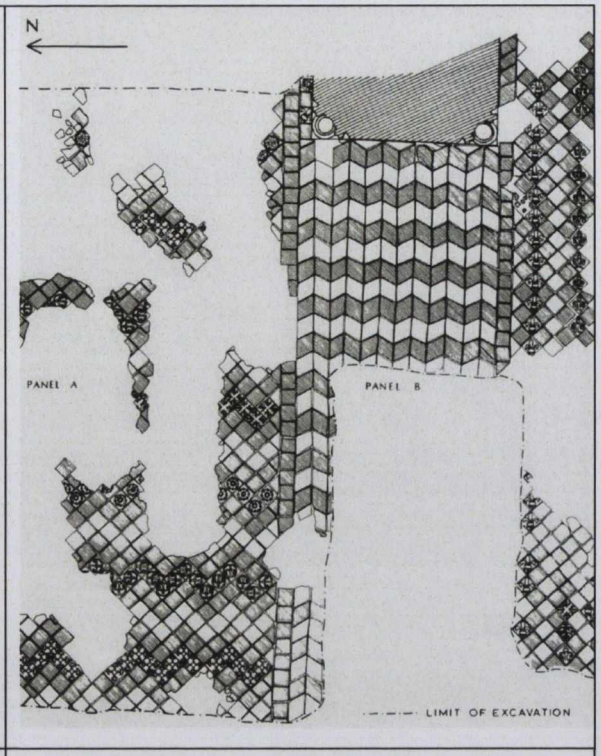
7.38 Lincoln Cathedral, eastern transept, north, looking east



7.39 St. Mary's parish church, New Ross (Wexford), east lancets



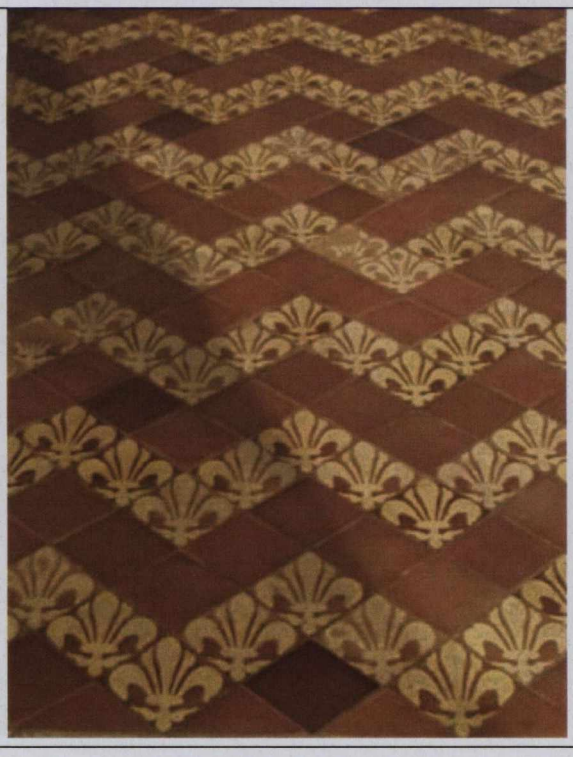
7.40 Temple Church, London, round nave, Purbeck marble used in the piers, vault shafts, triforium shafts, capitals and annulets



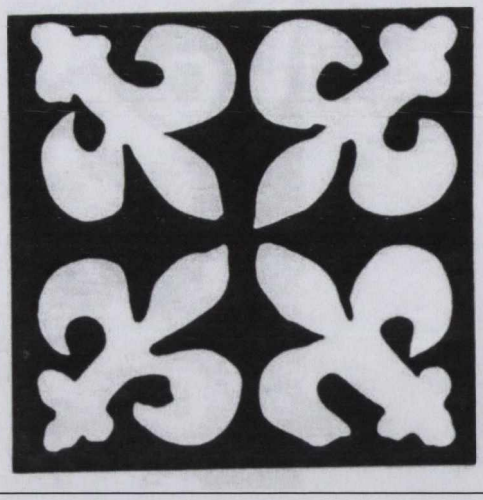
7.41 Graiguenamanagh, detail of reconstructed drawing of north transept tile floor (Bradley and Manning, *Excavations at Duiske*)



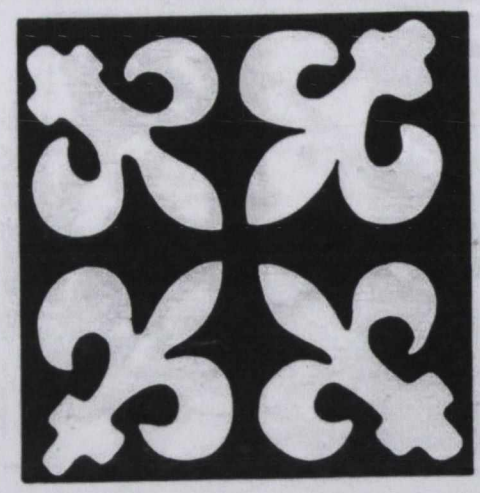
7.42 Byland Abbey (Yorkshire), chancel, medieval floor tiles, alternating chevron pattern between light and dark colour



7.43 Hereford Cathedral, Lady Chapel, tiled floor, chevron pattern alternating single colour and patterned tiles (fleur-de-lis)



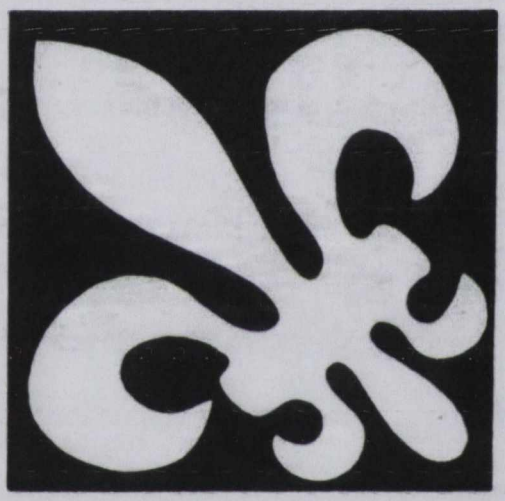
7.44 Kilkenny castle, 4 fleurs-de-lis, bases out (Eames and Fanning, *Irish Medieval Tiles*, T134)



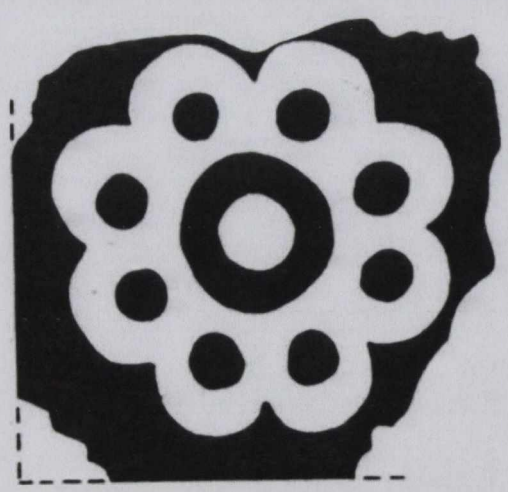
7.45 Graiguenamanagh, 4 fleurs-de-lis, bases out (Eames and Fanning, T135)



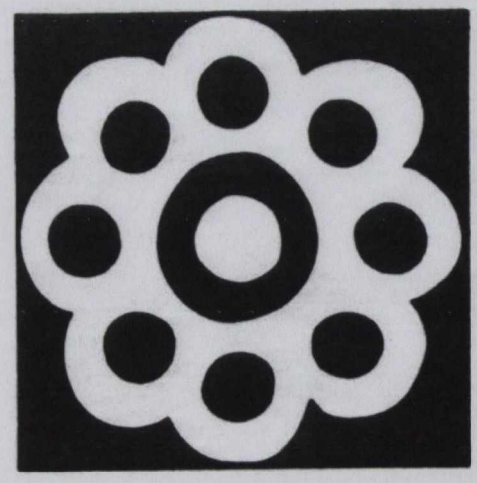
7.46 St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, fleur-de-lis tile (Eames and Fanning, T113)



7.47 Graiguenamanagh, fleur-de-lis tile (Eames and Fanning, T115)



7.48 Kells Priory (Kilkenny), octafoil tile (Eames and Fanning, T72)



7.49 Graiguenamanagh, octafoil tile (Eames and Fanning, T74)



7.50 Graiguenamanagh, chancel east lancets, stiff leaf capital north corner



7.51 Westminster Abbey, stiff leaf capital fragment now in the triforium (Reeves, *English Stiff Leaf Sculpture*)



7.52 Graiguenamanagh, chancel east lancets, stiff leaf capital south corner



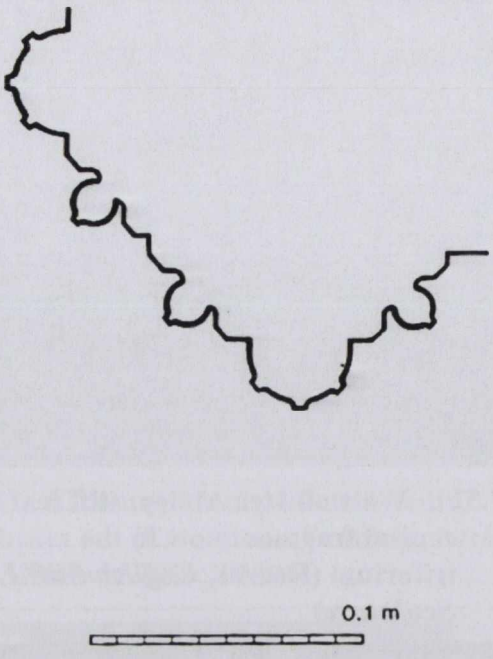
7.53 Pershore Abbey (Worcestershire), choir pier capital (Reeves, *English Stiff Leaf Sculpture*)



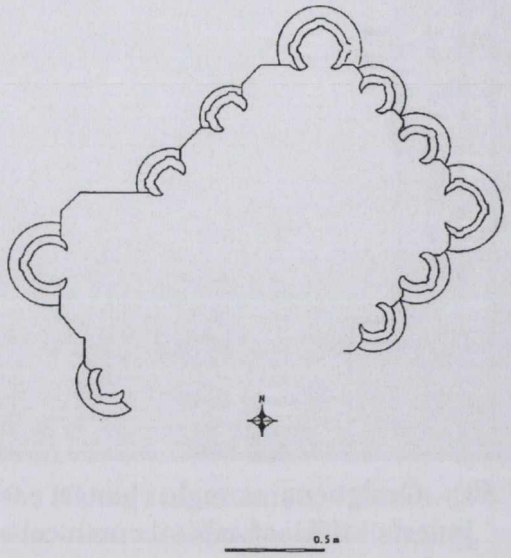
7.54 Graiguenamanagh, chancel capital north lancet



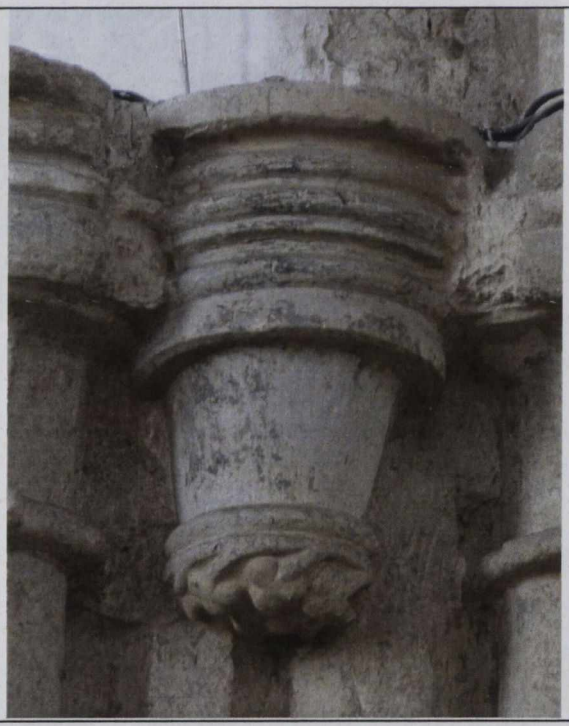
7.55 Christ Church, Dublin, fragment in the north transept



7.56 Graiguenamanagh, southeast crossing pier (Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, fig. 75)



7.57 Waterford Cathedral, nave pier profile (Stalley,



7.58 Graiguenamanagh, northeast crossing pier, corbel



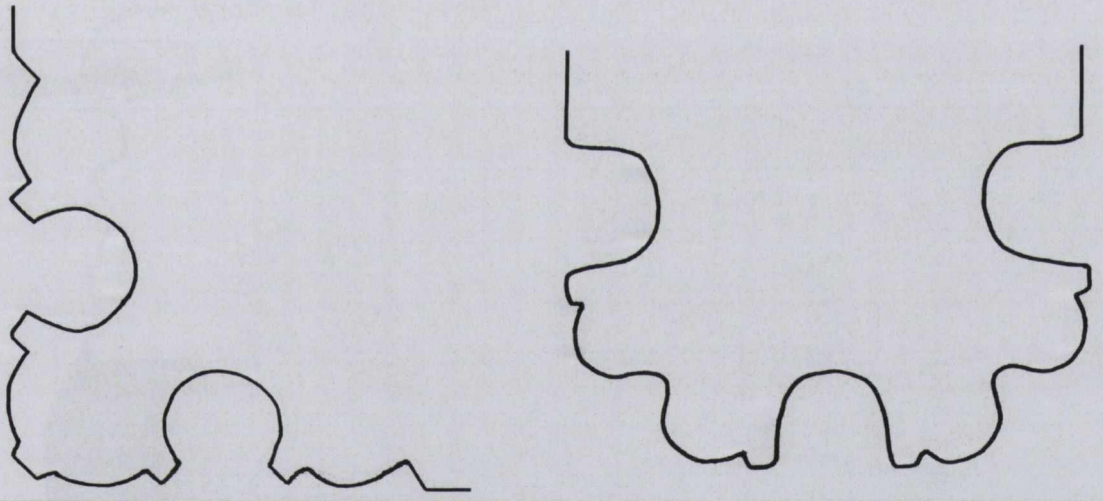
7.59 Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, capital in the north nave aisle, abutting the transepts



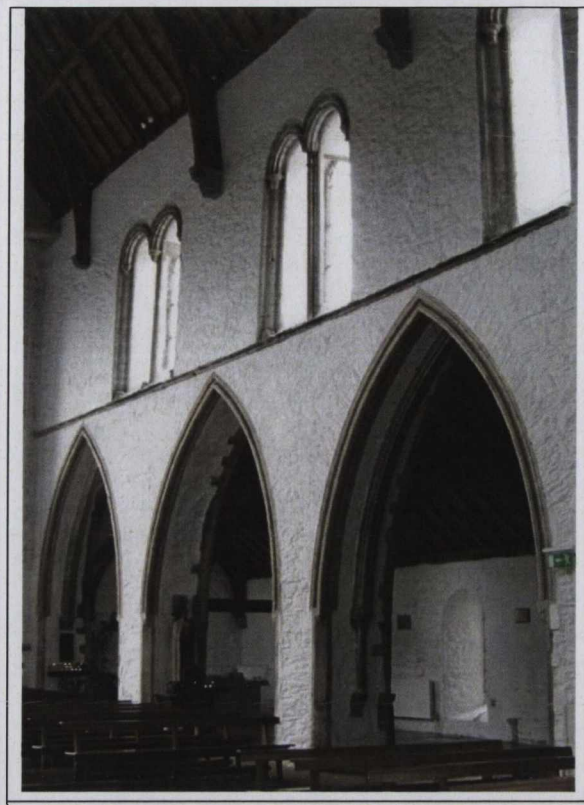
7.60 Llandaff Cathedral (Cardiff), south nave arcade, capital with 'truncated pine cone wheel' (Thurlby, *Llandaff Cathedral*, fig. 9)



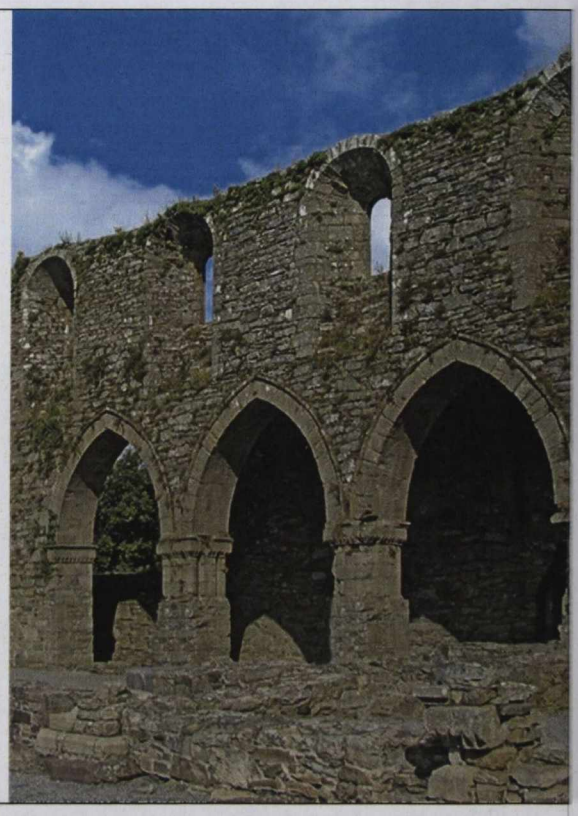
7.61 Glastonbury Abbey (Somerset), south choir aisle capital with neck ornamentation



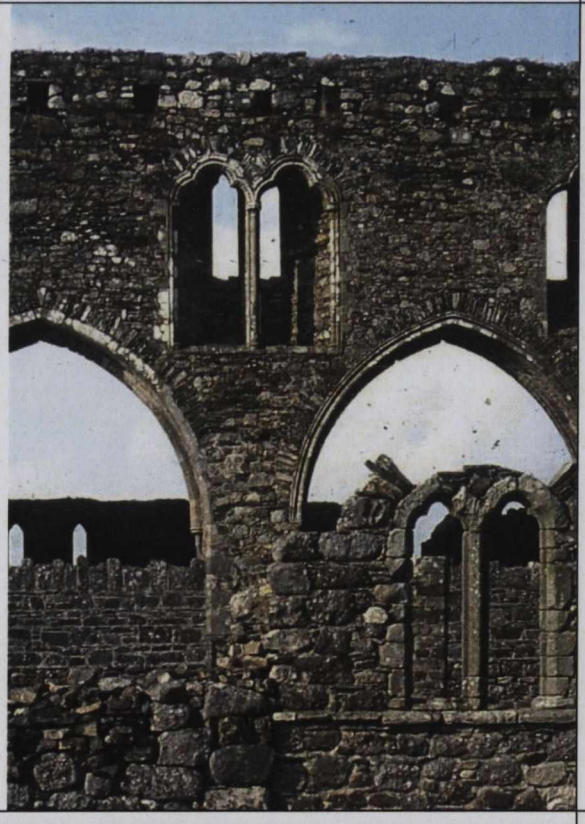
7.62 Graiguenamanagh, nave arch mouldings, arch and soffit



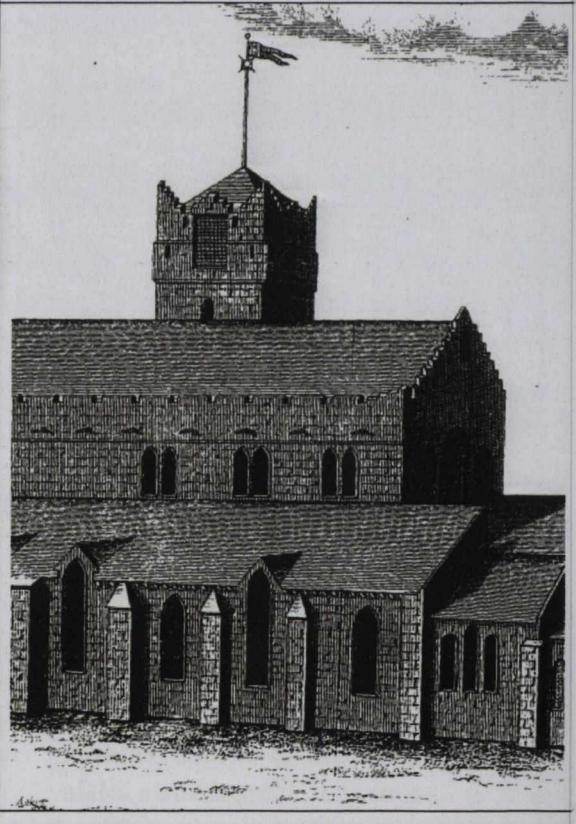
7.63 Graiguenamanagh, north nave arcade and clerestory



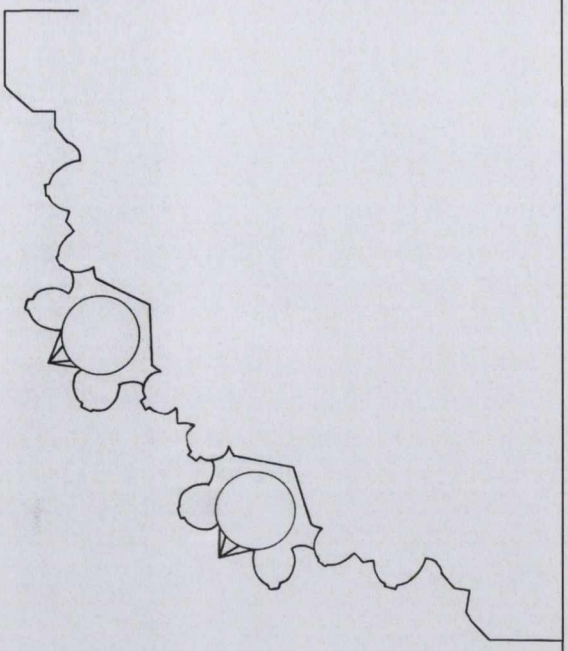
7.64 Jerpoint (Kilkenny), north nave arcade and clerestory



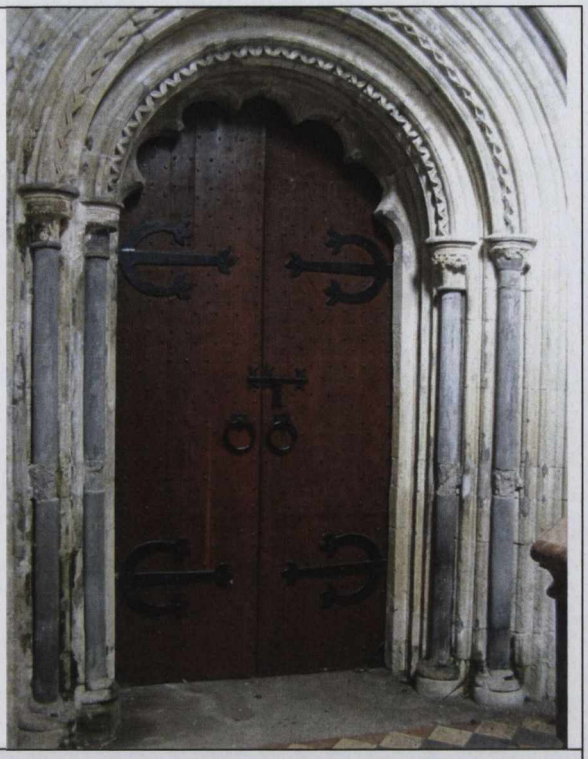
7.65 Dunbrody (Wexford), north nave elevation



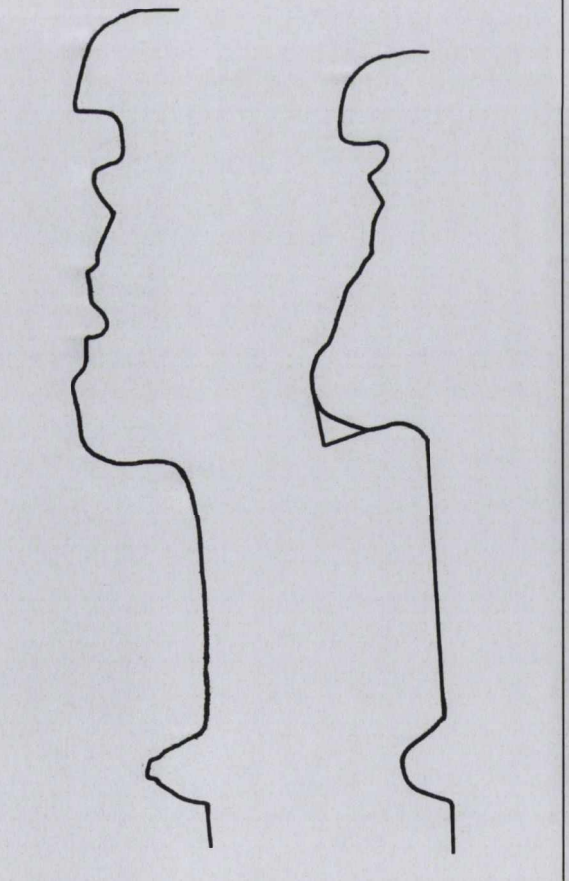
7.66 Waterford Cathedral, detail of south east view from 1739 drawing (Ware)



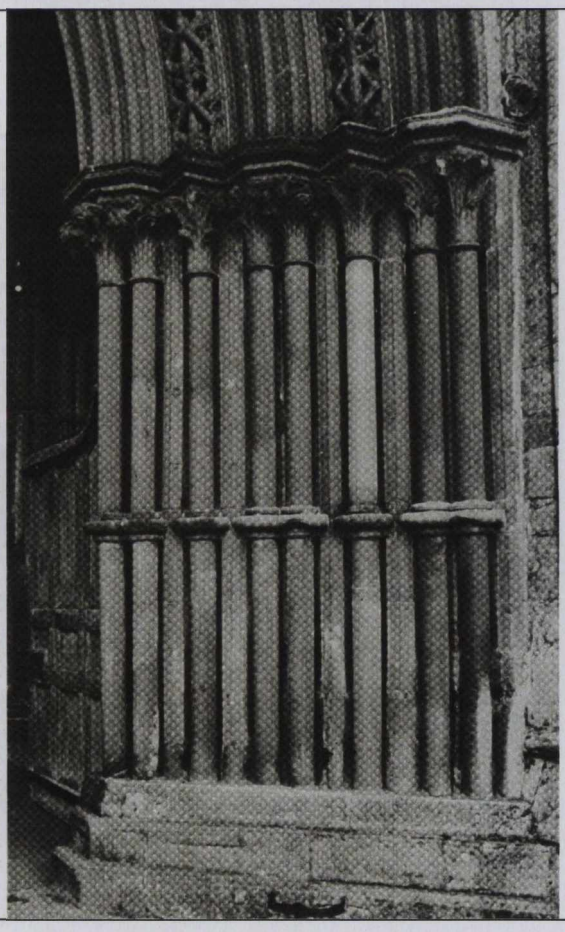
7.67 Graiguenamanagh, south nave aisle doorway moulding



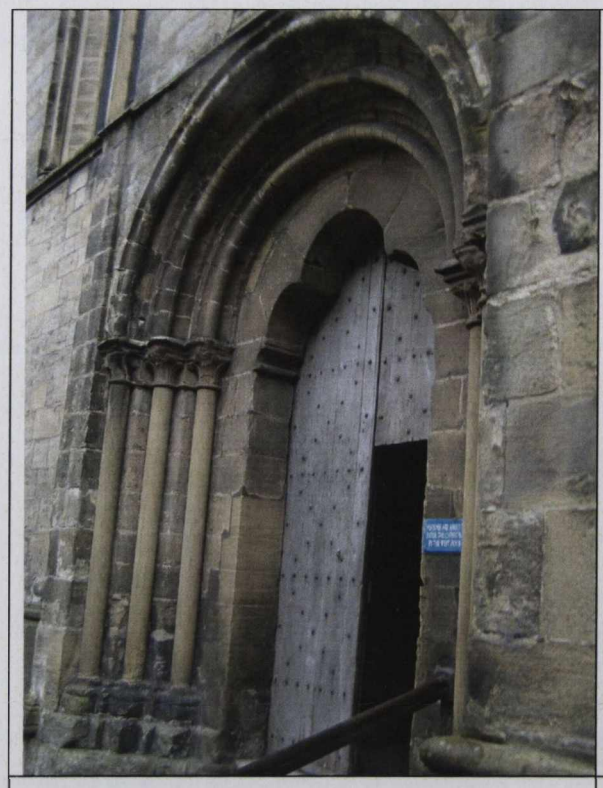
7.68 Graiguenamanagh, south nave aisle doorway



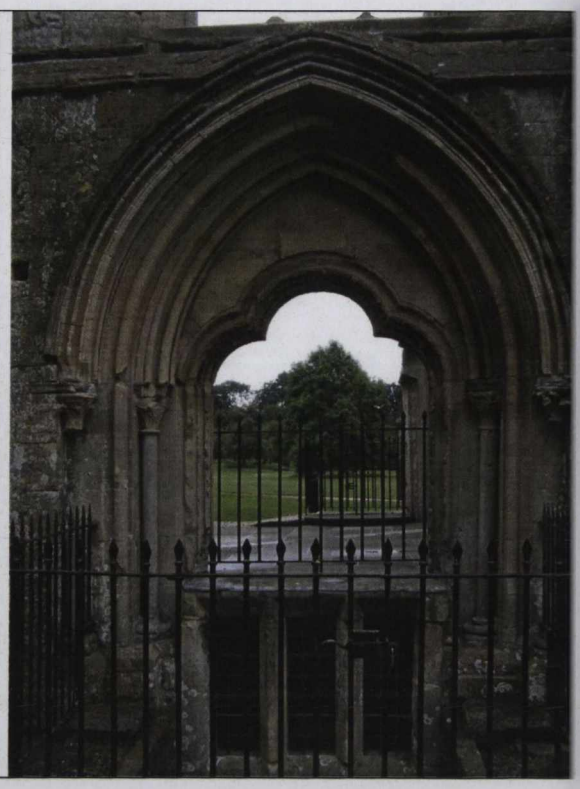
7.69 Graiguenamanagh, south nave aisle doorway, capitals, west



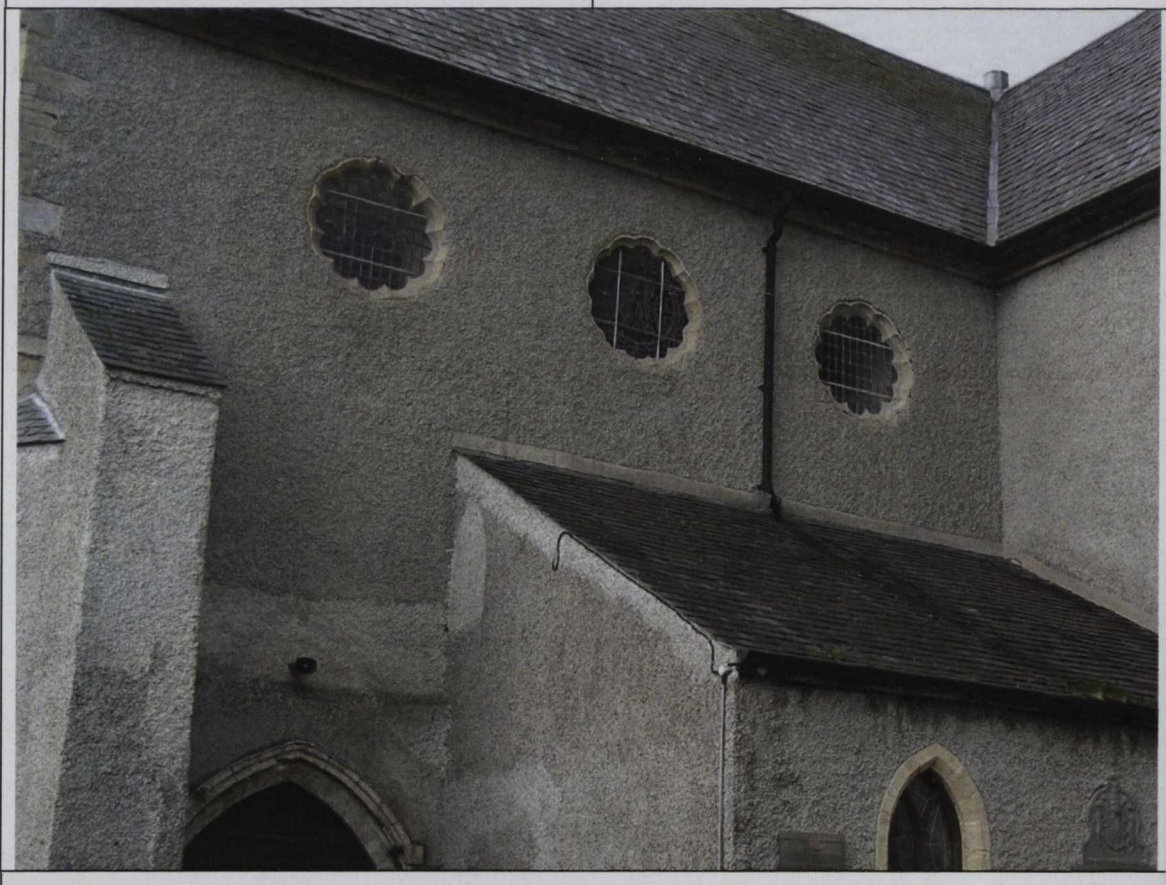
7.70 Wells Cathedral (Somerset), north porch entrance, west side (Stalley)



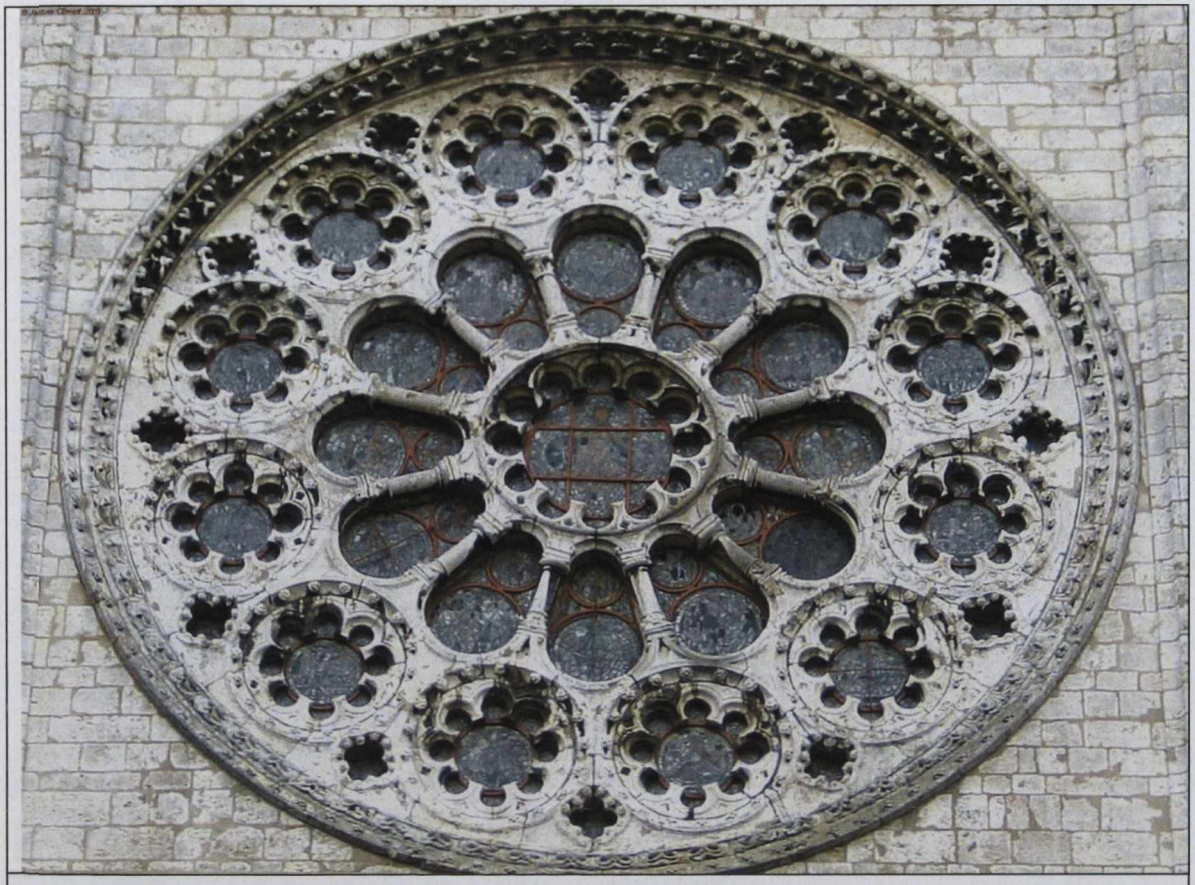
7.71 Ripon Minster (Yorkshire), north doorway



7.72 Glastonbury Lady Chapel (Somerset), north doorway



7.73 Graiguenamanagh, exterior of the south transept clerestory



7.74 Chartres Cathedral, west façade, rose window



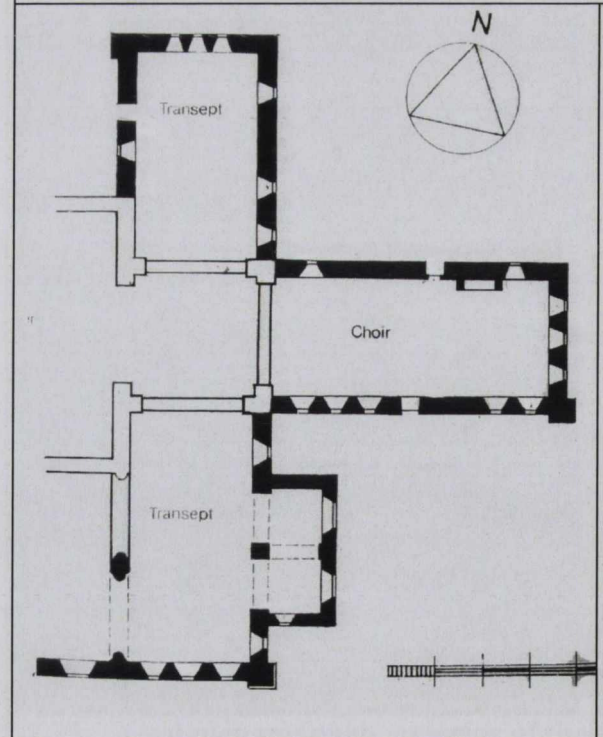
7.75 Graiguenamanagh, nave south aisle doorway, eastern capital



7.76 Wells Cathedral, east crossing pier, detail of capital (Reeves, *English Stiff Leaf Sculpture*)



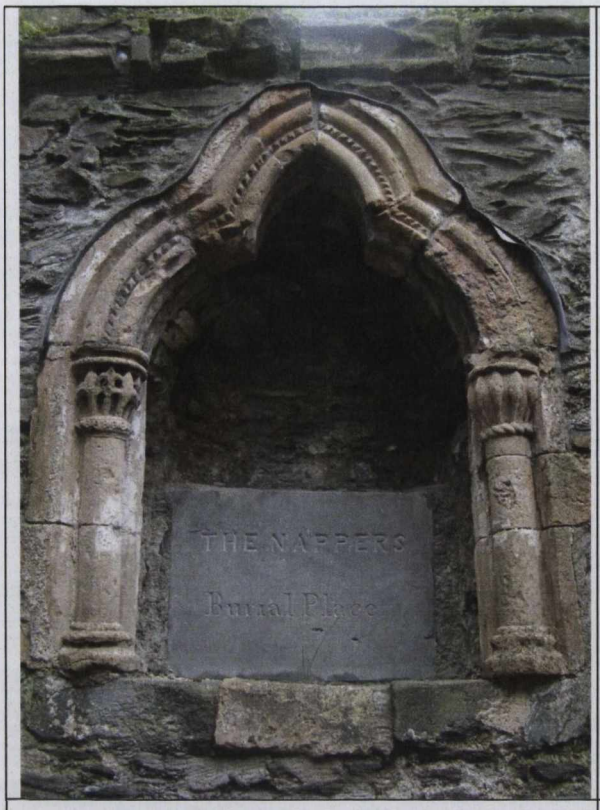
7.77 Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, Romanesque historiated capital with berries amongst foliage



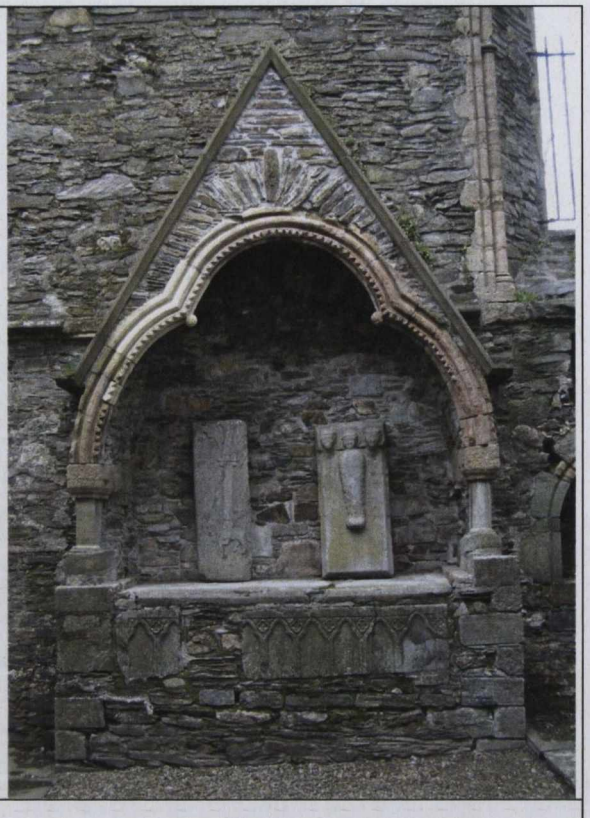
7.78 St. Mary's, New Ross (Wexford), plan (TCD slide library, History of Art Department)



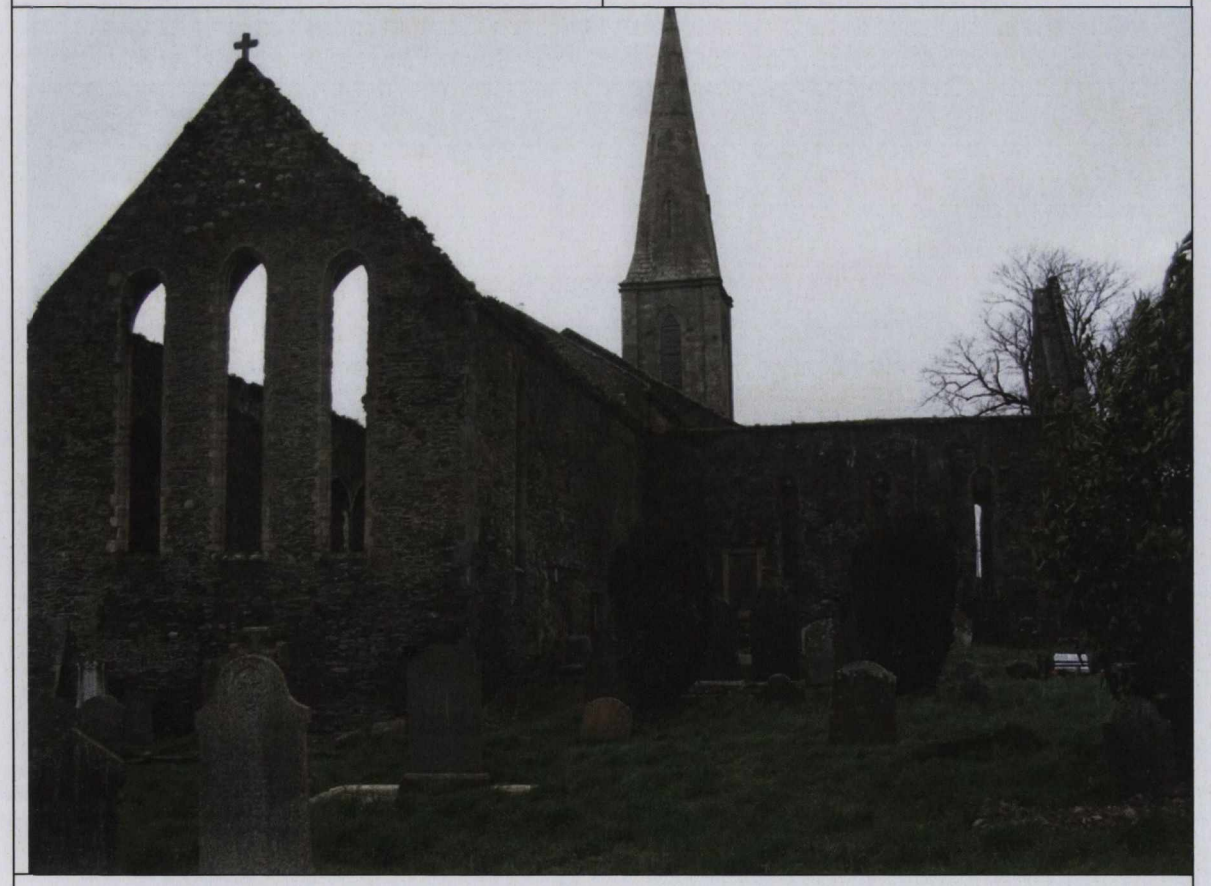
7.79 St. Mary's, New Ross (Wexford), north transept, blocked arches to nave aisle and crossing



7.80 St. Mary's, New Ross, piscina, chancel south wall



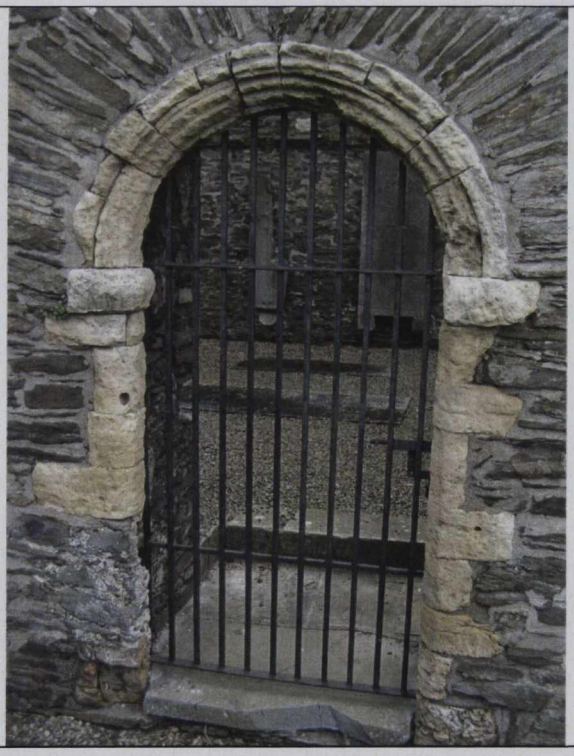
7.81 St. Mary's, New Ross, tomb niche, chancel north wall



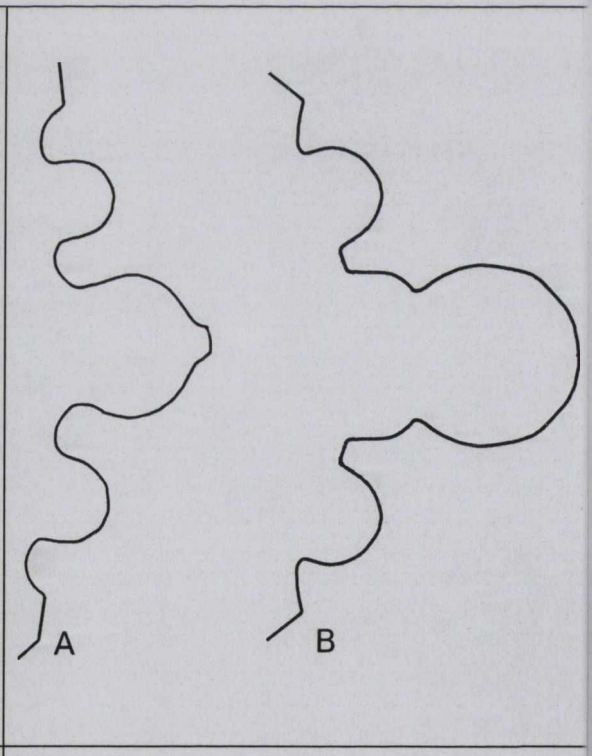
7.82 St. Mary's, New Ross, from northeast



7.83 St. Mary's, New Ross, from southeast



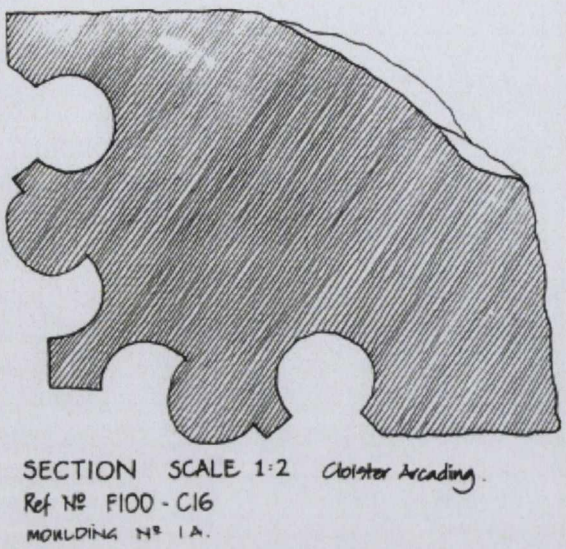
7.84 St. Mary's, New Ross, chancel exterior south doorway



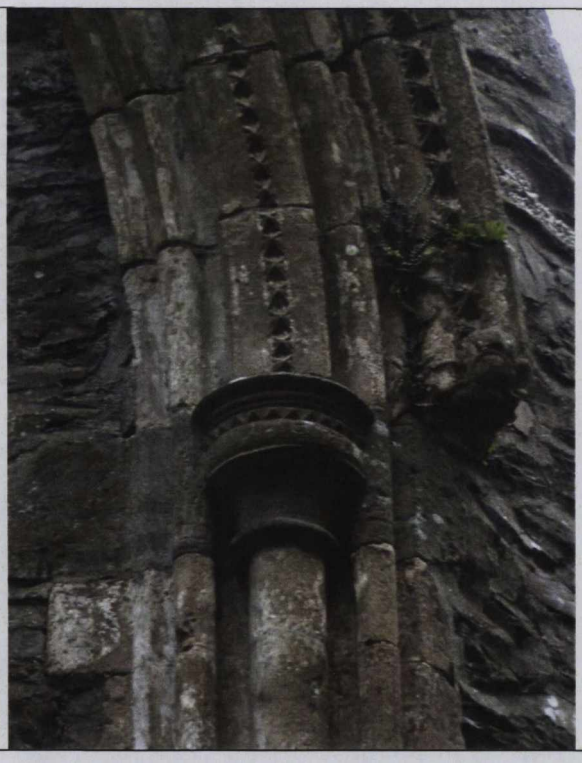
7.85 Lancet mouldings, A. Graiguenamanagh chancel, B. St. Mary's, New Ross chancel



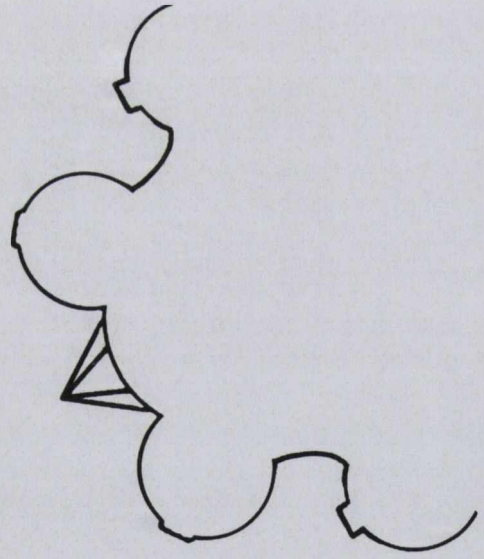
7.86 Graiguenamanagh, north transept clerestory



7.87 Tintern Cloister arcade moulding



7.88 St. Mary's, New Ross, south transept chapel mouldings



7.89 Graiguenamanagh, south nave aisle doorway, arch moulding detail



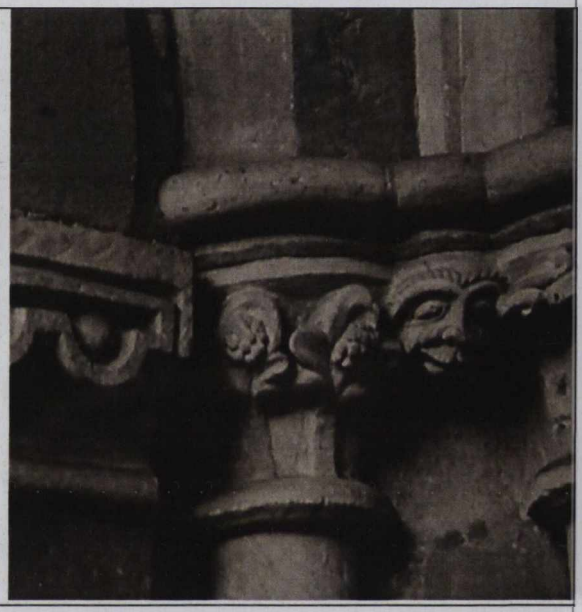
7.90 St. Mary's, New Ross, chancel south wall capital



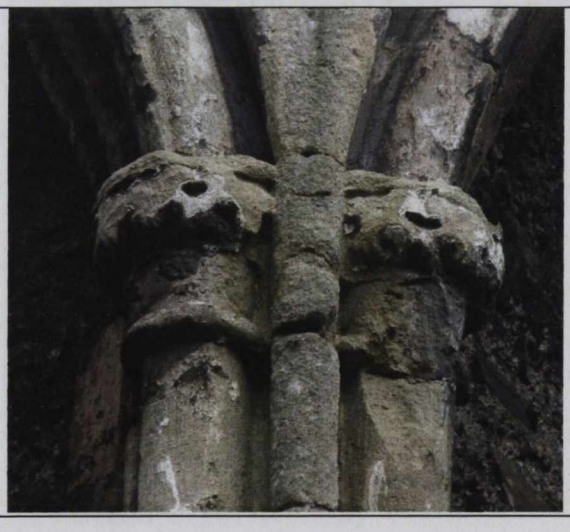
7.91 Graiguenamanagh, south transept clerestory capital (st6)



7.92 St. Mary's, New Ross, north transept east lancet (nt6)



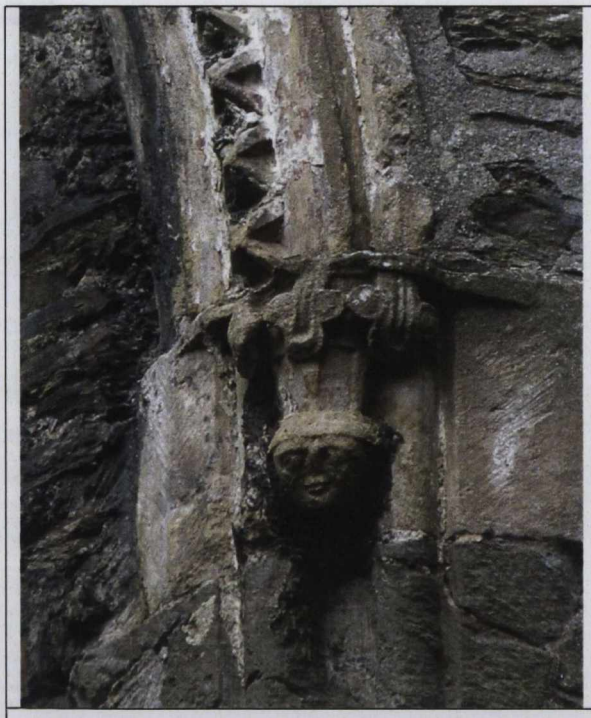
7.93 Deerhurst (Gloucestershire), nave arcade capital



7.94 St. Mary's, New Ross, chancel south lancet capitals (c10 and c11)



7.95 Stamford, St. Paul's (Lincolnshire), first freestanding pier east (Reeves, *English Stiff Leaf Capitals*)



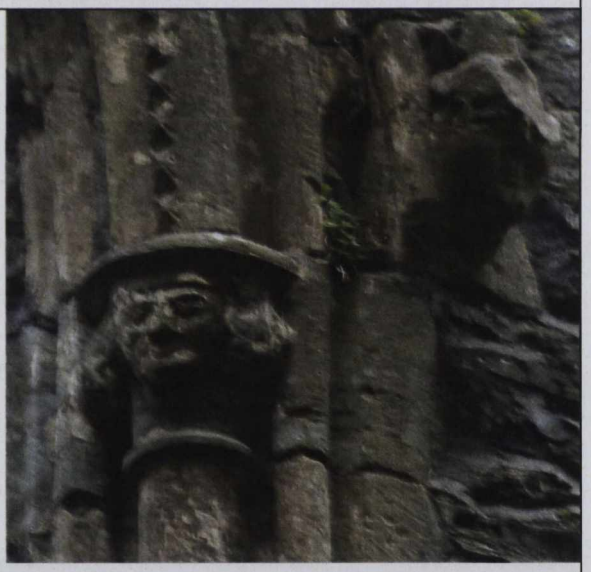
7.96 St. Mary's, New Ross, south transept, head corbel (st8)



7.97 Rodmell (Sussex), head corbel (Reeves, *English Stiff Leaf Sculpture*)



7.98 St. John's, Kilkenny, chancel south wall, capital set between two lancets



7.99 St. Mary's, New Ross, south transept north chapel head capital