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Building the Butler Lordship, 1405 - *c.* 1552

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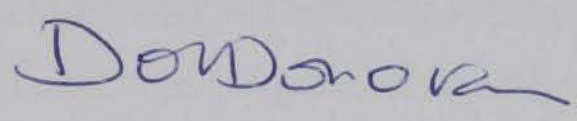
In 2 Volumes
Volume 1: Text

A Thesis submitted to Trinity College Dublin for the degree of PhD

Danielle O'Donovan
The Department of the History of Art and Architecture, Trinity College Dublin
June 2008

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Summary

The following thesis subjects the architectural patronage of the Butler dynasty in Ireland to a rigorous art historical analysis. A history of the main line and cadet branches of the Butler family in the later middle ages is given, along with an outline of the social, economic and religious conditions of the Butler territories – the modern day counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary. An overview of the wider context of Butler artistic and cultural patronage provides an interesting framework for analysing the architectural patronage of the family. It is suggested that the history of the Butlers and their cultural and artistic patronage can be seen to go through three separate phases of development. These phases reflect the changing political circumstances of the family in the later middle ages.

Holycross Abbey, a focus of Butler patronage in the fifteenth century, is given a detailed appraisal. Following upon this, Butler architectural patronage is assessed in its wider context. Buildings hitherto unconnected with the Butlers in previous architectural writings are here placed within the context of the Ormond dynasty. Historical evidence is brought forth to suggest that architecture resembling work in the Butler territories, but outside the immediate area of Butler control, was often the result of political accord, as if good relations were sealed in stone. Suggestions are made towards a better understanding of the architectural conservatism evident in Ormond in the late middle ages, and it is argued that some features may be the product of conscious revivalism. It is shown that architectural patronage in the Butler territories during late middle ages was far more subtle and sophisticated than has previously been thought, and this discussion is extended to include members of the other great comital houses, Desmond and Kildare. It is shown that architecture was used to bolster claims to legitimacy and power.

The masons at work in late medieval Ormond are given a much needed reassessment, touching on their training, technical skills, and social status, all of which are shown to have had profound effects on the architecture which they produced.

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This thesis is the product of the teaching of two people, Professor Roger Stalley and Dr. Rachel Moss. Their teaching inspired my love of the architecture of the middle ages and it was they who encouraged me to go on and pursue research in this area. It is through their belief and hard work that this thesis has made it to the library shelf. On the subject of belief and hard work, I cannot go any further in these acknowledgements without thanking my mum, Rosie, who has been a constant source of moral and financial support. Her boundless energy, enthusiasm and devotion are what kept me going during the long months (and years).

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I have to offer general thanks to all those who have not been individually thanked here, particularly the staff of the History of Art Department at Trinity College Dublin, for their help and support over the years.

Abbreviations

BAA C.T .	British Archaeological Society Conference Transactions
JBAA	Journal of the British Archaeological Association
JBS	Journal of the Butler Society
JRSAI	Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquarians in Ireland
PRIA	Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy

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Introduction

I. The concept of 'Late Gothic'

Sharp Angles, Jetties, Narrow lights, lame Statues, Lace and other Cut-work and Crinkle-Crankle.[1]

So thought one early observer of the architecture of Henry VII's chapel, Westminster Abbey, one of the pinnacles of late Gothic achievement. In the light of such opinion, it is extremely important, at the beginning of this thesis, to outline the factors which shape the study of late Gothic architecture, together with issues which make the study of the subject in Ireland particularly difficult. The very term 'late Gothic' presents major problems of definition, and 'it needs only a cursory glance at a few studies chosen at random from the vast dealings with our subject, to see that neither the concept of late Gothic, nor the chronological and geographical limits of the works … so described, are sufficiently clear and unambiguous'.[2] General surveys of the late Gothic period do exist, and we might take for example Swaan's *The Late Middle Ages: Art and Architecture from 1350 to the Advent of the Renaissance*, where it immediately becomes obvious that many of the works illustrated by the author as representing 'late Gothic' are considered by many others to represent the 'Northern Renaissance'.[3] In architectural terms, there are certainly overlaps between styles like German 'Sondergotik' or Gothic in the Netherlands at the turn of the sixteenth century, and developments in Renaissance Italy.[4] Indeed, the surviving German design booklets on different aspects of Gothic construction were probably written in response to Italian treatises, such as that by Alberti.[5]

The problem of chronological boundaries is compounded by the difficulties of approach; the subject has been treated differently by Paul Frankl, John Harvey, and Nicola Coldstream (to name but a few). Whereas Frankl saw the late Gothic movement across

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[1] Evelyn, J., *An Account of Architects and Architecture, Together, with an Historical, Etymological Explanation of Certain Terms, Particularly Affected by Architects* (London, 1706), 10.
[2] Bialostocki, J., 'Late Gothic: Disagreements about the Concept', *JBAA*, 29 (1966), 76.
[3] Swaan, W., *The Late Middle Ages: Art and Architecture from 1350 to the Advent of the Renaissance* (London, 1977).
[4] Bialostocki, J., 'Late Gothic: Disagreements About the Concept', 82; for difficulties on the definition of Sondergotik see Nussbaum, N., *German Gothic Church Architecture* (New Haven and London, 2000), 137-9; Kavaler, E. M., 'Renaissance Gothic in the Netherlands: The Uses of Ornament', *The Art Bulletin*, 82:2 (2000), 226, where the author describes that 'many of the comfortably canonical works of Late Gothic architecture, in fact, were planned in the years around 1500 … there is little point in grouping these disparate creations under some vague, homogenising period style, a problematic notion in itself'.
[5] Shelby, L. R., *Gothic Design Techniques. The Fifteenth-Century Design Booklets of Mathes Roriczer and Hanns Schmuttermayer* (Chicago, 1977), 4-6; Shelby, L. R., 'The Education of Medieval English Master Masons', *Mediaeval Studies*, 32 (1970), 14.

Europe as being basically unified in its aesthetic direction,[6] Harvey chose to address the later Middle Ages in a chapter entitled 'National Gothic', which assessed the development of late Gothic movements in European countries as separate manifestations.[7] Coldstream's text, the most recent of the three, approaches the subject thematically, addressing the different function of the buildings, and the relationship between mason and patron, rather than through a series of stylistic developments which might be seen as characteristic of late Gothic, or country by country.[8]

Another key issue for students of Irish fifteenth-century architecture is its frontier character. One recent author has suggested that the Gothic style as a whole, from its earliest introduction to Ireland in the wake of the Anglo-Norman invasion of 1169, was seen as the art of the invader, and largely rejected by the Gaelic Irish.[9] This author further argues that only in the fifteenth century did the Gaelic population of Ireland accept Gothic, and adapt it to suit its needs.[10] In this sense, we might well look at 'Irish Gothic' of the fifteenth century as akin to Mudéjar architecture in Spain, an architecture created in the midst of acculturation.[11] One of the key texts in English for the study of Gothic architecture

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[6] Frankl, P., *Gothic Architecture* revised by Paul Crossley (London and New Haven, 2000), 191, where Frankl suggests that late Gothic developed between 1320-30 - 'the change followed the same tendency everywhere … based none the less on different premises which one must accept as national'. The author discusses some national Gothic, such as Italy, ibid. 209-10, but it is important to note his discussion of Sondergotik and Flamboyant, ibid. 231, where he states 'while we recognize that each of the great schools preserved and extended in its own national characteristics, we do not overlook the European features of the Late Gothic style'. Chapter four is called 'The Late Gothic Style'.

[7] Harvey, J., *The Gothic World 1100-1600* (London, 1950), 91-129; for a discussion of Harvey's 'nationalist' leanings see Buchanan, A., 'Perspectives of the past: perceptions of late Gothic art in England', in R. Marks and P. Williamson (eds.) *Gothic Art for England 1400-1547* (London, 2003), 137-8.

[8] Coldstream, N., *Medieval Architecture* (Oxford, 2002), 23-53 comprises a chapter entitled 'What we now vulgarly call the Gothic', where the main components and stylistic movements of late medieval architecture are outlined; the rest of the book is thematic.

[9] Hourihane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland 1169-1550* (New Haven and London, 2003), 2, 'Through a series of unfortunate and untimely coincidences, Gothic Irish art became inextricably linked to a political situation that was to identify and shape its character until the end of the Middle Ages, and has influenced our appreciation of the style right up to the present day', ibid. 20, 'Gothic was a style that was seen not only in the medieval period but also up to the present as heralding the end of the vernacular style. To appreciate fully its impact, it has to be remembered that throughout Europe Gothic was the style associated with the controlling powers of the medieval world—Church and state. Given that these institutions were also perceived by the Irish as the means of control employed by a colonizing force; it is not surprising that the style was viewed negatively'.

[10] Hourihane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland 1169-1550*, 8',With the Irish artists' wholehearted acceptance of Gothic in this later period the number of works increases significantly and there is a sense of experimentation: contemporary and antiquated, international and Insular- are all merged in a late fifteenth-century style'.

[11] Goddard King, G., *Mudéjar* (London and New York, 1927), 1, 'Mudéjar art is that of the subject Moors living under Christian domination in Spain. They practiced modest crafts; their literature of tale and legend was written in Arab characters and spoken as a Spanish dialect'. The author approaches the subject by first outlining the characteristic features of the Mudéjar style, and then discusses the regional manifestations of this style. Her work on this subject is yet to be surpassed in the English language. Davis notes that Spain is understudied in Davis, M., T., 'Sic et Non, Recent Trends in the Study of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 58:3 (1999), 417.

in Spain is George Edmund Street's *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain.* Of later Gothic hybrid designs in Spain he says: 'of the later styles I need say but little. They are not Gothic, and this is a summary of Gothic architecture only'.[12] Mudéjar and Irish late Gothic are perhaps most similar for the manner in which they have been subsequently written about. Apart from specific national studies, Mudéjar is largely passed over by surveys of Gothic architecture in Europe; only two such surveys mention the architecture of late medieval Ireland, and this discussion is passing.[13] Is late Gothic work in Ireland no more than a series of compromises and parochial misunderstandings? Is it worthy of the formal analysis applied to more complex buildings elsewhere, where historians have scrutinised the evolution of such things as base types and tracery forms?[14] Conversely, in applying a narrow, local perspective to the Gothic of Ireland, have previous authors on the subject dislodged it from its rightful place in a larger, pan European context?[15]

Many of the difficulties noted by Jan Bialostocki may be applied to the study of the architecture of late medieval Ireland, especially that of defining just where Irish 'late Gothic' might be said to begin and end. Traditional histories have seen a clear break between late thirteenth-century works, along with early fourteenth-century buildings, and the work of the fifteenth century. Arthur Champneys, perhaps the first author to write an architectural history of the whole medieval period in Ireland, states that in the fifteenth century 'the erection of ecclesiastical buildings took a fresh start'.[16] Both Leask and Rae, later authors on the subject, writing in the 1950s and, 60s, make mention of the historical circumstances that may have caused such a hiatus, namely the Bruce invasion (1315-18), the Black Death (*c.*1348), and the dire economic and environmental circumstances of the

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[12] Street, G. E., *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain*, edited by G. Goddard King, (London, 1914), 242.

[13] Studies where Ireland remains absent include Frankl, P. *Gothic Architecture* and Wilson, C., *The Gothic Cathedral: the Architecture of the Great Church, 1130-1530* (London, 1990). Ireland appears in Harvey, J., *The Gothic World 1100-1600*, 95-97; Coldstream, N., *Medieval Architecture*, 69-70, 136. The interesting issue of Gothic historiography in Spain was raised by Matilde Mateo in her 2006 paper at Leeds International Medeival Congress 'National Character and the Mudéjar', similar issues will certainly be raised in 'Style, Artistic Genius and National Identity: a Nineteenth Century Debate', forthcoming in R. Sanchez Ameijeiras (ed.) *Gotico y Frontera*; 'Spanish Medieval Art for Europeans: Pioneering Readings by Fergusson and Street', forthcoming in *Bucknell Review*.

[14] For just such a formal approach to the understanding and evolution of Gothic design see Davis, M. T., 'Splendour and Peril: The Cathedral of Paris, 1290-1350', *The Art Bulletin*, 80:1 (1998), 37.

[15] Hourihane suggests this is the case: 'Gothic Irish art is not an intellectual style, instead it is very much based on a popular approach, with its roots firmly anchored in society', Hourihane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland 1169-1550*, 9.

[16] Champneys, A., *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture* (London, 1910),168; Leask's two publications on Gothic, Leask, H. G., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings II: Gothic Architecture to A.D. 1400* (Dundalk, 1967); and Leask, H. G., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III: Medieval Gothic the Last Phases* (Dundalk, 1960) show this marked divide, even in their titles; Rae, E. C., 'Architecture and Sculpture 1169-1603', in A. Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland: Medieval Ireland 1169-1534* (Oxford, 1977), 762.

fourteenth century across Europe.[17] In Ireland, these combined factors are seen as the breaking point of the English colony.[18] There is also a difficulty in defining when the Middle Ages may be said to end. Again, traditional histories have tended to limit the discussion of works to the last documented foundations, such as Dromahair and Ballindoon, founded in the early part of the sixteenth century. But more recently it has been suggested that there is a strong case in the west of Ireland for the 'Gothic survival', just as is apparent in the architecture of both Oxford and Cambridge universities, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[19] Harold Leask noted that the elaborate 'Flamboyant' tomb niche at St. Nicholas' church, Galway, had mouldings approaching classical motifs; are we here witnessing the 'Classical Gothic' which can be seen in the Netherlands until the 1560s?[20]

Texts on the subject of Irish religious architecture in the fifteenth century all agree that certain features and motifs gained popularity, and that they had some currency across the whole island of Ireland. Assessment of these features has ranged from their description as a 'composite national style'[21] to a descriptive list without any real argument that they form part of a stylistic whole.[22] Whether the architecture of the fifteenth century may be called a style or not, the main explanation for the developments in Irish architecture at this time have been seen as the product of cultural isolation. Arthur Champneys explains that

> The condition of things architectural in Ireland towards A.D. 1400 appears to have been somewhat as follows. It was a comparatively short time since the lancet window and other points of Early Gothic architecture had been in use; and, as the building of churches had of late been so largely in abeyance, that style can hardly be said to have been definitely superseded. On the other hand there were examples of newer or 'Decorated' style in Ireland,

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[17] Leask, H. G., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 2-3; Rae, E. C., 'Architecture and Sculpture 1169-1603', 762. Barry has sought to argue that instead of seeing the economic crisis in fourteenth-century Ireland as a localised problem, it should be seen as part of the pan-European decline occurring at the time. This approach, encouraging the integration of Irish history into a broader historical context, is much needed. Barry, T., 'Late Medieval Ireland: The Debate on Social and Economic Transformation', in B. J. Graham and L. J. Proudfoot (eds.), *An Historical Geography of Ireland* (London, 1993), 100.

[18] Watt, J., 'The Anglo-Irish Colony under Strain, 1327-99', in A. Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland: Medieval Ireland, 1169-1534* (Oxford, 1977), 352-396.

[19] Stalley, R., 'The End of the Middle Ages: Gothic Survival in Sixteenth-Century Connacht', *JRSAI*, 133 (2003), 5-23. Rae continued his narrative up to 1603, but the sixteenth-century material is based largely around his discussion of tomb sculpture.

[20] Leask, H. G., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 169, Leask calls the mouldings 'semi-Classic and late;' Kavaler, E. M., 'Renaissance Gothic in the Netherlands: The Uses of Ornament', 226.

[21] Chapter 11 of Champneys *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture* is titled 'The Development of a Composite National Style', Champneys, A., *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 168.

[22] Leask opens his *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III* with the statement 'in Ireland the period of the 1400s and the early decades of the sixteenth century was one of remarkable building activity in which there emerged an architectural style bearing a native impress'. The rest of the book, features are described and some comments are made about chronology, but the discussion of 'style' is never fully developed.

> and across the channel plenty of these, along with a growing number of Perpendicular work, which could hardly be altogether disregarded. It seems natural that, when Irish building again became active, these influences should have united to produce a vernacular or national style which owed a debt to all of them.[23]

Rae makes much the same case for the origins of Irish late Gothic, suggesting that Irish masons could draw upon Romanesque and Gothic buildings already in the land and upon ideas adopted from abroad.[24] Mentions of foreign influence are sometimes made in Champneys' work, and in the work of antiquarian writers; in response to such suggestions Rae states 'some influence from continental Flamboyant work in canopies and tracery is surely possible. But although the carvers may have been emboldened in their creativeness by an acquaintance with work elsewhere, the so called 'Spanish' screens and doorways are best referred to as Irish until such time as it may have been convincingly demonstrated that the specific design, mouldings and other details are taken from work encountered originally only in Spain'.[25]

Even according to recent authors on Gothic art in Ireland such as Colum Hourihane, 'a lot of what remains from the Irish Gothic period was created in remote areas. Whether a distant friary or an equally rural castle, they were structures that were removed from the immediate circle of new ideas and concepts not only in Ireland but also internationally'.[26] Irish late Gothic does, however, share some common characteristics of evolution with other countries. Arthur Champneys observes 'it is interesting to notice that the later Gothic of Scotland, and the Flamboyant style in France arose about the same time as the Late Gothic of Ireland, and to a considerable extent through similar causes, the new style in each case marking a renewed activity in building after it had been largely suspended owning to wars and disturbances; and that, while differing greatly from each other, these styles agree in this, they all owe a large debt to English fourteenth-century architecture'.[27] From this perspective, Irish late Gothic no longer appears as simply an insular rehash of older design, but as an architecture that has more in common with France, Belgium, Germany and Scotland than with the architectural developments in England.

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[23] Champneys, A., *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 171

[24] Rae, E. C., 'Architecture and Sculpture 1169-1603', 762.

[25] Rae, E. C., 'Architecture and Sculpture 1169-1603', 763. This reference to a 'Spanish screen' is taken directly from an article by Westropp on Ennis Abbey, see Westropp, T. J., 'History of Ennis Abbey, Co. Clare, 1240-1693', *JRSAI*, 9 (1889), 48.

[26] Hourihane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland 1169-1550*,12.

[27] Champneys, A., *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 172. In discussing the relationship between Flamboyant and Decorated he cites Bond, F., *Architecture in England* (London, 1906), 128-32,where the subject is discussed and French authorities cited.

Apart from Roger Stalley, few authors have sought to place Irish late Gothic architecture in its international context, an appraisal of which is long overdue.

In his summary of 'recent trends in the study of Gothic ecclesiastical architecture' Davis raises a number of important points that warrant discussion here. In his summary Chirstopher Wilson's *The Gothic Cathedral*, Davis describes the author

> Toppling French High Gothic from its perch as the consummate realization of the Gothic vision, he opens the door for the entry of a multiplicity of independent iterations, each shaped by intricate interactions of local architectural history, foreign influences, pragmatic problem solving, and patronal vision.[28]

Davis lauds Wilson's inclusive approach, which includes such works as Bourges Cathedral and Santa Croce in Florence, but wonders in the light of such diversity if Gothic is really a 'style' at all? Peter Kidson raised a similar question of the use of the word 'style' in relation to Decorated architecture, stating 'it is doubtful whether the stylistic unity which it implies will stand up to analysis'.[29] This question of style is pursued by Davis, and he suggests that work by Roger Stalley in Ireland and Paul Crossley in Poland has 'expanded dramatically the boundaries of the medieval world'. These new studies have highlighted the diversity of Gothic architecture, and may 'force a recognition that the quest for a unified picture of Gothic style, formerly based on the French paradigm, is neither possible, meaningful, nor desirable', but that this situation 'offers an opportunity for reinvigoration and an escape from the constricting criteria of progress and problems of style'. Davis suggests that 'all too often the investigation of Gothic monuments begins and ends by stressing the abstract or formal relationships between buildings rather than leading to an exploration of the architecture's role as a site of human activity in specific cultural settings'. He sees the way forward as a marriage of theoretical approaches with traditional methods to 'challenge, revise and energise our understanding of the form, purpose, and meaning of these magical buildings'.[30]

This thesis takes just such an approach, combining the formal method of mouldings analysis with a study of the social, political and cultural background of the patron, in one region over a hundred and fifty-year period. In doing so, this research will shed light not only on the formal relationships between the buildings studied, but also the meaning and

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[28] Davis, M., T., 'Sic et Non, Recent Trends in the Study of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture', 415.
[29] Kidson, P., and Murray, P., *A History of English Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1965), 106.
[30] Davis, M., T., 'Sic et Non, Recent Trends in the Study of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture', quotations from 416, 417, 418, 422.

importance of these buildings to those who paid for their construction and used them as places of worship and burial. Few works on Irish medieval architecture have tackled the subject in this way, and it is important here to review the literature written about Irish Gothic architecture, to demonstrate the present state of knowledge, and highlight gaps in this knowledge. After this literature review there follows a summary of the development of mouldings analysis as a tool for architectural research. This methodology has been developing for over one hundred years, and it is important to build on, and learn from past studies. The final section describes the historical circumstances which make regional studies in Ireland so important, and outlines the reasons for the choice of Ormond as a regional case study.

II. Irish History and Irish Gothic

> The dominant interpretative framework has been a national one: it inclines to treat the island as a political rather than a geographic entity, its history shaped by interaction between inhabitants, and the impact of outside factors ignored or dismissed as deleterious.[31]

Traditional works on late Gothic architecture in Ireland are plagued by the same historiographical problems as historical works on the period. Much of the critical literature levelled at this historical writing may to a large extent be applied to the art historical material. This, as outlined above, is the inclination to treat the island of Ireland in isolation. This traditionally introspective approach to both historical and art historical studies is a product of nineteenth-century scholarship throughout Europe,[32] but the nationalist movement in late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ireland has accentuated the emphasis on national history.

Late medieval Ireland was a multicultural society, 'the area of Gaelic rule spanned the north channel: the *Gaedhealtacht*, or Gaeldom had a common language, law and

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[31] Ellis, S., 'Nationalist Historiography and the English and Gaelic Worlds in the Late Middle Ages', in C. Brady (ed.), *Interpreting Irish History. The Debate on the Historical Revisionism* (Dublin, 1994), 163 (first published in *Irish Historical Studies*, 25:97 (1986), 1-18). This work by Ellis prompted heated and engaging debate in *Irish Historical Studies* and beyond, see Bradshaw, B., 'Nationalism and Historical Scholarship in Modern Ireland', *Irish Hisorical Studies*, 26:104 (1989), 329-351 in which Ellis' application of a 'whig-nationalist' model to understanding Irish historiography post 1922 is refuted on a number of grounds – particularly that 'value-free' history has damaged modern Irish scholarship ibid. 336. The debate spilled over into *History Ireland* where Ellis defended his approach in 'More Irish Than the Irish Themselves'? The 'Anglo-Irish' in Tudor Ireland', *History Ireland*, 7:1 (1999), 22-6, and was roundly rebuffed in the next issue by Kenneth Nicholls 'Worlds Apart? The Ellis Two-Nation Theory on Late Medieval Ireland', *History Ireland*, 7:2 (1999), 22-6. These debates are extremely pertinent to the subject matter of this thesis. If architecture is a product of society, it is imperative to at least try and understand the cultural and political values of that society.

[32] Kearney, H., *The British Isles* (Cambridge, 1995), 1; Ellis, S., 'The Empire Strikes Back: the Historiographies of Britain and Ireland', in S. Ellis (ed.), *Empires and States in European Perspective* (Pisa, 2002), 99.

culture, but was divided into more or less independent lordships. Elsewhere the sovereignty of the English king was acknowledged, and the lordship of Ireland formed part of a disparate group of territories comprising the kingdom of England, the principality and marches of Wales, Calais, the Channel Isles, the Isle of Man and, until the mid-fifteenth century, the duchies of Normandy and Gascony. In terms of language, law, customs and governmental institutions, however, the English and Gaelic polities had comparatively little in common'.[33] Work on fifteenth-century architecture has tended to ignore Ireland's place in these greater spheres, and view the island as a theatre where stylistic developments can be mapped out in a typological way. Similarly, spatial relationships within Ireland tend to be overlooked (Plate 1.4). The land route between Dublin and the south-east was often arduous, having been overrun by the Gaelic Irish of the Wicklow hills; while the natural barrier of the Shannon was only one impediment in the difficult journey from Dublin to Galway, so that movement by land often presented serious difficulties.[34] Coastal towns like Waterford, Youghal, Cork, Dingle and Sligo were as easily connected with other costal towns in England, France and Spain as with Dublin; while Dublin could boast strong trading relationships with Chester and Bristol.

In historical works on late medieval Ireland 'those areas outside the bounds of the English lordship are often treated in separate books or in different chapters of the same book',[35] whereas in art history traditional works comprise surveys of the whole island, studies of religious orders, or monographs of individual buildings. Although it has been suggested that to some extent, the church acted as a unifying factor in late medieval Ireland,[36] there was an ethnic divide; in effect the Church had two wings, that in Gaelic territory, or that of Gaelicized Norman lords, known as 'ecclesia inter Hibernicos', and the church in colonial areas, known as 'ecclesia inter Anglicos'.[37] Perhaps the most important factor to have been ignored in many early works is the role of both the patron and the mason in shaping the buildings of late medieval Ireland, the buildings were viewed as

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[33] Ellis, S., *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603: English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule* (Harlow, 1998), 11.

[34] Ellis, S., *Ireland in the age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 20-1, it is important not to overstress the difficulty of moving about the country. The Shannon may have been a barrier, and the bridge built by the O'Briens over the river was on occasion destroyed to prevent hostile forces from its western banks over spilling into Offaly, see Ellis, S., *Ireland in the age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 101. At another level we might consider the north south course of this river an 'information superhighway'.

[35] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland, 1405-1515' (PhD, University of Dublin, 1998), 4.

[36] Walsh, C., 'The Clerical Estate in Later Medieval Ireland: Alien Settlement or Element of Conciliation?' in J. Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and Society in Medieval Ireland. Studies Presented to F. X. Martin OSA* (Kilkenny, 1988), 368.

[37] Watt, J., 'Gaelic Polity and Cultural Identity in the Fourteenth Century', in A. Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland: Medieval Ireland, 1169-1534* (Oxford, 1977), 335.

objects in isolation, not the functioning products of society, whether that was English, Gaelic, or something in between.

Turning to the art historical material, it is best to start with the earliest text to fully deal with the late Gothic period in Ireland, Arthur Champneys' *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture with some notice of similar or related work in England, Scotland and elsewhere* of 1910.[38] Here two chapters are devoted to the later Middle Ages, in which the author maps the development of what he terms 'a composite national style'. Characteristic buildings of this style are described, and in the succeeding chapter the author describes the individual features of the style. 'Some notice' is given to related work, such as the suggestion that the capitals of Roscommon Abbey are similar to those of Iona Abbey,[39] and window tracery and mouldings are said to relate to English work of both the Decorated and Perpendicular styles.[40] Many of the observations made by Champneys have stood the test of time, but his coverage of one thousand years of architecture left scant space for a full analysis of the relationships described above.

Harold Leask, Inspector of Monuments in Ireland for twenty-six years, was the 'defining voice in Irish medieval architecture'.[41] He left a legacy of publications, which amount to fifty articles, and as Inspector of National Monuments he published eleven booklets on monuments in State care.[42] His *Irish Castles*[43] and *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings* (in three volumes) are still in frequent use, particularly the last two volumes of *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, as no modern texts have been written to supersede them. The latter books acknowledge a debt to English architecture in Irish Gothic, and in volume II accurate comparisons are made with related architecture across the channel, although in volume III it is clear that definite relationships are more difficult to trace.[44] There are some further difficulties with the text of volume III, particularly with

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[38] In his 1911 review of *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture* G. Baldwin Brown describes how 'Mr. Champneys is just as careful to bring out the native Irish elements in the successive styles he analyses as he is to break down the old wall of demarcation, which the older Hibernian archaeologists has set up between Irish art and that of the outer world in general', it is interesting that to some extent we are still hindered by the 'old wall of demarcation', review in *English Historical Review*, 26:104 (1911), 762-4.
[39] Champneys, A., *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 184.
[40] Ibid., 184 , 189.
[41] Carey, A., 'Harold G. Leask: Aspects of his work as Inspector of National Monuments', *JRSAI,* 133 (2003), 24.
[42] Carey, A., 'Harold G. Leask: Aspects of his work as Inspector of National Monuments', 33.
[43] Leask, H. G., *Irish Castles and Castellated Houses* (Dundalk, 1941).
[44] Leask, H. G., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III: Medieval Gothic the Last Phases* (Dundalk, 1960), 116, where the author describes 'that all Irish Curvilinear derives from English fourteenth-century models seems obvious that it is difficult to find examples of precise agreement'.

chronology, where Leask applies a 'time-lag' theory to tracery designs arriving from England, and often dates work with little supporting evidence.[45]

Edwin Rae's contribution to *The New History of Ireland* series 'Architecture and sculpture in Ireland 1169-1534' is only forty-one pages in length.[46] Succinct it may be, but the major themes running through Champneys and Leask are addressed, and Rae includes funerary sculpture in his discussion, upon which he published extensively, particularly on that in Ormond.[47] Rae's holistic approach to the subject introduces a new dimension, distinguishing it from Leask and Champneys, which shows the relationship between architecture, architectural sculpture, funerary sculpture and, clearly, those who paid for this work.

Colum Hourihane's *Gothic Art in Ireland* published in 2003 is another survey of the Gothic period. It takes the form of seven essays dealing with both the history of the study of Gothic art and architecture, and the history of the art itself. The most outstanding chapter is the second 'An Art Forgotten: The Historiography of Gothic Irish Art', where the star of Irish Gothic is seen to fall in the face of the nationalist movement of the nineteenth century. We are told that seventeenth-century visitors sought out and described only English elements in the Irish cultural landscape in an attempt to validate the presence of their colony.[48] Antiquarian studies of the eighteenth century, such as those by Gabriel Beranger and Daniel Grose approached the depiction of Gothic art, and pre-invasion Irish art, in an entirely different way. Gothic monuments are treated factually, while 'Gaelic' monuments receive romantic treatment, the two illustrated in *Gothic Art* are termed 'fanciful capriccios' by Hourihane.[49] He notes the impartiality of the Ordnance Survey in documenting the architecture of Ireland, especially the importance of George Du Noyer to students of Gothic buildings.[50] Hourihane states that the Gaelic revival 'which started in the 1830s and lasted until the 1940s' caused a decrease in studies on Gothic art and architecture 'to an extent that they were almost non-existent'.[51] The book proves a useful guide to Gothic sculpture and to metalwork and manuscript illumination, but the author's

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[45] Leask, H. G., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, see page 77 for his dating of the door at Devenish; the text is also lacking in footnotes, which is frustrating to the reader.
[46] Rae, E. C., 'Architecture and Sculpture 1169-1603', 737-78.
[47] Rae, E. C., 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: I, The Ormond group', *JRSAI*, 100 (1970), 1-38; 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: II, The O'Tunney atelier', *JRSAI*, 101 (1971), 1-39.
[48] Hourihane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland 1169-1550*, 21.
[49] Ibid., 25.
[50] Ibid., 31.
[51] Ibid., 31.

discussion of sculpture with only passing reference to the architecture housing it, represents a false division.[52]

Studies of the architecture of particular religious orders exist for the Franciscan,[53] Dominican[54] and Cistercian orders.[55] The Franciscan and Dominican studies were complied in the 1950s and as such are typological in nature, comprising descriptive lists of elements as they appear in particular buildings.[56] Roger Stalley's study of the Cistercians, published in 1987, is a wide-ranging survey of the subject, with comparative references to other architecture both inside and outside Ireland. It remains a key text for many buildings of the late Gothic period, including Holycross and Kilcooly, particularly the discussions of chronology and patronage.[57]

A number of regional studies have been undertaken. In the early twentieth century T. J. Westropp published surveys of both the churches of Co. Clare and Co. Limerick, and as no modern archaeological surveys have been produced for these counties, Westropp's work remains of key importance to students of this area.[58] Westropp's study, on ecclesiastical divisions and church architecture, has been continued by Sinead Ní Ghabhláin, who deals with the function of the various medieval churches in the diocese of Kilfenora, ranging from the cathedral, larger and smaller parish churches, chapels of ease, proprietary and mortuary chapels to the early Christian monasteries which were still a focus of patronage and a destination for pilgrims. The author surveyed fifty ecclesiastical sites, and is particularly interested in 'the ways in which their size and layout can inform us as to their functions'.[59] As architectural history, the work is disappointing since Ní Ghabhláin formed a chronology for the stylistic features Clare churches by using, amongst other books, Frances Bond's *An Introduction to English Church Architecture* published as

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[52] Often it is clear that the author has not looked at the architectural context of the sculpture; for example he suggests that the pinnacles at Clontuskert spring from the hood, but they are actually the tops of broken pilasters that ran from the ground (their bases are intact), Hourihane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland 1169-1550*, 71. The author appears not to have visited a number of the sites discussed, nor was he apparently working from detailed photographs; see his reproduction of the door at Dunmore, Co. Galway, ibid. 82.

[53] Mooney, C., OFM, 'Franciscan Architecture in Pre-Reformation Ireland', *JRSAI*, 85 (1955), 133-73; 86 (1956), 125-69; 87 (1957), 1-38, 103-24.

[54] Pochin-Mould, D. D. C., *The Irish Dominicans* (Dublin, 1957).

[55] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland* (London and New Haven, 1987).

[56] See his discussion of windows, Mooney, C., 'Franciscan Architecture in Pre-Reformation Ireland', 86 (1956), 137-47.

[57] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, chapter 5.

[58] Westropp, T. J., 'The Churches of Co. Clare, and the Origin of the Ecclesiastical Divisions in that County', *PRIA*, 12 (1900-2), 100-180; Westropp, T. J., 'A Survey of the Ancient Churches of Co. Limerick', *PRIA*, 25 (1904/5), 201-327.

[59] Ní Ghabhláin, S., 'Church and Community in Medieval Ireland: The Diocese of Kilfenora', *JRSAI*, 125 (1995), 67.

long ago as 1913.[60] Applying Bond's typology and stylistic descriptions in an Irish context can only lead to chronological confusion in the later Middle Ages. Bond's work is useful in Ireland until the middle of the fourteenth century, but in the fifteenth century, Irish architecture developed in marked contrast to English, rendering Bond's text useless for the construction of a chronology.

Michael O'Neill's focus is on the architecture of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, and the relationship of that cathedral to proprietary churches in its hinterland. This has lead to a survey of the parish churches of counties Meath and Kildare in their own right, including the manner of their layout, and their architectural features.[61] In recent years Meath has been a particular focus of study, with recent work by Michael Potterton concentrating on medieval Trim, including the late medieval architecture of St. Patrick's church and related buildings.[62] The relationship between towerhouses, churches and their patrons was explored by Kennedy Abraham, who has published a small synopsis of the findings of his PhD thesis on the subject.[63]

Monographs of individual buildings are surprisingly rare in both the art historical and archaeological arena. Apart from small local publications detailing the history of particular buildings, or State publications interpreting sites open to the public, few buildings have come under sole scrutiny in recent years. Tadhg O'Keeffe's 1999 monograph *An Anglo Norman Monastery: Bridgetown Priory and the Architecture of the Augustinian Canons Regular in Ireland*[64] is beautifully presented and illustrated, with many fine archaeological drawings of carvings and ex-situ stones. The author tends to make assertions about the fabric with little supporting evidence however, which weakens

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[60] Ní Ghabhláin, S., 'Church and Community in Medieval Ireland: The Diocese of Kilfenora', 61. The other books used were *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (Dublin, 1845) by Petrie; Champneys' *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture* and Leask's *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings* volumes I, II and III. Petrie's work is largely concerned with round towers, Champneys avoids chronology in describing the architecture of the fifteenth century and Leask's application of the 'time-lag' in volume III must also have complicated the formation of a fifteenth-century chronology.

[61] O'Neill, M., 'St. Patrick's Cathedral Dublin, and Its Prebendal Churches: Gothic Architectural Relationships', in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin IV* (Dublin, 2004), 243-276; O'Neill, M., 'The Medieval Parish Churches in County Meath', *JRSAI*, 132 (2002), 1-56; O'Neill, M., 'The Medieval Parish Churches of Kildare' in W. Nolan and T. McGrath (eds.), *Kildare History and Society* (Dublin, 2006), 153-93.

[62] Potterton, M., *Medieval Trim, History and Archaeology* (Dublin, 2005), 267-93.

[63] Abraham, A. S. K., 'Patterns of Landholding and Architectural Patronage in Late Medieval Meath' (PhD, Queen's University Belfast, 1992); Abraham, A. S. K., 'Upward Mobility in Later Medieval Meath', *History Ireland*, 5: 4 (1997), 15–20.

[64] O'Keeffe, T., *An Anglo Norman Monastery: Bridgetown Priory and the Architecture of the Augustinian Canons Regular in Ireland* (Kinsale, 1999).

the value of the text.[65] *Christchurch Cathedral Dublin: A History* is a collection of essays detailing the role of the Cathedral during its thousand year history, and the architecture of the complex is discussed by Roger Stalley, including church furniture now lost but known through illustration.[66] Forthcoming work by Stuart Kinsella will fully develop the later medieval aspects of this history.[67] O'Neill's 1995 PhD thesis explored 'St. Patrick's Cathedral and its place in the history of Irish medieval architecture', highlighted fourteenth- and fifteenth-century work at the cathedral suggesting the role of this building as a conduit for new architectural ideas.[68] These ideas have been fully developed in O'Neill's recent publications discussed above.

Thematic works, dealing with various aspects of Irish medieval architecture and sculpture have been published over the past thirty years. *Ireland and Europe in the Middle Ages* by Stalley brings together twenty years of published material, including three key papers on the later Middle Ages 'Irish Gothic and English Fashion', 'Gaelic Friars and Gothic Design', and 'Irish and Scottish Gothic in the Later Middle Ages'.[69] Stalley has sought to contextualise Irish architecture within a broader framework, seeking to map how the relationship with English architecture proper waned in the fourteenth century, and how this is reflected in Scottish architecture.

New interpretations of late Gothic design have emerged in recent scholarship, based around the meanings which architecture and sculpture had to contemporary audiences. O'Keeffe's 'Concepts of 'castle' and the construction of identity in medieval and post-medieval Ireland' suggests that a parallel strand of castle studies needs to develop, based around the meaning of the castle rather than the morphology and chronology of these buildings.[70] In *Medieval Ireland: an archaeology* O'Keeffe questions

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[65] On page 96 the author discusses a loose capital and base, suggests that they could be from the east window, and goes on to say that it may have been the finest external east window elevation in Ireland. No mention is made of lesser specimens, by comparison with which the Bridgetown window shines out, and so the point is left hanging. Other Augustinian monuments in Ireland are discussed, and it is clear that some of the finest medieval monuments in Ireland were constructed by this order (Christ Church Cathedral, Athassel Priory, Newtown Trim Cathedral, Kells Priory), but no notice is given to Augustinian architecture outside Ireland, and so we are left to wonder what architectural relationship these buildings had with those of England, France and beyond.

[66] Milne, K., *Christchurch Cathedral Dublin: A History* (Dublin, 2000).

[67] Kinsella is currently completing PhD research into Christ Church 1500-1840 at The History of Art Department, Trinity College Dublin.

[68] O'Neill, M., 'St. Patrick's Cathedral and its place in the history of Irish medieval architecture' (PhD, University of Dublin, 1995), 100, 124.

[69] Stalley, R., *Ireland and Europe in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1994)

[70] O'Keeffe, T., 'Concepts of 'Castle' and the Construction of Identity in Medieval and Post- Medieval Ireland', *Irish Geography*, 34:1 (2001), 69-88.

what architectural styles meant to those who saw them in late medieval Ireland. Did observers know that what we now term Decorated and Perpendicular Gothic were of English origin?[71] Recent and forthcoming publications by Rachel Moss further explore meaning in art and architecture. Revivalist tendencies previously attributed to introspection, are reinterpreted by Moss as manifestations of a growing sense of eclecticism in the taste of Irish patrons.[72] The function and meaning of sculptural imagery in ecclesiastical buildings is also explored, particularly the incursion of what can be considered 'secular' sculpture on 'sacred' space.[73] These works begin the process of reassessing ecclesiastical art in a holistic way.

It is important not to dismiss connoisseurial approaches, and one such approach is the study of moulding profiles. Over the past century it has been shown that the study of moulded details is wholly valid, and it is important here to describe how this methodology has been honed and developed. Below is an outline of how moulding studies have developed and evolved over the century.

III. Mouldings as a Methodology

The truth is, that mouldings are of the greatest possible importance: so much so that they have rightly been called 'the very grammar of the art'.[74]

The study of mouldings as an aid to architectural research has grown steadily from its inception in the nineteenth century. Since the publication of Bond's *Gothic Architecture in England* in 1906,[75] with its twenty-eight sheets of moulding profiles, we have come to expect that these drawings will be included as part of any monograph on Gothic architecture. Moulding studies in Ireland, however, are in their infancy. Although moulding profiles have been included in various publications, from Champeys' *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture,*[76] and Leask's *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*[77] to

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[71] O'Keeffe, T., *Medieval Ireland: An Archaeology* (Stroud, 2000), 151-2.
[72] Moss, R., 'Revivalist Tendencies in the Irish Late Gothic: Defining a National Identity?' in M. Reeve (ed.), *Reading Gothic Architecture* (New York, forthcoming).
[73] Moss, R., 'Permanent expressions of Piety: The Secular and the Sacred in Later Medieval Stone Sculpture' in R. Moss, C. Ó Clabaigh OSB, and S. Ryan (eds.), *Art and Devotion in Late Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), 72-97.
[74] Paley, F. A., *A Manual of Gothic Mouldings with Directions for Copying them and for Determining their Dates,* W. M. Fawcett (ed.), 5th Ed., (London, 1891), 3-4.
[75] Bond, F., *Gothic Architecture in England*, 658-707.
[76] Champneys, A., *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, see plate CI opposite page 185.
[77] Leask, H. G., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 17, 67, 116, 122, 128, 130, 136-7, 139, 141, 142, 144-6, 150,160, 163, 165.

Stalley's *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*,[78] their reproduction has been varied, and their analysis seldom deep or systematic. In her thesis on 'Romanesque Chevron Ornament' Moss included Ireland in a mouldings survey that took in both England and Normandy.[79] Although the period surveyed is removed from that of the present study, the findings of this thesis are significant, in that it mapped the interrelationship of Irish mouldings with those of England and the Continent, and suggested that Irish masons made specific design choices where mouldings were concerned, choosing to employ some developments while largely ignoring others.[80]

With so little Irish material upon which to build a methodology it is essential to look to England in order to digest the lessons learned over one hundred and fifty years of scholarship in the subject, and to define the limitations of what this current research can expect to learn through the analysis of moulding profiles.

The collection of moulding profiles owes its original impetus to the architects of the Gothic Revival, for whom an intimate knowledge of the constructional details of Gothic buildings became essential in enabling their exact replication. A fine example of this is Augustus Pugin's *Specimens in Gothic Architecture* published in 1821.[81] In terms of architectural history, the analysis of mouldings has developed in two ways. A typology has been developed to map the stylistic development of mouldings from the origins of the Romanesque to the Perpendicular phases of design. A separate but related area of research charts the existence of regional schools of masons and the work of individuals through the isolation of mouldings which share common characteristics. These two highly developed areas of study are key in providing the core methodology which will be employed in this thesis, and will be discussed below.

The stylistic typology of mouldings developed by the Frederick Paley, a professor of classical literature with an interest in Gothic architecture, exerts an influence on moulding studies to this day. He read two papers before the Cambridge Camden Society in 1844 on the subject of mouldings, and these lectures formed the basis of his *A Manual of Gothic Mouldings* (1845). Here the drawings are catalogued by date, and by type of feature, and are introduced by an essay describing the mouldings characteristic of each

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[78] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, Appendix 4, consisting of eight pages of mouldings.
[79] Moss, R., 'Romanesque Chevron Ornament' (PhD, University of Dublin, 2000).
[80] Moss, R., 'Romanesque Chevron Ornament', 146.
[81] Pugin, A., *Specimens in Gothic Architecture* (London, 1821).

period. The work is the primary study in the field of mouldings analysis and there are some inconsistencies. Many of the churches from which the mouldings are taken are not identified and no dates are given for any of the features or buildings.[82] It has been noted that Frederick Paley surveyed only limited geographical areas, and so the work is by no means a definitive collection of the Gothic mouldings of England.[83] Furthermore, Paley surveyed mainly parish churches and included few examples from the great cathedrals. The cathedrals were the centres of building activity throughout the Early English, Decorated and early Perpendicular phases of Gothic architecture in England and may be seen as the stylistic source for much of the work at parish church level.

Paley's basic layout of forms became a template for many other typological works on mouldings. Edmund Sharpe's *The mouldings of six periods of British architecture from the conquest to the reformation* of 1871 follows a chronological format,[84] and the distinct lack of 'Rectilinear' mouldings included in the study (he reads this 'Rectilinear' period as dating from 1360-1550) may well be due to the fact that the work was never finished.[85] This study has geographical limitations, the author being particularly concerned by buildings in the north of England, especially Yorkshire. There is little analysis of the development of mouldings here, the author concentrating more on the large-scale reproduction of the plates themselves, which are at one-third scale. A third work, which may be added to this type of study, is *Medieval Gothic Mouldings* of 1972 by Henry Forrester.[86] The book includes a discussion of the main mouldings found during the three phases of Gothic architecture in England, along with their characteristic features. The author acknowledges no debt to Paley or Bond, although his work appears to be heavily based upon their publications. Although the book has four hundred and twenty-one mouldings, they are taken from only sixty-four buildings, fifty-five of which the author visited in person. The geographical spread of the study is also limited, as the author surveyed only twelve counties of England (Oxfordshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Avon, Hertfordshire, Gloucestershire, Devon, Berkshire, London, Somerset, Wiltshire, and

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[82] W. M. Fawcett the editor to the 5th edition notes 'as far as practicable, the localities of the examples in the plates have been indexed; but, as these were taken from the Author's note-books when the work was first published, many of them cannot now be ascertained with certainty', Paley, F. A., *A Manual of Gothic Mouldings*, editor's preface.

[83] Morris, R. K, 'The Development of Later Gothic Mouldings in England c.1250-1400 Part I', *Architectural History*, 21 (1978), 18.

[84] Sharpe, E., *The Mouldings of Six Periods of British Architecture from the Conquest to the Reformation*, 3 Vols. (London, 1871-4).

[85] Bond notes this in his preface to *Gothic Architecture in England*, vii.

[86] Forrseter, H., *Medieval Gothic Mouldings* (Chichester, 1972).

Northampton). Only two mouldings are included from Yorkshire, and one from Lincolnshire.

By the 1970s, then, a typology of mouldings had been roughly established, illustrating the major stylistic shifts which occurred in their design during the Gothic period, but there were geographic gaps in the areas surveyed. In understanding how the various stylistic developments took place, it was essential to chart where new mouldings first occurred, and their ultimate source. This work was undertaken by Richard Morris, who sought the origins of the most popular late Gothic mouldings, and mapped their use throughout England, as individual elements: the wave moulding, the sunk chamfer, the double ogee, the three quarter hollow with fillets, the undercut hollow.[87] He also isolated the first appearance and geographical distribution of common late Gothic forms for mullions, ribs, capitals and bases.[88] This work showed how the design of mouldings developed, from the site where a design was introduced, to its widespread distribution throughout the country. The work is extremely relevant for the study of Irish mouldings, as it clearly shows that mouldings current in thirteenth-century and fourteenth-century England, but which subsequently became obsolete, have a much greater longevity in Ireland.[89]

It is clear from many documentary accounts, that the master mason responsible for designing a Gothic building designed the mouldings. On larger sites, these were transferred onto wooden boards which were distributed to the banker masons. At smaller sites the master might delegate some cutting in this way, but could also be responsible for cutting some stones himself as happened with Richard Winchcomb at Adderbury.[90] Although it has been shown that some patrons made specific demands about the mouldings used, it is generally believed that master masons exercised more creative control over this part of the building than any other, and in this way mouldings offer the potential to be read as personal 'signatures'.[91] However, some caution needs to be exercised, particularly as

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[87] Morris, R. K, 'The Development of Later Gothic Mouldings in England c.1250-1400 Part I', 18-57.
[88] Morris, R. K, 'The Development of Later Gothic Mouldings in England c.1250-1400 Part II', *Architectural History*, 22 (1979), 1-48.
[89] Morris, R. K, 'The Development of Later Gothic Mouldings in England c.1250-1400 Part II', 20, this is particularly relevant in the case of the scroll moulding, popular in capital mouldings in Ireland throughout the fifteenth century, but rarely seen in England post 1350.
[90] Shelby, L. R., 'The Role of the Master Mason in Medieval English Building', *Speculum*, 39:3 (1964), 400.
[91] Morris, R. K., 'Mouldings and the Analysis of Medieval Style' in E. Fernie and P. Crossley (eds.), *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context: Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson* (London, 1990), 244, Morris uses the phrase 'less likely to be influenced by external factors than the designing of more general architectural features such as ground plans or window tracery'.

features such as bases, moulded capitals, stringcourses, and often ribs and mullions, have recurring profiles, which do not offer proof of authorship by one master; persisting over long periods of time, they cannot be used for close dating.[92] The reuse of templates between buildings has been shown to occur only rarely,[93] and so in looking for the work of the same mason between structures, 'the researcher is looking for similar mouldings or similar groups of mouldings, but should not expect to be presented with profiles repeated verbatim at every site'.[94]

The dominance of one workshop, such as that of a great abbey or cathedral, can have stylistic effects on an area over decades or even generations, so that it is often safer to attribute a particular moulding to a region rather than suggesting that its reoccurrence is the product of the stylistic output of one individual.[95] This type of continuity can, conversely, prove very useful in demonstrating the arrival of a new mason into such an area, versed in a different repertoire of mouldings.[96] Further difficulties in establishing the direct relationship between the master mason and the mouldings we attribute to him is the presence at many larger sites of a second master equally capable of designing and cutting moulding profiles.[97] The mason might also be asked to copy older work, as happened at Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire in 1434, where it was stated in the contract that the new

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[92] Morris, R. K, 'Mouldings and the Analysis of Medieval Style', 240, Roberts also notes this, see Roberts, E., 'Perpendicular Architecture in Hertfordshire' (PhD, University of London, 1972-3), 55.

[93] Morris, R. K, 'Mouldings and the Analysis of Medieval Style', 240; Roberts, E., 'Perpendicular Architecture in Hertfordshire', 57. Fawcett, in his research in Norfolk, found some evidence for the reuse of templates, saying 'it has been demonstrated that, in varying degrees, nearly all architects would repeat moulding formations in two or more of their churches so precisely that the same template or templates cut from the same design must have been employed … patently it is a pre-requisite of such methods of working that the architect should maintain exact records of designs presumably in the form of full size sections of the moulding formations' see Fawcett, R., 'Later Gothic Architecture in Norfolk: An Examination of the Work of Some Individual Architects in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries' (PhD, University of East Anglia, 1975), 481.

[94] Morris, R. K, 'Mouldings and the Analysis of Medieval Style', 242; as Roberts states 'the parish churches, generally speaking, were built in the craft tradition, where deadly repetition was avoided', Roberts, E., 'Perpendicular Architecture in Hertfordshire', 57.

[95] Morris, R. K, 'Mouldings and the Analysis of Medieval Style', 246.

[96] During a survey carried out Morris in the 1970s, he discovered the work of an individual mason who had travelled widely. He had worked at Badgeworth near Tewkesbury and capitals there meant little in their local context. It was only during survey work in the south east of England that his individual capital type was found again. The mason responsible was Thomas de la Bataile who was documented as being in charge of the masons at Caerphilly, worked for the Despenser family in Gloucestershire and now is known to have been connected with works on the Leeds Castle estate, Morris, R., 'The Development of Later Gothic Mouldings in England c.1250-1400 Part II', 35.

[97] Morris, R. K, 'Mouldings and the Analysis of Medieval Style', 244. For an excellent discussion of how a mason might work under a master, cutting to his master's profiles, but have an utterly different style see Murray, S., 'Bleuet and Anthoine Colas, Master Masons of Troyes Cathedral. Artistic Personality in Late Gothic Design', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 41 (1982), 7-14, particularly 13 for a discussion of the choices of Colas when free from the design imposed by Bleuet.

work was to emulate the standing architecture, apart from a minor change in the moulding.[98]

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, authors have sought to attribute work, both great buildings and humble parish churches, to individual masons through the analysis of moulding profiles. Walter Lethaby, in his work on Westminster Abbey, used profiles to analyse both chronology and input of individual masons to the fabric.[99] Lethaby's work heavily influenced John Harvey in his biography of master mason Henry Yevele.[100] In this a number of buildings are firmly ascribed to the architect, and many others are attributed to him throughout the text, on circumstantial historical evidence, and constructional detail. [101] Two years later, Harvey published the article 'Some Details and Mouldings Used by Yevele' which he describes as 'an attempt to relate a number of details and mouldings to a particular master and to closely approximate dates', and he suggests that similar exercises should be undertaken by others, so that a large body of information on the style of individual masons might be built up, for both dating and attribution purposes.[102] In the introduction to the 1984 revised edition of his *English mediaeval architects: a biographical dictionary down to 1550, including master masons, carpenters, carvers, building contractors and others responsible for design*, Harvey can be found arguing vehemently for the attribution of work to masons based on constructional details, particularly mouldings. His work on the subject in turn inspired another generation of scholars in the 1970s.

'To discover what can be learned from mouldings is the aim of this thesis',[103] so states Eileen Roberts in the introduction to her 1972 'Perpendicular Architecture in Hertfordshire'; at the time two other theses were underway with the same aim, one on the

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[98] Salzman, L., F., *Building in England Down to 1540. A Documentary History* (Oxford, 1952), 506.
[99] Lethaby, W. R., *Westminster Abbey Re-examined* (London, 1925).
[100] Harvey, J. H., *Henry Yevele c.1320 - 1400. The Life of an English Architect* (London, 1944).
[101] Note must be made here of the article by A. D. Maclees, 'Henry Yevele: Disposer of the King's Works of Masonry', *JBAA*, 36 (1973), 52-71 in which Maclees argues against the vast quantity of work attributed to Yevele by Harvey in his numerous works on the mason. Maclees looks closely at the documentary evidence, suggesting that in many cases Yevele's association with the projects was not as designing mason. Maclees' paper reads as a cautionary tale to any architectural historian eager to link a named mason to a particular work; to Maclees the first evidence is the building, and he questions Harvey's interpretations of Yevele's style, ibid. 53, n. 8.
[102] Harvey, J. H., 'Some Details and Mouldings Used by Yevele', *Antiquaries Journal*, 27 (1947), 51.
[103] Roberts, E., 'Perpendicular Architecture in Hertfordshire', 33. Roberts published many of the findings of her thesis in the following articles: 'Robert Stowell', *JBAA*, 35 (1972), 24-38; 'Thomas Wolvey, Mason', *Archaeological Journal*, 129 (1973), 119-44; 'Moulding Analysis and Architectural Research: the Late Middle Ages', *Architectural History*, 20 (1977), 5-13; *A School of Masons in Fifteenth-Century North Herefordshire* (Hereford, 1979).

Decorated architecture of Hertfordshire by Richard Morris,[104] the other on late Gothic architecture in Norfolk by Richard Fawcett.[105] In all three the basic methodology was the same, the collection of all mouldings of a certain period in a limited geographical area, followed by an analysis of these in order to discover regionalisms, workshops, and the designs of individual master masons. The findings of these theses are relevant for Irish architecture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, particularly those of Fawcett, in that these studies look at areas where there is an individual character to the buildings, somewhat removed from the dominant 'court style'. Studies which map the development of style, such as Jean Bony's *The English Decorated Style*[106] or Harvey's *The Perpendicular Style*[107] are interested in the most innovative designs which are seen to be the harbingers of new taste and fresh artistic impulse. The regional studies mentioned above are more concerned with the reception of these new ideas into an artistic environment in which design developed more slowly, and in which architecture was somewhat branded with its own regional identity. According to Morris:

> Despite the fact that the backbone of the Westminster workshop appears to have been made up of provincially trained masons, and that royal master masons were sometimes consulted about major provincial works, the dominant impression is that a definite gulf prevails in the period between the taste of the court and the provincial schools, particularly those in the west and north. Isolated features related to the court style have been recognised in these areas, such as the rectilinear effect of the east window of the choir at Wells Cathedral. But they seem generally to have been constructed as an attempt by provincial masters with definite styles of their own to show that they were conversant with the latest developments in London, rather than as part of a thorough saturation of major provincial building with what might be described as 'Court style motifs'.[108]

Fawcett drew many conclusions from his study of Norfolk which are pertinent to Irish architecture of the same period:

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[104] Morris, R. K., 'Decorated Architecture in Hertfordshire. A Study of its Sources, Workshops and Influence' (PhD, University of London, 1972). The thesis was published in a number of articles including 'The Mason of Madley, Allensmore and Eaton Bishop', *Transactions of the Woolthorpe Naturalists Field Club of Herefordshire*, 41 (1974), 180-197; 'Pembridge and Mature Decorated Gothic in Hertfordshire', *Transactions of the Woolthorpe Naturalists Field Club of Herefordshire*, 42 (1977), 129-53.
[105] Fawcett, R., 'Later Gothic Architecture in Norfolk;' the thesis was published in the following: 'Sutton in the Isle of Ely and Its Architectural Context', *JBAA*, C.T. 2, 1976 (1979), 79-95; 'A Group of Churches by the Architect of Great Walsingham', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 37:3 (1980), 277-294; 'St. Mary at Wiverton in Norfolk and a Group of Churches Attributed to its Mason', *Antiquaries Journal*, 62:1 (1982), 35-56.
[106] Bony, J., *The English Decorated Style. Gothic Architecture Transformed 1250-1350* (London, 1979).
[107] Harvey, J., *The Perpendicular Style, 1330-1485* (London, 1978).
[108] Morris, R. K., 'Decorated Architecture in Hertfordshire', 22; Moss found much the same in her study of chevron.

> It is perhaps true that in few other areas were architects so ready to utilize forms for their intrinsic decorative value, regardless of whether or not they were generally "fashionable", than in the eastern counties, and doubtlessly an important contributory factor in this was the inevitable architectural inbreeding which is always found in areas which have a clear identity of their own. But this should not invariably be attributed to ignorance of developments which were taking place in other centres; in some churches one may be conscious that the architect was evidently aware of the newest ideas, but from these he only selected those elements that seemed appropriate to his requirements. As a result, although new ideas were often introduced into the area relatively rapidly after their emergence, they might be weighed and found wanting by the majority of architects.[109]

One cannot help thinking that any strong English identity of the eastern counties must have been negligible in comparison to the independent spirit in the west of Ireland during the fifteenth century. Another of Fawcett's observations may be applied to Irish architecture, that about the decline of the great lodges at cathedrals:

> The declining importance of operations at the cathedral together with the greatly increased lay patronage of parochial architecture inevitably meant that the large number of masons who were now called upon to act as designing architects had no major current work to look to for guidance, but instead had to rely on their own resources. Such conditions are not conducive to any general sense of direction, and as a result, forms which first became current in the late fourteenth century and fifteenth century were to retain their popularity until the very end of the Middle Ages. Individual architects would employ variants of their own on basic themes, but these must, almost invariably, be seen as personal mannerisms rather than serious attempts to question the acceptability of the themes.[110]

Again, one cannot help thinking of Ireland, where no great cathedral lodges had existed since the later thirteenth century. There are few cathedral building programmes of the fourteenth century, but the scale of these works is minor. However, as the most fashionable architecture erected in Ireland during the fourteenth century, they had an impact and added to the pool of ideas carried by masons into 1400s.

Roberts published the answer to her question 'what can be learned from mouldings?' in 'Moulding analysis and architectural research: the late Middle Ages'. This is chiefly concerned with the lessons learned about data manipulation during her doctoral research. Her findings were as follows:

> Buildings by a single architect tend to contain similar sets of mouldings, traceries and details. Unattributed buildings, with similar sets, plotted on a distribution map, usually

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[109] Fawcett, R., 'Later Gothic Architecture in Norfolk', 41.
[110] Fawcett, R., 'Later Gothic Architecture in Norfolk', 101.

have a geographic proximity to the sphere of the architect in question. Examined historically they are usually found to be related in time and circumstances to that architect. Thus it does seem reasonable to conclude that, at this period at any rate, each architect tended to use his own individual moulding set.[111]

Recent research has seen the full assimilation of the lessons learned over the past one hundred and fifty years of mouldings analysis. Perhaps the best illustration of this is shown in the work of Linda Monckton, whose PhD research on the West Country demonstrates how a rigorous application of both typology and a sensitivity to the individual characteristics of style can lead to reassessment of well established chronologies.[112] Collaborative work between Monckton and John Goodall (and Goodall's independent research) brings forth a further aspect of the type of information which can be gleaned from moulding studies. This is the deliberate reference between architectural works, in constructional details, to endow architecture with a particular meaning. The motivation of the patron and the use of the building are key here, particularly the messages that the patron wishes to convey about himself in the architecture which he has have erected. This can be seen in work on the tomb of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester († 1447), whose political career and motivations shed light on his choice of craftsman, and the location of his funerary monument.[113] It is also amply demonstrated in the architectural patronage of the de la Pole family at both Ewelme and Wingfield, where deliberate archaisms are included in the fifteenth-century architecture of the churches, both to 'bury the dead in their own buildings, or at least in the buildings that preserved the characteristics of their age' and perhaps also to use 'architecture to advertise family antiquity'.[114] The inclusion of East Anglian detail at Ewelme is suggested by Goodall to be a deliberate advertisement by the patrons of their titles of Earl and Countess of Suffolk, though he questions to what extent contemporaries would have picked up on this specific reference.[115] The eclectic

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[111] Roberts, E., 'Moulding Analysis and Architectural Research: the Late Middle Ages', 10.
[112] Monckton, L., 'Late Gothic Architecture in South-West England: Four Major Centres of Building Activity at Wells, Bristol, Sherborne and Bath' (PhD, University of Warwick, 1999) the thesis has begun to appear in article form, see Monckton, L., 'The Late Rebuilding of Sherborne Abbey: A Reassessment', *Architectural History*, 43 (2000), 88-112: here close scrutiny of the fabric of the abbey, from the ruins of the chapel of ease that once stood at the west end of the church, through the south aisle, transepts, choir and nave allows a change in chronology. The author shows an exemplary knowledge of late Gothic architecture in the West Country, emanating from major centres such as Bristol, and Wells; and parish churches. The chronology of of Sherborne is revised; what was once thought to be a two stage late Gothic campaign is shown to be a continual rebuilding beginning with mid fourteenth-century work on the cloister.
[113] Goodall, J., and Monckton, L., 'The Chantry of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester', *JBAA*, C.T. 24, 1999 (2001), 231-55.
[114] Goodall, J., *God's House at Ewelme* (Aldershot, 2001), 32, 64. This book is the culmination of PhD research: Goodall, J., 'God's House at Ewelme' (PhD, University of London, 1997).
[115] Goodall, J., *God's House at Ewelme*, 44.

architecture at Ewelme provides one other lesson that might be applied to Irish architecture, and this is the inclusion of continental references in work that is constructed by English craftsmen, found in the tomb canopy of Alice de la Pole (†1475). Of this, Goodall states:

> The idiosyncrasy of the Ewelme canopy is perhaps to be explained by its having been executed by English craftsmen collating fashionable foreign details from pattern books. Other features of the tomb - the choice of material, the style of the angel panels on the chest and the overall feel of the work - would despite its eccentricities, certainly support an attribution to an English workshop.[116]

Idiosyncrasy and eccentricity are terms which might be readily applied to Irish late Gothic architecture, and it is worth asking whether the foreign influence found by Goodall in the hands of native craftsmen might be traced in Irish work also.

IV. Family history, patronage and the case for regional studies in Ireland

> Colonial Ireland was a collection of pockets of land separated by natural features and areas of Irish supremacy … its history is the sum total of many (mostly still unwritten) local histories.[117]

> History, even mere family history, restores old stones to life.[118]

Previous studies of Irish Late Gothic architecture have struggled to present a coherent assessment of the buildings because they have tried to write national surveys of a typological nature, searching for the evolution of form along chronological lines. It is dangerous in the extreme to make generalisations about late medieval Ireland, because Irish society at the time was culturally shifting and fragmented. There were areas of Gaelic supremacy, areas of Anglo-Irish supremacy and in the marches a confusing cultural mix that defies any definition, and was utterly dependent on local circumstances, pressures, and loyalties. Even at the extremes, at the polar opposites of Anglo-Ireland and Gaelic Ireland, there are cultural blurs. In such an environment, regional studies become important.

A number of diocesan and local histories were written in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and these are still key sources of both historical and antiquarian information for scholars of Irish medieval architecture. *The History of the Diocese of*

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[116] Goodall, J., *God's House at Ewelme*, 190.
[117] Frame, R., *Ireland and Britain 1170-1450* (London, 1998), 204.
[118] Proust, M., *Remembrance of Things Past* quoted from Richmond, C., 'Mickey Mouse in Disneyland: How did the Fifteenth Century Get That Way?', in L. Clark (ed.), *Of Mice and Men: Image, Belief and Regulation in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2005), 163.

Killaloe, and *History of the Ely O'Carroll territory*, are invaluable for their detailed accounts of both local history and buildings, but perhaps the supreme piece of early nineteenth-century diocesan history is William Carrigan's *The History of the Diocese of Ossory*.[119] Carrigan's history includes detailed historical information gleaned from primary sources, along with detailed readings of inscriptions found both on the architecture and on the various funerary monuments around the monuments. Carrigan also included secular buildings, and, where possible, genealogical information for the families interred at particular sites, and responsible for the construction of secular buildings. Carrigan's history, one hundred years after its publication, remains a central source for historians working on Kilkenny and Tipperary, reinforcing the need for scholars to follow in his exacting footsteps.

Studies based on modern county boundaries have been undertaken, and Westropp's work in Clare and Limerick has been noted. Michael O'Neill undertook successful studies of Meath, and his recent work on Kildare was included in the volume *Kildare History and Society*. These *History and Society* volumes contain interdisciplinary essays on the history of Irish counties, and have proven an excellent format for addressing various aspects of local history. Tipperary has been a particular focus for studies on the medieval period, not only having a number of medieval essays included in *History and Society*, but also independent studies of towerhouses and grave slabs.[120] The author of one such volume called Tipperary the 'geographical cockpit of the country',[121] this is perhaps rather an overstatement, but certainly Tipperary presents an interesting case study because an ethnic fault line ran across the county from north-east to south-west: Tipperary was marcher country.

Adrian Empey was a key contributor to both the Tipperary and Kilkenny *History and Society* volumes, and his article 'The Butler Lordship' has become an indispensable source for students of medieval Irish history.[122] His work on the Butlers of Ormond began with his 1970 PhD thesis, 'The Butler lordship in Ireland', which assessed the nature of

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[119] Gwynn, A., and Gleeson D. F., *A History of the Diocese of Killaloe* (Dublin, 1962), Gleeson, J., with an introduction and bibliography by G. Cunningham, *History of the Ely O'Carroll territory, or Ancient Ormond*, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1915); Carrigan, W., *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, 4 vols. (Dublin, 1905).

[120] Cairns, C., 'The Tower Houses of County Tipperary' (PhD, University of Dublin 1984); Maher, D., *Medieval Graves Slabs of County Tipperary, 1200 – 1600 A. D.* (Oxford, BAR British Series 262, 1997).

[121] Maher, D., *Medieval Graves Slabs of County Tipperary, 1200 – 1600 A. D* (BAR British Series 262, Oxford, 1997), 1.

[122] Empey, C.A., 'The Butler Lordship', *JBS*, 1:3 (1970-1), 174-87.

Butler landholding.[123] Empey's focus on the Butlers was followed thirty years later by David Beresford's work on the Butler family, in England and Ireland, in the fifteenth century.[124] Stalley noted, in his work on Cistercian architecture in the later Middle Ages, that the Butler family was heavily involved in architectural patronage, shown by both heraldry and primary documentation.[125] The Butler territories then, present themselves as an excellent area for a regional study of Irish architecture in the fifteenth century.

Ormond is suitable for such a study because it can be defined as both a region and a lordship, dominated by one comital power over the high medieval and early modern period.[126] The Butler family, with the earl of Ormond at its head, is particularly well documented by medieval manuscripts preserved in Kilkenny castle, and in the 1930s these were calendared by Edmund Curtis.[127] These printed calendars prove an invaluable source for discovering historical minutiae, from the buying of gloves for masons at Carrick-on-Suir in 1443, to the number of arrows the archers in the retinue of James, heir to the Ormond lordship, were to have with them when serving him in France in 1440.[128] The family also present the 'cultural blurs' described above, with the most anglophile of the earls, the fourth or 'White Earl' of Ormond (†1452) spending long periods of time at the English court, while also commissioning bardic poetry and using brehon jurists. The junior branches of the family, who came to prominence in the years after 1440, display, at varying degrees, the acculturation described by many historians as 'Gaelicization'.

V. This thesis: methodology, scope, aims

Previous studies of late Gothic architecture in Ireland, because of their scope, have tended not to systematically gather the kind of empirical data provided by moulding profiles, and where these have been provided, they have not been subjected to rigorous analysis. Often comparisons are very superficial, and we are told two features 'look' alike,

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[123] Empey, C.A., 'The Butler Lordship in Ireland' (PhD, University of Dublin, 1970).
[124] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland, 1405-1515' (PhD, The University of Dublin, 1998).
[125] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 113-28.
[126] Although as a geographical unit the cantred of Ormond was only one of those held by the Butlers, throughout this thesis Ormond will be taken to mean the territories dominated by the earls of Ormond in the Middle Ages unless specifically stated otherwise.
[127] Curtis, E., *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1172-1603* (Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission 1932-1943) henceforth referred to as *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, years covered by the volume*, deed number, page number.
[128] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 157, 139, 'twelve pairs of gloves for the masons of Carrick' were provided; no. 140, 126-8: they were to have 'good jakes of defense, salads, swerdes and sheves of XL arrows at least'.

without any deeper analysis of how they are related. Those buildings studied have generally been divorced from their cultural and geographical context, and also separated from liturgical furnishings, and other acts of cultural patronage by patrons we know to be linked with structures through heraldry and documentary evidence. Thus, in the past we have been presented with an incomplete picture of the building, a picture which often shows it as an uninhabited ruin studded with features. Few authors have attempted to analyse the international context of the work, or suggest how international influence may have come about. Finally, although Irish masons have been the subject of inquiry,[129] there have been no assessments of the relationship between masons and the patrons for whom they worked, and the influence this relationship may have had on the building.

This thesis, then, draws on the lessons of over one hundred years of scholarship and will apply a well-developed methodology to a political and geographical 'region' of Ireland. At the heart of this regional study is a large body of mouldings data gathered nationally. In addition to this core data, fieldwork was undertaken in Belgium, the Netherlands and Scotland, so that the analysis of the architecture of Ormond can be contextualised both nationally and internationally. This mouldings data will be carefully assessed, and used in conjunction with an analysis of window tracery, architectural sculpture, tomb sculpture and inscriptions, heraldry, and primary and secondary documentary sources to present as complete a picture as possible of the factors shaping the development of late Gothic architecture in the Butler territories, comprising roughly the modern counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny.

Patronage is central to the thesis, and by looking at the cultural background of different members of the Butler family, and indeed members of the Butler 'affinity', it may be possible to highlight concurrences between acts of secular and religious architectural patronage. In addition, looking at Butler artistic and cultural patronage in a broader context may demonstrate differences between the senior and junior, English and 'Gaelicized', members of the Butler family. Could these differences reflect in their patronage of religious architecture? Can the political ups and downs of the Butler family be read in its architecture in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries? These are all key questions to be addressed in the text.

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[129] Hourihane, C., *The Mason and His Mark* (BAR British Series 294, Oxford, 2000).

A quick note needs to be made here on my method of collecting moulding profiles. The mouldings were drawn on site in hard backed A3 sketchbooks using rulers, dividers, a square and soft wire. Generally a hard pencil was used to draw the profiles and subsequently they were overdrawn with a heavier pencil. Due to the shallow nature of many of the mouldings, a template former was not used. I followed Paley's directions for the drawing of mouldings with the use of leaden tape and have paraphrased them as follows:

> Another way is by use of leaden tape. It retains the shape it has received and may be laid on paper and traced with a pencil. If the moulding is big, it can often get bent out of shape. Also, deep undercutting, and hollows with narrow necks mean that wire placed into them cannot be withdrawn. So in this case best to copy only eight to ten inches of the moulding at once. Or on the planes where the members respectively lie (that is, a full-sized plan by measurement of the block, jamb or arch) may be first marked out on paper, and the tape adjusted to them; in the second case it is advisable to run the tapes only over the necks of the hollows, and subsequently to ascertain their depth and width by inserting a measure into them. In using the tape, the rough draught of the pencil must invariably be corrected by close comparison with the original, and every separate member should be tested as to size, projection, bearing and curvature, by the aid of the measure … sharp edges and angular hollows cannot be closely copied with leaden tape, so that these especially must be supplied by the eye.[130]

Paley says of the method 'a experienced hand is needed for making an accurate copy; and the process, to produce such a result, is rather tedious'. In this, I wholeheartedly agree with the 'father of English Gothic mouldings', but there is much to be said for the close interaction with the building that this kind of in-depth survey method affords.[131] Being on site for a number of hours, or in the case of Holycross, days, provides an excellent chance to notice details about the building a cursory visit cannot give. This interaction also provides one with a 'feel' for the work; it's character, and indeed, how carefully it was executed.

Obviously, such close hand surveying has its disadvantages, and there are limits to what one woman, a fold-up ladder and a Seat Ibiza can do. Sites isolated from the main road could not be surveyed with the ladder, and at some sites in private hands, use of the

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[130] Paley, F. A., *A Manual of Gothic Mouldings*, 25-6.
[131] Morris, who had been called the 'father of mouldings', valiantly bestows the title on Paley, calling him 'the real father of English Gothic mouldings', Morris, R. K., 'Mouldings and the Analysis of Medieval Style', 247.

ladder was not permitted.[132] There is the additional problem of stone decay, and in some cases, deliberate vandalism of the cut stone.[133] In this, concentration on the architecture of Kilkenny and Tipperary is fortunate, in that there appears to have been a plentiful supply of dark, carboniferous limestone, from which most of the monuments are carved. This stone takes fine details, and a high polish; it weathers well and thus much of the late medieval architectural details in Ormond have survived relatively intact.

It must also be noted here that a moulding profile does not represent an exact copy of the design used to cut the stone originally, the design carried out by the master mason.[134] In the case of Irish late medieval mouldings, however, which are predominantly made up of the manipulation of a limited number of basic forms, it is the arrangements of this forms, and the manner in which they have been drawn, which is of most importance. For the analysis of such things moulding profiles provide an ideal means of assessing masonic practice in late medieval Ireland.

VI. Note on the text

This thesis is comprised of two volumes, text and plates. The plates are numbered by chapter and the mouldings are included in the plates volume at 25% of their full scale. The most important sites mentioned in the text are charted on a map (Plate 1.4) and the ecclesiastical sites are fully listed in Appendix 11. Every effort has been made to detail the location and religious order of the building – but where this does not occur the building, order and diocese can be found in the Appendix.

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[132] I recently tried to gain access to the north triforium and clerestory at Christ Church, and was told it could only now be reached by ladder, and there were no safety measures. The triforium caps thus remain unmeasured and I have had to rely on Street's nineteenth-century restoration drawings.

[133] For a discussion of the factors affecting stone decay in Ireland see Pavía, S., and Bolton, J., *Stone, brick and mortar: Historical Use, Decay and Conservation of Building Materials in Ireland* (Bray, 2000), 101-122.

[134] For a discussion of just such templates see Shelby, L., R., 'Medieval Masons' Templates', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 30:2 (1971), 140-54.

Chapter 1

Territory, Power, Society, the Church

This thesis seeks to understand the architecture of Butler territories as a product of those who constructed it. In terms of ecclesiastical architecture, upon which this study is especially focussed, we must see the church as a large and imposing aspect of people's lives, a reminder of higher power and an instrument of salvation. As such, it is imperative to understand the political and cultural geography of the Butler territories. In the following chapter an outline is given of the lives of the Earls of Ormond and the cadet branches of the Butler family. An impression is also given of life in the Ormond lordship, as lived by the varying ranks of the aristocracy or knightly classes and the merchant class. The Ormond lordship is described as a geographical entity, and some impression is given of the society that inhabited this geographical unit and socio-economic conditions. Religious life and the particular acts of devotion undertaken by the earls of Ormond in the later middle ages are noted. In all, an attempt is made to present an accurate picture of Butler politics and lands, before an accurate assessment is made of Butler architecture.

I. Territory

The Butler lineage has its origins in the person of Theobald Walter (†1205), who was granted about half a million acres in North Munster in 1185, which he divided into four regions corresponding to the cantreds of Ormond Arra, Elyocarroll, Eliogarty and Owney.[1] Theobald accompanied John, Lord of Ireland, on his expedition to assume the lordship of Ireland in 1185, a mission designed to consolidate his father's work in the newly won colony (Plate 1.3).[2] In the fourteenth century the Butlers gained their noble title, and the story of their landholdings is one of shifting centres of power. They lost territory during the minority of the second earl when firm hold on their lands in northern Tipperary slipped due to a strong resurgence of the original Gaelic landholders of the area. This area had not been as heavily colonised as central Tipperary and Kilkenny, and the social organisation of the Gaelic Irish had not broken down.[3] By the early fifteenth century, Roscrea and Thurles had become the northernmost boundaries of the Butler territory.[4] The

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[1] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, 1172-1350, no. 26, 11-12. Instead of creating one central caput, Walter created one for each of these cantreds. For a description of the process of subinfeudation, see Empey, C. A., 'The Norman period, 1185-1500', in K. Nolan (ed.), *Tipperary History and Society* (Dublin, 1985), 78.
[2] Flanagan, M. T., 'Butler, Theobald (d. 1205)', *ODNB*, 9, 218.
[3] Empey, C.A., 'The Butler Lordship', *JBS*, 1:3 (1970-1), 175.
[4] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 28.

Irish O'Kennedys held Nenagh castle, but it appears they did so 'in sufferance rather than by conquest',[5] suggesting that the Butlers still held sway in the area. The focus of Butler power shifted from northern Tipperary to the fertile plains of the Nore-Suir-Barrow basin. The Butlers held Gowran as part of their original grant and after the shift in territory from north Tipperary to Kilkenny, the family resided between Knocktopher and Gowran; the earls traditionally being buried at St. Mary, Gowran.[6] In the 1390s the third earl of Ormond bought the Despenser lands and the administration of the Liberty of Kilkenny; these included all the lands in the cantreds of Iverk and Knocktopher along with Kilkenny castle and lands, which became the family seat.[7] Although the Liberty of Kilkenny did not survive, in the 1430s the fourth earl annexed the royal county of Kilkenny; the Butlers also held the Liberty of Tipperary, which was granted to them in 1328.[8]

This Liberty allowed the earls to exercise almost absolute control over county Tipperary. All pleas except those of the crown were to be held in the earl's courts, and all royal officials were removed.[9] Church lands did not fall under the earl's jurisdiction, but in reality the crosslands felt the influence of Butler power, thus in 1429 we find the abbot of Holycross, Fergal O'Heffernane, and his convent being pardoned by the earl for various crimes.[10] When the representatives of the communities of Kilkenny and Tipperary met in Fethard in either 1428 or 1435, they included the crosslands and the royal county of Kilkenny, so that 'regardless of the constitutional niceties, both county Kilkenny and the crosslands of Tipperary were under the earl's direct control. It is clear that in the absence of effective royal government such communities either sought … or were obliged to accept, the protection of the earl'.[11] By the 1430s, the fourth earl of Ormond effectively controlled, Kilkenny, Tipperary and the crosslands of both areas as 'one country under one rule and one lord'.[12]

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[5] Empey, C.A., 'The Butler Lordship', 175, fn. 6, they also paid a rent known as 'the kine (or cows) of Ormond'.
[6] Neely, W. G., 'The Ormond Butler of County Kilkenny 1515-1715', in W. Noland and K. Whelan (eds.), *Kilkenny History and Society* (Dublin, 1990), 107.
[7] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 30; Bradley, J., *Kilkenny: Irish Historic Towns Atlas no. 10*, (eds.) A. Simms, H.B. Clarke and R. Gillespie, (Dublin, 2000), 5.
[8] Empey, C. A., 'The Norman period, 1185-1500', 89.
[9] Ibid.
[10] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 86, 70.
[11] Empey, C. A., and Simms, K., 'The ordinances of the White Earl and the problem of coign in the later middle ages', *PRIA*, 75C(1975), 168; see also Nicholls, K., 'Worlds Apart? The *Ellis* Two-Nation Theory on Late Medieval Ireland', *History Ireland*, 7:2 (1999), 23.
[12] Nicholls, K., 'Worlds Apart?', 23.

During the later middle ages there was a resurgence of the native Irish, particularly in the western part of Ireland. The resurgence, however, was not limited to the north-west frontiers of the Butler lands. The MacGillapatricks had expelled most of the settlers from the cantred of Aghaboe by 1350.[13] The Barrow valley, the main artery for traffic travelling between Dublin and the south-east was under extreme pressure from the MacMurroughs of south Leinster, and MacMurrough assistance of the O'Mores of Leix threatened the Gowran pass and the Butler lands around Leighlinbridge.[14] Although Lionel, duke of Clarence, the king's son and deputy of Ireland in the 1360s, attempted to keep this route open in the 1361 by moving the central courts to Carlow, this had proved unsuccessful and by 1400 the journey through the Barrow valley could only be made with an armed guard; the result was a fragmentation of the core areas of English obedience in Ireland and communications with Waterford and Cork were increasingly made by sea.[15] In the southern part of Wexford lay the liberty of Wexford, held by the normally absentee earl of Shrewsbury; the administration of this liberty was usually left in the hands of local families.[16]

This precarious position of the Barrow Valley made control of the port of Waterford particularly important for the Butlers, for both communications with Dublin and for trading routes between towns in their territory and the sea. Their official connection with the port began in October, 1327, when the custody of the prise of wines of Waterford was granted to James Butler, first earl of Ormond (†1338).[17] In 1328 following the creation of the earldom, the king granted the earl £10 from the annual farm of the city of Waterford,[18] while James, the second earl (†1382), acquired the extensive lands of Eustace le Poer in north west Waterford following the latter's death.[19] The earls of Ormond began, in the fourteenth century, to cultivate support amongst junior branches of the Butler family in Waterford, and branches of the Les Poers.[20] They extended their control in Waterford

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[13] Empey, C.A., 'The Butler Lordship', 179.
[14] O'Byrne, E., *War, Politics and the Irish of Leinster, 1156-1606* (Dublin, 2003), 101.
[15] Ellis, S., *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603:English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule* (Harlow, 1998), 20-1. Matthew describes how 'The frequently threatened route from Dublin to the south was sufficiently secure to hold parliament at Kilkenny in 1426, the last time it was to meet there before the 1530s', Matthew, E., 'Butler, James, Forth earl of Ormond (1390-1452)', *ODNB*, 9, 148.
[16] Quinn, D. B., and Nicholls, K., 'Ireland in 1534', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *New History of Ireland Volume III Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691*(Oxford, 1976), 7.
[17] *Calendar of Fine Rolls*, 1327-1337, 67.
[18] *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 1327-1341, 94
[19] Parker, C., 'The Politics and Society of County Waterford in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries' (PhD, University of Dublin, 1992), 23.
[20] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1350-1413* , no. 39, 26; no. 26, 15-16; see also Parker, C., 'The Politics and Society of County Waterford', 211, 254.

city by installing their own men as sheriff,[21] but perhaps the most important aspect of their domination of Waterford came with the acquisition of manor of Malur Island in 1360 (now Little Island), just downstream from the town, which dominates the entire lower river Suir.[22] In the late fifteenth century Piers Butler renovated and extended the castle at Granagh; it held a commanding position over the Waterford estuary at the mouth of the Suir, and controlled the main ferries from Kilkenny to Waterford.[23]

To the south and west of the Butler territory lay the earldom of Desmond. An uneasy tension had been building between the earls since the 1339 when the first earl of Desmond acquired the manors of Kilfeacle, Kilsheelan and Clonmel,[24] encroaching heavily on what the Ormonds felt to be their sphere of influence. This tension overflowed into out and out warfare in 1399 when John FitzGerald, fourth earl of Desmond (†1400) launched an attack against the Butlers in south Tipperary.[25] A truce was arranged before serious fighting occurred, but stability was only reached between the two families in 1422 when the earl of Ormond granted the manors of Youghal, Inchiquin and Imokilly to Desmond.[26] The peace was further sealed by an agreement between the two whereby Thomas FitzJames FitzGerald, son and heir of the seventh earl of Desmond (†1462/3) would marry Anne, daughter of the fourth earl of Ormond (†1452).[27] The value at which Desmond held the alliance can be seen in his actions when it fell apart, and Ormond's only surviving daughter Elizabeth married John Talbot's heir. Desmond reacted to the news of Anne's betrothal in 1444 by raiding Tipperary and south Kilkenny.[28]

The domination of the river valleys of the Suir, Nore and Barrow, and their tributaries, meant that the Butlers could ensure trading wealth for the very successful network of towns that had been created in the early colonial period.[29] Although not all of these towns were founded by Theobald Walter, the Butlers came to dominate them. Towns

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[21] Parker, C., 'The Politics and Society of County Waterford', 211.
[22] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1350-1413*, no. 68, 61-2. Beresford describes its strategic importance suggesting that the owner of Malur Island: 'could bring extreme pressure to bear on the city of Waterford', Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 32.
[23] Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny 1515-1642*, 69.
[24] Parker, C., 'The Politics and Society of County Waterford', 353. For a more recent appraisal of the Butler-Geraldine antagonism over these manors see Crooks, P., "Hobbes', 'Dogs' and Politics in the Ireland of Lionel of Antwerp, *c.* 1361-6', *Haskins Society Journal*, 16 (2005),137-48.
[25] Parker, C., 'The Politics and Society of County Waterford', 308.
[26] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds. 1413-1509*, no. 51, 38-9.
[27] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 88, 72-3.
[28] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 123.
[29] Empey, C. A., 'The Norman period, 1185-1500' in K. Nolan (ed.), *Tipperary History and Society* (Dublin, 1985), 82, these towns are still in evidence along the Suir basin: Thurles, Clonmel, Carrick-on-Suir.

in the lordship not subject to the control of the Butlers were subject to their influence, thus we find the above mentioned assembly of the communities of Tipperary and Kilkenny of *c.*1428 summoned by the earl of Ormond taking place at Fethard, an archiepiscopal manor belonging to the see of Cashel.[30]

II. Power

The senior branch-The earls of Ormond

The senior branch of the Butler family (see Appendix 1) owed its success to a number of factors. The almost unbroken succession of father to son inheritance from 1185-1405 meant that their landed estates had grown over time and, in addition to this, no junior branches of the family had emerged in these years to challenge their place at the head of the lineage, or to demand support from the family income.[31] Their position as Chief Butler of Ireland, from which they derived the surname 'le botiller', was largely a sinecure, but was also profitable, as the butler of Ireland received a prise of all the wine that came into the country.[32] Edward III conferred the title earl of Ormond on James Butler and his heirs in 1328.[33] The earldom moved the Butler family into a new realm, 'an extremely select group at the top of English lay society – their exclusivity was matched by their wealth, status and political influence'.[34] Much was expected of a man acting at this level of society; by the 1450s the average size of an earl's household was some 200 people, and when he moved from one place to another so would his much of his furniture, his plate and the fittings of his chapel.[35] He had to be seen to be generous 'in alms to the poor, in his patronage of the church and church building, in his choice of rich, individual gifts for his peers and leading retainers'.[36]

The most important figure in this study of architectural patronage is James Butler, the fourth earl of Ormond or 'White Earl' who gained the title in 1405 and died in 1452. He might best be described as one of the most internationally minded of the great comital

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[30] Bradley, J., 'The Medieval Towns of Tipperary', K. Nolan (ed.), *Tipperary History and Society* (Dublin, 1985), 50; Empey, C. A., and Simms, K., 'The ordinances of the White Earl', 170.
[31] Beresford, D., "The Butlers in England and Ireland', 15.
[32] Ibid. 19.
[33] *Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1327-41*, 94. For the dynamics of the creation of new earldoms at this time Given-Wilson, C., *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1996), 31-2; see also Frame, R., *English lordship in Ireland, 1318-1361* (Oxford, 1982), 13-51.
[34] Given-Wilson, C., *The English Nobility*, 29.
[35] Keen, M., *English Society in the Later Middle Ages 1348-1500* (London, 1990), 166 and 161. When the earl contemplated traveling to Rome in 1431 we learn from letter of his safe conduct that it allowed for a retinue of up to twenty-five men to make a pilgrimage, *Calendar of Papal Letters*, VIII, 278.
[36] Keen, M., *English Society in the Later Middle Ages*, 170.

lords of fifteenth century Ireland, his links with court not equalled again until the very end of the fifteenth century in the person of Gerald, the 'great earl' of Kildare (†1513). His service as chief governor of Ireland was more extensive than any previous Irish earl,[37] but was much interrupted by the feud between John Talbot, Lord Furnival, and he; and in Furnival's absence with his brother, Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin.[38] The White Earl's political difficulties reached a climax in 1443 when the Prior of Kilmainham levelled charges of treason and necromancy against him; the issue was very nearly settled with a judicial dual in London.[39] Ormond visited England nine times during his adult career, and often these visits lasted a number of years, he also served in France on certainly three and perhaps four occasions, and possibly went on pilgrimage to Rome (see Appendix 2).[40]

In his office as chief governor and in the administration of his lands in Kilkenny and the liberty of Tipperary he is noted for his pragmatic approach to governance, especially in his dealings with the Gaelic Irish; in his own lordship 'Norman and Gaelic traditions of government achieved a peculiar balance, albeit an uneasy one'.[41] In 'the Ordinances of the White Earl', enacted at Fethard some time between 1428-35 we see a system where the earl attempted to achieve a kind of popular consent for the defence of the lordship.[42] The earl presents a confusing mix of cultural associations; from his itinerary it is clear that he spent prolonged periods of time in France and England. But he can also be found employing the Brehon jurist Domhnall Mac Clanchy and granting him lands in the

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[37] Here 'Irish' is used in a strictly geographical sense, the forth earl of Ormond was of the 'English' of Ireland. For a recent discussion of the use of the term 'English' in medieval Ireland see Frame, R., 'Exporting state and nation: being English in medieval Ireland', L. Scales and O. Zimmer (eds.), *Power and the Nation in European History* (Cambridge, 2005), 144.

[38] Matthew, E. A. E., 'The governing of the Lancastrian lordship of Ireland in the time of James Butler, Forth Earl of Ormond *c*.1420-1452', (PhD, University of Durham, 1994),148. This feud has been the topic of much academic writing, Griffith, M. C. 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government, 1414-47', *Irish Historical Studies*, 2:8 (1941), 376-97; the subject gets a recent and thorough treatment in Matthew, E. A. E., 'The governing of the Lancastrian lordship of Ireland in the time of James Butler, Forth Earl of Ormond *c*.1420-1452' (PhD ,University of Durham, 1994), and more recently again in Crooks, P., 'Factionalism and Noble Power in English Ireland, *c*.1361-1423' (PhD, University of Dublin, 2007), chapters 10 and 11. Peter Crooks thesis' is not yet in the library, and I would like to thank him for sending relevant chapters to me.

[39] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 122.

[40] Matthew, E., 'Butler, James, Forth earl of Ormond', *ODNB*, (1390-1452)', 149.

[41] Empey, C. A., and Simms, K., 'The ordinances of the White Earl', 163.

[42] Ibid., 162. McMahon wonders if this government by popular consent was influenced by ideas included in the *Secreta secretorum*, McMahon, A., 'A Study of the Iconography of Kingship in the Patronage of Thomas Butler, seventh earl of Ormond' (*c*. 1424-1515) (MPhil, University of Dublin, 2005), 95-6. The imposition of coign and livery without consent could cause widespread protest. Talbot had taken goods and services without payment during his first lieutenancy and this had caused his widespread unpopularity in the area around Dublin, see Otway-Ruthvan, A. J., *A History of Medieval Ireland* (New York, 1993), 351. Ormond could neither afford to antagonize the local population in Tipperary, nor provide ammunition for his enemies in Dublin.

lordship; this may have been a practical approach to dealing with his Gaelic tenants, or indeed, Brehon law may have been found more practicable than English common law in the punishment of some offences.[43] The use of Brehon law was not just reserved for the 'Gaelic under-class', but for the whole population.[44] The ninth earl of Kildare (†1534) is said to have used both Brehon and English common law, 'whichever he thought most beneficial, as the case did require'.[45]

He was a patron of Gaelic scribes, and his *Book of the White Earl*, was illuminated in a mixture of both insular and international styles.[46] The fourth earl was also a patron of Gaelic poets, and a poem patronised by him by Tadhg Oge O'Higgin, *Aoidhe i nÉirinn an t-Iarla*, is particularly interesting when viewed in the context of the Talbot-Ormond feud. It states:

> The Goill who do not agree to the earl being arbiter over them, would, if they had not him with them, be lucky to get time to leave the country![47]

In contrast, his 1422 commission for James Young of Dublin to produce *The Governaunce of Prynces*, an English translation of *Secreta secretorum*, a treatise for rulers, contains passages where Young advises Ormond in his treatment of the Gaelic Irish, such as 'when they fall into your hands pluck them all up by the root, as the good gardener doth the nettle'.[48]

Ormond's dynamism can be seen in his management of the Butler family, for manage them he did. His own sons were largely raised in England, and showed little interest in their father's Irish estates, so that by the 1440s the White Earl had to arrange his lordship in Ireland to take account of his sons' absenteeism.[49] He did this by planting junior branches of the Butler family around the periphery of the lordship, so that Edmund Mac Richard Butler (†1464) was placed in the important manor of Polestown to act as a buffer

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[43] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 65, 49; Nicholls, K.W., *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2003), 196-200.
[44] Nicholls, K., 'Worlds Apart?', 23.
[45] Nicholls, K.W., *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*, 54.
[46] Henry, F., and Marsh-Micheli, G., 'Manuscripts and illuminations, 1169-1603', A Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume II. Medieval Ireland* (Oxford, 1987), 802.
[47] L. McKenna, *Aithdioghluim dána*, Irish Texts Society 15, II (Dublin, 1940), poem 36, 84-6. Simms, K., 'Bards and Barons: The Anglo-Irish Aristocracy and the Native Culture', in R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (eds.), *Medieval Frontier Societies* (Oxford, 1989), 187.
[48] Bliss, A., and Long, J., 'Literature in Norman French and English to 1534', A. Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume 2. Medieval Ireland* (Oxford, 1987), 735; O'Sullivan, A., and W., 'Three notes on Laud Misc. 610 (or The Book of Pottlerath)',*Celtica*, 9 (1971), 136.
[49] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 130.

between the heartlands of the Butler territory and the Irish of Leinster.[50] Marriage with the Kavanaghs in the next generation of that family can only have further secured this border. Edmund MacRichard Butler himself was married to an O'Carroll, as was his sister; the aggressive campaigns undertaken by the earl against the O'Carrolls in the 1430s were not required in the later fifteenth century, when instead we find John O'Carroll receiving payments from the absentee sixth earl of Ormond.[51]

The Butlers of Cahir were placed in the south-west corner of the lordship, so that they might too act as a buffer between the earls of Desmond, to whom they were related, and the Ormond lands. A marriage alliance was arranged between the earls of Ormond and Desmond kept the peace for over twenty years, until news of the Ormond Talbot marriage broke in Ireland.[52] By creating peace with one faction in securing a marriage with Talbot, the Ormonds had opened up an older rift with the Desmonds, and this was not soon healed. It was the seventh earl of Desmond who defeated the combined Ormond force at Piltown in 1462,[53] took Edmund MacRichard Butler hostage, and as ransom demanded his *Book of Pottlerath* and *Book of Carrick* which they kept for almost a century, and treasured enough to have restored.[54]

The White Earl had first married Joan Beauchamp, daughter of Lord Bergavenny (see Appendix 1). His marriage to an English woman is particularly important and had a definite impact on the cultural outlook of the children of this union, who were all decidedly English in attitude. It is interesting that when the marriage alliance was formed between Ormond and Desmond in 1429, one of the conditions of the match was that 'the Earl of Desmond shall ordain that Thomas [his heir] be sent to Johanna, Countess of Ormond, to be kept under her governance'.[55] Joan died in England in 1430, and it is not clear if the young Desmond heir was with her at this time, although some authorities have argued that he was.[56] In the absence of the countess, her mother, Joan, Lady Bergavenny, became a great influence on the lives of her grandsons, not only arranging a suitable marriage for

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[50] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 139, 126-6.
[51] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 120.
[52] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 88, 72-3.
[53] *Annals of Connacht* 1462, 509.
[54] Dillon, M., 'Laud Misc. 610 cont.', *Celtica*, 7 (1963), 151, and for the book being restored by Desmond's scribes in Askeaton see 137. William and Anne O'Sullivan argue that the Book of Pottlerath and the Book of Carrick are the same manuscript. See O'Sullivan, A., and W., 'Three notes on Laud Misc. 610 (or The Book of Pottlerath)', 145. For a full discussion of the importance of these books see chapter 3 below.
[55] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 88, 72.
[56] Matthew, E. A. E., 'The governing of the Lancastrian lordship', 241–2.

James, the fifth earl (†1461), but also providing him with large landed estates in England.[57] The White Earl took as his second wife Elizabeth Gray, daughter and heir of the fifth earl of Kildare.[58] This brought the White Earl the income of the Kildare estates, but incurred the rath of Thomas FitzMaurice (†1478), the male heir to the estates who would inherit upon Elizabeth's death. Thomas had initially been taken into the earl's household, but soon left and allied himself with a number of the Irish of Leinster.[59] FitzMaurice fought a protracted battle with MacRichard Butlers and those of Dunboyne over possession of a number of FitzMaurice's manors in Kildare in the 1450s.[60]

The political affiliations of the White Earl were based around his early life at court, when he was a ward of Thomas, of Lancaster, duke of Clarence, and fought for Henry V.[61] During the minority of Henry VI Ormond was not so well connected, and the feud with Talbot weakened his standing; this situation was very different from the fourth earl's eldest son James (first earl of Wiltshire and fifth earl of Ormond). In 1426 James was summoned to court to be raised there and act as a companion to the young king, who was only a year younger than him.[62] This early contact was to cement the friendship between James and Henry VI, and for the rest of the fifth earl's life he was to remain a loyal supporter, being granted the title 'earl of Wiltshire' by the king in 1449.[63]

In the 1440s and early 1450s the earl of Wiltshire and his father, the White Earl, cultivated a close relationship with Richard, duke of York; an indenture for service survives in the *Ormond Deeds* between York and the earl of Ormond, dating from 1450 (see Appendix 3).[64] Soon after the death of the White Earl, relations with York deteriorated, and Wiltshire was to support Henry VI in the ensuing years of violence. Wiltshire never came to Ireland during his adult life, although he was made lieutenant on two occasions, a post which he never filled. His younger brother John (sixth earl of Ormond †1476/7) came once during his father's lifetime, in 1446 in the retinue of John

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[57] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 62.
[58] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 99, 82.
[59] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 108 and 122.
[60] Ellis, S., *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: The Making of the British State* (Oxford, 1995), 111.
[61] Matthew, E., 'Butler, James, Forth earl of Ormond (1390-1452)', 147.
[62] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 61 and 64.
[63] Ibid., 91.
[64] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 177, 167-8. (see Appendix 3)

Talbot. The White Earl may have hoped that John would take some interest in the Butler estates in Ireland, but this was not to be, and John followed Talbot to France in 1447.[65]

Thus the White Earl's sons were caught up in the dramatic events of English politics in the years after 1455, and Wiltshire has gone down in English history as a famous coward, escaping from not one but two battles of the Wars of the Roses in disguise.[66] Although he had managed to escape participation in the battle of Towton, by means already outlined, he was captured by the Yorkists and beheaded at Newcastle in 1461, his head being taken to London and displayed on London Bridge.[67] The White Earl's remaining sons attempted to lead a Lancastrian revolt in Ireland in 1462 by mustering support amongst the junior branches of the Butler family. This support was given, as the extensive list of the Butlers attained after the events of 1462 shows,[68] but their campaign in Ireland was not a success, as the *Annals of Connacht* describe that at the Battle of Piltown the Butlers and 'the FitzGerlalds fought a fierce and bloody fight and the Butlers were routed; four hundred and ten of them were counted as being buried, besides those whom dogs and wild animals devoured'.[69]

The rehabilitation of the Butler family took some time after these events, with John and his younger brother Thomas (seventh earl of Ormond †1515) going into exile, John went first to Portugal and then to France to join the exiled court of Queen Margaret, leaving the Archbishop of Cashel as arbitrator to the troublesome junior branches of the family.[70] John was pardoned in 1474, and he died on pilgrimage in the Holy Land *c.*1476.[71] The tenure of Earl Thomas, seventh earl of Ormond, saw the full reinstatement of the Butlers in the kind of position they had held at court in the 1440s and 1450s, as Thomas became an intimate in the court of Henry VII.[72] It appears Thomas never came to Ireland, but from correspondence in the *Ormond Deeds* it is clear that he was actively involved in the management of his Irish estates.[73] Neither Thomas, nor his two older brothers, had

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[65] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 100; John was taken prisoner in France in 1449, and his ransom was set very high, the paying of which left him much debt.
[66] Watts, J., 'Butler, James, First Earl of Wiltshire and Fifth Earl of Ormond (1420–1461)', *ODNB*, 9, 150.
[67] Ibid., 150-1.
[68] *Statute Rolls Ireland Edward IV*, I, 25-7.
[69] *Annals of Connacht*, (1462), 509.
[70] Ellis, S., 'Butler, John, Sixth Earl of Ormond (d. 1476/7)', *ODNB*, 9, 169-70.
[71] Ibid., 170. *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 242, 216-7.
[72] McMahon, A., 'A Study of the Iconography of Kingship in the Patronage of Thomas Butler, 7th earl of Ormond (*c.*1424-1515)', 30.
[73] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 248, 232-3; where Thomas claims restitution in Ireland, in deed no.252, 243-4, Thomas gains this, and in deed no. 265, 256-7, he is granted a leave of absence from Ireland.

produced a legitimate male heir, but John did have an illegitimate son, James, from his union with Reynalda O'Brien (†1497).[74]

By taking an interest in this James, and bringing him to court, Earl Thomas may have been considering an attempt to arrange for the title to go his nephew, who came to be known as 'James of Ormond', to the exclusion of his cousin Piers MacRichard Butler, who had inherited the post of deputy to Earl Thomas in his Irish estates and considered himself next in line to the earldom.[75] Piers had been fostered by Gerald, eighth earl of Kildare, and in marrying his daughter, Margaret, had 'secured his entry into the network of contacts that formed the basis of the Kildare ascendancy, and made him comfortable in the company Geraldine-sponsored government officials in Dublin'.[76] Piers was so comfortable in the Geraldine dominated political climate, that he accepted an appointment to the office of sheriff of County Kilkenny in 1487 under the seal of the pretender 'Edward VI' (Lambert Simnel), who the earl of Kildare had had crowned at Christ Church.[77]

In 1491 James of Ormond was sent to Ireland as Thomas' deputy, with an important mission to stamp out Yorkist pretenders.[78] Empey describes how the king wanted 'James … to mobilise the Ormond lordship to act as a counterpoise to Kildare, while the earl [Thomas] made it equally clear that Piers was no longer his deputy'.[79] Sir James was particularly despised by the MacRichard Butlers, not least because, as Piers complained in a letter to Earl Thomas, Sir James 'toke and kept me in prison for a long season contrarie to his othe and promise made upon the holy Crosse and other grete relikes'.[80] Sir James earned himself the colourful title of 'the Black Bastard'. Piers, seemingly with no choice, eliminated this threat to his succession to the title thus in 1497:

> Piers having intelligence that his enimie the base Butler would haue trauelled from Donmore to Kilkennie, notwithstanding he were accompanied with six horsemen: yet Piers, having none but his lackie, did forestall him in the waie and with a couragious charge gored the bastard through with his speare.[81]

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[74] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 180-1.
[75] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 250.
[76] Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny 1515-1642* (Dublin, 2003), 84.
[77] Empey, C. A., 'From Rags to Riches: Piers Butler, Earl of Ormond, 1515-39', *JBS*, 2:3 (1984), 303.
[78] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 285, 274-5.
[79] Empey, A., 'From Rags to Riches: Piers Butler, Earl of Ormond, 1515-39', 305.
[80] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1509-47*, appendix no. 31, 332-3, Letter to Thomas earl of Ormond, 7 September 1497.
[81] This quoted from Graves, J., and Prim, J. G. A., *The History, Architecture and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny* (Dublin, 1857), 196.

Piers, after some coolness, was pardoned for this offence and again appointed by Earl Thomas as his deputy.[82] There was some diplomatic sidestepping on the part of Piers about the accession to the title earl of Ormond. He had to utterly discredit the claims of his older brothers, and to deal with the English claimants, these being the daughters of Earl Thomas, who were married to high ranking courtiers Sir William Boleyn and Sir James St. Leger. Edwards describes how 'at Whitehall the earl's English grandson, Sir Thomas Boleyn (Margaret Butler's son) had emerged as a prominent courtier and intimate of King Henry VIII'.[83] Piers actively pressed his claims to the Ormond title and lands in Ireland, and these were backed by his in-laws, the earls of Kildare, but theirs was not strong enough influence. Luckily, Henry VIII's chief advisor, Cardinal Wolsey, began to see Piers as a useful counterpoint to Kildare domination of the Dublin administration; Wolsey was instrumental in gaining Piers the deputyship and his new title.[84] In 1515, after the death of Earl Thomas, Gerald FitzGerald, ninth earl of Kildare and Piers brother-in-law delayed recognising Piers claim to the title earl of Ormond, and this 'snub' angered both Piers and his wife. 'By 1517 Piers had broken with the FitzGeralds. For the next twelve years he followed Wolsey's lead and tried to make himself indispensable to Henry VIII by hacking away at the foundations of the FitzGeralds' authority'.[85] A compromise was reached between Piers and the English claimants to the Irish lands and title in 1528 when Boleyn became earl of Wiltshire and Ormond while Piers was made earl of Ossory.[86]

Piers spent much of the rest of his life consolidating his position in Ormond, by creating the same networks of connection that had been built up by the White Earl one hundred years before. He not only courted the support of his Irish relations, the O'Carrolls and Kavanaghs, but also the O'Mores and MacGillapatricks. He cultivated relationships with the gentry of Co. Kilkenny, the Graces, Purcells, Walshes, Comerfords, Shortals and many others.[87] The outcome of this cultivation was that Piers could muster a large military force, one that could far outweigh that of his rival, Garret Óg, the earl of Kildare. The bad

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[82] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 295, 282; no. 320, 312-5. Empey states that 'Piers seems still to have been out in the cold as late as 17th May, 1504', 'From rags to riches: Piers Butler, Earl of Ormond, 1515-39', 307.
[83] Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny 1515-1642*, 81-2.
[84] Ibid., 85-6.
[85] Ibid., 148, 86.
[86] Empey, A., 'From rags to riches: Piers Butler, Earl of Ormond, 1515-39', 311.
[87] For a full description of this process, see Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny 1515-1642*, 149-55.

relations that continued between these two families have been written about elsewhere, as has the eventual downfall of the Kildares in 1534.[88]

With the fall of the house of Kildare, the Butlers of Ormond took up the place of principal comital family of the island, but this was not without its disadvantages; successive of the chief governors wished to impose their jurisdiction on the Ormond lands and suspected that Ormond power might grow to dominate the Dublin administration as the Kildare earls had.[89] Lord Deputy Grey's complaints about the Butlers found a sympathetic ear at court, and in 1537 a four-man commission was sent to hear verdicts of various parties in the south and east of Ireland. In 'The Verdyt of the Gentlemen of the Shyre of Kilkenny October, 1537' the first complaint is

> Item, they present that all the saide Inhibytauntes of the saide County byn chargeid with coygne & Lyverye by the said Lord Ossery and all his children, over and besides the said charge whiche the sustayne for the said Galloglagheis, for all horsemen, kernaghe, horsseboyes and ther horseis, having contynuall resort from any of his said children, to the greate costed and detriment of the said inhibytauntes and ayenst all right and consyence.[90]

These depositions clearly show that the Butler lands were being ruled in a predominantly Gaelic manner, with the earl, his family and retinue lodging themselves, their troops, workmen, hunting packs, brehons and harpers on the local inhabitants, and employing 'the statutes of Kilcash' (see below) as the basis of their ruling law; and that the earl's followers were want to do the same.[91] The earl set himself to work on reforming much practices, but probably did not make much progress, as he died in 1539, just a few months after acquiring the title of earl of Ormond.[92]

Piers was succeeded by his son, James (†1546), a capable politician who, though never Lord Deputy 'greatly consolidated the Butlers'' position in Anglo-Irish affairs'.[93] James was partly raised at the Tudor court, and sat for Holbein, upon whose portraits we

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[88] Quinn, D. B., 'The Kildare hegemony, 1494-1520', A. Cosgrove (ed.), *New History of Ireland II. Medieval Ireland*, (Oxford, 1977); Lyons, M. A., *Gearóid Óg FitzGerald, Ninth Earl of Kildare*, (Dundalk, 1998); 1534 has been most thoroughly addressed in Ellis, S., *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power*, 207-249. For the extent of Kildare's English and Gaelic Irish 'affnity' see Ellis, S., 'Bastard Feudalism and the Kildare Rebellion, 1534-5 – The Character of Kildare Support', in W. Nolan and T. McGrath (eds.) *Kildare History and Society* (Dublin, 2006), 213-32.

[89] See Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny 1515-1642*, for Lord Deputy Grey 165-6, and for St Leger 169-71.

[90] Hore, H., and Graves, J., *The Social State of the Southern and Eastern Counties of Ireland in the Sixteenth Century Being the Presentments of the Gentlemen, Commonalty and Citizens of Carlow, Cork, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford and Wexford Made in the Reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth* (Dublin, 1870), 88.

[91] Ibid., 88-93 and 112.

[92] Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny 1515-1642*, 90.

[93] Ibid., 90.

rely for our image of the main players Henry VIII's political life.[94] James was a wily politician, and at a time when the Dublin administration was encroaching on local power holders, he managed to hold on to his extensive estates, and extend them, by 'cashing in' on the land bonanza that occurred after the dissolution of the monasteries.[95] His younger brother became head of the Mountgarret line, based in Ballyragget, and James' younger sons were planted in the outlying border regions of the Ormond lordship,[96] just as the family of the White Earl had been. His untimely death in London in 1546, probably from food poisoning after a banquet at Ely House, cut short his successful career and left his heir a minor in the English court.[97]

James had taken the decision to have his eldest son, Thomas (†1614), raised at court, in the same manner as the White Earl had 100 years before. In the latter case, this decision had meant that James, fifth earl, had little interest in his Irish estates; in the case of 'Black Thomas', tenth earl of Ormond, the outcome was rather more successful. Edwards states:

> Had he come [to Ireland] immediately after his father's death in 1546, his life would have followed a markedly different course. He probably would have received a traditional Irish education as a warlord. Instead, he stayed in London to be reared as a courtier, as his father had wished. His subsequent career revealed the value of strong court attachments in a period of increasing crown (and decreasing noble) power in Ireland. Because of his court connections the agents of the English colonial administration in Ireland found it difficult to challenge him.[98]

The tenth earl's reign can be seen as a 'golden age' in Butler history, he remained a favourite at court until the end of his life, having been acquainted with Elizabeth I since both were teenagers, she 'now and then with joy gloried in the untainted nobility of his family'.[99] He held the office of Treasurer of Ireland for fifty-five years and 'mastered the military situation and left his mark as a mediator of integrity'.[100] The tenth earl, by virtue of his international lifestyle and tenure in high office in the Dublin administration, acts as a good comparative figure for the fourth earl. The tenth earl's position at court, however, is

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[94] Starkey, D., 'Holbein's Irish Sitter?', *Burlington Magazine* 123 (1981), 300-3; Foister, S., *Holbein in England* (London, 2006), 41.
[95] Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny 1515-1642*, 91.
[96] Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny 1515-1642*, 93.
[97] Edwards, D., 'Malice Aforethought? The Death of the Ninth Earl of Ormond, 1546', *JBS*, 3(1986-94), 30-39. James had undertaken to heal the rift between the houses of Kildare and Ormond before his death, see Lennon, C., *Richard Stanihurst The Dubliner 1547-1618* (Dublin, 1981), 111.
[98] Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny 1515-1642*, 98.
[99] Ibid., 99.
[100] Lord Dunboyne, 'The House That Tom Built', *JBS*, 1:2 (1969), 140.

more clearly reflected in his art patronage in Ossory, which for the first time in centuries brings Ormond architecture in their home territory directly in line with current architectural fashions in England.

The cadet branches-The Butlers of Dunboyne

The Butlers of Dunboyne (see Appendix 4), the first successful junior branch of Butlers, owed their origin to the marriage of Thomas (†1329), son of Theobald Butler IV to Synolda, daughter of Sir William Petit of Dunboyne. Synolda brought with her the barony which included large tracts of land in west Meath, including the manors of Moymett and Dunboyne.[101] The son of this union, Peter Butler (†1370), was the first of many of the Dunboyne line to hold the position of Seneschal of the Liberty of Tipperary.[102] Peter's significance to the family can be seen in the fact that the annals often refer to the Dunboyne family as 'Mac Piarais' and by the end of the fifteenth century, Edmund, eighth baron of Dunboyne (†1499), regularly referred to himself as Edmund Pierson in letters to the earl of Ormond.[103] The post of Seneschal of Tipperary became almost a hereditary position for the Butlers of Dunboyne by the later years of the fifteenth century.[104] They also occupied half the office of marshal of the earl's troops in Tipperary, the other half of the office came to be occupied by the Butlers of Cahir.[105]

In terms of landed wealth the Butlers of Dunboyne had their caput at Dunboyne, Co. Meath, and in 1475 they were building a new castle here, towards which they were granted '12d. from every ploughland in Co. Meath'.[106] There are no visible remains of the medieval castle, but there is medieval fabric in the parish church.[107] At Moymett, their other manor in Meath there remains a towerhouse, gatehouse, and the ruins of a parish church.[108] They held lands granted to them by the earls of Ormond at Castle Grace in Carlow and Holywood in Dublin.[109] They claimed the manor of Kiltinan in Tipperary through their de Bermingham inheritance, and this brought them into direct conflict with the FitzThomas Butlers, a dispute only finally settled in 1452 when the FitzThomas released all claims to Kiltinan to the earl and 'Edmund FitzJamys FitzWilliam Botiller'.[110]

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[101] Bulter, T. B., 'The Barony of Dunboyne', *The Irish Genealogist*, 2 (1943-55), 66.
[102] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, I350-1413,* no. 49, 30, for example.
[103] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 113.
[104] Bulter, T. B., 'The Barony of Dunboyne', 113; Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 114.
[105] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 131.
[106] *Statute Rolls Ireland Edward IV*, II, 287.
[107] Moore, M. J., *Archaeological Inventory of Co. Meath* (Dublin, 1987), 134.
[108] Ibid. , 173.
[109] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 33.
[110] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 180, 169.

Kiltinan is a much altered building, but vestiges of the original castle remain, along with a late medieval parish church. The Dunboyne Butlers controlled the cantreds of Slievardagh, Comsey, and Eoghanacht Cashel in Tipperary with the capitol manor of Ardmayle; Ardmayle remained within the family passing James, sixth baron (†1446), to his brother John 'of Ardmayle' (†1433); then went to his son Thomas, who held it during the exile of John, sixth earl of Ormond, and passing to his cousin, Edmund FitzJames Butler, eighth baron of Dunboyne.[111] They also held the castles of Grallagh and Crompescastle, as we find these in the possession of the brother of 'Edmond Person' *c.*1509.[112] There are the remains of two late medieval residential structures at Ardmayle, and a castle at Grallagh.

In terms of the political interaction of the Dunboyne Butlers, it appears they shared the ups and downs of their cousins' fortunes. William (†1459) and Edmund were involved in a conflict with Thomas FitzMaurice, future earl of Kildare, over manors of Maynooth Rathmore in the mid-fifteenth century, in their own name and with the connivance of Edmund MacRichard Butler.[113] They were part of the posse of junior Butlers who made a foray into Wexford in October 1455, with banners displayed, and burned the country for some four days. They were attained for this activity, but were subsequently pardoned.[114] The career of Edmund, eighth Baron of Dunboyne, is punctuated with attainders, these are listed by T. B. Butler in his article on 'Barony of Dunboyne'; Edmund was attained again after the battle of Piltown and this attainder was annulled in 1466.[115] Edmund was the first of the Butler family to 'come in' after the attainder, and this perhaps has much to do with his estates being close enough to Dublin to have been confiscated. Certainly the Butlers of Dunboyne were of strategic importance to the White Earl, as their estates were close to Dublin and to the lands of key players in the Dublin administration.[116] The White Earl pursued a policy of political marriages in the later years of his life, and the marriage of William seventh Baron of Dunboyne to Margaret, daughter of Richard Nugent, Baron Delvin, is a clear example of this.[117] William's brother Edmund married one of the MacRichard Butlers, and his heir, James, ninth baron (†1508), contracted two marriages in

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[111] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 114.
[112] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds 1509-47*, no. 53, 345.
[113] *Statute Rolls Ireland Henry VI*, 293.
[114] *Statute Rolls Ireland Henry VI*, 361-5 and *Statute Rolls Ireland Henry VI*, 761-5.
[115] Bulter, T. B., 'The Barony of Dunboyne', 113.
[116] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 228-9.
[117] *Statute Rolls Ireland Henry VI*, 517; unfortunately the marriage was not a successful match, and William 'out of high malice, sued according to form of the law of the Holy Church, by a method by him maliciously contrived, to be separated from the said Margaret'. The failure of the marriage was a burden for William's successor, Edmund, who lost one third of his income of the Dunboyne estates to her dower as can be seen in *Statute Rolls Ireland Henry VI*, 767.

his life, the first with the daughter of Sir Nicholas Taaffe, the second with the daughter of Fineen MacCarthy Riabach.

The cadet branches-The MacRichard Butlers

The MacRichard Butlers (see Appendix 5) descend from the White Earl's brother Richard, who was the only other male child of the marriage of James, third earl of Ormond (†1405) and Anne de Welles. It is thought that Richard, named for his Godfather Richard II, died at a young age (born *c.*1395 and †1420), but fathered a son and two daughters, later tradition says he married one of the O'Reillys of Breifne but that is not confirmed.[118] The importance of this descent from Richard can be seen in the later adoption of his name in the Gaelic manner, and also says something of the Gaelicization of this line of the Butlers. Richard's son Edmund was fostered to Richard O'Hedian, Archbishop of Cashel, as we learn in Edmund's *Book of Pottlerath.*[119] As the next in line for the earldom of Ormond after the White Earl's sons and their issue, Edmund was granted lands by his uncle at strategic points in the Butler territories, and although no documentary evidence survives to show that Edmund was appointed the White Earl's deputy in his absence, later documents point to this having been the case.[120] This position was treated as a hereditary post by the MacRichard Butlers during the absentee period of the earls of Ormond in the second half of the fifteenth century.[121] Edmund's son, James (†1487), as deputy to the earls with the responsibility for maintaining peace and stability in the Butler territories was responsible, in 1478, for enacting the *Statues of Kilcash*, issued with the consent of the archbishop of Cashel, the bishop of Lismore and the communities of both Kilkenny and Tipperary.[122] The original document upon which the statutes were written is badly damaged, but it appears that the statutes were concerned with law and order and safe passage along roads. The statutes are based on a system of fines and compensation and 'bear no resemblance whatever to English common law'.[123] It is most interesting that when Nicholls describes the enactment of these statutes he calls James MacRichard 'a Gaelicized magnate'.[124]

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[118] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 118.
[119] Dillon, M., 'Laud Misc. 610 cont.', 151.
[120] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland' 124; *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 211, 189, no. 166, p. 162-3; *Calendar of Ormond Deeds 1509-47*, no. 33, 29.
[121] In his will, James MacRichard willed his powers as deputy to his son in 1507, without the consent of the earl, see *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 329, 322-5. (see Appendix 6)
[122] Nicholls, K., *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*, 51; Empey, C. A and Simms, K., 'The ordinances of the White Earl', 162; Flood, J., and P., *Kilcash 1190-1807* (Dublin, 1999), 36-7.
[123] Nicholls, K., 'Worlds Apart?', 23.
[124] Nicholls, K., *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*, 51.

The first grant made to Edmund was Polestown (now Paulstown), Co. Kilkenny, in 1440, and in 1452 the manor of Dunmore in Waterford was granted by Ormond to his 'dear nephew'.[125] From the *Book of Pottlerath* we also learn that Edmund held the manor of Pottlerath, near Callan in Co. Kilkenny, Buolick in the cantred of Slievardagh, Co. Tipperary, and Thurles, and that in 1452 'the Bawn of Dunmore and the two castles of Thurles and the castle of Buaidlic [were built] by the son of Richard in that year'.[126] There are remains of towerhouses at Dunmore, Thurles and Buolick. By the 1460s, Edmund's power in the Ormond lordship was great, as in one deed in the Ormond collection, he is ordered to obey the law 'like any simple man'.[127] He had been involved in a number of skirmishes during the absence of the White Earl in the 1440s and the fifth earl in the 1450s, including a dispute with the Tobins of Comsey and a raid into Wexford in 1454; although he may in both cases have been acting in the absentee earl's interest, he was looked on by the Dublin administration as something of a wild card, and was attained for his actions in Wexford and for his involvement in the battle of Piltown.[128]

From another rental of 1472 it is clear that Edmund's son James held Tibberaghny on the border of Kilkenny and Tipperary, and the Manor of Carrickbeg, across the river from Carrick on Suir.[129] A letter included in the Ormond Deeds describes a grant by Edward IV to James of the lordship of Callan and the 'Eraght' of the same, along with the prise of wines of the city of Waterford.[130] James's brother Richard held Thurles and Killenaul in Tipperary, Caherconlish in Limerick, and Youghal in Co. Cork.[131] If all this landed wealth is taken together, it is a sizable if scattered estate, rivalling the holdings of any of the other junior branches of the Butler family. During the absentee period the MacRichard Butlers also controlled the demesne lands of the earls of Ormond, and made ready use of their castles as described in the *Book of Pottlerath*, where the scribe writes that the book has been written at Pottlerath, Kilkenny, Dunmore, Gowran, and Carrick.[132] Kilkenny, Gowran and Carrick were the earl's manors, and indeed, *The Book of Pottlerath*

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[125] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 139, 125-6; no.182, 170.
[126] Dillon, M., 'Laud Misc. 610 cont.', 147.
[127] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 206, 186-7.
[128] For the dispute with the Tobins see Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 126. For the attainder after Wexford see *Statute Rolls Ireland Henry VI*, 361-5. For the argument that Edmund may have been acting in the interests of the earl in his dispute with the Tobins see Empey, C. A & Simms, K., 'The ordinances of the White Earl', 166, and for the same argument about Wexford see Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 138; for his attainder after Piltown see *Statute Rolls Ireland Edward IV*, I, 25-7.
[129] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 119.
[130] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 237, 214.
[131] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 119.
[132] Dillon, M., 'Laud Misc. 610 cont.', 145.

has one of the White Earl's books bound in with the later text, which appears to have been appropriated by his nephew.[133]

The progenitor of the MacRichard Butler line had, most probably, been married to an Irish woman, and this trend continued with the younger members of this branch of the family. Edmund MacRichard Butler was married to Gyllys, a daughter of Maolrooney O'Carroll (†1443), probably *c.*1440, while his sister, Mary, was married to John O'Carroll (†1489).[134] James, the heir of Edmund MacRichard married Syve Kavanagh, and it appears that an earlier marriage between the White Earl's sister and a member of the Kavanagh family brought this marriage within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity.[135] The couple applied for a papal dispensation, but were co-habiting before this dispensation was granted and had three children, who could not be recognised as legitimate by English law.[136] Thus it was their fourth child, Piers, who succeeded his father, and various documents in the *Ormond Deeds* are concerned with this marriage and its legitimacy.[137] Piers was fostered into the household of Gerald, eighth earl of Kildare, and married Gerald's daughter, Margaret.[138] The book of Howth suggests that the marriage was contracted 'for polissye', suggesting that the match had strategic benefits so that 'the eirle of Wormod was kept short, so that by mens & polissy the eirle of Wormons was so occupied in his own cotry he could not attend to do any domage to the eirle of Kildare, nor any of his friends'.[139] Margaret became widely known in Ormond as 'The Great Countess', famous for her loyalty to her husband and his family.[140] It appears that under her influence the MacRichard Butlers were rehabilitated, and the outward artistic shows of loyalty she had learned from her father and grandfather were employed in strengthening her husband's linage and claims to his title.

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[133] Henry, F., and Marsh-Micheli, G., 'Manuscripts and illuminations, 1169-1603', 802-3.
[134] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 120; *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 191, 175-6. For a discussion of intermarriage between Anglo-Irish and Gaelic families in the later middle ages see Kenny, G., 'Anglo-Irish and Gaelic marriage laws and traditions in late medieval Ireland', *Journal of Medieval History*, 32 (2006), 35-9. It appears that while Anglo-Irish women were afforded full rights under Gaelic law after their marriage, Gaelic women were not protected under English common law, and thus we find Gaelic women applying for denizenship.
[135] *Annals of the Four Masters*, IV, 980.
[136] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 128, 243, 241.
[137] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 226, 199, no. 230, 205; *Calendar of Ormond Deeds 1509-47*, no. 19, 13-14.
[138] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds 1509-47*, addendum no. 53, 345; Graves, J., and Prim, J. G. A., *The History, Architecture and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice*, 191.
[139] Graves, J., and Prim, J. G. A., *The History, Architecture and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice*, 191.
[140] McKenna, E., 'Was there a Political Role for Women in Late Medieval Ireland? Lady Margaret Butler and Lady Eleanor McCarthy', C. E. Meek and M. K. Simms (eds.) *'The Fragility of her Sex'? Medieval Irish Women in their European Context* (Dublin, 1996), 165-171.

The cadet branches- The Butlers of Cahir

The Butlers of Cahir (see Appendix 1) were the product of an irregular union between the third earl of Ormond and his niece, Catherine, daughter the third earl of Desmond 'Gerald the Rhymer' (†1398). This relationship has taken on myth like status: it is suggested that she was accused of impropriety with her brother and so fled to refuge with her uncle Ormond, and soon became his mistress, taking upon herself to murder the earl's wife, Anne de Welles, with poisoned wine.[141] James Carney and others suspect that this tale is the stuff of legend, in that the couple attempted to get a papal dispensation to marry in 1399, and that the union lasted until the earl's death; the legend probably having been made up by the other lines to fully disbar the Cahir branch from any claim to the title.[142]

The third earl appears to have been generous to Catherine and her offspring, granting them Blakecastle, Co. Meath and part of the manor of Carrick-on-Suir. An extent of this manor in 1415 mentions that Menourstown was laid waste because of dissensions between the fourth earl and Catherine of Desmond.[143] This grant of some part of Carrick was to cause severe tension between the MacRichard Butlers and the Butlers of Cahir in the later fifteenth century. Empey suspects that this grant to the Cahir Butlers was reconfirmed by the White Earl *c.*1442, but as soon as he was absent skirmishes broke out and Carrick was in the front line.[144] In 1487 the two families were in the Dominican Church in Waterford before 'judges and amicable arbitrators' trying to settle the case,[145] which dragged on for further years. The White Earl granted the castle and manor of Cahir to his half-brother, Catherine's son James 'Gallda' (†1448), around 1434 when he also granted him the manor of Ballycullenan; Cahir became the seat of this branch of the family, James's grandson Thomas (†1476) holding it in the 1460s.[146]

The Butlers of Cahir were loyal to the earls of Ormond, fighting at the battle of Piltown and being included in the attainder of 1463.[147] They were not habitual holders of high office in the Ormond lordship like their cousins, the MacRichard Butlers and the Butlers of Dunboyne, and this reminder of their inferiority may have caused some

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[141] Carney, J., *Poems on the Butlers of Ormond, Cahir and Dunboyne (A.D. 1400-1650)* (Dublin, 1945), x-xi.
[142] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, I350-1413*, no . 344, 243-4; no. 385, 276-7.
[143] *Red book of Ormond*, no. 69, 121; Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 115.
[144] Empey, C. A., 'The Manor of Carrick-on-Suir in the Middle Ages', *JBS*, 2 (1982), 211-2.
[145] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 271, 206-1.
[146] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 234, 211-12; Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 116.
[147] *Statute Rolls Ireland Edward IV*, I, 25-7.

tension.[148] Piers (or Piaras) FitzJames of Cahir (†1464) took Edmund MacRichard prisoner in 1447; later, Thomas Butler of Cahir and Edmund MacPiarais of Dunboyne were incarcerated by the Archbishop of Cashel, John Cantwell, in an attempt to make peace between them.[149] The traditional post held by the Butlers of Cahir was 'keeper of all the country' of Tipperary with a force of twenty-four men, and they came to share half the post of marshal of Tipperary with the Butlers of Dunboyne. [150] The Cahir branch of the family tended towards a policy of isolation, in 1464 Piers FitzJames of Cahir died and was succeeded by his son, Thomas FitzPiers 'who preferred to withdraw into his family's lordship in the cantred of Offa and have as little to do with the rest of the Butler family as possible', indeed, his imprisonment by the Archbishop of Cashel probably stemmed from a dispute whereby Edmund FitzJames of Dunboyne tried to assert the authority of the liberty of Tipperary over Offa, causing tension between the two.[151] The Cahir Butler claims to Carrick and Malur Island in the early sixteenth century brought this branch of the family to the attention of Earl Thomas, who wrote to his cousin Piers MacRichard Butler for an explanation of how specifically the Cahir Butlers were related to him, and who Catherine of Desmond might be.[152] There are extensive remains of fifteenth-and sixteenth-century buildings at Cahir castle, along with a parish church and a house of Augustinian Canons.

The cadet branches-The FitzThomas Butlers

This branch (see Appendix 1) again owes its origins to an irregular union of the third earl of Ormond. In this case too, it appears that this union was with a member of the Desmond family, but her identity is difficult to clarify.[153] The issue of this relationship was Thomas Butler (†1419), who became Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham in 1407, a post which he held until 1419, when he died in France in the service of Henry V.[154] Thomas played an important role for the White Earl in the early years of his career, as he was a capable administrator and soldier who could act as keeper of Ormond's lands when he was abroad.[155] Thomas and the earl together granted Holycross Abbey protection in 1414, testifying to a closeness or likeness of mind between these two

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[148] Empey, C. A., and Simms, K., 'The ordinances of the White Earl', 165.
[149] Empey, C. A., and Simms, K., 'The ordinances of the White Earl', 166; O'Sullivan, A., 'Poem in Praise of John Cantwell, Archbishop of Cashel 1452-1482', *Éigse*, 10 (1961-3), 113.
[150] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 102, 97; Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 131.
[151] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 237.
[152] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 318, 309-10.
[153] Butler, T. B., 'Thomas le Botiller Prior of Kilmainham, 1403-1419', *The Irish Genealogist*, 1 (1937-42), 362.
[154] Butler, T. B., 'Thomas le Botiller', 363. The dates during which Thomas acted as prior of Kilmainham were revised by Tipton, see Tipton, C. L., 'The Irish Hospitallers during the Great Schism', *PRIA*, 69C (1970), 33-43.
[155] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 46.

men.[156] It appears that Thomas became embroiled and in fact central in the feud between Ormond and the king's deputy in Ireland John Talbot, Lord Furnival, and it was for this reason that Thomas was summoned by Henry V to serve with his brother in France in 1417.[157] The accounts of Thomas's actions in France are as varied as they are entertaining. The *Annals of Connacht* describe how he and his troops 'devastated much of France and won great ascendancy for the king of England', while the French chronicler Monstrelet describes that they 'did infinite mischiefs bringing back to their camp large lootes'.[158] Whatever their service, it appears that few came back alive, 'an attack of dangerous sickness came upon the Irishmen in the strange land and killed many of them, the earl of Ormond's son himself dying of it'.[159]

The identity of Thomas's wife is as shrouded in mystery as that of his mother, and the only hint at her identity is an entry in the Ormond Deeds whereby the third earl gave permission for his son Thomas to communicate and converse with Johanna, daughter of Theobald, son of Walter de Burgo of Clanwilliam, Co. Tipperary.[160] This relationship, whatever its official standing, produced four sons, and in 1417 Thomas willed his manor of Kells-in-Ossory to them.[161] Thomas had amassed large amounts of land in Kilkenny and Tipperary, some of which may have been granted to him by his father, while more was acquired through his royal service.[162] In the fifteenth century the FitzThomas Butlers held the cantreds of Moyennen and Moctalyn in Tipperary and Kells in Kilkenny.[163]

III. Society and Economy

Outlining the territory that the Butlers sought to dominate and the main players in the battle for a portion of this domination by the various branches of the family is essential to understanding the nature of their art patronage. So too is an understanding of the society which they needed to exploit economically to pay for this patronage, and in which they interacted culturally. It is widely acknowledged that south-eastern Ireland during the

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[156] White, N., B. (ed.), *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds, 1200-1600* (Dublin, 1936), no. 40, 15-16.
[157] Beresford, D.', The Butlers in England and Ireland', 48.
[158] *Annals of Connacht* (1419), 443; Butler, T. B., 'Thomas le Botiller', 367.
[159] *Annals of Connacht* (1419), 443.
[160] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1350-1413*, no. 353, 250.
[161] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 24, 16-17.
[162] Butler, T. B., 'Thomas le Botiller', 363; Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 116, it appears that Thomas le Bottiller had been given lands in northern Tipperary and the barony of Offa by his father, these passed to his sons and were acquired by the White Earl in 1433, see *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 103, 99-100 for a quitclaim by Edmund FitzThomas Butler to the White Earl of the manor of Thurles, March, 1433.
[163] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 114.

fifteenth century was one of the most settled and Anglicized areas of the country, in the core areas of the Butler lordship, southern Tipperary and Kilkenny 'manorial society remained firmly ensconced', so that not only towns but smaller manorial communities survived'.[164] There are two main reasons for this survival, the density of Anglo-Norman settlement in these areas in the early colonial period, and the 'reorganisation of defence undertaken by the Butlers after the withdrawal of central government'.[165] This reorganisation of defence, enacted through on popular consent, was based around the fourth earl's imposition but strict control of system of coign and livery.[166] Although the White Earl sought to gain consent for the measures imposed to defend his territories, support for his policy was not universal, and the Abbot and convent of Duiske (Graiguenamanagh) accused the earl along with other nobles and even some clerics of being 'more cruel than Pharoaoh' in their monetary exactions.[167]

In recent decades, the economic history of late medieval Ireland has been largely rewritten. Quinn describes how:

> The country had, indeed, learned to accommodate itself to a substantial degree of warfare. Under screens of defence of one kind or another, most parts of late fifteenth century Ireland, both Gaelic and Anglo-Irish, were prospering.[168]

The Butler territories suffered sporadically from violent outbreaks, as in the conflict between the MacRichard Butlers and the Butlers of Cahir in 1449, when the reeve of Carrick complained to parliament that the 'English Rebels' had burned it twice and pillaged it on multiple occasions in little more than ten years.[169] Towns such as Carrick were part of a dense trading network with their local hinterland and by river to the harbour at Waterford and beyond. We encounter in the Ormond deeds the will of one Alice White of 1502 which clearly shows that she is owed money by men with Irish names,[170] and also

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[164] Empey, C. A., 'The Anglo-Norman Community in Tipperary and Kilkenny in the Middle Ages: Change and Continuity', G. MacNiocaill and P. Wallace (eds.) *Keimelia: Studies in Medieval Archaeology and History in Honour of Tom Delaney* (Galway, 1988), 460.
[165] Empey, C.A., 'The Butler Lordship', 183.
[166] Empey, C. A., and Simms, K., 'The ordinances of the White Earl', 167.
[167] Ó Conbhuidhe, C., OCSO, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary* (Dublin, 1999), 57.
[168] Quinn, D. B., 'Aristocratic autonomy, 1460-94', A. Cosgrove (ed.) *New History of Ireland II. Medieval Ireland* (Oxford, 1977), 597.
[169] Empey, C. A., 'The Manor of Carrick-on-Suir in the Middle Ages', 211.
[170] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 305, 301; for a discussion of the changing nature of townlife and the interaction of English and Gaelic Irish in tows and trade see Clarke, H., 'Deconolination and the Dynamics of Urban Decline in Ireland, 1300-1550', in T. Slater (ed.), *Towns in Decline 1000-1600* (Ashgate, 2000), 157-192, esp. 174-5.

the petition of a Bristol woman, Elizabeth Butler, living in Bristol but claiming to own lands in New Ross.[171]

The main trading partner of ships sailing out of Waterford was Bristol, and a local customs account for Bristol from the year 1437 records the home towns of masters and shippers of 13 Irish ships; eight of these men came from Kilkenny and another from nearby Callan.[172] The trade in Bristol was international, with other ships found at the quay in the 1430s from Spain, Gascony and Flanders.[173] Some Irish merchants took up permanent residence in Bristol, as may have been the case with Elizabeth Butler above. Henry May was one of a number of Irish Mays living in Bristol in the fifteenth century, May was

> Known locally as a Lancastrian sympathiser, a link which may have been formed through residual Irish connections, especially with James Butler, [fifth] earl of Ormond, and later earl of Wiltshire. May bought wheat for Wiltshire which was later seized by the earl of Warwick.[174]

Here we find an Irish connection being exploited for political ends, for May was also used for the safe keeping of gunpowder by Henry VI's ordnance master. In the later fifteenth century ships of Waterford became regular visitors to Bridgewater and Barnstable.[175] The Irish route was important to Somerset, where ships made return voyages and triangular journeys sailing from Minehead to Ireland with beans and grain and returning to Bristol with Irish fish; small Cornish ships also were trading with Ireland in fish.[176] Unfortunately, English shipping records can tell us little of Irish continental trade, but since prices were lower for Irish goods in England than they were in Flanders, Irish merchants made the longer journey.[177] In 1483 a Waterford ship bound for Flanders was arrested in Calais where it had moored to shelter from a storm. The arrest caused controversy as the English parliament had passed an act directing that all English shipping should be done via Calais, a piece of legislation studiously ignored by Irish merchants. Waterford city council appealed the case, which took two years in court; it was clear that the men of Waterford

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[171] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1509-1547*, no. 62, 61-2.
[172] Childs, W., 'Irish merchants and seamen in late medieval England', *Irish Historical Studies*, 32:125 (2000), 31.
[173] Childs, W., 'Ireland's Trade with England in the Later Middle Ages', *Irish Economic and Social History*, 9 (1982), 15.
[174] Childs, W., 'Irish merchants and seamen in late medieval England', 39. James, fifth earl of Ormond and Wiltshire had inherited twenty-one manors in Devon, Dorset and Somerset through his wife Avice Stafford, which explains this West Country connection. See Watts, 'Butler, James, first earl of Wiltshire and fifth earl of Ormond (1420–1461),149.
[175] Childs, W., 'Irish merchants and seamen in late medieval England', 26.
[176] Childs, W., 'Commercial Shipping in South-western England in the Later Fifteenth Century', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 83:3 (1997), 275.
[177] Childs, W., 'Ireland's trade with England in the later middle ages', 14.

did not want to loose the commercial links they had established in Flanders, France, Italy and Spain.[178]

Trade between south-east Ireland and southern England was not simply dominated by raw materials such as fish and hides leaving Ireland, and manufactured goods such as cloth being imported. The luxurious medieval vestments which survive from Waterford, for example, are most likely made of Florentine velvet and were embroidered in Flanders.[179] A burgeoning manufacturing industry existed in the south-east in the early sixteenth century.[180] The settled conditions restored to the region after the long absentee period of the Butlers were a key factor in this, we learn that Margaret Butler helped to

> Plante great civility in ye countyes of Tipperary and Kilkenny & to give good example to ye people of that country brought out of Flanders and other countreys diverse Artificiers, who were daily kept at worke by them in theyr Castle of Kilkenny where they wrought and made diaper, Tapistry, Turkey-carpets, Cushions and other like workes.[181]

Recent research on the 'particular' customs accounts of Bristol further suggests that the nature of Irish imports in the early sixteenth century became increasingly diverse and luxurious, ranging from cutlery to playing cards.[182] Neely suggests that Piers 'traded extensively in wool and hides in Waterford staple and facilitated the merchant community in Kilkenny with land leases.[183] In the early sixteenth century, the Butlers kept a factor in Waterford in the person of William White, a merchant who had been recorder of the city and was steward to the earl of Ormond; William White was succeeded in both posts by his son, James.[184] The presence of a Butler merchant in Waterford suggests that if they were not involved in this cloth trade, they were a least involved in attaining manufactured goods of the kind described in the account of Margaret Butlers conspicuous consumption.

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[178] McEneaney, E., *A History of Waterford and Its Mayors from the Twelfth to the Twenty-first Century* (Waterford, 1995), 100-101.
[179] McEneaney, E., 'Politics and Devotion in Late Fifteenth-century Waterford', in R. Moss, C. Ó Clabaigh OSB and S. Ryan (eds.), *Art and Devotion in Late Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), 41-3.
[180] Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny, 1515-1642*, 42-9.
[181] Quoted from Graves, J. and Prim, J. G. A., *The History, Architecture and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St Canice*, 248, the original can be found in TCD, Ms 842, fol. 156r, Rothe's pedigree of the family produced in 1616.
[182] Flavin, S., The Development of Anglo-Irish Trade in the Sixteenth Century (MA, University of Bristol, 2004). Flavin is currently working on a project which aims to digitize the Bristol 'particular' customs accounts, see http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Ireland/research.htm questioning for the above citation.
[183] Neely, W. G., 'The Ormond Butler of County Kilkenny 1515-1715', 110.
[184] Walton, J. C., 'Church, Crown and Corporation in Waterford, 1520-1620', in W. Nolan and T. P. Power (eds.), *Waterford History and Society* (Dublin, 1992), 181.The Sherlocks were also a leading Waterford family who held high office and had come to the city as Seneshcal to the earl of Ormond. For this and more information on the Whites see Walton, J., 'The Merchant Community in Waterford in the 16th and 17th Centuries', in P. Butel and L. M. Cullen (eds.), *Cities and Merchants: French and Irish Perspectives on Urban Development, 1500-1900* (Dublin, 1986), 185-88.

The relative peace and financial success of the Butler territories speak of a harmony reached between the different sectors of society, for, even if there had been a heavy colonisation of the area in the 1180s, the native Irish were still in residence. Empey suggests that 'the two societies existed within the same manor', and points the survival of pockets of Irish settlement such as the O'Cahills in Eliogarty,[185] and also the appearance of multiple English names in rentals of manors in Kilkenny in the mid-fifteenth century.[186] He further adds 'if two radically opposed social forms could co-exist within the framework of the manor, surely we may argue that Anglo-Norman [English] society retained its distinctiveness in a system of lordship rooted in coign and livery'.[187] In the rule of the fourth earl this use of Irish custom was very much on his own terms, he chose which policies to employ.[188] Beresford argues that the White Earl, in his indentures with Gaelic magnates, shows his willingness to accept their status and grievances, but his loyalty was to the English lordship, and he was always ready to confront Gaelic Irish magnates when it was necessary. The White Earl's nephew, Edmund MacRichard Butler was different, and would make any alliances he needed to protect his local, family interests.[189]

Edmund MacRichard Butler's upbringing had been very different to that of the White Earl, and the cultural context of this upbringing may be seen to have profound affects on the acculturation of the child.[190] Edmund's fostering with Richard O'Hedian Archbishop of Cashel, must have had interesting effects in his cultural outlook.[191] O'Hedian was a prolific builder, having founded the college of vicars choral on the rock at Cashel he built them a hall, and is also credited with building the castle at the west end of the Cathedral.[192] O'Hedian is famous for charges brought against him by the English Carmelite bishop of Waterford and Lismore, who in the parliament of 1421 (held before

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[185] Empey, C. A., 'The Anglo-Norman community in Tipperary and Kilkenny',456-7.
[186] Empey, C.A., 'The Butler Lordship', 184.
[187] Empey, C. A., 'The Anglo-Norman community in Tipperary and Kilkenny', 461.
[188] Simms, K., 'Bards and Barons',186. For Gaelic practices in the Butler territories see Nicholls, K.W., *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*, 196-200 and Empey, C.A., 'The Butler Lordship',185.
[189] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 128.
[190] See Kenny, G., 'Anglo-Irish and Gaelic Marriage Laws and Traditions in Late Medieval Ireland', 36 where she states 'The children of such unions were comfortable in both worlds and their mother's Gaelic influence was no doubt influential as well as that of her family'.
[191] Dillon, M., 'Laud Misc. 610 cont.',151. For a discussion of fostering in late medieval Ireland see Fitzsimons, F., 'Fosterage and Gossiprid in Late Medieval Ireland: Some New Evidence', in P. J. Duffy, D. Edwards and E. FitzPatrick (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland c.1250-c.1650: Land, Lordship & Settlement* (Dublin, 2001), 138-49. It is difficult to judge what kind of foster relationship existed between Edmund and the archbishop, but if the child was fostered from a young age (but one suspects in this case without a wet nurse) the child 'never careth for Englishmen or English civilitie ever afterwards', 146.
[192] See Appendix 9

the fourth earl of Ormond) levelled the following accusations: 'one was that he made very much of the Irish, and that he loved none of the English nation, and that he bestowed no Benefice upon any English man, and that he counselled other Bishops not to give the least Benefice to any of them'.[193]

Edmund's upbringing is reflected in his own activities, some of which are documented in his *Book of Pottlerath*. His scribes, who shared his peripatetic existence, were bought on a raiding mission to Wexford in 1454, and chattily describe the raid thus:

> Nevertheless I cannot but tell of the hosting he made into Uí Peilme, for we there for eight days and eight nights despite the Leinstermen. And my reason for mentioning this beyond every rout and hosting and all the castles he has taken, is that I was with him there in this hosting and the amount of wine and meat and whiskey and every good cheer that I got there as I lay with my lord.[194]

This activity was raised in parliament in October 1455 when it was reported that various members of the Butler families of Polestown (Paulstown), Dunboyne and Tipperary had allied themselves with the MacMurrough Kavanaghs and burnt and destroyed the county of Wexford continuously for a period of four days and four nights.[195] Here we find Edmund MacRichard Butler making just such alliances described by Beresford above, which would not have been undertaken by his uncle.

Thus, at the highest levels of English society aspects of Gaelic Irish culture were being absorbed. At a slightly lower level, the same bardic poets were being employed by both Gaelic and English patrons, and we find the same poet writing praise poems for James Purcell of Loughmoe, Tadhg O'Carroll of Eliogarty and Archbishop John Cantwell of Cashel.[196] In James Purcell's poem, the poet describes 'I did not realise the extent of my misfortune in the death of a beloved patron of the elite of the Gall' suggesting that he is very conscious that his patron was English. Purcell's lifestyle was certainly that of a 'Marcher' lord, and the poem tells

> the raid on the bawns of Gortnaclochy was a raid on Philip
> [Hackett] – bold the attack; it was audacious how the same

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[193] Miller, L., and Power, E., *The Historie of Irelande from the First Inhabitation Thereof, Vnto the Yeare 1509 Collected by Raphael Hollinshed and Continued to the Yere 1547 by Richard Stanyhurst,* (Dolmen Press, 1979), 245 and Appendix 7. Crooks presents a reassessment of these charges in his recent thesis, suggesting that they were the product of a personal vendetta and probably wholly unfounded, see Crooks, P., 'Factionalism and Noble Power in English Ireland, c. 1361-1423', 365.
[194] Dillon, M., 'Laud Misc. 610 cont.', 145.
[195] Quinn, D. B., 'Aristocratic autonomy, 1460-94', 563.
[196] O'Sullivan, A., 'Poem in Praise of John Cantwell, Archbishop of Cahsel 1452-1482', 103.

time he got cattle from Barnane-Ely.[197]

The Cantwells, Purcells, Hacketts, Stapletons Burkes and Tobins were all Gaelicized to varying degrees, living as they were, close to the ethnic fault line that ran across Tipperary. Empey stresses, however, that figures like James Purcell retained close ties with their families living in southern heartlands of the Butler territories, where, as described below, strong vestiges of English culture remained.[198]

From Butler documents it is clear that consciousness of English culture remained strong in Kilkenny and Tipperary. 'English appears to have been widely spoken in the countryside as well as in towns – the statues of the White Earl were written in an archaic English dialect'.[199] When James MacRichard Butler married his cousin Syve Kavanagh in 1465 she applied for denizenship[200] and other grants of denizenship can be found in Ormond deeds,[201] showing a consciousness of the difference between the law which applied to the English and to their Irish neighbours. When Donal O'Brien married the sister of James, ninth Earl of Ormond, in the mid-sixteenth century he said to his brother-in-law 'I have marryd your syster; and for becawys that I have marryd your sister, I have forsakyn my father, myn unkyll and all my frendes and my contrye to cume to you and helpe to doo the King servys'.[202] Perhaps here we are witnessing changing circumstances between the mid-fifteenth and mid-sixteenth century. By the mid-sixteenth century the extension of rule of the English administration beyond the Pale was throwing cultural differences into sharp relief.

One further point must be made on the acculturation of the Gaelic Irish, for they were not adverse to emulation of their English neighbours, as is clear from the grants of denizenship noted above. The towerhouse is perhaps the most visible form of emulation,[203] but more subtle forms can be found. In the fourteenth century, the O'Kennedys of Ormond

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[197] O'Sullivan, A and Ó Riain, P., *Poems on Marcher Lords*, Irish Texts Soceity, Volume 53, (London, 1987), 37. This poem contains many references to Arthurian legend, and so was specially tailored for the client.
[198] Empey, C. A., 'The Anglo-Norman community in Tipperary and Kilkenny', 461.
[199] Empey, C.A., 'The Butler Lordship', 184.
[200] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 230, 205.
[201] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 306, 302-3.
[202] *State Papers Henry VIII*, II, part iii, 282-6.
[203] Leonard, A., and FitzPatrick, L., 'The Human Face of the Territory of Éile', *Archaeology Ireland*, 6:2 (1992), 14, where Tadhg O'Carroll is described as son of 'Margaret of the white castles', stone towerhouses were introduced to Ireland by the English, and so here we see more cultural cross-fertilization between English and Gaelic nobility, Cairns, C. T., *Irish Tower Houses A County Tipperary Case Study*, (Athlone, 1987), 9.

can be found emulating the first names of the earls of Ormond, Edmund and James.[204] Edmund O'Kennedy enjoyed a sojourn in England in 1358, when in a state of 'honourable captivity' in the hands of the earl of Ormond he travelled to England in the company of the earl, and the earl's mother-in-law, Eleanor de Bohun, granddaughter of Edward I.[205] Such cultural mixing was the stuff of marcher lordship, but it becomes particularly stark when great magnates holding land on the marches also were well connected at court. This direct route to court could lead to emulation with the pointed purpose of exploiting that connection with political ends. As argued below, this may be seen in burial practice, in the tomb of John MacGillapatrick, his son Brian and their wives of *c.*1537, who chose to be buried at Fertagh in tombs closely resembling those of the Butlers, and perhaps made by craftsmen employed by the Butler affinity – the O'Tunney atelier.[206]

IV. The Church

Before the arrival of Theobald Walter and the other Anglo-Norman lords in the late twelfth century the church in Tipperary and Kilkenny had no strong parochial system.[207] There were monasteries of the old Irish type, the archiepiscopal see at Cashel and monasteries of the regular clergy at Holycross, Jerpoint and Kilcooly. The Anglo-Normans caused a revolution in the organisation of the secular clergy, and of the relationship of ordinary people to the church whose 'hitherto undirected attachment to the Christian church was to be replaced by a binding connection, through the payment of tithe, with one church and with a community contained within a closely defined territorial area'.[208] The relationship between parish and manor can be seen at Moycarkey in the cantred of Eliogarty, one of the original knight's fees of the manor of Thurles (Plate 1.1).[209] The fief of Moycarkey, the medieval parish and the later civil parish all correspond, and can be

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[204] Verstraten, F., 'Naming Practices Among the Irish Secular Nobility in the High Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History,* 32 (2006), 51. The O'Kennedys were holding Nenagh castle of the Butlers from the late fourteenth century.

[205] Frame, R., *Ireland and Britain 1170-1450*, 148; *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1350-1413*, no, 46, 28-9.

[206] Hunt, J., *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture* (Dublin, 1974), 166-7. Carrigan questions why the MacGillapatricks chose to be buried at Fertagh as opposed to Aghmacart or Aghaboe and it might be suggested that the burial at Fertagh brought them to the very edge of Butler territory; see Carrigan, W., *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, II, 295.

[207] Empey argues that although the twelfth century reforming councils had delineated the boundaries of the new territorial diocese, these had not been put into operation. The fact that the Normans had a free hand in the assignation of tithes suggests that neither tithes or parishes had existed in Tipperary prior to their coming. See Empey, C. A., 'The Norman period, 1185-1500', 84-5.

[208] Hennessy, M., 'Parochial Organisation in Medieval Tipperary', K. Nolan (ed.), *Tipperary History and Society* (Dublin, 1985), 61.

[209] Empey, C. A., 'The Anglo-Norman Settlement in the Cantred of Eliogarty', in J. Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and Society in Medieval Ireland Studies Presented to F. X. Martin OSA* (Kilkenny, 1988), 209.

traced through manorial extents and papal taxations;[210] the survival of this settlement can be seen clearly through the survival of a parish church and nearby towerhouse.

The towns in the Butler territories consist of a single parish with a single church, and these churches often occur in an angle of the town wall, or just immediately within the wall.[211] In the later middle ages, these churches grew greatly in size, and extensive late medieval remains survive at Callan, Fethard and Clonmel; this growth must correlate with the economic revival of these towns in the later middle ages. As in the countryside, these parish churches were the result of direct colonial involvement, as were the Mendicant friaries founded at the outskirts of the new towns. The initial Mendicant foundations in the thirteenth century were made in towns, and thus were firmly associated with the Anglo-Irish community in Ireland. The pastoral mission of the Mendicants, however, soon brought them into contact with the Gaelic Irish, so that by the fourteenth century complaints were being made that the Dominicans and Franciscans were preaching in the Irish language.[212]

The position of the Mendicants raises one of the most important issues of the church in late medieval Ireland: that in effect it had two wings, that in Gaelic territory, or that of Gaelicized Norman lords, known as 'ecclesia inter Hibernicos', and the church in colonial areas, known as 'ecclesia inter Anglicos'.[213] If the Statute of Kilkenny is taken as evidence of the functioning of the church, this cultural divide was quite absolute. The Kilkenny Statutes were mostly a codification of earlier law, and a decree of 1360 had stated that no Irish man should be admitted to a cathedral, collegiate church or any benefice amongst the English; further, that no religious house, exempt or not, should accept those of the English race whether born in England or Ireland. After this legislation, the Gaelic Irish clergy living within the colony protested to the English parliament, stating that they had lived peacefully as such for many years. The veto was quickly lifted with an accompanying apology.[214] Similar rules regarding the Irish clergy were drawn up at Kilkenny, but these were never strictly followed. It was always advisable, however, for

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[210] Empey, C. A., 'The Anglo-Norman Settlement in the Cantred of Eliogarty', 213-4.
[211] Bradley, J., 'The Medieval Towns of Tipperary', 38-9.
[212] Watt, J., 'Gaelic Polity and Cultural Identity in the Fourteenth Century', A. Cosgrove (ed.) *New History of Ireland II. Medieval Ireland* (Oxford, 1977), 346; for a more recent appraisal of this use of Irish see Gallagher, N., 'The Franciscans and the Scottish Wars of Independence: an Irish Perspective', *Journal of Medieval History*, 32 (2006), 6.
[213] Watt, J., 'Gaelic Polity and Cultural Identity in the Fourteenth Century', 335.
[214] Watt, J., 'The Anglo-Irish Colony Under Strain, 1327-99', A. Cosgrove (ed.) *New History of Ireland II. Medieval Ireland* (Oxford, 1977), 389-90.

Gaelic Irish clergy serving in colonial areas to get a charter of recognition of their loyalty.[215] The papal registers of the fifteenth century make little mention of the church 'inter Hibernicos' and 'inter Anglicos', and the majority of Irish cases brought before the papal curia don't concern conflict between the two wings. There were, it seems, Gaelic areas where the English of England, and English of Ireland did not seek appointment and English areas where Gaelic Irish prelates did not seek appointment. The papal curia was aware of this, and perpetuated the situation.[216] The great difference between ecclesiastical practice in the colonial and Gaelic areas must also have been well known, but again a policy of conciliation was undertaken, and dispensations were freely given by the papal courts.[217]

In fifteenth-century Kilkenny and Tipperary, this cultural divide does not appear to have caused any great difficulty (apart perhaps, from the sensational accusations made against Richard O'Hedian), and we encounter an Irish archbishop of Cashel followed by two English archbishops, even if these men were from 'Marcher' families.[218] In 1436 we find the abbot and convent of Jerpoint applying to the fourth earl of Ormond for the removal of an intruded abbot of the Irish nation.[219] This leads us neatly to discussion of the most pressing problem for ecclesiastical institutions both large and small in the later middle ages; 'the growing power of the magnates and of local interests generally which could not be offset by the corresponding decline of royal authority'.[220] This was a problem for both the secular and regular clergy, so that the three English archbishops of Cashel in the late fifteenth century are drawn from the local Cantwell and Butler families.[221] In some ways, their 'local knowledge' may have made them suitable for the post, but in others it could have allowed them to become embroiled in local factionalism. In the case of John Cantwell II, it is clear that his position was respected by the junior branches of the Butler

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[215] Watt, J., 'The Anglo-Irish Colony Under Strain, 1327-99', 396.
[216] Walsh, C., 'The clerical estate in later medieval Ireland: alien settlement or element of conciliation?' 364.
[217] Walsh, C., 'The clerical estate in later medieval Ireland', 366.
[218] See Appendix 9, of these John Cantwells, certainly the second had been educated at Oxford, and since later documents pertaining to him were kept at Moycarkey castle, seat of the Cantwells, it might be safely assumed that John Cantwell II was a member of this family.
[219] White, N. B. (ed.), *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds, 1200-1600*, no. 36, 232.
[220] Empey, C. A., 'The Norman period, 1185-1500', 86.
[221] In 1516 Edmund Butler and Robert O Hedyan were rival claimants to the archdeaconry of Ossory, see White, N., B., (ed.) *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds,* no. 73, 117. Edmund, the illegitimate son of Piers, eighth earl of Ormond was archbishop of Cashel from 1524-53; his aunt, sister of Piers, was made abbess of *de Bello Portu* at Kilculliheen, but lost her position in 1532, see *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds*, no. 89, 178.

family; his actions as peacekeeper, which lead to imprisonment of the heads of the Cahir and Dunboyne families, has already been noted.[222]

The case of Holycross demonstrates that the regular clergy too were under pressure from local interests; here the post of abbot in the fifteenth century was highly prized. During the 1450s a bitter dispute was fought amongst the contenders for the abbacy there, where powerful local families, the O'Dwyers and the O'Mulryans sought to place a member of their own family in the position. Abbot Fergal O'Heffernan died *c.*1448, and his succession was fought out between a canonically elected abbot, one Odo O'Grady, Fergal's natural son Dermott, and candidates put forward by the families mentioned above. During this struggle, abbey property was alienated, and various claims and counter claims were forwarded to the Pope. Dermott did manage to hold office for some time, but grave charges were brought against him by one Matthew O'Mulryan, a monk of Owney. As was normal at this time, the accuser would succeed the accused if the charges were found to be true. This is what happened at Holycross, where Matthew O'Mulryan succeeded Dermott as abbot. Although Matthew was connected to a powerful local family, he seems to have had a genuine devotion to his order, regaining alienated abbey lands and acting as reformator of the Cistercians of Munster.[223] Historians of the Cistercian order in Ireland suggest that the Black Death took a severe toll on the community, particularly the lay brothers, so that by the fifteenth century the lay brothers had been essentially wiped out, and the choir monks were hiring labour to work their home farms.[224] The vast buildings that once housed large communities were now altered to suit the needs of the small populations of choir monks, and the residential spaces of the lay brothers in Holycross were turned into private apartments.[225]

The parochial system also underwent change and decline in the later medieval period, and by the later fifteenth century was lacking in organisation and subject to much abuse.[226] In the early colonial period, many of the tithes had been granted to monasteries, both in the vicinity and far away, and although the archbishops of Cashel sought to police the provision of pastoral care, by the later middle ages the 'monastic houses saw their role

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[222] O'Sullivan, A., 'Poem in Praise of John Cantwell, Archbishop of Cashel 1452-1482', 113.
[223] Ó Conbhuidhe, C., *The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary*, 205-7. A similar situation of local dominance of a religious house can be seen at Kells, Co. Kilkenny, Empey, C. A., 'The Sacred and the Secular: the Augustinian priory of Kells in Ossory 1193-1541', *Irish Historical Studies*, 24:94 (1984), 147-8.
[224] Rae, E., 'Architecture and Sculpture 1169-1603', 763. This phenomenon is not just local to Irish situation. The numbers of lay brothers were in decline before the Black Death.
[225] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 172.
[226] Hennessy, M., 'Parochial organisation in medieval Tipperary', 68.

as tithe collectors rather than as rectors to the detriment of the parochial system'.[227] Despite this abuse, the architectural evidence points to vitality in religious life in the Butler territories of the later middle ages. At the edge of their sphere of influence, it is clear that churches were vulnerable to attack by hostile neighbours, thus we find a fortified church at Ballycahill with a machicolation over the north door (Plate 1.2); these fortifications date from the fifteenth century, suggesting that the church was important and regularly in use.

Popular devotion appears to have been strong in the Butler lands, and in the Butler sphere of influence in the southeast. In 1432 we find the earl of Ormond, as lord of the liberty of Tipperary, granting safe conduct to all pilgrims who wanted to visit Thurles on the feast of the assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary for the next three days before and after the feast, granted at the request of Richard O'Hedian, archbishop of Cashel.[228] The first reference to pilgrims at Holycross appears in 1488 in a Papal letter describing that 'the oblations which are made by the faithful to the wood of the Holy Cross in the church of the same monastery and which are collected by collectors appointed for the purpose'.[229] From the foregoing account, it appears that Holycross was by this time a well-established pilgrimage centre.

Pilgrimages were not simply local, and James Rice – mayor of Waterford on numerous occasions and 'amicable arbitrator' in a case being heard between the Butlers of Cahir and the MacRichard Butlers over the manor of Carrick in 1487 at the Dominican friary in Waterford[230] – went twice on pilgrimage to Santiago, once in 1473 and once in 1483.[231] Rice's endeavours in popular piety did not end here; he and his close friend John Collyn, the dean of Waterford Cathedral, were both responsible for adding chantry chapels to the north aisle of the Cathedral.[232] Rice provided a gruesome transi tomb for his chapel,[233] which displays his decomposing corpse with an accompanying poem that warns 'I am what you are going to be, and I was what you are'. Dean John Collyn provides in his will a number of items for his chantry including plate and a number of books which are to

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[227] Hennessy describes this process in detail in 'Parochial organisation in medieval Tipperary'. See particularly 66-7 for the impropriation of tithes and 68-9 for the decline of the parochial system in the later middle ages.
[228] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 98, 82.
[229] *Calendar of Papal Registers*, XIV, 225, 256; these mentions of collections at Holycross are incidental in the correspondence that was taking place between the papal curia and rival claimants for the abbacy at the abbey.
[230] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 271, 260-1.
[231] McEneaney, E., *A History of Waterford and its Mayors*, 87.
[232] Ibid., 86.
[233] Rae, E. C. 'The Rice Monument in Waterford Cathedral', *PRIA*, 69C (1970), 1-15.

be kept in a specially provided chest in his chapel. The books provide an interesting insight into the religious interests of a resident member of the clergy in south eastern Ireland and include literature on the sacraments and the *ars moriendi*, the English Chronicle, a copy of the Sarum rite, a Psalter glossed by the English fourteenth century religious writer and hermit Richard Rolle of Hampole and *Pupilla Oculi,* a practical manual for use by the clergy on the seal of confession.[234] Collyn also built an almshouse for poor men near the cathedral, and Rice was a generous benefactor.[235] In the foundation of chantry chapels, an almshouse, the patronage of a transi tomb and the possession of books like the *ars moriendi* Rice and Collyn are engaging acts popular among the highest echelons of English noble society, acts engaged in by Henry VI and intimates of his court set like the de la Pole earls of Suffolk.[236] Rice's monument is the first in a long line which became extremely popular in the Butler territory in the sixteenth century; it appears that the tomb was popular from the first, and the city council of Waterford were forced to pass a law preventing citizens from 'digging up' the floor of the Cathedral to provide themselves with similar memorials.[237]

We know something of the piety of the Butlers from surviving documentation. There were a number of religious buildings with which they were especially associated. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries St. Mary, Gowran, was particularly important to the family. Gowran was part of the initial grant made to Theobald Walter in 1185, and a small parish church was built on the site between this date and 1200, as surviving remains on the site suggest.[238] The church was rebuilt 1260-75 by Theobald Walter IV (†1285) in the Early English style, with a proliferation of head capitals and cusped tomb niches in the walls. The church became collegiate in 1312 at the instigation of Edmund Butler, 'earl of Carrick',[239] who died in London in 1321 on his return home from a pilgrimage to Santiago; his body was brought back to St. Mary's Gowran for burial.[240] Edmund's son James, first earl of Ormond was buried at Gowran in 1337, as were the second and third earls, indeed,

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[234] MacNiocaill, G., (ed.) 'Registrum Cantariae S. Salvatoris Waterfordensis', *Analecta Hibernica*, 23 (1966), 149-50; Hope, E. A., 'The Pupilla Oculi', *Modern Language Notes*, 33:3 (1918), 186.
[235] McEneaney, E., *A history of Waterford and its mayors*, 92.
[236] Colvin, H. M., *The History of the King's Works Volume I. The Middle Ages* (London, 1963), 279-290 for Henry VI's foundation of a school and almshouse at Eton. For the almshouse, school and chantry chapel at Ewelme founded by the de la Poles see Goodall, J., *God's House at Ewelme,* Alice de la Pole is interred at Ewelme in a transi tomb.
[237] McEneaney, E., *A History of Waterford and its Mayors*, 89.
[238] The surviving documentation and architectural fabric were assessed by Sandra O'Brien in 'An Architectural Analysis of St. Mary's Church, Gowran, Co. Kilkenny' (BA Dissertation, University of Dublin, 2004), 9.
[239] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1172-1350*, no. 474, 189-90.
[240] Frame, R., 'Butler, Edmund, Earl of Carrick (d. 1321)', *ODNB*, 9, 124.

the church was a parish church but also an Ormond mausoleum, the college providing a perpetual chantry for the family.[241] This status appears to have been renewed in the sixteenth century when a number of Butler tombs were installed at the site, although the identity of those interred/commemorated is a point of some debate.[242]

During the later part of the fourteenth and fifteenth century Holycross Abbey, Co. Tipperary, grew in importance; the first protection granted to the abbey was issued by James, the second earl (†1382) on the 12th of December 1364 and his special interest was continued with further protections granted by his grandsons. On the 10 June, 1414 the grant of special protection given in 1364 by the second earl (see Appendix 7) was confirmed by the fourth earl of Ormond, James the White Earl, and by Thomas Butler, Prior of Kilmainham.[243] In 1429, the White Earl of Ormond, pardoned the Abbot and convent of Holycross for various offences, and in the same year made a grant of the vill of Balagh Cathyll (Ballycahill, part of demesne lands of the manor of Thurles) to the abbot and convent of Holycross.[244] The grant was 'to maintain for ever a lighted candle of wax before the altar of the abbey church for the praise and honour of God and his Immaculate Mother, the Virgin Mary'.[245] The burning of candles was of particular spiritual importance, with the power to send the Devil and his ministers 'trembling away'.[246] This permanent grant of land by the White Earl for the burning of a candle at Holycross represents a substantial investment on is part, and the establishment of rituals, whether the saying of masses, or the burning of candles, in perpetuity, were displays of 'conspicuous consumption' afforded by only the very wealthy.[247] In March 1432 the fourth earl granted letters of protection to the abbot and convent of Holycross, specifically for the protection of clerks begging for the works, suggesting that he was aware of, and probably involved in, building works at the abbey.[248]

This special association of the Butlers with Holycross appears to have been particularly important to the White Earl, but the association of the Butlers with the site

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[241] Frame, R., 'Butler, James, First Earl of Ormond (c.1305–1338)', *ODNB*, 9, 144-5; Frame, R., 'Butler, James, Second Earl of Ormond (1331–1382)', *ODNB*, 9, 145-6; Empey, C. A., 'Butler, James, Third Earl of Ormond (c.1360–1405)', *ODNB*, 9, 146-7.
[242] Rae, E. C., 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: I, The Ormond group', 9-13.
[243] White, N. B. (ed.), *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds, 1200-1600*, no. 40, 15.
[244] Ibid., no. 21, 16.
[245] Ibid., no. 26, 19-21. Translation from Ó Conbhuidhe, C., OCSO, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary*, 194-5.
[246] Duffy, E., *The Stripping of the Altars* (London and New Haven, 2005), 281.
[247] Ibid., 328.
[248] White, N.B. (ed.), *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds, 1200-1600*, no. 30, 23.

must have remained strong throughout the fifteenth century, because in 1504 we find Piers MacRichard Butler and Gerald, eighth earl of Kildare swearing oaths on the Holy Cross of "Oughterlauyn"[249] which should probably be read as *Cell Uactar Lamhann*, the original name for Holycross, by which it was still known in the late middle ages.[250] The Butlers owned a portion of the True Cross, and in 1507 we find James Butler leaving this to his son Piers, suggesting that family devotion to the True Cross was particularly strong (Appendix 6).[251] The Butler's church patronage was not confined to Holycross however, and they appear to have been associated with many churches in the south east of Ireland. In Piers Butler's will (see Appendix 8), of 1539, he leaves instructions for a portion of his goods to go to the churches of St. Mary in Callan and Gowran, and that his anniversary should be celebrated in St. Canice's Cathedral and Holy Trinity Cathedral in Waterford, St. Mary in Callan and Clonmel, St. Patrick's Cathedral and St. John's in Cashel, St. John's in Fethard and St. Mary in Kilkenny and New Ross (Appendix 8).[252] These documentary references to association with particular churches are reinforced and extended by the appearance of Butler shields in a number of religious buildings in Kilkenny, Tipperary, and indeed, in areas outside their fifteenth century territories, such as Clonfert Cathedral, Co. Galway.

The acts of popular piety undertaken by the fourth earl of Ormond and his sons, contrast with acts of piety undertaken by junior members to the Butler family in later fifteenth-century Ireland. The fourth earl may have undertaken a pilgrimage to Rome, and was a particular devotee of St. Thomas Becket. He undertook a pilgrimage to Canterbury and had 'close links with Canterbury cathedral priory and the London hospital of St. Thomas of Acre'.[253] He was also associated with Jerpoint and St. Canice's Cathedral, Co. Kilkenny and Holycross Abbey, as we have already seen. He was buried at St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, of which he claimed to be 'on of the chef founders nexte the kyng'.[254] This patronage contrasts somewhat with that of his nephew Edmund MacRichard Butler, who undertook to found an Augustinian friary at Callan in 1461. The building was actually constructed under Edmund's son James, and soon after foundation the house took on the

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[249] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 316, 308.
[250] For example see the poem translated by L. McKenna, *Aithdioghluim dána*,, Part II, Poem 88 by an unknown poet which describes Holycross in the fifteenth century as Uachdar Lámhann. See below
[251] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 329, 322-5.
[252] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1509-1547*, no. 238, 187-8.
[253] In 1450 he was granted permission to go on pilgrimage 'as well to Canterbury as to other places', see *Statute Rolls Ireland Henry VI*, 211.For Rome see *Calendar of Papal Letters, 1427-47*, 278.
[254] Griffith, M. C., 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government, 1414-47', 395, he made this statement *c.* 1423.

Observant reform. F. X. Martin suggests that although the reform movement of the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians was independent, it shared a number of common features. Firstly, that the impetus for the reform movement came from Gaelic parts of the country, and that this coincided with the decline of English authority; secondly, that the Irish reform movement was an extension of what was happening in continental Europe, especially Italy; thirdly, that unlike the earlier urban foundations, the new mendicant friaries were located in rural areas.[255]

F. X. Martin was mainly concerned with the Augustinian friars, but extended his remarks on the reform movement to cover the Mendicants in general. He states:

> Over a long period the native Irish had utilized direct recourse to Rome, in order to counter-balance the weight of English influence in the nomination of Anglo-Irish and 'New English' to clerical offices. Consequently, during the lull in widespread hostilities in fifteenth century Ireland, religious developments in Italy, such as the Observant movement, had more immediate effects in the Gaelic territories.[256]

Observant houses were often taken under the direct supervision of the prior general of the various orders, giving them large amounts of freedom from interference from local, in the Irish case, Anglo-Irish officials. Further, as a means of gaining local support for the reform movements, the priors general often allowed regional patriotism to identify itself with the Observants, as was the case in Gaelic areas in the west of Ireland.[257] The appearance of an Observant house in Callan is an interesting branching out of this Gaelic based movement, and Callan was singled out for special treatment by the cardinal protector of the order, who established the affiliation of the house at Callan with Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, which was being reconstructed in Renaissance style between 1471-1484, just as Callan was under construction.[258] Callan became the leading house of the Observants in Ireland, and it appears that the congregation was of mixed stock. [259] James MacRichard and his wife, Syve Kavanagh, were particularly generous to the mendicants, as in 1479 we find them giving property to the house of Franciscan friars in Kilkenny.[260]

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[255] Martin, F. X., 'The Irish Augustinian Reform Movement in the Fifteenth Century', J. Watt, J. Morral and F. X. Martin (eds.), *Medieval Studies presented to Aubery Gwynn,* (Dublin, 1961), 231.
[256] Martin, F. X., 'The Irish Augustinian Reform Movement in the Fifteenth Century', 235.
[257] Ibid., 238; Ireland's location meant that the Observant movement could develop freely without too much interference from officials of the order, while removing Gaelic convents from the control of the English vicar provincial.
[258] Ibid., 247.
[259] Watt, J., *The Church in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1998), 196-7.
[260] White, N., B. (ed.), *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds, 1200-1600*, no. 53, 236.

One further aspect of Butler involvement in acts of popular piety must be noted here, and this is the presence of Piers Bulter at a miracle play in 1528. Piers was Lord Deputy at the time, and the play, as was common in England at the time, was acted out in the street, a stage having been erected in Hoggen (now College) Green.[261] Piers presence at an event in Dublin echoes the involvement of the White Earl in Dublin guilds, discussed below, and is evidence of the re-immersion of the MacRichard Butlers in the politics of the capital. We have no record of Edmund MacRichard or his son James ever visiting the capital.

The Reformation runs beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is interesting to note that many members of the Butler family were granted monasteries with which they were associated as patrons. The Butlers of Dunboyne, for example, were granted the friary of Fethard, and allowed the friars to stay,[262] while Thomas Butler, tenth earl of Ormond was granted many monastic properties, notably Holycross, and he too was sympathetic to the community that continued to practice a there.[263]

Discussion

This chapter sought briefly to outline the nature of life in the Butler lordship, and indeed, the extent of that lordship – geographical and political. This was a difficult exercise in so short a space, and it is important to emphasise the salient points. The first is that the boundaries of this lordship were not fixed, and there had been shift in geographical centre in the fourteenth century, and in the fifteenth century the security of every border depended on how well Butler alliances held with their English and Gaelic neighbours. Marriage was an important tool in maintaining and strengthening the borders of the Ormond territories.

The history of the Butler family in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries can be divided into three phases, the first relates to the tenure of the fourth earl of Ormond, an international figure who, although sympathetic to some aspects of Gaelic society and culture, was loyal to the English crown and lived for long periods in England. The second phase begins with the death of the fourth earl, when management of the Irish Butler estates fell into the hands of the cadet branches of the family, particularly the MacRichard Butlers.

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[261] Ronan, M. V., 'Religious Customs of Dublin Medieval Guilds Parts I and II', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 26 (1925), 241.
[262] O'Keeffe, T., *Fethard: Irish Historic Towns Atlas no. 13*, A. Simms, H.B. Clarke and R. Gillespie (eds.) (Dublin, 2003), 3.
[263] Ó Conbhuidhe, C., OCSO, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary*, 229.

They waged private wars, largely ignored the Dublin administration and showed loyalty only to the earls of Ormond, for whom they fought at Piltown. Even though their loyalties drew them into conflicts which were raging in Dublin and London, Piltown, for example, this is a period when the cadet branches may be considered at their most Gaelicized. The third period begins with the tenure of Piers Butler, or perhaps more properly with the strengthening power of Piers and Margaret after *c.*1500 when Sir James Ormond was dead and Earl Thomas appointed Piers as his deputy, or even to 1515 when Piers claimed the earldom of Ormond. Piers sought to gain power not just in his own jurisdiction, but in Dublin, and so might be compared to the fourth earl in his political ambition. Only in the two succeeding generations however, those of James and Thomas, do the Irish Butlers begin to regularly frequent the English Court, and live their lives like the fourth earl.

It has been seen that the Butler territories were rich and prospered in the early sixteenth century under the guidance of Piers and Margaret. There were large towns with castles and churches, and there was local trade between the rich agricultural hinterlands and these towns, and international trade not only with southern England but with continental Europe. There was a market for luxury goods. Piers and Margaret appear to have been particularly connected with Waterford, holding the castle at Granagh close to the city and dominating the ferry between county Kilkenny and the city.

Chapter 2

Butler cultural patronage and changing contexts 1405-c.1552

This chapter sets up a cultural and chronological framework for understanding Butler patronage of architecture by looking at the acts of cultural patronage undertaken by the family. It has been suggested that 'the aristocracy can most usefully be defined as a culture, and this context comprised all those who shared the gentle condition'.[1] When understood in this way, it is possible to see in this culture 'a complex web of habits, traditions, relationships, behaviours, assumptions and beliefs that gave gentlemen a common world'.[2] Cultural patronage and outward demonstrations of refinement and gentility were important aspects of self-definition in the fifteenth century, but importantly, some of the modes and means of display were different for English and Gaelic nobles.[3] By looking at the political and religious motivations of Butler patronage, a telling record is formed of the changing political and cultural values of the Butler family throughout the fifteenth- and early-sixteenth century. As Mertes says 'the whole cultural milieu can give us valuable clues about the nobles' conception of themselves and their lives, who they were and what purposes they served'.[4] The Butlers invested heavily in architecture throughout the late middle ages, and this architecture acts as a stage upon which important political and religious business was acted out. To understand the architecture, we must understand the Butlers. We have already looked at their politics, territory and religious life, and here, a further layer is added to our understanding. 'By the fifteenth century conspicuous consumption was not simply a matter of what nobles did, but what they were. Below lies an investigation of what the Butlers were.

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[1] Denton, J., 'Image, Identity and Gentility: The Woodford Experience', in L. Clarke (ed.), *Of Mice and Men: Image, Belief and Regulation in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2005), 1.
[2] Mertes, K., 'Aristocracy', in R. Horrox (ed.), *Fifteenth Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2004), 42-3.
[3] For example see Simms' discussion of the necessary qualifications to be a 'king', Simms, K., *From Kings to Warlords* (Woodbridge, 1987), 49-54. For a contrasting view of what it was to be noble see, for example, Mertes discussion of fifteenth-century courtesy books, Mertes, K., 'Aristocracy', 55, and also 59-60.
[4] Mertes, K., 'Aristocracy', 43.

I. Patronage 1405-c.1452

The brief outline of the career of the White Earl given above unequivocally shows that he lived his life internationally. Indeed, in the poem commissioned by the earl from O'Higgin, the poet describes

> But his ship has made a stranger of him, visiting every foreign land; he has wearied even his ship too – can one wonder? – by his long journeyings.[5]

He certainly campaigned in France three times, first in 1412 at the age of 22, when as a member of the duke of Clarence's personal retinue he took part in a grand chevauchée across Normandy and Bourdeaux.[6] He spent the years 1417-20 in France at the heart of the action. It was he who provided the account of Clarence distributing booty at Caen after the siege of 1417, and we are certain of his presence at the siege of Rouen, which lasted from August 1418 to January 1419, and later at Pointoise.[7] He traveled to France again in 1430 as part of Henry VI's coronation party,[8] and may have made a fourth trip in the personal retinue of Humphrey duke of Gloucester in 1436, when there were extensive raids in to Burgundian territory.[9]

This continental experience, along with much time spent in London, often years at a stretch, must have greatly widened the earl's cultural horizons.[10] Indeed, Ormond was not an Irish magnate who spent some time in England, he was a trans-regional magnate who held vast estates in England and Ireland.[11] The men with whom he saw action, in whose retinues he travelled, were some of the greatest and subtlest patrons of art and architecture in fifteenth-century England. For example, the growing refinement of Rouennais architecture during this period has been discussed by Neagley, who sees in the details of the church of St. Maclou, Rouen, a clear rejection of the Perpendicular architecture carried

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[5] L. McKenna, *Aithdioghluim dána,* Irish Texts Society 15, II (Dublin, 1940), poem 36, 84.
[6] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 42.
[7] Matthew suggests that Ormond passed first hand information to his son Thomas and that this went into Henry V's first life Matthew, E. A. E., 'The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship', 114. For the siege of Caen see Allmand, C., *Henry V* (London, 1992), 117, and for the siege of Rouen, ibid. 122-7. For Ormond's presence at the siege see Chapter 1 infra.
[8] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 65.
[9] Matthew, E. A. E., 'The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship', 262-3.
[10] When the earl was in London awaiting his judicial trial, he was not allowed to go further than forty miles from the city, Matthew, E. A. E., 'The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship', 400. His permission to go on pilgrimage to Canterbury was issued at this time, and indeed we only know of it because his movement was restricted and he had to ask for leave to go.
[11] Beresford identifies twenty-nine English manors in ten counties belonging to the Butlers at the beginning of the fifteenth century: these English holdings were greatly expanded by through marriages to heiresses, Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 284-5.

out at the cathedral during the English occupation of the city.[12] The building works, religious foundations and patronage of luxury goods of the duke of Bedford, ruler of Lancastrian Rouen, are described as 'in tune' with his 'peripatetic circumstances'.[13] The subtle architectural allusions of Duke Humphrey's tomb at St. Albans will be discussed in Chapter three.

We know something of the White Earl's patronage of art and literature; this patronage is reflective of his political life, and may create a model for understanding his approach to architecture. His first known act of patronage is the commissioning from a Dublin notary, James Yonge, of *The governaunce of Prynces*, a new version of the treatise of the art of government for the guidance of rulers known as *Secreta Secretorum*, as mentioned above. A version of the *Secreta* had been presented to Edward III shortly before his accession in 1327 and the text was acknowledged by Hoccleve as one of the three main authorities in his *Regement of Princes* commissioned *c.*1409-11 by the future Henry V.[14] Matthew suggests that this commission not only demonstrates the White Earl's shared interest in the cultural tastes of the Lancastrian court, but also a desire to show the king that he was taking his new appointment as Lieutenant seriously.[15] It is most interesting that this demonstration of intent and loyalty is through the patronage of a piece of literature, and one cannot help but see the inclusion of the English royal arms on the sedilia at Holycross, discussed below, as a similar statement.

It is known that the White Earl loved heraldry, and two examples of his elaborate personal seals survive. One is a 'truly splendid heraldic achievement' comprising the Ormond shield 'surmounted by an affronté helmet with a gracefully billowing mantling ... the crest is on a wreath from which a lively-looking falcon rises' (Plate 2.1). The second seal is the White Earl's *secretum* or private seal, used by the earl in 1442; it is made up of 'an oblong octagon ... with a fess like band bearing the word 'ormond' in black letter ... the background is filled with plant forms and in the lower left corner is the Ormond knot'[16] (Plate 2.2). Ormond gave land forever to the College of Heralds in England and it was at

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[12] Neagley, L. E., 'The Flamboyant Architecture of St.-Maclou, Rouen, and the Development of the Style', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 47:4 (1988), 383. At the time when the 1430 coronation mission of Henry VI travelled through Rouen and lodged in the castle, John Duke of Bedford was building himself a new residence called Joyeux Repos. As one of only eight earls and dukes to accompany the young king, Ormond may well have seen this new building first hand. See Stratford, J., 'John, Duke of Bedford, as Patron in Lancastrian Rouen', *BAA*, C.T. 12, 1986 (1993), 101.

[13] Stratford, J., 'John, Duke of Bedford, as Patron in Lancastrian Rouen', 99.

[14] Matthew, E. A. E., 'The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship', 119.

[15] Ibid., 120.

[16] Crotty, G., 'Seals of the House of Ormond', *Old Kilkenny Review*, 3:2 (1985), 125-6.

his suggestion that Henry V created the King of Arms in Ireland.[17] This zeal for heraldry might explain why the Ormond arms are carved on works of architecture known by documentary evidence to be associated with him, at Holycross, Navan and Trim. There is heraldic stained glass, with the *chief indented* of the earls of Ormond, in the parish church at Shere, in Surrey, where the Butlers held the manor of Shere Vachery, but nothing remains of their manor house there.[18] It appears that the fourth earl was interested in other symbols of office, and he gave a horn to his son Thomas, who was eventually to inherit the title, which may have been a horn of tenure; it is interesting that Thomas left this horn to his grandson, Thomas Boleyn, suggesting that he favoured Thomas rather than Piers Ruadh as his successor.[19]

We have hints that other visual displays of office and status were important to the White Earl. Although there is scant documentary evidence for livery in the early part of the fifteenth century, Crooks strongly argues that it was in use. He draws attention to an indenture for service in the *Ormond Deeds* between the earl and Thomas Petit, esquire, to serve him for one year with six archers, who were all to receive 'a hundred shillings and their robes'.[20] Livery became increasingly important during the Hundred Years War, and might take the form of clothes, hoods or badges, and 'by implication livery indicated adherence to the cause of that person or house … worn by large numbers it could present a dramatic visual expression of political force'.[21] When the earl was leaving London after his long residency in the 1440s, indentures survive by which he was to defray debts with a collection of plate, including silver dishes, cups and spoons, some of which bore his arms.[22] This interest in heraldry, in symbols of office, in livery and plate, contributes to argument that White Earl was investing in markers of nobility, building up the visual presence of the house of Ormond, and this penchant for display may be reflected architecture with which he is connected.

Ormond's involvement with guilds and confraternities led to artistic patronage. This was the case at Navan, where on 25 June 1436 the earl was received as an associate of the fraternity of the Augustinian House of the Blessed Mary of Navan, and his shield

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[17] Blake Butler, T., 'The Origin of the Butlers in Ireland', *The Irish Genealogist*, 1:5 (1939), 147.
[18] Malden, H. E. (ed.), *A History of the County Surrey*: Volume III (London, 1911), 111-21.
[19] McMahon, E. A., 'A Study of the Iconography of Kingship in the Art Patronage of Thomas Butler', 28, 33.
[20] Crooks, P., 'Factionalism and Noble power in English Ireland, *c.*1361-1423', 35; *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 38, 27.
[21] Ailes, A., 'Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of Politics and Propaganda', in P. Cross and M. Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2002), 95.
[22] Matthew, E. A. E., 'The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship', 408.

appears on a large octagonal font from that church (Plate 2.3).[23] In 1451 the Dublin Guild of Merchants had their first charter granted to them at the request of James, fourth earl of Ormond and Archbishop Tregury. The Guild of St. George, a social and religious guild of the Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin, also had their charter granted at the request of the White Earl.[24] In this context it is most notable that Thomas FitzMaurice FitzGerald, seventh earl of Kildare, was involved in founding the Brotherhood of St. George, a force of 120 mounted archers and forty men-at-arms for defence of the Pale in 1474. Thomas was the first president, and his son Gerald the first captain.[25] The seventh earl of Kildare was to hold the office of lord deputy sporadically throughout his career, but his son, the eighth earl, came to dominate the post. It is argued below that strategic and outward displays of loyalty though patronage was a tactic extensively used by Ormond in his drive to win the office of lieutenant, from which the house of Kildare may have learned, and successfully employed in the years after 1452.

Perhaps the most important aspect of Ormond's patronage is that it was not confined to Ireland. As stated in Chapter 1, Ormond had close contacts with the cathedral priory of Canterbury, and with the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acre London.[26] It is probable

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[23] Roe, H. M., *Medieval Fonts of Meath* (Meath, 1968), 90. This entry, in the surviving fragmentary register of the Navan confraternity, is interesting not only because it gives us a direct documentary link between the appearance of a simple shield with chief indented, and the White Earl, but also because it places Ormond in Ireland at a time when others have been unsure of his whereabouts. This is exactly the point at which Matthew suggests that the earl may be in France in the retinue of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (she also discusses the possibility that he may be in Ireland but can find no firm evidence). Ormond was granted leave to be absent from Ireland for two years in October 1435, but appears to have returned in the summer of 1436, see Matthew, E. A. E., 'The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship', 261-2.

[24] Ronan, M. V., 'Religious Customs of Dublin Medieval Guilds Parts I and II', 229 and 375. It is interesting that these guilds had their own 'distinctive hoods and liveries', ibid. 231. It is also most interesting that Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, Ormond's most fervent political rival was involved in the setting up of guilds, ibid. 229, 367. This involvement occurred when both were acting as lieutenant/justiciar, and could indicate that they were acting in an official capacity, because the founding of a guild required an act of mortmain obtained from the crown. Alternatively, this involvement with guilds may have taken on a kind of rivalry, for the popular affection for the merchant class of Dublin.

[25] Tout, T. F., revised Ellis, S. G, 'FitzGerald, Thomas, seventh earl of Kildare', *ODNB*, 19, 845.

[26] Matthew suggests that in 1434 the earl may well have travelled to the south-east on behalf of the prior of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury, who, perhaps on the occasion of Ormond's Christmas visit in 1430, had enlisted his help in pursuit of unpaid dues from the abbey of Tintern, see Matthew, E. A. E., 'The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship', 258. The Hospital of St. Thomas of Acre was associated with the birthplace of Thomas Becket, and was thought in the middle ages to have been founded by Becket's sister Agnes, see Forey, A. J., 'The Military Order of St. Thomas of Acre', *English Historical Review*, 92 (1977), 484-5. There seems to be confusion even now over how the Butlers claimed descent from the Beckets, T. Blake Butler thinks that they claimed to be related to Thomas de Helles who was married to Agnes Becket, sister of Thomas, see Blake Butler, T., 'The Origin of the Butlers in Ireland', 147-8. St. John Brooks thought that the legend of the Butler relationship with Becket springs from confusing Archbishop Becket with Archbishop Walter, who was brother of Theobald Walter, the first butler of Ireland, but since he is rather confused as to Butler family history (suggesting that Thomas, seventh earl, died in London in 1475) we might discount this claim, see St. John Brooks, E., 'Irish Possessions of St. Thomas of Acre', *PRIA*, 58C (1956), 26. The Butler claim of descent from the sister of Becket was investigated in the eighteenth century by Thomas Carte, who concluded that it was probably unfounded. See Matthew cited above, 251.

that when the earl was in London, he used the hospital as his residence there; when he was residing in England in 1435 the profits of his manor at Shere were paid to him at St. Thomas of Acre.[27] More importantly, both of his wives were buried at the hospital, and some sources suggest that he was buried there.[28] This confusion lead Rae to suggest that the earl may have had a cenotaph in the church, while he was actually interred at St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin.[29] Certainly Earl Thomas was in contact with the abbot of St. Mary's Abbey in Dublin at the end of the fifteenth century, and this may well have been regarding masses at his father's burial place.[30] In 1453 White Earl's eldest son presented a petition to the Reading Parliament which made special mention of the 'grete tenderaunce trust and love' the earl had held for the house of St. Thomas. The petition was to obtain license to transfer the Butler manor of Hultott in Buckinghamshire to the order to endow daily prayers for the king and queen and the fifth earl and for their souls after their death and for those of the earl's parents, wife, grandmother, ancestors and heirs in perpetuity.[31]

There was certainly an Ormond tomb at St. Thomas, and this may have been commissioned when the earl's wife died in 1430 and perhaps represented both the earl and his countess. Such a double memorial would not have been unusual and may have caused the confusion over the earl's place of burial. Most importantly, it shows that the earl had had dealings with English masons in the commissioning of his wife's tomb in 1430, and this must have included its form and architecture.[32] This throws the Ormond sponsored work at Holycross and other sites into sharp relief: the earl was aware of architectural trends in France and England, but as will be discussed below, the work at Holycross does not reflect these and this appears to have been a conscious choice, whether through the convenience of employing local masons or to produce deliberate resonance with the past, we can only speculate. Anne McMahon has examined later Ormond sponsored work at St. Thomas of Acre, and suggests that the sculpture of Christ now held at the Mercers'

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[27] Matthew, E. A. E., 'The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship', 258.
[28] Blake Butler, T., 'The Origin of the Butlers in Ireland', 147. This seems strange, since Elizabeth appears to have died in Ireland, but I have been able to find no evidence of where she was buried.
[29] Rae, E. C., 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: I, The Ormond group', 10, n. 18.
[30] *Cartularies of St. Mary's Abbey Dublin with the Register of its house at Dunbroady and the Annals of Ireland* (London, 1884), II, xxiii; *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1509-1547*, no. 32, 334.
[31] Matthew, E. A. E., 'The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship', 51. Endowing a perpetual chantry a display of 'conspicuous consumption', designed to display 'wealth and social status', Duffy, E., *The Stripping of the Altars*, 328. This was the second perpetual chantry to be endowed by the Butler family, the first was Gowran.
[32] The earl also had manors in England where improvements were carried out during his tenure, especially at Aylesbury were extensive works were carried out between Michaelmas 1447 and Michaelmas 1448, possibly for Sir. James Butler, later fifth earl, see Matthew, E. A. E., 'The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship', 408.

Company in London once adorned the tomb of Earl Thomas.[33] She argues that this tomb reflects the earl's experience of art in Burgundy and the Netherlands. We might expect the tomb that the White Earl commissioned in the 1430s to reflect his experience of art in France and London.

One piece that appears to reflect just such cultural experience is the head reliquary of St. Patrick, now held in the Hunt collection in Limerick, which bears the inscription 'Lord James Butler, Earl of Ormond, justiciar of the island of Ireland, had me made in honour of St. Patrick'(Plate 2.4). The piece has caused some problems in chronology. Suggestions for a date for the piece have varied from the fourteenth century, to the time of the White Earl, to1452, the year of the fifth earl's accession.[34] The inscription also throws the authenticity of the piece into question, as, since James, fourth earl of Ormond, was appointed 'Lieutenant' in 1420, and not 'justiciar', a less imposing title, there is some doubt as to his commissioning a piece referring to himself as 'justiciar of Ireland'.[35] Difficulties in attribution are exacerbated by suggestions that the St. Patrick head is a copy of the head of Saint Etienne Muret, hermit and founder of the Grandmont order, made and donated to Grandmont by Cardinal Briconnet, abbot from 1495-1507.[36] Further, the conservator of sculpture at the Louvre believed that the head was close to the Tuscan style of the late fifteenth century.[37]

One might argue a number of possibilities here. Patrons such as the White Earl and his son James, both of whom spent long periods of time in France, might have commissioned an innovative piece that set the fashion for later works? Or Earl Thomas

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[33] McMahon, E. A., 'A Study of the Iconography of Kingship in the Art Patronage of Thomas Butler', 62. McMahon presents a strong and convincing argument that the statue held by the Mercers' (who gained ownership of St. Thomas of Acre at the Reformation) came from the tomb of earl Thomas based on the appearance of a phrase in the inscription of the tomb in a book of hours known to have been commissioned by the earl (see p. 59). Also, McMahon argues that the survival of this piece beyond all others from the site may have been due to the fact that earl Thomas was Queen Elizabeth's great grandfather.

[34] Cunningham and Gillespie state that the piece was made in the late fourteenth century in ''The most adaptable of saints': The Cult of St Patrick in the Seventeenth Century', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 49 (1995), 85; both Bourke and Ó Floinn state that the piece is most likely to date from the tenure of the White Earl of Ormond, with Bourke stating the head may be European and date from the fourteenth century while the base is Irish, see Bourke, C., *Patrick the Archaeology of a Saint* (Belfast, 1993), 53 and Ó Floinn, R., *Irish Shrines and Reliquaries of the Middle Ages*, 9. Gillespie mentions the head reliquary again in 'Relics, Reliquaries and Hagiography in South Ulster, 1450–1550', in R. Moss, C. Ó Clabaigh OSB and S. Ryan (eds.) *Art and Devotion in Late Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), 185 where he suggests that the head may be based on a reused European shrine and dates the inscription to 1452.

[35] This observation was made by Dr. Peter Crooks, for which many thanks.

[36] http://test.huntmuseum.com/architem.asp?RegNo=HCM%20113 Accessed 29/11/2006.

[37] http://test.huntmuseum.com/architem.asp?RegNo=HCM%20113 Accessed 29/11/2006.

might have had the piece made for his father or brother.[38] Patronage of just such pieces by the French nobility was not unusual, Jean, Duke of Berry, as well as being a patron of luxury manuscripts, 'was also a patron of richly jeweled bust and arm reliquaries bearing his arms'.[39] Earl Thomas is known to have had a special devotion to St. Patrick, as prayers for this saint appear in one of his books of hours; these are not a regular inclusion in prayer books of the time.[40] We know that the White Earl was a particular devotee of St. Thomas Becket, and a fragment of the saint's skull was contained in a head reliquary at Canterbury Cathedral.[41]

In fact, the problems in chronology are most likely caused by the fact this head reliquary of St. Patrick being a fake, dated to *c.*1870-1900. Dr. Barbara Drake Boehm of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, has inspected photographs of the piece, and is 'virtually certain that the bust in Limerick is a nineteenth or early twentieth century copy of the Head of Saint Etienne de Muret from the treasury of Grandmont, preserved now in the parish church of Saint-Sylvestre in the Limousin'.[42] Her appraisal is as follows:

> the Grandmont Saint Etienne lost its original enameled base during the French Revolution. The fabricator of this head, accordingly, created a neo-Gothic base with an inscription linking it to Ireland, presumably to make it appealing to an Irish collector. The stylistic relationship between the head and the base is anomalous--the head, with its heavily lined face, conforms to the original and is consistent with the date of the gift of the original to Grandmont in the late fifteenth century. The base with little lion feet mimics reliquaries of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, like the Virgin of Jeanne d'Evreux in the Louvre, for

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[38] The White Earl's service in France is outlined above; the fifth earl was in France for two one-year stretches in the 1440s, see Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 73-4, and also was in Rouen when Margaret of Anjou was brought to England as Henry VI's new bride, see Matthew, E. A. E., 'The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship', 379. The latter suggestion, that earl Thomas had the shrine made, is less likely due to the nature of the very personal inscription.

[39] Boehm, B. D., 'Body-Part Reliquaries: The State of Research', *Gesta*, 36:1 (1997), 15. There survives a reliquary of St. Patrick's hand, which has an Irish origin and date of *c.*1400, but a from that is remarkably continental, see Bourke, C., *Patrick the Archaeology of a Saint*, 51; and Bourke, C., 'The Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand', *Irish Arts Review*, 4:3, (1987), 26-7, where the author convincingly argues that the presence of die stamped animal ornament, the workmanship, the arrangement of the cavities which were to hold the relic and the absence of a raised base all point to the shrine being of insular production. For comparative European hand reliquaries see Boehm, 'Body-Part Reliquaries', 16.

[40] McMahon, E. A., 'A Study of the Iconography of Kingship in the Art Patronage of Thomas Butler', 53. The feast of St. Patrick was also to be celebrated at Holycross in accordance with the White Earl's donation of Ballycahill in 1429 White, N. B. (ed.), *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds, 1200-1600*, no. 26, 19-21. Translation in Ó Conbhuidhe, C., OCSO, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary*, 194-5.

[41] Blick, S., 'Reconstructing the Shrine of St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral' in S. Blick and R. Tekippe (eds.), *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, (Leiden, 2005), 422. For an illustration of a pilgrim badge of the head reliquary of Becket see Butler, J., *The Quest for Becket's Bones* (London and New Haven, 1995), xii.

[42] Dr. Boeham wrote her PhD dissertation on 'Medieval Head Reliquaries of the Massif Central' (PhD, University of Michigan, 1990). Her discussion of the Limerick bust was sent in an email of 25 January 2007, and she has asked me to note that she has not been able to inspect the piece in person.

example.[43]

If this bust is a fake, which, from difficulties in chronology and Dr. Boehm's analysis, seems quite certain, then timing of this piece of forgery could not have been better. In the midst of the Celtic Revival, a Gothic bust paid for by an Anglo-Irish patron could have slipped easily into a collection, without any of the fervor of discovery afforded the Ardagh Chalice, or the Tara Brooch.[44] There is no provenance for the piece before it appears at Craggaunowen Castle, Co. Clare, in John Hunt's collection, and so we might tentatively suggest that this is exactly what happened.[45] On close inspection, the identification of the base as Irish work may be erroneous.[46] This is particularly true of the rock crystal mounts around the junction of base and neck, which are held by identical settings (Plate 2.5). If one looks at the rock crystal mounts affixed to Irish book shrines in the later middle ages, it is clear that there appears to have been deliberate variance in the mounts (Plate 2.6).[47] These mounts are also utterly different in appearance to those of the St. Patrick head, the former being fine and beaded, the latter broad and hardly decorated. The shrine of St. Patrick's hand of *c.*1400, perhaps the most European looking of all the reliquaries of the saint, has some animal ornament reminiscent of that on the shrine of Cathach and other works of the period (Plate 2.7).[48] Even though the base of the Ormond St. Patrick reliquary was thought to have been made for an Anglo-Irish patron, if it were original it might well have included interlace ornament.

This brings us neatly to another area for discussion, the White Earl's patronage

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[43] According to Dr. Boehm: 'there are numerous instances of copies having been made of head reliquaries from the Limousin and the Auvergne, as there was a real market for them. There was even an article in a Limousin newspaper in the early 1900s entitled "Ou sont nos chef reliquaires?" [Where are our head reliquaries?] There was a famous case in which J. Pierpont Morgan purchased the head of Saint Martin from Soudeilles, a copy having been substituted in the church. Subsequently the switch was discovered, and Morgan, who pronounced his ignorance of the circumstances, gave the original to the Louvre, where it can be seen today'. Quoted from the same email of 25 January 2007, many thanks are due to Dr. Boehm for her generous help with this piece.

[44] Wallace, P., and Ó Floinn, R., (eds.), *Treasures of the National Museum of Ireland Irish Antiquities* (Dublin, 2002), 183-5.

[45] http://test.huntmuseum.com/architem.asp?RegNo=HCM%20113 Accessed 29/11/2006.

[46] A copy of the head of Etienne de Muret was made for the abbey of Larue in 1875, and until 1962 this piece had a base decorated with quatrefoils, in a neo-Gothic style, but replicating the style of the fourteenth century, a base that comes remarkably close to the Hunt bust. See Arminjon, C., Celer, F., and Chabrely, C. (eds.), *Légende dorée du Limousin: les saints de la Haute-Vienne* (Limoges, 1993), 237. Could the Hunt bust have been made at this time with a similar base? Many thanks to Dr. Boehm for sending me the relevant sections of this book.

[47] This must be an aesthetic choice, not all rock crystals on shrines like that of the *Stowe Missal*, the *Miosach* and the *Cathach* can have been added at different times, their placement suggests they were designed in a scheme, and yet each mount of each rock crystal is different. See Wallace, P., and Ó Floinn, R., (eds.) *Treasures of the National Museum of Ireland, Irish Antiquities*, 269.

[48] Bourke, C., *Patrick the Archaeology of a Saint*, 51; Bourke, C., 'The Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand', 26 where the author argues 'The animals on the shrine of St Patrick's hand compare in detail with those of the *Corp Naomh* and the *Cathach*, which are of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century date'.

of Gaelic artists. The praise poem written for Ormond by Tadhg Oge O'Higgin has already been noted, and this clearly demonstrates how in tune the earl was with Gaelic culture.[49] The *Book of the White Earl* has also been mentioned, and will here be discussed further. Henry and Marsh-Micheli describe this book as a 'sumptuous' work of a hybrid kind, mixing the best work of both foreign and Irish illumination.[50] The book is now in a fragmentary condition; with two sections bound into Laud Misc. 610 in the Bodleian, and a third fragment in TCD MS E iv 1.[51] The O'Sullivans suggest that

> Besides containing a copy of the Féilire of Oengus and the Acalla na Senórach, the White Earls book also contained a Dindsenchas. The earl's concern with heraldry might suggest that it originally contained at least a set of Irish genealogies and perhaps a Lebor Gabála, which were so important a part in the antiquarian background of the Irish families over whom Ormond exercised supremacy.[52]

A verse account of the meeting of St. Patrick and the pagan heroes Caoilte and Oisin is included in this volume, suggesting that the earl did have an interest in the cult of St. Patrick.[53] The *Book of the White Earl* is of such quality that some scholars have mistaken it for a work of the twelfth century, the velum is fine and the decoration is systematic, with ornamented letters in red, yellow, green and purplish brown.[54] From such patronage it is clear that the earl had an interest not only in the texts which the *Book of the White Earl* contained, but the aesthetics of insular manuscript production.

The cultural affinities of the White Earl present a confusing mix, and this mix was not lost on his contemporaries, with the Talbot faction accusing that the earl of Ormond 'made Irishmen and grooms and pages of his household knights of the shire at several parliaments'.[55] At least some of his political success in Gaelic Ireland was due to

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[49] This poem, and Ormond's relationship with native poets and princes is extensively discussed in Simms, K., 'Bards and Barons', 177-97, and Matthew, E. A. E., 'The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship', 414-8.
[50] Henry, F., and Marsh-Micheli, G., 'Manuscripts and Illuminations, 1169-1603', 802.
[51] Dillon, M., 'Laud Misc. 610', *Celtica*, 5 (1960), 64-5.
[52] O'Sullivan, A., and W., 'Three Notes on Laud Misc. 610 (or The Book of Pottlerath)', 137. The *Féilire of Oengus* or 'Martyrology of Oengus' is Oengus' calendar of martyrs; the *Acalla na Senórach* are Tales of the elders of Ireland; and the *Dindsenchas* are short poems which describe how places in Ireland got their name. The UCC CELT database dates the *Dindsenchas* in the Book of the White Earl to 1436, see http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/G106500B/index.html Accessed 13/02/07. See also Carney, J., 'Literature in Irish, 1169-1534', in A. Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, Volume II. Medieval Ireland* (Oxford, 1987), 692.
[53] Matthew, E. A. E., 'The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship', 414.
[54] O'Sullivan, A., and W., 'Three Notes on Laud Misc. 610', 137, Dillon, M., 'Laud Misc. 610' 65. We know that this part of the book belonged to the fourth earl because an inscription in the later fifteenth century part written by Edmund's scribes reads 'all the old writing in it was written for the Earl James [fourth earl], son of James [third earl], father's brother [i.e. brother of Richard] to the owner of the book [Edmund]', this from O'Sullivan cited above, 137.
[55] Simms, K., 'Bards and Barons', 185.

the intermarriage of members of his family with powerful Gaelic lords like the Kavanaghs and the O'Neills of Tir Eoghain.[56] This cultivation of Irish lords earned Ormond much criticism, but others whose 'Englishness' cannot be doubted, such as Richard, Duke of York, also set about creating a network of connections across Ireland when he was made lieutenant.[57] The indenture of 1450 sealing the bond between Richard, duke of York and James, earl of Ormond has already been noted, and this relationship was taken further in that Ormond, along with the earl of Desmond, became joint godfather to the Duke of York's baby son, George.[58] York and his wife, Duchess Cecily, had arrived in Ireland in the summer of 1449, and Johnson argues that her presence probably meant that York intended to stay in Ireland for some time. [59] His appointment as lieutenant was for ten years from December 1447.[60]

The joint patronage of architecture at the parish church of Trim by York and Ormond is demonstrated by the pillar piscina, which bears a shield the Royal Arms of England, another the Royal Arms impaling those of De Burgo and De Mortimer – the Duke of York's personal device, and a further shield charged with the chief indented of the earl of Ormond (Plate 2.8).[61] The sculpture and architecture at this church, including the piscina and the south window of the chancel, comprise some of the most outstanding pieces of Perpendicular design surviving in Ireland, and one is left to wonder if at least one or two in the 600 strong retinue that Richard brought to Ireland in 1449 were trained masons (Plate 2.9).[62]

Although the Duke is not famed for his architectural patronage in the same way

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[56] Simms, K., ''The King's Friend': O Neill, the Crown and the Earldom of Ulster', in J. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1981), 220.

[57] Gorman, V., 'Richard, Duke of York and the Development of an Irish Faction', *PRIA*, 85C (1985), 169-79; Curtis, E., 'Richard, Duke of York, as Viceroy of Ireland, 1447-1460. With Unpublished Materials for his Relations with Native Chiefs', *JRSAI*, 62 (1932), 158-86.

[58] Johnson, P. A., *Duke Richard of York 1411-1460* (Oxford, 1988), 74.

[59] Ibid., 73.

[60] Pugh, T. B., 'Richard Plantagenet (1411 – 60), Duke of York, as King's Lieutenant in France and Ireland', in J. G. Rowe (ed.), *Aspects of Late Medieval Government & Society. Essays Presented to J. R. Lander* (London, 1986), 127. The Duke of York had spent some four years as lieutenant in Normandy, based in Rouen, see Pugh, 118-126, and although much of this time was spent on campaign, at least some must have been spent in Rouen in rich architectural surroundings.

[61] Roe, H. M., *Medieval Fonts of Meath*, 103; Pike, J., *Medieval Fonts of Ireland* (privately published, 1989), 45; Hickey, E., 'Royal Heraldry and some Irish Arms at Trim, County Meath', *Ríocht na Mídhe*, 8:2 (1989-90), 129-140; Potterton, M., *Medieval Trim* (Dublin, 2005), 402-6.

[62] In 1449 the Duke landed with two large ships, the *Edward* and the *Julian* of Fowley. A barge called the *Mary* of Dublin, had a complement of twenty, the remaining sixteen ships carried only a handful of sailors each, together with non-combatants, household staff and horses, see Johnson, P. A., *Duke Richard of York 1411-1460*, 74, n. 166.

as Henry VI, inheriting many of his projects from his father and uncle, surviving evidence suggests that he was a discerning and sophisticated patron of architecture.[63] The indenture between Richard, Duke of York and the mason William Horwood for the building of the nave at Fotheringhay is one of the most detailed to survive from the late middle ages; specifications are made for the form of many members within and without the church, for example the window mouldings, which should be like those in the choir but 'shal no bowtels haf at all'.[64] The duke's wife, Cecily Neville, is known to have been a generous patron of art and the church. Michalove describes how Margaret of Burgundy, third daughter of Richard and Cecily, would have learned from her 'pious and politically astute mother', suggesting that 'gifts of vestments, books, reliquaries, and plate would have been given to local churches in the various places that she lived'.[65] Since the intention had been that the duke of York's stay in Ireland was to be of some ten years duration, it is no surprise to see this careful patron of architecture refitting his nearby church in fashionable architectural style, and Ormond's inclusion in this project fits in well with his other patronage in Meath (at Navan). The impact of this Trim architecture can be seen in the Trim area and in Ormond over the next fifty years, long after the demise of the White Earl, and indeed, the Duke of York.

II. Patronage c.1452-c.1505

When we turn to look a the artistic patronage of the Butlers of Ireland in the years between the death of the White Earl in 1452 and the coming to prominence of Piers Ruadh and Margaret in the early years of the sixteenth century it is clear that the cultural outlook of the cadet branches of the Butler family changed markedly. It is not recorded that any members of the family travelled to England, and indeed, they were even collectively 'too ill' to attend parliament in Dublin in 1455.[66] They seemed happy to remain on the

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[63] Rosenthal, J. T., 'Richard, Duke of York: a Fifteenth-century Layman and the Church', *Catholic Historical Review*, 50 (1964), 174-5.

[64] Rosenthal seems to be most interested in the Duke's financial patronage of the church, and appears to be unaware of the fame of the Fotheringhay deed for architectural historians, see Salzman, L., F., *Building in England Down to 1540,* 506. The college at Fotheringhay was founded by Richard's paternal grandfather, Edmund Langley, first Duke of York, but it was his son who began to build the house in 1411. He fell at Agincourt in 1415. There are no good histories of the building, but for a general description see the buildings of England series, Pevsner, N., *Northamptonshire* (London and New Haven, 1973), 220.

[65] Michalove, S., 'Women as Book Collectors and Disseminators of Culture in Late Medieval England and Burgundy', in D. L. Biggs, S. D. Michalove and A. Compton Reeves (eds.), *Reputation and Representation in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (Leiden, 2004), 69. It appears that Cecily Neville was an extremely generous patron of all things, and one of the Duke's servants had to be put in charge of her spending, see Pugh, T. B., 'Richard Plantagenet (1411 – 60), Duke of York, as King's Lieutenant in France and Ireland', 112.

[66] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 140, their excuse was accepted, and their attainder for their raid on Wexford was reversed if they could keep the peace.

periphery in the years between 1452 and 1461, being involved in minor skirmishes over property. Only the Butlers of Dunboyne sought any kind of rehabilitation with the Dublin administration during these years, and any gains they had made were knocked asunder by their involvement in the Battle of Piltown.[67] By the later years of the 1460s, however, the they were back in favour with the Dublin administration, and not only were they in possession of their own manors, they were being granted extra lands for 'faithful services in resisting the King's Irish enemies'.[68] They were those who showed great loyalty to Earl Thomas during his long absentee years.[69]

The MacRichard Butlers provide us with the best examples of cultural patronage at this time, with their commissioning of the *Book of Pottlerath* and their joining of a confraternity in Rome. The *Book of Pottlerath*, already mentioned above as a source for the activities of Edmund MacRichard Butler between the years 1453-4 and 1462, has decoration similar to the *Book of the White Earl*, but 'simpler, cruder, and unsystematically applied … many pages are left undecorated … much use is made of purple alone, also red and green' (Plates 2.10, 2.11).[70] In the words of Henry and March-Micheli:

> It has its interest also for the deliberate acceptance of forms of initials or ornaments current in non-Irish manuscripts of the time, such as fine scrolls and patterns of flowers and the flippant mixing of them with the most traditional Irish patterns – the scribes are obviously well-read and perfectly aware of the methods of decoration of their contemporaries, and want us to realise that if they are using Irish patterns it is not out of ignorance of other fashions but from deliberate choice.[71]

The book is more famous for its marginalia than its artistic merit. Edmund appears to have been anxious to have the book completed, as the scribe complains 'may God forgive the owner of this book for making me write on a Sunday night, namely Edmund Butler. I am Gilla na Naem Mac Aedagáin in Cill Fraích [Kilfearow] on the bank of the Nore'.[72] The book contains a hagiological section, with a glossary in the middle, which cuts the former part in two.[73] The scribes at various points say that the book is the *Psalter of Cashel*, and

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[67] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 141.
[68] Blake Butler, T., 'The Barony of Dunboyne', 115.
[69] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1509-1547*, Appendix 11, 317-8, he pleads 'I pray iour lordshup to take the labur to com into this land and to take you some goddely yong lady that ye may haue issue bi hire wich wilbe to iou right grett worke of mersi comfort and renyuour of all iour blode', in the next line he asked for the seneschalship of Tipperary, so this flattery may be rather mercenary. He signed the letter 'Edmond Pierson'.
[70] Dillon, M., 'Laud Misc. 610', 65.
[71] Henry, F., and Marsh-Micheli, G., 'Manuscripts and Illuminations, 1169-1603', 803.
[72] Dillon, M., 'Laud Misc. 610 cont.', 143; the O'Sullivans have identified the hand of Giolla na Naomh, see O'Sullivan, A., and W., 'Three Notes on Laud Misc. 610', 141.
[73] O'Sullivan, A., and W., 'Three Notes on Laud Misc. 610', 144.

Dillon suspects that 'the scribes were copying a famous and venerated exemplar, and were imitating as best they could the script before them'.[74] There has been some debate over what text was being copied, but what is relevant here is that Edmund and his scribes believed that they were copying the *Psalter of Cashel.*[75]

I contend that in having the *Psalter of Cashel* copied by his scribes, Edmund MacRichard Butler was creating for his family a relic of the type associated with his close relatives, his in-laws, the O'Carrolls of Ely and his heir's in-laws, the Kavanaghs. [76] At the beginning of the fifteenth century, both the O'Carrolls and the Kavanaghs paid for ancient books associated with their territory to be enshrined, the Book of Dimma[77] and the Book of Mulling[78] respectively, and this interest in Irish antiquities was emulated by Edmund, in creating his own family book. The relationship between a book and its copy in Gaelic Ireland is amply demonstrated by the case of St. Columba, who illegally copied a book owned by his master Finghin. Brehon jurists here decided 'to every cow her calf, so to every book its copy', suggesting that book and copy are inextricably linked.[79] Gillespie has discussed the potency of both books, and book shrines in the politics of south Ulster in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. He argues that the *Book of Fenagh* became a 'virtual reliquary' designed to bolster the primacy of the church at Fenagh.[80]

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[74] Dillon, M., 'Laud Misc. 610', 68.

[75] The O'Sullivans argue that the text being copied was the glossary of the *Book of Leinster* (or a very close copy of that glossary) that got detached from the main MS some time after 1200 and came to be known as the *Psalter of Cashel.* The *Saltair Cashel* is recorded as having been in the Earl of Kildare's library at Maynooth at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the O'Sullivans suggest that Edmund may have had access to this library because his uncle had been married to Elizabeth Gray, daughter of the earl of Kildare, see O'Sullivan, A., and W., 'Three Notes on Laud Misc. 610', 150-1.

[76] Indeed, *Pottlerath* is a source for O'Carroll family history, see O'Carroll, S., 'The Genealogy of the O'Carrolls of Éile Ó Cearbhaill', *Éile*, 2 (1984), 2. The MacRichard Butlers had become close political allies with the Kavanaghs in the 1450s, see Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 128.

[77] Ó Floinn, R.','The Shrine of the Book of Dimma', *Éile*, 1 (1982), 29, the inscription reads 'TATHEVS O KEARBVILL REI DE ELV MEIPSVM DEAVRAVIT'.

[78] Ó Floinn, R., *Irish Shrines and Reliquaries in the Middle Ages*, 37, the inscription reads that the shrine was made for Art MacMurrough 'King of Leinster'.

[79] The shrine of the Cathach was also remodelled in the mid-fifteenth century according to Hourihane, see Hourihane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland*, 122. The shrine was captured in battle in 1497.

[80] Gillespie, R., 'Relics, Reliquaries and Hagiography in South Ulster, 1450 – 1550', 196. Gillespie also describes the creation of a reliquary by O'Rourke as follows 'the deliberately archaic features of the reliquary may well have been an attempt to convey the impression of the antiquity of O'Rourke power which, in reality, had only been recently established. This desire for antiquity may well have led to the construction of a book shrine, similar to older regional examples of the *Cathach,* the *Soiscéal Molaisse*, and the *Miosach*, for what was proclaimed by the iconography to be corporal relics. All this suggests that Brian [O'Rourke's] patronage of the Fenagh reliquary in 1536 had contemporary political resonance as well as religious motives', ibid. 197. The commissioning of an archaic looking work by Gaelic craftsmen suggests that Edmund's motives for creating the *Book of Pottlerath* were much like O'Rourke's above.

The later history of the *Book of Pottlerath*, when it was taken as ransom by the Earl of Desmond after the battle of Piltown and restored by his scribes at Askeaton, further bolsters this argument, as there are similar precedents for just such treatment of a book in Gaelic Ireland. Simms describes how:

> In 1345 Ó Conchobhair of Sligo commissioned the retracing of the faded lettering of the famous Clonmacnoise manuscript of the eleventh century, Lebor na hUidre 'the Book of the Dun Cow', after he had acquired it as ransom for the son of Ó Domhnaill's master-historian.[81]

Edmund's patronage, then, is suggestive of a man deeply immersed in Gaelic culture. His cultural values were clearly in line with those of his Gaelic neighbours, many of whom were members of his family. The White Earl may have commissioned a poem from Tadhg Oge O'Higgin, but it is unlikely that the poet and his patron ever shared a bed; in the case of Edmund, the marginalia of *Pottlerath* suggests that he allowed his scribes this privilege.[82] His immersion in this way of life was to be expected, his foster father was Gaelic Irish, his wife was one of the O'Carroll women of Ely, and there is some reason for suspecting that his father, Richard Butler, was a composer of bardic poetry.[83]

The marriage of Edmund to Gyllys O'Carroll is also worthy of note, because this family were particularly famous for their interest in Gaelic learning, and generous to the proponents of this learning, brehons, poets and historians. Margaret O'Carroll, daughter of Teige (father of Maolrooney) Gyllys' aunt was a famous hostess in her own right. She held two feasts in 1433 for the learned of Ireland, and 'gave two chalices of gold as offerings that day on the Altar to God Almighty'.[84] Her patronage went far beyond this, and

> She was the only woman that made most of preparing highways and erecting bridges, Churches, and Mass books, and all things profitable to serve God and her soul; and not that only, but while the world stands, her very many gifts to the Irish and Scottish nations shall never be numbered.[85]

In a society where kindred was everything, we might expect Gyllys to display some of the

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[81] Simms, K., 'Bards and Barons', 189.
[82] The expression 'as I lay with my lord' appears in the description of Edmund's raid into Wexford, see Dillon, M., 'Laud Misc. 610 cont.', 145. For the tradition of poets sleeping with their patrons see Simms, K., 'Bards and Barons', 183.
[83] I would like to thank Dr. Katharine Simms for this reference. The poems were written in the early fifteenth century. There is no other Richard Butler in the junior branches on the family that this could be, and the next Richards appear in the generation of James MacRichard, Thomas Butler of Cahir and Edmund MacPiaras of Dunboyne.
[84] Simms, K., 'Guesting and Feasting in Gaelic Ireland', 92.
[85] Gleeson, J., *History of Ely O'Carroll Territory or Ancient Ormond*, I (Kilkenny, 1982), 23.

cultural standing of her female relations. Margaret, along with many of her family, undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, and although we have no evidence to suggest that Edmund or his wife took part in this pilgrimage, it is interesting to find them entering into the Confraternity of Scala Celi in Rome in October 1460.[86] Interestingly, the church of St. Mary at Scala Coeli in the monastery of Tre Fontane was a point on the pilgrim trail around Rome, but devotion masses at the Scala Coeli did not become popular in England until after 1500. Thus it seems that Edmund and Gyllys, like many Gaelic Irish nobles, were looking directly to the Continent, specifically to Rome, for their spiritual needs.[87]

The foundation of the house of Augustinian friars at Callan has already been noted, along with the fact that this act of founding a mendicant friary, especially one for Observants, was more in line with Gaelic nobility than those of Anglo Irish stock. The affiliation of the house at Callan with Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome makes it unique amongst Irish friaries. Santa Maria del Popolo was built by Sixtus IV and an inscription records its completion in 1477.[88] This Roman link between the MacRichard Butlers and Rome is strengthened by Syve Kavanagh, the widow of James MacRichard joining the confraternity of the hospital of the Holy Spirit in Saxia in 1501.[89] The order of the Holy Spirit in Saxia is still extant, and occupies its original headquarters in the Ospedale de Santo Spirito in Rome; a lay confraternity was attached to the order where men and women of 'comfortable means banded together into an organisation committed to obey vows which included attending mass at special times and performing acts of charity both by giving money and working with the sick and needy'.[90] The headquarters of the order in Rome were rebuilt by Sixtus IV, just as were those of St. Maria del Popolo. Again, it is

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[86] White, N. B. (ed.), *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds*, no. 44, 235. The deed comprises a certificate from Angelus, Abbot of St. Anastasius in Rome, which records their admission into the confraternity. The Scala Coeli was a ladder that allowed souls to escape from purgatory – 'According to legend, while celebrating a requiem at the church of St. Mary at Scala Coeli (in the monastery of Tre Fontane, near St. Paul's outside the walls of Rome), St. Bernard was granted a vision of the souls for whom he prayed ascending to heaven by a ladder – the 'Scala Coeli'. This legend was the basis for an indulgence, applicable to the dead, attached to requiem Masses celebrated in the church. In due course this indulgence was made available in specially nominated churches outside Rome, see Duffy, E., *The Stripping of the Altars*, 375.

[87] For the development of devotion to the Scala Coeli in England post 1500 see Duffy, E., *The Stripping of the Altars*, 375-6. Perhaps the pilgrimage undertaken by Margaret and the many Gaelic lords *c.*1450 had popularized this cult in Gaelic Ireland. The White Earl had planned and may have undertaken a pilgrimage to Rome, and his son, John, who had lived in Ireland for some years in the 1460s, died on pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1474, so there is a chance these links between the MacRichards and Rome came from here.

[88] Santa Maria could not be architecturally further away from Callan, the classical ediface has interiors that quote directly from the newly discovered Domus Aurea, see La Malfa, C., 'The Chapel of San Girolamo in Santa Maria de Popolo in Rome. New Evidence for the Discovery of the Domus Aurea', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 63 (2000), 259.

[89] White, N., B. (ed.), *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds*, no. 61, 237.

[90] Newton, S. M., 'A Confraternity of the Holy Ghost and a Series of Paintings of the Life of the Virgin in London and Munich', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 39 (1976), 59-60.

impossible to show that Syve went on a pilgrimage to Rome, or whether her knowledge of this confraternity came from direct links between Callan friary and Rome.

One further area of cultural patronage must be noted here, and this applies to all junior branches of the family: the patronage of Bardic poets. James Carney's *Poems on the Butlers of Ormond, Cahir, and Dunboyne A.D. 1400-1650* comprises a full volume of poems dedicated to members of the Butler family. For the Butlers of Cahir and the MacRichards this is not wholly surprising, but the Dunboyne branch makes an interesting example. Throughout the later fifteenth century they had been intermarrying with Gaelic Irish women, and more Gaelicized members of the Butler family. William, seventh Baron Dunboyne is the exception here, having married (and quickly abandoned) the daughter of Richard Nugent, Baron Delvin; but even here there are connections to Gaelic poets. Simms notes that in 1447 Richard Nugent imprisoned a man for killing a poet, and also performed other acts 'for the Irish tongue's sake'.[91] Edmund, eighth baron Dunboyne, has been noted above for his loyalty to Earl Thomas, but his wife, Catherine was the daughter of Richard Butler of Buolick, who was youngest son of Edmund MacRichard and Gyllys O'Carroll, and her mother was the daughter of the John Cantwell, archbishop of Cashel, who we have already noted for the bardic poem written in his honour. The patronage of poets was a particularly important function of the Gaelic wife, and as the Butlers intermarried more and more with Gaelic women, they may have been the driving force behind the Butler poems.[92] In effect, these Irish women 'were buying prestige' for their husbands.[93]

III. Patronage c.1505-c.1552

To some extent, there is a strong sense of continuity between the patronage of the junior branches of the Butler family and that of Piers and Margaret. Poems to both Piers and Margaret are included in Carney's volume, and there were various complaints in the verdicts taken in 1537 about the lodging of poets on the community:

> Item, they present that ther ar emonges the inhabytauntes of this countrey many harpers, rymers, and messingers, whiche comen at ther pleasures to any inhabytaunt, and wille have mete, drynke, and diverse greate rewardes ayenst the voluntarye wylles of the same inhabytauntes, of an evyll custome. Wherefor they desire that it may be ordeyned that suche harpers, rymers, and massyngers maye not take suche exaccions of the said

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[91] Simms, K., 'Bards and Barons', 186.
[92] Kenny, G., 'Anglo-Irish and Gaelic Marriage Laws and Traditions in Late Medieval Ireland', 35.
[93] Simms, K., 'Bardic Poetry as a Historical Source', in T. Dunne (ed.), *The Writer as Witness: Literature as Historical Evidence* (Cork, 1987), 66.

> inhabytauntes, nor the said rhymers to make any rhymes of them, upon certyn paynes to be lymytid.[94]

After these complaints were made an act was passed in 1541 whereby 'No rhymer nor other person whatsoever shall make verses, or anything else called auran – to any one after God on earth except the king, under penalty of the forfeiture of all his goods'.[95] The former is interesting for many reasons, particularly as it suggests that Gaelic custom was rampant in Ormond at the end of Piers' reign; also that there were many poets working in Ormond, and there was some fear of their satirical output.[96] Margaret Butler has been seen as a source of 'civility' in Ormond, but it is rarely noted that her mother, Alison FitzEustace was a great patron of Gaelic poets, and Margaret's brother Gerald was known in some Gaelic annals as Garrett McAlison.[97]

It appears that Piers and Margaret, despite their use of many Gaelic customs, were interested in outward displays of English culture and taste; they used these to improve their position with the Dublin administration and with the crown, who they had to impress in order to strengthen their claim to the title. We see this in their religious patronage, which like that of the White Earl, extended to England. A certificate survives for admission of 'Sir Piers Butler and Lady Margaret his wife' into a confraternity of Oseney near Oxford in 1509.[98] Oseney was a house of Augustinian Canons founded in 1129, and although not a college itself, people went to Oseney to study at Oxford.[99] Initially it appears strange that Piers and Margaret would join a fraternity here, as there is no evidence of them visiting Oxford, but Oseney had a daughter house at Kiltevenan, now Kiltinan, a townland and parish in the barony of Middlethird, Co. Tipperary.[100] Records of a visitation of Oseney in 1518 describe the house as comprising an abbot, six novices, and nineteen canons, one of them being in Ireland, suggesting that the daughter house was still in close contact with Oseney.[101]

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[94] Hore, H., and Graves, J., *The Social State*, 90.
[95] Hore and Graves, *The Social State*, 84.
[96] The social status of harpers in late medieval Ormond is amply demonstrated by the tomb of a harper and his wife at Jerpoint, the woman wears a distinctively Irish fashion, of a type and legislated against in 1536-7. Hunt strongly suspects the tomb is the work of the O'Tunneys, as there are distinctive peculiarities in the writing of the inscription, see Hunt, J., *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600*, 175-6. It is argued below that many O'Tunney clients were closely politically affiliated with Piers Butler and his wife Margaret.
[97] Lyons, M., *Gaeróid Óg FitzGerald*, 9.
[98] White, N. B. (ed.), *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds*, no. 65, 239.
[99] Knowles, D., and Hadcock, R. N., *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales* (London, 1971), 169.
[100] Page, W. (ed.), *A History of the County of Oxford*: Volume II (London, 1907), 91.
[101] Ibid., 92.

Stanihurst tells how Piers and Margaret established the Ormond Grammar School in Kilkenny *c.*1538, and another source suggests that the schoolhouse was built at Countess Margaret's cost.[102] It was located at the west end of the churchyard of St. Canices.[103] This is an act particularly in tune with members of the English nobility. The foundation of schools, with attached almshouses and chantry functions, and indeed the foundation of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, became very popular at court in the mid-fifteenth century when Henry VI founded Eton and King's College Cambridge.[104] Henry's original purpose at Eton was to establish a college of secular priests in association with a small school and an almshouse. Later he decided to increase the number of scholars from 25 to 70, thus giving greater prominence to the educational side of the foundation. Top courtiers followed suit, and we find men like William de la Pole founding the school and almshouse at Ewelme, which had a chantry function, and Bishop William Waynflete founding Magdalen College at Oxford.[105] In the 1520s we find Cardinal Wolsey founding a school at Ipswich and Cardinal College at Oxford.[106]

Various authors have argued for the power and influence of Margaret FitzGerald, from near contemporaries like Richard Stanihurst, to contemporary academics like Elizabeth McKenna.[107] McKenna argues that Margaret's subtle touch can be seen in many of her husbands political affairs, and even after his death she was still politically manoeuvring, sending two goshawks as a gift to Henry VIII shortly after Piers' death.[108] The tomb sculpture of the Ormond family commissioned in the early sixteenth century at St. Canices Cathedral and Gowran church appears to have its artistic roots in the Meath/Dublin area, and here again we may be witnessing Margaret's influence. Michalove

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[102] Lennon, C., *Richard Stanihurst The Dubliner 1547-1618* (Dublin, 1981), 24.
[103] Bradley, J., *Kilkenny: Irish Historic Towns Atlas no. 10*, 22: the grammar school was built on the site of the former Black Rath Castle and was founded by Piers Butler, eighth earl of Ormond *c.*1538. There is reference to a public lecture room *c.*1585. The school building was replaced by St. Canice's Library *c.*1693.
[104] Colvin, H. M., *The History of the King's Works, Volume I*, for a description of the foundation of Kings, see 269-71, and Eton see 279-90.
[105] For Ewelme see Goodall, J., *God's House at Ewelme* and Davis, V., 'Waynflete, William (*c.*1400–1486)', *ODNB*, 57, 782-4 for Waynflete.
[106] Newman, J., 'Cardinal Wolsey's Collegiate Foundations', in S. J. Gunn and P. G. Lindley (eds.), *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art* (Cambridge, 1991), 107.
[107] See McKenna, E., 'Was there a Political Role for Women in Late Medieval Ireland? Lady Margaret Butler and Lady Eleanor McCarthy', 165-71; Kehoe, I., 'Margaret FitzGerald, Wife of Piers Butler Eighth Earl of Ormond and First Earl of Ossory'. *Old Kilkenny Review*, 3 (1991), 826-40.
[108] McKenna, E., 'Was there a Political Role for Women in Late Medieval Ireland? Lady Margaret Butler and Lady Eleanor McCarthy', 171.

has drawn attention to the purpose of women's patronage as 'an expression of political power … and the glorification of the family'.[109]

Many have seen Margaret's role in Ormond, then, as a bringer of English ideas of civility at a time when the MacRichard branch of the Butler family were attempting to shake off, at least outwardly, the trappings of 'degeneration' to boost their claim to the title. There are clear historical precedents for this. During the fifteenth century the Campbells, lords of Lochawe and chiefs of Clan Campbell, sought to redefine themselves as lowland lords, despite their roots in the Western Isles.[110] One facet of this redefinition was their patronage of the church and tomb sculpture: they founded Kilmun Collegiate Church, a form of patronage more common in lowland Scotland, and invested in elaborate founders tombs, representing them as members of 'a chivalric, aristocratic elite … Sir Duncan's effigy depicts the lord of Lochawe as a knight in full plate armour, a representation which stands in stark contrast to contemporary aristocratic sepulchres of the West Highland and Hebridean tradition' (Plate 2.12). The tomb was once accompanied by a heraldic panel depicting the royal arms 'perhaps emphasising Sir Duncan's role in the service of the crown as lieutenant of Argyll'. Furthermore 'Sir Duncan's tomb and, more certainly that of Lady Margaret [Campbell], seem to have been the work of a mason who was employed in Margaret's native Renfewshire'.[111] The appearance of tomb sculpture with strong Meath/Dublin influences in Kilkenny after the marriage of Piers to Margaret FitzGerald represents the same phenomenon in patronage as has been described for the Cambells above. The Ormond tombs represent the most important surviving example of the artistic patronage of Piers and Margaret. The tombs not only present monumental statement in stone of the claim to power of the family in Ormond, they show a shift in the geographical focus of the MacRicard line. The tombs are located not in the MacRichard foundation at Callan but at Gowran, home of the chantry of the earls of Ormond, and Kilkenny city, next to the caput of the earls, Kilkenny castle. We are seeing subtle manipulation of sculpture and architecture. Piers and Margaret were becoming 'pillars of the community' and staking their claim the Ormond title in stone.

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[109] Michalove, S., 'Women as Book Collectors and Disseminators of Culture in Late Medieval England and Burgundy', 60.

[110] Boardman, S. I., "Pillars of the Community': Campbell Lordship and Architectural Patronage in the Fifiteenth Century', in R. Oram, and G. Stell, (eds.), *Lordship and Architecture in Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2005), 123-59.

[111] Boardman, S. I., 'Pillars of the Community', 138. The Campbells attempted to create two different family histories, in the one created for Lowland audiences, they said that they were descended from a Frenchman called 'De Campo Bello' who came to Scotland in the late eleventh century. In Argyll and the Hebrides, the poets and genealogists linked the family to historical mythological figures of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland.

Margaret's 'reanglicization' of Ormond was described by Stanyhurst as, 'the only meane at those days whereby hir husbands countrey was reclaimed from the sluttish and vncleane Irish custome, to English bedding, housekeeping, & ciuilitie'.[112] Much of this civilisation was through the introduction fashionable items of material culture to Kilkenny, it has already been noted that she 'brought out of Flanders and other countreys diverse Artificiers, who were daily kept at worke by them in theyr Castle of Kilkenny where they wrought and made diaper, Tapistry, Turkey-carpets, Cushions and other like workes'.[113] With such commissions Margaret was elevating the status of her family through display, for

> None but the richest households of the middle ages could boast vast arrays of material possessions. Distinctions of wealth and position were achieved not through accumulation alone but rather through the richness and artistry invested in these possessions. Textiles therefore became an important medium through which one's rank, wealth and prestige were symbolised in both secular and ecclesiastical spheres.[114]

Margaret's taste for Flemish craftsmanship went further than the acquisition of items for her own home. It is recorded in the *Great Parchment Book* of Waterford City that Margaret left funds for a set of vestments to be bought for Waterford Cathedral in Flanders 'whereby God's divine service might be more honourably set forth in the said church'.[115] The quality of the surviving Waterford vestments is extremely high, and in composition and style these works come incredibly close to Flemish panel paintings of the period. Compare, for example the annunciation scene on the Magi cope from the Waterford Museum of Treasures (Plate 2.13) with Joos van Cleve's *Annunciation* of *c.*1525, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Plate 2.14).[116] The surrounds of each panel, comprising cusped arches, remind the viewer that architectural details can be transmitted in many different media, as may have been the case in late medieval Ireland.

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[112] Miller, L., and Power, E., *The Historie of Irelande … Richard Stanyhurst*, 257.

[113] Quoted from Graves, J. and Prim, J. G. A., *The History, Architecture and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St Canice*, 248, the original can be found in TCD, Ms 842, fol. 156r, Rothe's pedigree of the family produced in 1616.

[114] Husband, T. B., 'Ecclesiastical Vestments of the Middle Ages: An Exhibition', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 29:7. (1971), 285.

[115] McEneaney, E., 'Politics and Devotion in Late Fifteenth-Century Waterford', 45. Research into the full set of vestments from Waterford, rediscovered in 1774, is ongoing, and the collection is dispersed between Waterford, the National Museum in Dublin and St. Mary's College in Oscott, England. It may be possible to identify some of the vestments bought for the cathedral by Margaret.

[116] Husband draws attention to the similarity between the hood of a fifteenth-century cope of Spanish velvet in south Netherlandish style that strongly resembles Hugo van der Goes' painting of the *Dormition of the Virgin*, they are almost identical in composition, and the embroiderers have included exactly the same crumpling drapery effects found in van der Goes work, see Husband, T. B., 'Ecclesiastical Vestments of the Middle Ages: An Exhibition', 290.

In Margaret's son and grandson we see the full force of 'reanglicization'. Historically, the art patronage of these two men runs outside the scope of this thesis, so discussion of these two will be limited to the most famous acts of patronage undertaken by them. Hore and Graves describe how 'James Yrenagh (or Grenagh, one of the earl's manor houses?) built thirty castles, thirty churches and thirty toghers, brigges, and causeweyes' but these works of improvement are difficult to identify, or indeed separate from the works of improvement undertaken by his parents.[117] Both his tomb sculpture, and that of his brother, Viscount Mountgarret are retardataire in style, reflecting that of their parents, but the ninth earl's tomb at St. Canices may be no more than a cenotaph, as he died in London and was buried in St. Thomas of Acre.[118] The most striking artwork connected with James is his portrait carried out by Hans Holbein the Younger, David Starkey describes how

> He had been brought up at the English court, very much by the king himself, to whom he had developed a strong personal attachment … he was ordinarily resident at Kilkenny, that great Irish stronghold had been turned by his father, and still more by his redoubtable mother, into a centre of advanced Anglo-European civilization.[119]

In 1537 James left Ireland to visit the Netherlands, and returned to England in October of that year, when he moved into high favour at court, and officiated at the christening of Prince Edward; this was probably the occasion for the painting of the portrait (Plate 2.15), as the portrait closely resembles those painted of Henry in that year, particularly the 'Great Portrait'.[120]

The full immersion of the Butler line in court culture was completed by Thomas, tenth earl of Ormond. Lord Dunboyne describes how Thomas was admitted to Gray's Inn, and his heraldic arms survive in the window of the Hall; 'it was for the luminaries of the metropolis the most fashionable inn of the day'.[121] His international outlook can clearly be seen in the surviving artworks known to have been commissioned by him: his portrait of 1559 and Ormond Castle, begun in 1565 (Plate 2.16). The portrait is by an unknown artist,

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[117] Hore, H., and Graves, J., *The Social State*, 79.
[118] Edwards, D., 'Malice Aforethought? The Death of the Ninth Earl of Ormond, 1546', 31: Edwards describes how 'Ormond himself expected to die, and made provision that his body should be buried in the Chapel of St. Thomas of Acon [Acre] "…with others the Earls of Ormond." Subsequently, a tomb was erected there in the memory of Butler and his wife, Joan FitzGerald. It was placed beside the tomb of Thomas, seventh earl of Ormond, who died in London in 1515'.
[119] Starkey, D., 'Holbein's Irish Sitter?', 300.
[120] Ibid., 300; Howarth notes that Holbein, in the great picture, wanted to suggest wealth and splendour- he placed his sitters on an immense Turkey rug. Turkey carpets were distinct luxuries in the 1530s, and one this size was unobtainable to all but the wealthiest. See Howarth, D., *Images of Rule. Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (Basingstoke, 1997), 88-9.
[121] Lord Dunboyne, 'The House that Tom Built', *JBS*, 1:2 (1969), 140.

of the Flemish school, it shows the sitter in the fashionable armour of an Elizabethan courtier, with ruffs at his neck and cuffs. This was one of some forty-four paintings hanging in the long gallery at Carrick-on-Suir castle during the tenth earl's tenure.[122]

There has been a local tradition around Ormond Castle that the tenth earl of Ormond enlarged the house in anticipation of a royal visit.[123] There is no evidence to suggest that Elizabeth ever intended to visit Carrick, but two points are worthy of note here. First that the queen had no interest in building lavish new palaces as had her father, and secondly, that she 'often stayed with noblemen and courtiers, which encouraged them to rebuild their houses so that they were fit to welcome royalty'.[124] At Ormond castle the plain exterior, only ornamented with hood-moulds over the mullioned windows, string-courses, and finials over the gables, leaves the spectator unprepared for the richness of the classical plasterwork within.[125] G.W. Bernard describes how:

> In Elizabethan England those who built great 'prodigy houses' employed a remarkably eclectic style that rejected the pure Italianate Renaissance of Somerset House and instead combined the basic shape of English late medieval country houses with a liberal, not to say extravagant, use of classical forms of decoration.[126]

The design sources for Ormond castle have been discussed in detail; the building is described as the product of a master mason brought over from England, and the decorative plasterwork as the work of Flemish artificers.[127] The plasterwork is remarkable for its inclusion of so much royal imagery, particularly the long gallery, but in earlier Tudor houses this inclusion was not unusual in other media. At The Vyne, Lord Sandys installed oak panels along his long gallery including 'badges of Henry VIII, Catherine of Aragon, his own family, families with whom his children were linked by marriage, and various bishops and some noblemen'.[128] The heraldic fireplace in the long gallery at Ormond Castle includes both the Butler and the Desmond arms, alluding to Thomas's mother, daughter of the earl of Desmond.[129] It is interesting that Thomas Butler included so much royal imagery in the plasterwork of his house at Carrick, but also celebrated his houses at

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[122] Fenlon, J., *The Ormonde Picture Collection* (Belfast, 2001), 12.
[123] Fenlon, J., 'The Decorative Plasterwork at Ormond Castle – A Unique Survival', *Architectural History* 41(1998), 71.
[124] Bernard, G. W., *Power and Politics in Tudor England* (Aldershot, 2000), 176.
[125] Fenlon, J., 'The Decorative Plasterwork at Ormond Castle – A Unique Survival', 67.
[126] Bernard, G. W., *Power and Politics in Tudor England*, 185.
[127] Fenlon, J., *Ormond Castle* (Dublin, 1996), 37, 40.
[128] Bernard, G. W., *Power and Politics in Tudor England*, 176.
[129] Fenlon, J., *Ormond Castle*, 10-11.

both Carrick-on-Shannon and Kilkenny with a praise poem *Taghaim Tomás rugha is roghádh,* a cultural mix that strongly reflects his ancestor, James, fourth earl of Ormond.[130]

IV. Conclusion

This chapter has deepened the understanding of the changing cultural outlook of the Butler family during the late middle ages. Before the conclusions are discussed in full, it is important to briefly set out the difficulty and danger of discussing the idea of nationality and Gaelicization in medieval Ireland. In recent years the concept of Gaelicazation has been called into question by Steven Ellis, who argues that mixing of cultures can be found in many marcher areas in the middle ages. He suggests that Irish scholars' preoccupation with 'Gaelic' aspects of acculturation is detrimental – leading to an unnecessary emphasis on the 'nationalist' manifestations of political life in Ireland in the late middle ages. For Ellis, many of the cultural characteristics that have been described as 'Gaelicization' can be found more generally in marcher society outside Ireland.[131] He points to suggestions of 'Aristocratic Autonomy' in the fifteenth century,[132] where magnates of English Ireland are seen to have achieved a degree of autonomy from England, and strongly argues that such separatist tendencies are not in evidence.[133] Ellis contends that 'the English nation comprised all those of free birth, English blood and condition, born within the territories under the allegiance of the king of England. These included the English of Calais, Ireland and Wales – not just those born in England'.[134] In this light, he reasons that the 'Anglo-Irish' of late medieval Ireland should be given back the title that they used for themselves, 'loyal English lieges'.[135]

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[130] Simms, K., 'Native Sources for Gaelic Settlement: The House Poems', in J. Duffy, D. Edwards and E. FitzPatrick (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland c.1250-c1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement* (Dublin, 2001), 246-7.
[131] Ellis, S., 'Nationalist Historiography and the English and Gaelic Worlds in the Late Middle Ages', 165-6; Ellis, S., 'Civilizing Northumberland: Representations of Englishness in the Tudor State', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 12:2 (1999), 113-14.
[132] The term 'Aristocratic Autonomy was used by D. B. Quinn as the title to a chapter on the late middle ages in *New History of Ireland*, see also Lydon, J., *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1972), 241-78.
[133] Ellis, S., 'Nationalist Historiography and the English and Gaelic Worlds in the Late Middle Ages', 174-5; More Irish than the Irish Themselves'? The 'Anglo-Irish' in Tudor Ireland', 23; Ellis, S., 'The Empire Strikes Back: The Historiographies of Britain and Ireland', 108-9.
[134] Ellis, S., 'Civilizing Northumberland: Representations of Englishness in the Tudor State', 104, see also Ellis, S., 'Nationalist Historiography and the English and Gaelic Worlds in the Late Middle Ages', 176-7.
[135] 'More Irish than the Irish Themselves'? The 'Anglo-Irish' in Tudor Ireland', 24. The most famous text arguing for a separate sense of identity for the English colonists in Ireland is Lydon, J., 'The Middle Nation', in J. Lydon (ed.), *The English in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1984), 1-26.

Ellis' writings have caused much debate over the last twenty years, and the arguments made against the main points, briefly outlined above, deserve attention. Bradshaw states that Ireland did not have the same status as Calais or Wales in the later middle ages. 'It enjoyed constitutional existence as a lordship under the English crown'.[136] Further, he argues that the term Gaelicization 'well-describes' the process of acculturation in late medieval Ireland. The process alarmed officials because it entailed the 'transformation of the colonists' in language, manner of dress and social conventions.[137] As for great magnates that moved between the English and Gaelic worlds, the cultural boundaries may have been much more permeable than are sometimes now assumed, as Kenneth Nicholls argues 'to Ormond and Kildare, if they thought about it at all – which I doubt – it would have seemed perfectly natural'.[138]

Stepping back from general debate and focussing on how these major issues pertain to the Butlers, perhaps the work of Robin Frame is most useful in assessing how 'Englishness' and 'Gaelicization' would have manifested themselves in the Butler family. For the fourth earl, who moved in court circles and sought high political office in Dublin 'on the public stage one was English or nothing; earls, barons, knights, bourgeois and rural gentry had every incentive to confine brooding about identity to places where the metropolis could not eves drop upon them'.[139] For the fourth earl's nephew and grand nephew, Edmund and James MacRichard, who did not seek to hold high office, a public English 'identity' was not so important, but being among the 'English of Ireland' they were entitled to hold public office and had recourse to English law – privileges not afforded to the Gaelic Irish. As noted in chapter 1, James MacRichard, who Nicholls calls 'a Gaelicized magnate', was responsible for enacting the *Statutes of Kilcash* which 'bear no resemblance whatever to English common law'.[140] The MacRichards were far from abandoning English law, however, and it has already been noted that James MacRichard's wife, Syve Kavanagh, applied for denizenship when she was married. [141]

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[136] Bradshaw, B., 'Nationalism and Historical Scholarship in Modern Ireland', 330-1. Frame also highlights the interest the English of Ireland had in their parliament and parliamentary rights, see Frame, R., 'Exporting State and Nation: Being English in Medieval Ireland', 152.
[137] Bradshaw, B., 'Nationalism and Historical Scholarship in Modern Ireland', 331.
[138] Nicholls, K., 'Worlds Apart?', 26.
[139] Frame, R., *Ireland and Britain 1170-1450*, 144, the chapter is entitled ''Les Engleys nées en Irelande': The English Political Identity in Medieval Ireland'.
[140] Nicholls, K., 'Worlds Apart?', 23; Nicholls, K., *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*, 51.
[141] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 230, 205.

The intermarriage of the MacRichard Butlers with Gaelic Irish women in the fifteenth century has been suggested above as one of the main means by which they became Gaelicized, showing a clear appreciation of Gaelic culture and an adoption of Irish custom. Here a circumstance related by Froissart is pertinent, in which he relates a story told to him first hand by Henry Christede, of how he gained his Irish wife. Christede was on campaign with the earl of Ormond in the 1340s, when he was captured by an Irishman and held to ransom. Eventually he married the daughter of his captor, and lived with him for seven years. Then his father-in-law was captured and he was promised release in exchange for Christede. But at first, he would not agree to his son-in-law's release and Christede relates his reason:

> For he loved me well and my wife his daughter and our children [he finally agreed] but he retained my eldest daughter still with him. So I and my wife and our second daughter returned to England, and so I went and dwelt beside Bristol on the river Severn. My two daughters are married: she in Ireland, has three sons and two daughters, and she that I brought with me has four sons and two daughters. And the Irish language comes as readily to me as the English tongue, for I have always spoken it with my wife and taught it to my grandchildren.[142]

The story is fascinating not only for the sidelight it gives on the humanity behind terms like Gaelicization. Christede was well loved by his father-in-law, spoke Irish with his wife and enjoyed the language enough to teach it to his grandchildren, and was still in contact with his daughter in Ireland despite residing in Bristol. The story also confirms Gillian Kenny's observation that 'among the Gaelic Irish, the links between their culture and that of the 'foreigners' were … more accepted and accommodated'.[143]

For Edmund and James MacRichard, taking on many of the trappings of Gaelic nobility may well have been an effective means of exercising power and gaining respect amongst their Gaelic Irish neighbours, to whom in some cases they were related. One salient feature of many early descriptions of the Gaelic Irish is their sense of cultural superiority. Count John of Perilhos, a noble pilgrim to St. Patrick's Purgatory in 1397, describes his conversations with the O'Neill king of Ulster, who asked 'much of the Christian Kings, and especially the King of France, and those of Aragon and Castille and of their customs and their manners of living; and as it seemed to me by his words, they

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[142] Lydon, J., *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1972), 181.
[143] Kenny, G., *Anglo-Irish and Gaelic Women in Ireland c.1170-1540* (Dublin, 2007), 87.

consider their [own] customs the best and most perfect in the world'.[144] Nearly two hundred years later, Stanyhurst describes much the same sense of superiority saying the 'Irish man standeth so much vpon hys gentilitie, that he termeth any one of the English Sept, and planted in Ireland [and Irish born], Bobdeagh Galteagh, that is, English churle'.[145] In the face of such an overriding sense of cultural superiority, in border areas it must have been very difficult not to adopt Gaelic customs, especially for those members of the Butler family who rarely ventured far from the core Ormond territories in Kilkenny and Tipperary.

In the late middle ages, at the English court as in the courts of many Gaelic Irish nobles, ritual and social display were important, and we might look to the ritual of dining, which highlights how significant the differences were between the English and Gaelic Irish culture. In England, many courtesy books were in circulation and one of the main preoccupations of such books were table manners, because the 'formal dinner was the central ritual of the household, one which dramatized both its internal hierarchy and its relation to the outside world in the provision of hospitality'.[146] Feasting in Gaelic Ireland had much the same important ritual role, but the ritual was very different. Again, if we look to both Perilhos and Stanihurst they describe the custom of Gaelic feasts being eaten on the floor 'in their coshering [feasting] they sit upon straw, and lie upon mattresses and pallets of strawe'.[147] More disturbing to English observers was the familiarity displayed between the Gaelic nobles and their musicians and poets. Froissart disdainfully describes the feast at the visit of Niall O'Neill and other Gaelic lords to Dublin in 1395, where 'they would get their minstrels and their principal servants to sit with them, and eat off their plates and drink from their goblets'.[148] It has already been noted that Edmund MacRichard allowed his scribe the privilege of sharing his bed, and it is not too much to suppose that this familiarity would have also extended to feasting. Edmund's ritual practice, then, may have come far closer to that of his Gaelic mother, his Gaelic wife and his Gaelic in-laws than standard English court ritual.

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[144] Mahaffey, J., 'Two Early Tours of Ireland', *Hermathena*, 18 (1914), 8.
[145] Miller, L., and Power, E., *The Historie of Irelande ... Richard Stanyhurst*, 112. Lydon suggests that the Gaelic Irish did not loose this sense of cultural superiority until well into the seventeenth century Lydon, J., 'The Middle Nation', 19.
[146] Anna Bryson's description of court dining rituals quoted from Gillingham, J., 'From Civilitas to Civility: Codes of Manners in Medieval and Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser. 12 (2002), 268.
[147] Miller, L., and Power, E., *The Historie of Irelande ... Richard Stanyhurst*, 113. Mahaffey, J., 'Two Early Tours of Ireland', 8.
[148] Simms, K., 'Guesting and Feasting in Gaelic Ireland', *JRSAI*, 108 (1978), 89.

Edmund's mixed ancestry and marriage clearly made him prone to strong Gaelic cultural influence; 'there is a mingling of all the blood of the Gaoidhil [Gaels] in [his] blushing face'.[149] Patronage of bardic poetry was not simply confined to the Gaelicized members of the Butler family, and the cosmopolitan White Earl of Ormond commissioned a poem from the foremost bardic poet of the time. Simms notes that while this poem does include Irish motifs, such as blossoming of earth and the flowing of rivers as a result of the earl's presence and good lordship, it does not include any 'ranting about Tara'.[150] Other poems written for the Butlers display a concern with their English aristocratic background, and that written for Piaras Butler (†1464), Lord of Cahir, describes:

> Four Jameses, noble the family, met in him and Edmund; they put every province under cess, I cannot fail to mention them. Three of them were earls, but one could not tell from the distinction of their standing which earl was the noblest of the three generations.[151]

Frame argues that in such poems it is possible to discern the patrons 'consciousness that they were not Gaelic Irish, and a sense of proprietorship that rested not just in the sword, but on English royal documents, sanctioning acquisition'.[152] Thus the 'curly-haired Butlers'[153] commemorated in bardic poetry were essentially the 'English of Ireland' who had adopted, at varying levels, Gaelic modes of speech, display and ritual. This is clearly evident in Edmund MacRichard's obituary in the *Annals of the Four Masters* 'MacRichard Butler, the most illustrious and renowned of the English of Ireland in his time, died'.[154]

The cultural patronage of the White Earl compares directly with that undertaken by the highest echelons of the English nobility. Jon Denton, in his investigation of the patronage of the Woodford family, assessed a number of items commissioned by them which he felt, taken together, were evidence that they were building their image as members of the gentility throughout the fifteenth century. He highlights the tomb of Ralph Woodward at St. Mary's church, Ashby Folville, which is a ledger stone surmounted by a heraldic achievement, and this use of heraldry is taken as evidence of how the Woodfords 'constructed and displayed their gentle identity'.[155] A family cartulary was compiled around 1450, mainly a collection of deeds and charters relating to rights, privileges and

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[149] This line is from a poem written for Edmund Burke (†1458) quoted from Frame, R., 'Exporting State and Nation: Being English in Medieval Ireland', 157.
[150] Simms, K., 'Bards and Barons', 177-97, esp. 187.
[151] Poem in Praise of Piaras Butler, Lord of Cahir (1449-64) son of James Gallda, in O'Sullivan, A., *Poems on Marcher Lords*, 95.
[152] Frame, R., 'Exporting State and Nation: Being English in Medieval Ireland', 157.
[153] Poem in Praise of Piaras Butler, Lord of Cahir (1449-64) son of James Gallda, in O'Sullivan, A., *Poems on Marcher Lords*, 95.
[154] *Annals of the Four Masters* IV (1464), 1031.
[155] Denton, J., 'Image, Identity and Gentility: The Woodford Experience', 11.

property. This Woodford cartulary is unusual in that the Latin deeds and charters are interspersed with narratives on family history and genealogy in English. At the back of the document is a list of post-Conquest kings of England and interwoven with this is a history of Henry V's French campaigns, with details of Sir Robert Woodford's participation in them. The cartulary thus emphasised gentility through royal service, and through manorial lordship.[156] In the case of the White Earl, we can see such patronage on a greater scale, and this is appropriate, because he was not a member of the gentry, he was member of the nobility.

We have good evidence for the use of heraldry by the fourth earl of Ormond. It not only occurs in ecclesiastical sculpture. It is clear that he had an elaborate personal seal, heraldic plate, and liveried retainers. Circa 1420 Ormond commissioned James Young write 'some good boke of governaunce of Prynces out of latyn othyr Frenche in-to your modyr Englyshe tonge'.[157] In commissioning the 'governaunce of Prynces' Ormond was mirroring Henry V's commission of the same text, clearly wishing to demonstrate his suitability as for public office. Although Ormond did not commission a cartulary, the widespread survival of documentation dating from his tenure as earl suggests a similar concern with the preservation of deeds pertaining to privilege and landed estate. Further, we not only know that Ormond was present at many of the major events in Henry V's French campaigns, Ormond provided anecdotal details about Henry's life that were related by his son to the translator of *The First English Life of King Henry V*. Ormond had related memories of his experiences serving with Henry and his brothers, such as the story of the arrival of emperor Sigismund at Dover in 1416. Here Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, Henry V's youngest brother and constable of Dover, waded out into the water to meet the boat, sword in hand, 'announcing that he was going to deny him entry to England if he planned to exercise imperial authority there'.[158] The Woodfords may have served in France, but as an earl, Ormond was much closer to the protagonists. For Ormond, royal service was something of which to be proud, and to aspire to – it was a marker of nobility.

The Guild of St. George, which had its charter granted at the request of the White Earl, had a chapel is St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, of which nothing survives. There are, however, records that the guild were involved in a pageant every year. The first mention of

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[156] Ibid., 9-10.
[157] Lydon, J., 'The Middle Nation', 21.
[158] Allmand, C., *Henry V*, 105, 432-3.

this pageant dates from 1466, where it is recorded in the *Dublin Assembly Rolls* that those entering and leaving the city for the pageant would be free and without exaction.[159] It is not clear whether this St. George's day pageant began before the foundation of the guild or after, but it was an integral part of the life of the city by the later middle ages, and a central protagonist in this parade was a large dragon that was borne by porters. The Dubliners were so proud of their dragon that they brought him out for the Corpus Christi pageant too.[160] The White Earl's involvement with the foundation of this guild is interesting, as Steven Ellis sees it as an important outward display of 'English identity' in Dublin, 'St. George!' was the rallying cry of English armies in Ireland.[161]

In his concluding notes on the cultural patronage of the Woodford family, Denton poses the question of whether it might be possible to discern regionalisms in construction of aristocratic identity. He states 'it seems plausible that the gentility had regionally distinctive forms. Regionalism remained an important characteristic of fifteenth-century England, a diversity reflected in the absence of a standard vernacular. While European intellectual culture provided a social and cultural framework for the concept of gentility, it seems likely that this would have been interpreted in distinctive ways, both nationally and regionally'.[162] In fifteenth-century English Ireland, there must have existed something more than simply a regional identity. This is true of English areas close to Dublin, where there were differences in the Common Law between England and Ireland, and the colonial community had a strong pride in their own history and institutions.[163] In marcher areas like northern Tipperary, these differences must have become pronounced. The White Earl's patronage of a sumptuous Insular manuscript can be seen as a product of just such a regional identity. The contrast between this work, and, say, a contemporary *Book of Hours* from France or England, shows how different this regional identity was, and proves without a doubt that the fourth earl of Ormond was a trans-regional magnate.

When we turn to the patronage of the cadet branches of the Butler family in the years between the death of the White Earl and the coming to full power of Piers Butler after 1505 we witness a phase when the family was largely isolated from the Dublin

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[159] Fletcher, A. J., 'The Civic Pageantry of Corpus Christi in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Dublin', *Irish Economic and Social History*, 23 (1996), 86.
[160] Ellis, S., *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 74.
[161] Ibid., 73.
[162] Denton, J., 'Image, Identity and Gentility: The Woodford Experience' 15.
[163] Frame, R., *Ireland and Britain 1170-1450*, 145, 147. Frame, R., 'Exporting State and Nation: Being English in Medieval Ireland', 153.

administration. The major cultural undertakings appear to be the commissioning of the *Book of Pottlerath* and the patronage of a large body of bardic poetry. The MacRichard Butlers established a strong link with a number of Roman churches through the establishment of their friary at Callan and their joining of confraternities in Rome. Regular contact between the church in Gaelic areas and Rome was a product of what John Watt called 'Rome running', whereby direct recourse was taken to Rome for dispensations and other official sanctions handed out by the Papal Curia.[164] This relationship with Rome clearly was the reason that the Observant movement, popular in Italy, became equally popular in Gaelic areas of Ireland.[165] The Augustinian Observant movement, of which the friary at Callan became the leading house, was independent of the English vicar provincial of the Augustinians, and had the right to hold their own annual chapter and elect their own superior. Notably, the Augustinian houses in essentially English areas where the Observant reform was introduced were remarkable for their mixing of English and Irish friars with no hint of racial tension.[166]

The coming to power of Piers Butler and Margaret FitzGerald heralds a shift in emphasis away from patronage of the friars, at least for the MacRichard branch of the family. Piers and Margaret began a campaign of shop window dressing, the aim of which was the attainment of the earldom and perhaps also, the post of lord deputy. John Goodall states that 'there can be few more powerful physical statements of ancestry and political might that the great burial churches of the middle ages'.[167] At Gowran and St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny, this is exactly what was created. The profusion of Butler heraldry on the tombs at both sites leaves no doubt as to the intention of the patrons, to anti-date their claim to the title through the presentation of a noble lineage in stone. The Butler *chief indented* that appears at Gowran is not differenced to denote a different branch of the family, and the *chief indented* certainly appears undifferenced on Piers' personal seal (2.17). Since the title 'earl of Ormond' only came to Piers one year before his death, it seems certain that Piers and Margaret were using the undifferenced Butler arms as their own, the arms that only the eldest living son in the male line has the right to display.

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[164] Watt, J., *The Church in Medieval Ireland*, 188.
[165] Watt, *The Church in Medieval Ireland*, 194-5.
[166] Ibid., 196-7.
[167] Goodall, J., 'The Architecture of Ancestry at the Collegiate Church of St Andrew's Wingfield, Suffolk', in R. Eales and S. Tyas (eds.), *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England* (Donington, 2003), 156.

The manufacture of a noble lineage in the sixteenth century was more common than one might imagine. The example of the Wellesbornes of Hughenden in Buckinghamshire serves well here. In the reign of Henry VIII they invented a pedigree that traced their descent to one Wellesbourne de Montfort, an unknown sixth son of the great Earl Simon de Montfort. Not only did they 'fudge' a pedigree and 'tinker' with extracts from genuine chronicles to support this new family history, but they 'installed in Hughenden Church an imitation of a thirteenth-century knightly effigy, decorated a fourteenth-century effigy with spurious version of the de Montfort arms, and patched up three other figures to give the impression of a (more or less) unbroken line of buried ancestors'.[168] In the case of the MacRichards, their claim was not entirely spurious, but the family history was hardly squeaky clean, with three generations of intermarriage with Gaelic Irish women and the slur of illegitimacy looming because of the irregular nature of the union of James MacRichard and Syve Kavanagh. The paper trail left in the *Ormond Deeds* tells the story of Piers' efforts to establish his legitimacy and claim the earldom.[169]

The heroic efforts made by the MacRichards to establish Ormond as a centre of court culture perhaps reflects a need to define themselves as 'civilised' in the face of the growing power of the Tudor monarchs in Ireland, and more broadly, the growing centralisation of Tudor power.[170] David Edwards has discussed the MacGillapatricks and their manipulation of circumstances in the sixteenth century. He argues that while outwardly the MacGillapatricks were collaborating with the Dublin administration in reform, and sent the heir to their new title, Barnaby FitzPatrick (†1581), second baron of Upper Ossory, to court, this outward show masked the exercise of power within their home territories along Gaelic lines.[171] He argues that 'for all their posturing in Dublin and London, the family leaders – even the outwardly Anglicized second baron, the courtier Barnaby FitzPatrick – carried on in Ossory much as they had before the advent of Tudor

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[168] Keen, M., *Origins of the English Gentleman* (Stroud, 2002), 18-19.

[169] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1507-47,* no. 33, 29, where William Cantwell gives evidence as to Piers Butler's legitimate right to inherit the earldom. See also Appendix 5 where Piers has his father's will transcribed by a notary. There are many more documents dedicated to establishing Piers' legitimacy in the deeds.

[170] This issue is far to complex to be even summarised here, see Ellis, S., *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 80-160 and Ellis, S., *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power*, for a comparative study of the changing demands on the nobility in the 'regions' in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This civilization process is discussed in relation to the northern marches of England in Ellis, S., 'Civilizing Northumberland: Representations of Englishness in the Tudor State', 103-27.

[171] Edwards, D., 'Collaboration without Anglicization', in P. J. Duffy, D. Edwards and E. FitzPatrick (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland c.1250-c.1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement* (Dublin, 2001), 77-97. For a discussion of how being raised at court could change the cultural outlook of a Gaelic lord see Ó Dálaigh, B., 'A Comparative Study of the Wills of the First and Fourth Earls of Thomond', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 34 (1992), 48-63.

reintervention'.[172] As will be explored fully below, the MacGillapatricks extended this 'posturing' to the commission of a tomb very similar to those commissioned by Piers Butler and Margaret FitzGerald at Gowran and St. Canice's. Could the actions of Piers and Margaret, too, be seen as posturing? Certainly, history records that they restored 'English civility' to Ormond, but as the verdicts taken in Kilkenny and Tipperary in 1537 demonstrate, behind the 'shop window dressing', Gaelic custom survived.

Indeed, it was only when two successive generations of the MacRichard line were raised at court that fundamental 'reform' took place in Ormond,[173] and this espousal of English 'civility' is amply demonstrated in the building of Ormond Castle, Carrick-on-Suir, with its elaborate plasterwork scheme incorporating abundant royal imagery. But, just as the patronage of the White Earl demonstrated cultural blurring, or regionalism, so too did that of Black Thomas, the tenth earl, in the celebration of the construction of his new house with a bardic poem.

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[172] Edwards, D., 'Collaboration without Anglicization', 80.
[173] Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny 1515-1642*, 184-5, for the extension of common law to Ormond in the 1550-60s.

Chapter 3

Holycross

I. The suitability of Holycross as a case study of Butler Patronage

Holycross Abbey, Co. Tipperary, was not founded by Theobald Walter, nor does he appear to have any early associations with the site.[1] The abbey was founded *c.*1182 by Donal Mór O'Brien, 'King of Limerick', as a daughter house of Monasteranenagh, Co. Limerick.[2] In 1185, Walter was granted the cantred of Eliogarty where Holycross is located,[3] and the community took the precaution of having their possessions confirmed by John, Lord of Ireland, and later by Henry III.[4] As has already been suggested, the creation of the liberty of Tipperary in 1328 and the recession of royal power during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries meant Holycross, along with the other religious houses in Kilkenny and Tipperary, had to look to the earls of Ormond for protection, and had to acknowledge the earls' authority.[5]

Holycross provides a suitable study of Butler patronage for a number of reasons. There is ample documentary evidence to suggest that the main line of the Butler family was closely associated with the abbey from the middle years of the fourteenth century and on into the fifteenth. Grants of protection and indenture with the abbey for prayers to be said are outlined in chapter one, dating from the 1360s through to the 1450s, when funds are being gathered for the building campaign.[6] It is also clear from heraldry at the site that they were major patrons of the fifteenth-century building campaign, and perhaps used the architecture at the site to mark important events in their political life. That the house was

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[1] One agreement survives between the Abbot of Holycross and Theobald Walter, where the abbot leased land to Theobald in Culletti, see White, N. B. (ed.), *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds*, no.6, 5.

[2] Gwynn, A., and Hadcock, R., N., *Medieval Religious Houses Ireland* (Dublin, 1988), 134. The kingdom of Limerick was parcelled out to by King John during the 1180s and 1190s, for a description of this process and the effect it had on the O'Brien rulers of Limerick, see Empey, C. A., 'The Settlement of the Kingdom of Limerick' in J. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*,1-25.

[3] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds 1172-1350*, no. 26, p.11-12

[4] *Chartae, Privilegia & Immunitates from18 Henry II to 18 Richard II* (Dublin, 1829), 9.

[5] Empey, C. A , and Simms, K., 'The ordinances of the White Earl', 170. The recession of royal authority is also reflected in the a confirmation of the original charter of Holycross given my Donal Mór O'Brien by Thady O'Brien 'Prince of Thomond' in 1434, White, N. B. (ed.), *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds*, no. 33, 26. The encroachment of local Gaelic families on the position of Abbot at Holycross has also been described in chapter one.

[6] Other deeds contained in White, N. B. (ed.), *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds* show that property and funds were being gathered in the 1430s, see nos. 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 41 these begin in 1429 and the last is dated 1452.

seen as something of a Butler possession is demonstrated in the 1480s, when the foster father of Piers MacRichard Butler, and by this time perhaps his father-in-law, Gerald, eighth earl of Kildare, granted lands to the site to aid the building campaign.[7] This may well have been to mark the close relationship which had developed between the two men, or to celebrate the marriage of Piers to Margaret, Gerald's daughter.

The architecture of Holycross abbey is the richest of any Irish building surviving from the fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries. There is more cut stone at this site than any other, so that analysing the architectural minutiae here will aid the interpretation of other buildings associated with the Butlers, or buildings which may be linked to Butler patronage or influence through the repetition of this architectural detail. Further, as highlighted in the introduction, this analysis of minutiae can cast light on architectural influence, both the influences acting on Holycross, and in turn, the influence that Holycross exerted on architecture in its hinterland and perhaps further afield.

II. Holycross- Relics and Pilgrimage

As the name suggests, Holycross held (and still holds) a relic of the True Cross. A number of legends surround the abbey's acquisition of the relic, many of which are still current in the area; any visitor stationary there for more than twenty minutes will rapidly be informed of one if not all. As both Columcille Ó Conbhuidhe and Gwynn and Hadcock point out, the abbey must have had some association with the True Cross from its foundation, as it is mentioned twice in the charter.[8] This gives weight to the claim put forward by Sylvester O'Halloran in 1803 that a relic of the true cross was given to Murtough O'Brien, former king of Ireland, by Pope Paschal II in 1110.[9] This Murtough was grandfather of Donal Mór O'Brien, founder of the monastery. Although O'Halloran suggests that Murtough O'Brien gave the relic to the monastery, it is not without reason that this is a historical confusion, and the relic was given by the founder, Donal Mór.

A second account of the how the relic came to be at Holycross was given by Fr. Malachy Hartry, a monk in the community of Holycross in the early seventeenth century,

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[7] The full charter is published in Mac Niocaill, G., *Na Manaigh Liatha in Éirinn 1142-c.1600* (Dublin, 1959), 202-3, the donation is 'ad reparacionem et construccionem monasterii Sancti Crucis'.
[8] Harbison is a little more vague about the origin of the relic, suggesting that Holycross may have got its relic *c.*1169, possibly suggesting that the relic was held by the Benedictine cell thought to have been located at *Cell Uactar Lamhann* before its translation to a Cistercian house by O'Brien in 1185, see Harbison, P., *Pilgrimage in Ireland – The Monuments and the People* (London, 1991), 162.
[9] Ó Conbhuidhe, C., OCSO, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary*, 165-6.

which he claimed to have transcribed from an early document in Irish.[10] This legend is still current in the area and recounts that the relic was given to the monks of Holycross by the queen of England, whose son had been slain nearby. Ó Conbhuidhe suggests that this legend is full of improbabilities, and poses serious problems in chronology. If we are to believe that Donal Mór donated a relic upon foundation of the monastery as a Cistercian house, which seems probable from the inclusion of specific mention of the Holy Cross in the charter, then the donation of a further relic by this queen, widow of a king or woman of high noble rank, may have occurred at any time during the life of the monastery.

This already confused situation is made further so by the presence of another relic strongly associated with the Butlers. In 1487 this relic was bequeathed by James MacRichard Butler to his son Piers.[11] This, the 'Butler Relic', contained in a silver case and baring the Ormond coat of arms, was in the possession of the Blackrock Convent in Cork City, but was recently returned to the abbey. Another relic, whether it be that of Donal Mór, or of the unknown English queen, is housed in Mount Melleray Abbey, Co. Waterford. Was the Butler relic housed at Holycross, or was there a separate relic held at Holycross which the Butlers held in great reverence? In 1504 Piers MacRichard Butler and Gerald, eighth earl of Kildare swore oaths on the Holy Cross of 'Oughterlauyn'.[12] It may be impossible to clarify this situation, but it must be borne in mind that there may have been two relics of the True Cross housed at Holycross in the later fifteenth century.

The Butler relic has recently been returned to the abbey (Plate 3.1). It is described by Crawford thus:

> It is a silver case of medieval date, containing a double cross of wood 6 3/4 inches long and three inches wide. The shrine has at the top a seated figure in low relief, with upraised hands and a cruciform nimbus. At the lower intersection there is a hinged door of quatrefoil shape decorated with four rosettes. Below this is a crucifixion and figures of the Virgin and Child, with two small shields at foot; the latter bear the arms of the Butlers (a chief indented) and those of De Burgo (a plain cross [or perhaps the arms of the abbey?]). Two oval jewels in plain settings have been added, one partially covering the upper figure, and the other the crucifixion. On the arms are four figures which must represent the symbols of

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[10] Ó Conbhuidhe, C., OCSO, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary*, 165.
[11] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 329, 322-5. See Appendix 6.
[12] Ibid., no. 316, 308; a later truce between Piers MacRichard and his Cousin Edmund FitzThomas was sworn on the 'Baculum Jesu' and 'the wood of the True Cross of Wochtirloawn [Holycross], and other sacred relics' in 1517, see *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1509-1547*, no. 40, 43.

the Evangelists; though the ox at least is hardly recognisable. A chain for suspension is attached to the upper cross bar.[13]

The later history of this shrine is complex – passing out of Butler hands in the 1630s when the eleventh earl of Ormond died.[14]

During the later middle ages the abbey became a centre for pilgrims who came to worship the relic of the True Cross. The first reference to such pilgrims at Holycross comes in 1488 in a Papal letter describing that 'the oblations which are made by the faithful to the wood of the Holy Cross in the church of the same monastery and which are collected by collectors appointed for the purpose'.[15] As was so often the case, the buildings were aggrandized to act as a suitable house for this relic; a medieval poem in Irish describes the abbey thus:

> Thou art a guest-house of Uachdar Lámhann where dwell the bright comely saints; may I merit to enter within thee, O bright delight of the eyes of the men of Eire.
> Thou art the holy house for care of sick; saved is every sick man who enters thee; woe to all who frequent not that house, the house which cares for all sufferers.
> The true church of the Lord's Cross, with its stone monuments and coffins and hosts of angels in reverence, is a fort, a sanctuary for souls.
> A sanctuary inviolable hung with gold ornamented tapestry, a bright castle with carved doorways, a house full of books and light and music of psalms.
> The Lord's Cross is our treasure, every stone of its wall being like marble; the wood of it has surpassed all others; I marvel at its wood-work.
> 'Tis a castle with many a fair storey, in it can meet all the men of Eire; its wondrousness has exalted God's glory; 'tis a fairy-like abode of virgins and saints.[16]

It is curious that the growth in the popularity of the relic of the True Cross at Holycross appears to coincide with Butler patronage at the site, and raises the question of whether their association with the abbey and promotion of the relic enhanced its fame and popularity. The promotion and enshrinement of relics was much more than simply a spiritual act, and Ragnall Ó Floinn suggests 'the enshrining of relics was as much a

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[13] Crawford, H. S., 'A descriptive list of Irish shrines and reliquaries', *JRSAI*, 53 (1923), 89-90.
[14] See 'The Relic and Reliquary of the Holy Cross in the Ursuline Convent, Blackrock', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 3 (1894), 45-8.
[15] *Calendar of Papal Registers,* XIV, 225, 256.
[16] Translated by L. McKenna, *Aithdioghluim dána,* Irish Texts Society 15, II, Poem 88, 201-3.esp. 202. Dr. Katherine Simms re-translated some words of this poem and I have included these amendments: 'ornamented' replaces 'variegated' in the discussion of the sanctuary and 'being like marble' replaces 'being marble' in the discussion of the stone. Many thanks to Dr. Simms for her re-translation of this work on my behalf.

political statement as an act of piety. The reasons for enshrining the relics are often related to specific events associated with a particular church or monastery, or occasioned by, perhaps, a new patron or by rivalries between communities'.[17] This role for relics late medieval Ormond has already been discussed in relation to Edmund MacRichard's patronage of the *Book of Pottlerath.* The association of the Butler family with Holycross suggests that the power of relics in strengthening authority had been recognised in Ormond before the late fifteenth century.

In the early phases of the Anglo-Norman colony in Ireland, devotion to local saints was used as a means of enhancing the conquerors' status with the native popluation. John de Courcy came into the possession of a number of important Ulster relics during the rout at Downpatrick 1177 when 'the Bachall Fínghin and the Bachall Rónáin Fhinn and many other relics were left behind in the slaughter'; in a second rout the *Book of Armagh*, three bells and three more croziers were lost[18] De Courcy returned the relics, and adopted St. Patrick as his patron;[19] he undertook a further propaganda exercise by 'discovering' the bodies of Patrick, Brigid and Colmcille at Downpatrick and Giraldus Cambrensis tells us 'their remains [were] translated under the auspices of John de Courcy'.[20] That de Courcy's translation of the relics of Patrick, Brigid and Colmcille was considered spurious can be seen in the 'discovery' of the same remains at Saul in 1293 by Nicol Mag Isú, coarb of Patrick; 'they afterwards wrought miracles and great wonders' and were 'placed in a decorative shrine with much honour'.[21] These instances demonstrate how the promotion of a particular cult at a particular place could have political implications, whether this be an attempt to validate jurisdiction or to enhance the import of the site.

As was described above, the first Butler protection granted to Holycross Abbey was issued by James, the second earl (†1382) in December 1364. Robin Frame describes how in the 1350s the second earl set out to create a network of relationships which might bring some stability to the region, and uses the earl's dealings with the O'Kennedys as an example of this.[22] It appears that 'although some of the accords which the earl was making at this period involved him in accepting occupation by the Irish of borderlands which they

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[17] Ó Floinn, R., *Irish Shrines and Reliquaries of the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1994), 13.
[18] S. Ó hInnse (ed.), *Miscellaneous Irish Annals A.D. 1114-1437* (Dublin, 1947) 1178, 65-7.
[19] Ó Floinn, R., *Irish Shrines and Reliquaries of the Middle Ages*, 8; Bartlett, R., *The Making of Europe* (London, 1993), 33.
[20] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (eds.) (Dublin, 1978), 235.
[21] *Annals of Connacht* 1293, 191.
[22] Frame, R., *Ireland and Britain 1170-1450*, 201-2.

had reconquered, the terms imply considerable remaining strength on the Butler side. It was not merely a matter of words: in 1358 we find Edmund O'Kennedy promising to pay a large fine and to give hostages in return for his release from Ormond's custody; we also find him and another O'Kennedy travelling to Leinster in the earl's armies'.[23] This is the same Edmund O'Kennedy who had a son named Seamus, just as the second earl had a son named James, which Freya Verstraten sees as a deliberate act of emulation.[24] Similarly cordial relations were negotiated with the O'Carrolls, as we learn that Thadeus or Tiege O'Carroll was married to Judith, daughter of the earl of Ormond. The *Annals of the Four Masters* record her death from plague in 1383.[25]

At this very time, or soon after, both the O'Kennedys and the O'Carrolls restored the shrines of two early Irish manuscripts, the Stowe Missal and the Book of Dimma respectively. Their work is recorded in inscriptions on the shrines, that on the Stowe Missal shrine commemorates Pilib Ó Ceinnéidigh 'king of Ormond' and his wife Áine,[26] while that on the shine of the Book Of Dimma reads 'TATHEVS O KEARBVILL REI DE ELV MEIPSVM DEAVRAVIT'.[27] In the face of such claims, as 'King of Ormond' and 'King of Ely', Butler patronage at Holycross, situated at the heart of Eliogarty and at the borders of O'Kennedy and O'Carroll territory, becomes a political act, a show of political reach and influence. Holycross was the traditional burial place of the O'Carrolls,[28] and indeed, of the Anglo-Norman families in the area such as the Purcells,[29] the earls of Ormond began to strongly associate themselves with this site and its relic, and thus the traditional place of burial of those whom they sought to control.

If the strength of devotion to the relics of Holycross was to some extent the product of Butler promotion, then they must be congratulated for the enterprise. The relics were being venerated throughout the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century, and both have survived in their medieval form to the present day. Although other fragments of the True

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[23] Frame, *Ireland and Britain 1170-1450*, 202.
[24] Verstraten, F., 'Naming Practices Among the Irish Secular Nobility in the High Middle Ages', 51.
[25] Gleeson, J., *History of Ely O'Carroll Territory or Ancient Ormond*, I , 21, 'Joanna, the daughter of the earl of Ormond, and wife of Teige O'Carroll, Lord of Ely, died of it [the plague]'. *Annals of the Four Masters*, IV (1383), 691.
[26] Ó Riain, P., 'The Shrine of the Stowe Missal, Redated', *PRIA*, 91C (1991), 288.
[27] Ó Floinn, R.','The Shrine of the Book of Dimma', *Éile*, 1 (1982), 29.
[28] Leonard, A., and FitzPatrick, L., 'The human face of the territory of Éile', 14, where Tadhg's burial place is identified as Holycross by means of a Gaelic praise poem.
[29] O'Sullivan, A., *Poems on Marcher Lords*, 23, the verse says 'On going away from Holy Cross his officers are full of regret at leaving him. As for me, now that James has gone, this is a grief I will suffer for ever'. There is a surviving Purcell grave slab at Holycross dated to the early sixteenth century, see Hayes, W.J., *Burials in Holycross Abbey*, 16-17.

Cross were held in Ireland, at Cong and Raphoe,[30] it appears that Holycross had a particularly strong and long lasting appeal for pilgrims.

III. Holycross as a Medieval Site: Ruin and Restoration

The monastery managed to escape the general suppression of 1536 by becoming a secular college under the Provost Philip Purcell, who had been abbot of the house. In 1562 Queen Elizabeth granted the monastery and lands to her cousin 'Black' Thomas Butler; by this time much of the church plate had been dispersed, including fifteen gold chalices.[31] An account survives for the 'plate, jewels, and other chattels of frequented shrines of houses suppressed in Leinster, Tipperary and Waterford' from 1539, and this shows the receipts for the sale of 'jewels and ornaments found on specaly venerated images'.[32] Amounts for the sale of two silver crosses called 'holeye crossys', one from 'Kilcowley' and one from 'Inneslanagne' which fetched together £67, and £24 was raised from the selling of 'things and goods of the late Monastery of Oughterlauaghe'.[33] It is interesting that the Holycross chattels are valued at so little – perhaps becuase the 'holeye crossys' from the site were preserved. During the later years of the sixteenth century, the relic of the true cross was still being venerated at Holycross, and both Hugh O'Neill and Hugh O'Donnell visited the abbey in the years 1600-1.[34] In this Holycross is like many other religious houses outside Pale, where powerful patrons were able to offer protection to the small communities that remained, even if they had to scatter from time to time where circumstances dictated. In the 1640s it appears monks were able to take up residence at Holycrosss, but had to replace the roof. Circumstances became increasingly difficult for the now very small number of Cistercians present in the area with the coming of Cromwell, and later the Williamite wars. The title abbot of Holycross was, by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century a titular title, the last holder of the title being one Fr Edmund Cormick, who died at some time in the 1730s.[35]

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[30] Ó Floinn, R., *Irish Shrines and Reliquaries of the Middle Ages*, 37.
[31] Ó Conbhuidhe, C., OCSO, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary*, 229.
[32] McNeill, C. (ed.). 'Accounts of sums realised by sale of chattles of some suppressed Irish monasteries', *JRSAI*, 52 (1922), 11
[33] McNeill, C. (ed.). 'Accounts of sums realised by sale of chattles of some suppressed Irish monasteries', 15-16.
[34] Ó Conbhuidhe, C., OCSO, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary*, 232-3. For a discssion of Holycross in the in the seventeenth century see Gillespie, R., and Cunningham, B., 'Holycorss Abbey and the Counter Reformation', *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1991), 171-80.
[35] Ó Conbhuidhe, C., OCSO, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary*, 258.

The abbey and lands remained in the ownership of the Butlers until the eighteenth century, when they passed to the Hamiltons, then the Armstrongs, then the Clarkes. In the 1830s the abbey and some of the surrounding lands were purchased by Dr. Wall, Vice Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. He made some efforts to consolidate the abbey buildings, which were falling into disrepair.[36] The building came under the scrutiny of the Ordnance Survey in the 1840s,[37] in the 1870s the architect Benjamin Woodward recorded the church architecture in a fine set of drawings,[38] and it was described by Canon Power in the 1930s.[39] When the Church of Ireland was disestablished in 1869 the abbey came under state care. During the years 1971-5 the abbey church was restored to act as local parish church and is now in the care of the Roman Catholic community.[40]

The restoration of the church was preceded by an excavation, carried out in 1970. So far, the findings of this excavation have not been published. The restoration began in 1971 under the direction of Percy le Clerk of the Office of Public Works. Although some of the details of the restoration have been called into question, not least the addition of a saddle roof over the southern aisle and cloister walk and the provision of crow-stepped battlements to the tower,[41] it is relatively easy to determine which areas of the building constitute original medieval work. Although it appears the building was not the subject of an extensive photographic survey, it was photographed before, during and after restoration.[42] Woodward's drawings provide an excellent record of the building in the mid-nineteenth century, and show that the essentials of the interior at the eastern end have changed little since then (Plate 3.2).

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[36] Wall's restoration was carried out in 1834, and this included repairs the window traceries, the boundary walls were raised and iron gates were installed, as the abbey was falling victim to petty vandalism by 'stone throwing boys'. These works must have been of a relatively high standard, as they were commended by the archaeologist James Graves in the *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, 2 (1852-3), 206. This information from O'Dwyer, F., *The Architecture of Deane and Woodward* (Cork, 1997) 46.
[37] O'Donovan, J., *Ordnance Survey Letters Tipperary*, I (Bray, 1930), 171-8.
[38] The drawings made are in the library of the Royal Irish Academy RIA MS 3 B 59.
[39] Canon Power's unpublished writings on Holycross Abbey, now stored in Mount Melleray Abbey, Cappoquin, Co.Waterford.
[40] The move to restore the abbey was initiated in 1967, for which an act of parliament was required, which was passed by the Dáil in 1969, from Hayes, W. J., *Holy Cross Abbey* (Dublin, 1973), 80-1.
[41] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 119 footnote 30.
[42] Carville's *The Heritage of Holycross* (Belfast, 1973) is particularly rich in this regard. Stalley also photographed the building before and after restoration, the photographs are stored in his collection at Trinity College, Dublin.

IV. Fifteenth Century Architecture at Holycross

The fifteenth century work at Holycross comprises the eastern arms of the building including the crossing tower and the eastern part of the nave (Plate 3.3). The north wall was rebuilt to include new windows, the west front was reconstructed along with the domestic ranges (we know little of the southern range, now completely gone). An ornate cloister arcade was constructed, and although this had been dismantled and buried it has now been partially reinstated. The rooms around the cloister were given new doors, each different in detail from the other. The east front was also embellished for those approaching the abbey from the river Suir.

As already noted, in 1414 the grant of special protection given in 1364 by the second earl was repeated by the 'White Earl' and by Thomas le Botiller, Prior of Kilmainham.[43] In 1429, the 'White' earl of Ormond, made a grant of the vill of Balagh Cathyll (Ballycahill) to the abbot and convent of Holycross.[44] Following this, in 1431 the earl of Ormond repeated his special protection afforded to the monastery in 1414, and extended this to include 'clerks begging for funds for works at the aforesaid monastery'.[45] In 1429 the archbishop of Cashel, Richard O'Hedian, with the assent of the dean and chapter, granted the vicarage of Ballycahill to the abbot and convent of Holycross.[46] Indeed, granting land to Holycross by the archbishops of Cashel became somewhat of a tradition during the fifteenth century.[47]

We thus have an extensive body of documentary evidence that funds were being gathered for rebuilding works at Holycross in the 1430s. The sedilia, on the basis of heraldic evidence, may also be dated to the 1430s-40s. There are five shields on the sedilia; the easternmost is a cross, perhaps the arms of the abbey. The next is the royal arms of England and France, quarterly. Following this are two shields of similar size, placed adjacent to each other, a *chief indented*, the arms of Ormond, and Ermine, a *saltier*, *gules*, the arms of the house of Desmond.[48] These shields suggest that the sedilia in the choir was

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[43] White, N. B. (ed.), *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds, 1200-1600*, no. 40, 15-16.
[44] Ibid., no. 26, 19-21. Translation in Ó Conbhuidhe, C., OCSO, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary*, 194-5.
[45] White, *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds*, no. 30, 23-4.
[46] Ibid., no. 27, 21-22.
[47] See Appendix 7.
[48] This heraldry was described by 'P' in 'Tomb of the Countess of Desmond', *The Dublin Penny Journal*, 42:1 (1833), 331. Here the author, 'P', describes how the sedilia had been traditionally identified as the tomb of Donal O'Brien. This attribution was subsequently called into question by Richard Colt Hoare, who suggested that a twelfth-century date for the sedilia was inappropriate. 'P' employed the case of the sedilia at Holycross to suggest that Ireland needed to develop better 'antiquarian' tradition, and deduced from the heraldic evidence on the sedilia that it was the tomb of the wife of the fourth earl of Desmond and daughter

constructed between 1429 and 1444 (Plate 3.4). This dating relates to the agreement between the White Earl and the earl of Desmond, discussed above, whereby Thomas FitzJames FitzGerald, son and heir of Desmond would marry Anne, daughter of the earl of Ormond.[49] This agreement ended in disaster in 1444 when Ormond's only surviving daughter married the heir of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and Desmond raided Tipperary and Kilkenny in retaliation.[50] This cordial fifteen-year interval must certainly give us a date for the Ormond and Desmond arms on the sedilia, equal in size and placed side by side. Although there had been an earlier irregular union between the third earl of Ormond and Catherine of Desmond, a third shield on the sedilia, the largest, bears the arms of England, which were only adopted after 1403. Since the third earl died in 1405, this leaves little time for the commissioning of the sedilia during his lifetime, and the documentary evidence reinforces the validity of the later Ormond-Desmond union being commemorated.

The sedilia has been described as the finest piece of church furniture in Ireland.[51] Stalley outlines that the vocabulary of forms used at Holycross – ogee arches, cusping, canopies with pseudo vaults, floriated pinnacles and blind tracery – were standard features of ecclesiastical furnishing throughout the British Isles in the later Gothic era (Plate 3.5).[52] He also highlights the relationship between this piece and the sedilia at Rochester and Southwark, though notes the exuberance of Holycross, and ties its design to wooden choir stalls throughout England.[53] The moulded areas of the sedilia include the octagonal shafts which run into the soffits of the ogee arches, the front arch moulding, the bases of the shafts and the vault ribs. These mouldings are fine and small in scale, increasing the similarity of this piece to a work of carpentry. The shafts are most striking, two in the round and a half column at each side (Plate 3.6a). A hollow has been scooped out of each face of the octagon to produce eight mitres or 'undercut angle fillets', a detail which

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of the second earl of Ormond, who died in 1392. Unfortunately, he appears to have been unaware that the royal arms date to after 1403, and were only universally in use in the second decade of the fifteenth century. Many thanks to Stuart Kinsella for making me aware of this article. The heraldic evidence was more fully interpreted in Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 65, and Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 114-5.

[49] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 88, 72-3. Stalley notes this, see Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 115.

[50] Beresford, D., The Butlers in England and Ireland, 123.

[51] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 200.

[52] Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 200.

[53] Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 200 note 7 where he ties the projecting vault to Attleborough in Norfolk.

Stalley notes occurs in thirteenth century work at Dunbroady.[54] The double cusped ogee arches with rippling ivy leaves show clear parallels with those at New College Oxford[55] (Plate 3.7) and the stalls at Wells (Plate 3.8),[56] which compare favourably with both the sedilia at Holycross, and more particularly the cloister arcades, also emblazoned with Ormond shields. In the sedilia, it is as if the upper stages of arcading at Wells have been translated into stone, while the ivy leaf crocketing which compares so well with the New College stalls has been treated differently over each of the three arches.

It appears, then, that the sedilia and the cloister relate to English fourteenth century architecture and particularly English fourteenth century woodwork. Champneys states 'that this last remodelling of the church began at all events not before the last part of the fourteenth century, while it must have been completed in the fifteenth … the cloister arcade appears to be fourteenth century – it is very unlike any fifteenth century cloister in Ireland I know' (Plate 3.9).[57] This run of cloister has been re-erected twice, once early in 1928 and again during the 1970s restoration. The arcades sit on a low rubble wall and the arches are divided into groups of three by buttresses, except for the end bays which contain only two arches. The pointed, double-cusped arch heads have traceried spandrels, and are contained within square frames. The capitals, piers and bases of the cloister are all multi-moulded (Plate 3.6). This cloister does not closely resemble English cloisters of the fourteenth century, and the closest architectural parallel for the design can be found in Dublin, in fragments which were found in an excavation at Cook Street, Dublin, in 1975 (Plate 3.10).[58] The Cook Street cloister and that at Holycross are unique in having their arches enclosed in square frames, doubled-cusped arches and in the use of traceried spandrels. Although the method of containing the arched opening within a square frame with traceried spandrels is essentially a Perpendicular form, it is hard to trace any English cloisters that directly resemble these examples, and the mouldings have little relation to Perpendicular types. English Perpendicular cloisters do display examples of openwork

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[54] The term most appropriate when using Morris' 'An English Glossary of Medieval Mouldings', *Architectural History*, 35(1992), 6, but here the angle of the arris is less great; Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 122.

[55] Tracey, C., *English Gothic Choir Stalls 1200-1400* (Suffolk, 1987), plate 197, dating from the 1380s. It is most interesting that Thomas Cranley was warden of New College Oxford for some years before his elevation to the see of Dublin in 1397. His memorial brass is preserved in the chapel there, see Jackson-Lawlor, H., 'The Monuments of the Pre-Reformation Archbishops of Dublin', *JRSAI*, 47 (1917), 118.

[56] Tracey, C., *English Gothic Choir Stalls 1200-1400*, 81, dating from 1335-40.

[57] Champneys, A., *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 177.

[58] Ó hÉailidhe, P., 'The Cloister Arcade from Cook Street, Dublin', in J. Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and Society in Medieval Ireland. Studies Presented to F. X. Martin OSA* (Kilkenny, 1988), 379-95.

tracery within a square frame, such as the Dean's Cloister at Windsor Castle (Plate 3.11),[59] but in relation to this example, the Holycross and Cook Street examples look more like a series of doorways.

In terms of constructional detail, it is difficult to fully compare the Holycross and Cook Street cloisters because so little of the Cook Street example survives. The Holycross cloister has extremely varied details (Plate 3.6b). There are two variations to the arcade piers and, although on first appearance they seem radically different in composition, they are really variations around the theme of that favourite Irish moulding, alternating quadrants and hollow chamfers. A number of different bases and capitals are used in the cloister, and again, because the cloister was found in a dismantled state, it is impossible to know how these related to the different piers. There is much variation here, but there is consistent use of a bell with a keel placed half way down it, and a bottom necking scroll, with some use of scrolls in the upper unit of the capitals, and roll and fillets (Plate 3.6b). The placing of a keel in the bell occurs in capitals of the nave triforium and clerestory at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, illustrated in George Edmund Street's moulding book; some of these capitals also have chamfered fillets for necking rolls (Plate 3.12).[60] These features have not been noticed in published collections of English mouldings, and may well have been personal traits of the mason who designed the nave at Christ Church, picked up on by later masons, or passed into the repertoire of the mouldings known by Irish masons in the thirteenth century. Certainly it suggests that even in the fifteenth century, Early English techniques, or thirteenth century stylistic motifs, were more current than the appearance of dogtooth here and there may indicate. The variation in cloister bases is greater, in that some of the bases are smaller than others (Plate 3.6).

The relationship between the constructional details at Christ Church and Holycross may not be so tenuous as it appears. Recent work to catalogue the loose stone in the crypt at Christ Church uncovered fragments of cloister which relate directly to those found at Cook Street, suggesting that the association of the Cook Street cloister with St. Mary's Abbey may be erroneous.[61] The Christ Church fragments cannot be examined[62] but those now held in the chapter house of St. Mary's Abbey make up one bay of the arcade. The

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[59] Harvey, J., *The Perpendicular Style*, 86.
[60] Collection of Architectural Drawings of Christ Church Cathedral Dublin, Representative Church Body Library, Dublin, MS C.6.1.27.9
[61] These cloister fragments have not been published but were discovered by Dr. Rachel Moss, they are now housed in the basement of St. Werburgs church.
[62] I was unable to take a moulding from these capitals because of the fragility of the stone.

architectural details of the Dublin cloister are sensitively handled, and the bay displayed in St. Mary's far more refined in appearance than a comparative bay at Holycross. The uprights are similar in profile and thickness to window mullions, while the bases are closer to English examples than those at Holycross, particularly in the proportion of bell to moulding and in that the plan responds to the plan of the upright above (Plate 3.13). Although this happens at Holycross, the St. Mary's example is closer to what we might expect to find in English or European architecture, where each section of the upright is provided with a mini base.[63]

If these cloister fragments are from Christ Church, or if Christ Church had a cloister similar to the fragments found at St. Mary's, Stuart Kinsella suggests that these date probably to before 1397, when the Christ Church book of Obituaries records the death of a patron who funded the construction of the cloister.[64] Kinsella has also identified what he suspects to be the choir stalls of Christ Church in *Monumenta Eblanae*, a seventeenth century manuscript containing designs for, and drawings of, monuments in Dublin churches, and he links these stylistically to the sedilia at Holycross. These choir stalls were probably constructed in the 1360s, and were emblazoned with the arms of the four great comital families of the lordship, Ormond, Desmond, Kildare and Ulster.[65] It appears then, that the work at Holycross is closely related to work at Christ Church, arguably the most important church in the country. This Christ Church architecture may have offered important models for work at Holycross, not only because of its relative newness, but also because of the importance of these buildings for those concerned with administering the lordship.[66]

The Holycross cloister can be dated to the fifth or sixth decade of the fifteenth century on the evidence of heraldry. There are two Ormond shields in the cloister, one of which is emblazoned with a *chief indented*, the usual Ormond arms, but also a pierced mullet on the chief (Plate 3.14). The inclusion of a *pierced mullet* was the means of

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[63] Stalley describes the St. Mary's mouldings as having 'a sharper and more Perpendicular flavour', see *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 158.

[64] Stuart Kinsella's PhD dissertation is forthcoming, The Department of the History of Art and Architecture, Trinity College Dublin, 2007. The entry in the book of obituaries can been found in Refaussè, R., and Lennon, C., *The registers of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Dublin, 1998), 66.

[65] Kinsella dissertation, 2007, this illustration may be found in NGI GO MS 15 (Positive Microfilm 9218), 47. I am indebted to Stuart Kinsella for this reference.

[66] For the importance of Christ Church to the political life of the colony see Lydon, J., 'Christ Church in the later medieval Irish world, 1300-1500', in K. Milne (ed.), *Christ Church Cathedral Dublin. A History* (Dublin, 2000), 86-7.

differentiating the third son of a family.[67] The third son of the White Earl was Thomas, whose life after the death of his mother in 1430 is unclear until he married Anne Hankerford, some time before 1445. She was co-heiress of Sir Richard Hankeford, the grandson of Henry IV's chief justice who held extensive estates in south-western England.[68] Thomas' shield, then, may have been included in celebration of his marriage, just as the shields on the sedilia celebrate a betrothal. The other shield is carved with an abbot's crosier and the inscription 'Dionysius O Congail aba sce crucis me fieri fecit' (Plate 3.15). Although the tenure of Dionysius as Abbot of Holycross is open to some speculation, as a power struggle was taking place for the post amongst a number of parties, including the natural son of a previous abbot, Dionysius' death is mentioned in a Papal letter of 1455.[69] Thus the cloister can be dated to the period between the death of Abbot Fergal O'Heffernan in 1447 or 1448, and the death of Dionysius in 1455.

Perhaps here it is essential to stress what an important conduit for new architectural ideas Dublin may have been in the fifteenth century. This suggestion was made by Stalley in *Cistercian Monasteries* and has been developed by O'Neill in his studies on the architectural relationships of St. Patrick's cathedral and its prebendal churches.[70] The two largest surviving ecclesiastical buildings are Christ Church and St. Patrick's Cathedral, and Stalley and O'Neill have carefully outlined their complex late medieval building histories.[71] These buildings, however, represent a small fragment of the overall picture that has been lost, and we are left to wonder what influence the great royal abbey of 'Thomascourt', All Hallows Priory, the Cistercian house of St. Mary and the large Mendicant houses may have had on architecture inside and outside the capital. The few parish churches we have are multi-period buildings, and the fabric of the finest, St. Audoen's, displays how guild activity and private chantry functions could massively extend the area of the building, and perhaps cause it to reflect changing architectural fashions.[72]

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[67] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 114.
[68] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 91-2.
[69] *Calendar of Papal Registers*, XL, 2-4.
[70] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 158; O'Neill, M., 'St. Patrick's Cathedral Dublin, and its prebendal churches: gothic architectural relationships', 243-276, esp. 256 where O'Neill calls St. Patrick's a 'fountainhead' of great building campaigns in the Pale. See also, O'Neill, M., 'The Medieval Parish Churches in County Meath', 16-30.
[71] Stalley, R.,. 'The architecture of the cathedral and priory buildings, 1250-1530', in K. Milne (ed.), *Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: a history* (Dublin, 2000), 95-129; O'Neill, M., St. Patrick's Cathedral and its place in the history of Irish medieval architecture, 23-4, 74-5, 87-9, 91-126.
[72] St. Audoen's was home to St. Anne's guild and the south aisle of the church was built in 1430 to house 'St. Anne's Chapel', Ronan, M. V., 'Religious Customs of Dublin Medieval Guilds Parts I and II', 367-8. The Portlester Chapel was added to the east end of St. Audoen's in 1455, see Tickell, E. F., 'The Eustace Family

From close study of Dublin wills, it is clear that the Mendicant houses were particularly popular both as places of burial, and often all four orders were left money in the later middle ages.[73] In this respect, the architecture of these houses is a particular loss; it would be most instructive to understand how this metropolitan architecture influenced that of the rural friaries. The loss of funerary sculpture and brasses is also great, and again, it would be interesting to understand how the large surviving body of Kilkenny-Tipperary grave slabs and tomb sculpture relates to what was in the capital. The surviving examples in Dublin, Meath and Kildare have been used to argue a relationship between this 'Pale' work and the Ormond School of tomb sculpture, but with so much gone, it is certain that many of the links are missing.[74] There are some hints of funerary art of an extremely high quality. The appearance of the brass of Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin (†1449), was preserved in *Monumenta Eblanae*, and is of a quality that equals any English brasses of the time (Plate 3.16).[75] In this context, it is important to note that connections made here between architecture at Christ Church and Holycross are made in a vacuum of evidence. What remains to us at Christ Church is a lucky survival, and we must treat these buildings as but trace of the architectural sources available to the masons of Holycross.

Establishing any firm date range for the remaining late medieval work at Holycross is difficult, and it is a futile exercise to become preoccupied with chronology. It is possible to relate some areas of the building to features which can be dated by heraldry, particularly the choir, where the cut stone details are designed to harmonise with the sedilia, suggesting that the work was conceived by the same mind, or is at least coeval. There is a sense of continuity attempted in the moulding profiles, with consistent use of the mitre, as has already been noted in the sedilia. To the east of the sedilia is a piscina with moulded jambs and arch and a deep hood made up of pointed arch and a containing square label (Plate 3.17 & Plate 3.6a). The innermost moulding of the piscina, a hollow flanked by mitres, seems to have been created specifically to harmonise with the columns of the sedilia. The hood terminates in pyramidal stops, and a panel is placed on the label at the apex of the

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and Their Lands in County Kildare', *Journal of the Kildare Archaeological Society*, 13:6 (1955), 278. The architecture of these two campaigns is very different, and warrants further analysis. It is difficult to decide whether the difference suggests a stylistic progression or that there was a plurality of styles in late medieval Dublin.

[73] Murphy, M., 'The High Cost of Dying; An Analysis of Pro Anima Bequests in Medieval Dublin', in W. J. Sheils and P. Wood (eds.), *The Church and Wealth* (Oxford, 1987), 111-22, esp. 114 and 120.

[74] Rae, E. C., 'Irish sepulchral monuments of the later Middle Ages: I, the Ormond group', 6-7.

[75] Lawlor, H., 'The Monuments of the Pre-Reformation Archbishops of Dublin', 120.

arch containg a small figure with hands clasped in prayer who from his clothing appears to be a monk.

The north chancel wall contains a recess in the place where one might expect to find a founders tomb, or Easter Sepulchre, an appropriate piece of liturgical furniture for a church which held relics of the Passion. When John O'Donovan visited the site in the 1830s he noted that this was the tomb of the O'Fogartys, Chiefs of south Ely (Plate 3.18). The recess contained an inscription panel, in which was carved in black letter 'Hic jacent discreti hominess St. Donat O'Fogarta et Ellena Porsell Uxor ejus qui obiit A.D. MCCCCC...'.[76] The tomb takes the form of a round arched recess embraced by a hood with stepped terminations. The mouldings of this tomb are broader than those on the other wall, but the profile is simply a larger version of the piscina opposite (Plate 3.6). The tomb chest is recessed into the wall under this arch. On the tomb chest a Crucifixion is carved in low relief, in a square frame with ogee arch overhead (Plate 3.19). This is the reset end of a once freestanding monument. Hunt identifies this as the end-slab from a tomb-chest, and suggests that 'the attitude of Our Lady and the primitive treatment of the figure of Christ together with the architectural details such as they are of the columns or pilasters supporting the niches closely resemble those on the Crucifixion slab of the Archer(?) tomb at Thurles. It is evident that this is another production from the Thurles master or perhaps a craftsman from his atelier'.[77]

The vault above the chancel has tiercerons moulded with mitres, or 'undercut angle fillets'. The ribs are treated in much the same way as the half column of the sedilia, a half octagon in profile with a hollow scooped from the middle of the three front faces, giving a fluted appearance (Plate 3.20). Although the mitres appear elsewhere in the church, nowhere is the use of them as extensive as here in the chancel. The corbels at this side of the crossing don't relate to the chancel theme of mitres, but have the same profile as the others, based around the use of three scrolls.

The crossing is dominated by plain expanses of punch dressed blue grey limestone, punctuated with mason's marks and playful carvings. The tower is carried on pointed

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[76] Ó Conbhuidhe, C., OCSO, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary*, 268. Leask suggests this tomb is of earlier date, but although the arch is round headed, the mouldings and general layout with its tapering hood suggest work coeval with or slightly later than the other work in the choir, Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 66. See Hayes, W.J., *Burials in Holycross Abbey*, 17-18.
[77] Hunt, J., *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600*, 226-7.

chamfered arches of two orders, with a third order running along the soffit and carried on pointed corbels (Plate 3.21). This soffit order is also chamfered. Although no Butler heraldry carved in the masonry appears in the crossing at Holycross, other sites which architecturally relate directly to the crossing at Holycross carry Butler sheilds, particularly Hore and Kilcooly. The corbels in the crossings at Hore, Kilcooly and Jerpoint relate closely to those at Holycross (Plate 3.22), these are moulded in the same manner throughout the east end at Holycross, though their shapes differ, in that they taper from different points. This moulding from the top comprises a scroll, a hollow, a second scroll, a bell and then a necking scroll (Plate 3.22). Roger Stalley has looked at the origins of the corbel, and indeed the origins of this moulding type.[78] Morris suggests that this 'three-unit scroll capital', developed in England around the 1250s; circular in plan, they are usually made up of three scrolls. In the south-west of England the middle unit is often a keel rather than a scroll (Plate 3.22). Three unit capitals remained popular throughout the Perpendicular period in England, but consistent use of scrolls does not continue after the 1340s.[79] The scroll, and its near relation the quadrant, were much loved by Irish masons throughout the late Gothic period. Perhaps it is the fine linearity of these motifs which appealed, or they were used on a venerated model that has now been lost. These capitals appear to be based on Decorated work, but a fourteenth-century model in the country has not been located. One of the corbels, that on the north wall of the south transept, has a face at the underside, with angels supporting it at each side (Plate 3.23), in similar composition to those flanking the head of Margaret FitzGerald on her tomb at St. Canice's, or the tower corbel at Sligo Dominican friary (although here the angels are fully feathered) (Plate 3.24).

The presbytary, crossing and north transept are vaulted, along with the side chapels in both transepts. Mini vaults occur under the sedlia and the 'shrine' in the south transept, and the fragmentary shrine now in the stone store which once stood in the north transept. The presbytery is roofed with a tierceron vault, with moulded tiercerons as described above. In the crossing more tiercerons are added, along with liernes at the centre which form an octagon where the ridge ribs meet. The vault ribs here are simply chamfered but die beautifully into the wall at impost level. The north transept space is covered by a tierceron vault where some liernes are introduced, along with cusping (Plate 3.25). Roger Stalley has discussed these vaults extensively in *Cistercian Monasteries* where he suggests that the Holycross vaults represent the first of a number of such vaulting schemes carried

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[78] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 122.
[79] Morris, R, 'The development of later Gothic mouldings in England *c.*1250-1400 Part II', 20.

out in the Ormond territories, which have their roots in the English west-country.[80] He further states that at Holycross it is possible to discern the growing confidence of the masons from presbytery to tower vault to north transept and that the full culmination of expertise in this vault building can be seen in the tower erected by Bishop Hackett at Kilkenny Cathedral (*c.*1460-78).[81] This growing confidence displayed at Holycross can give us some hint at a chronological progression, from presbytery to crossing to north transept, but again, it is difficult to judge where the south transept fits in here, as it was never vaulted. The chapels in the north and south transepts are vaulted, and all have ribs moulded with a broad roll and fillet, but while those on the south aisle have lierne vaults, those in the north simply have quadripartite vaults.

The lack of a vault over the south transept is puzzling. This is the area of the building where a great amount of careful forward planning can be discerned, as here the dividing wall between the two chapels contains and elaborate 'shrine' and the windows lighting the chapels are of the same proportion and similar tracery design (although not revolutionary, this uniformity does not occur elsewhere) (Plate 3.2).

The shrine has been the subject of much debate, and this debate is summarised by Stalley in *Cistercian Monasteries*. He argues strongly that this piece of micro-architecture was created to house the relic of the True Cross, illustrating the tomb of St. Alban with its arcades of spiral columns. He further comments 'it is worth remembering that the patron of Holycross, the fourth earl of Ormond, must have been familiar with the splendid freestanding canopied tombs of fourteenth-century England and it would be no surprise if he had wanted something similar for himself'.[82] In fact, a number of English shrines were refurbished during the Decorated era, including that of St. Alban, and more importantly

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[80] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 139, 137. In the West Country, experiments with fourteenth century lierne vaulting had lead to the development of the fan vault, and West Country vaults continued to be experimental in micro-architecture and cloister arcades until the end of the medieval period, see Monckton, L., 'Experimental Architecture? Vaulting and West Country Cloisters in the late Middle Ages', *JBAA*, 129 (2006), 249-283, esp. 260-78.

[81] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 135 and 139. In *Cistercian Monasteries*, 139, n. 33. Stalley notes the appearance of many of these vault patterns as decoration at Kilcooly, Old Leighlin and Fertagh and the similarity between patterns on the Kilcooly font and the fireplace in the long gallery at the manor house of Carrick-on Suir. For a discussion and development of these observations see chapters 4 and 5.

[82] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 116. It is interesting to note here that John, Lord Neville paid for a new base for the shrine of St. Cuthbert in the 1380s, and it has been strongly suggested that both this act of patronage and his patronage of the Neville screen at Durham were undertaken as memorials to John's father. Thus although the shrine base was not a tomb base in itself, it was meant as a memorial, see Wilson, C., 'The Neville Screen', *BAA*, C.T. 3, 1977 (1980), 90.

that of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury.[83] Ormond's connection with Canterbury has already been noted, he was a particular devotee St. Thomas Becket, undertook a pilgrimage to Canterbury and had 'close links with Canterbury Cathedral priory'.[84] The earl claimed descent from Becket, and when the earl's countess died in August 1430, the body was taken to London for burial at the hospital of St. Thomas of Acre, associated with the birthplace of Becket.[85] Thus, in their patronage of this shrine, the fourth earl of Ormond may have been making visual reference to the shrine of Becket, which they held in particular reverence.

In describing the micro-architectural detail of Becket's shrine Blick mentions 'the ogee arch, gabled arcades on the canopy, tall pinnacles, finials, curvilinear flowing tracery, crockets, seaweed foliage, diaper ornament, use of trefoil and quatrefoil shapes, slender flying buttresses, heraldry, and inclusion of figure sculpture'.[86] Some of these details are absent, such as gabled arcades and the use of trefoils, but many of the others can be found on the shrine, and in the architecture of Holycross generally (Plate 3.27). On the shrine these details are particularly evident in the base or chest, which has ogee arcades covered with some seaweed foliage and interspersed with mini crocketed pinnacles (Plate 3.28), also some figure sculpture and heraldry in the form of angels holding the arms of the abbey. There is great variance in the detail of the shrine base, so that each ogee arch is filled with a slightly different pair of flowers or birds, and the foliage above each ogee is varied in detail. This appears to be one of the main delights of the craftsmen who worked at Holycross, a constant variety of detail, as if this were part of the aesthetic.

The spiral columns were noted by Roger Stalley as marking a place of special importance in medieval buildings, and the idea of a spiral column has its ultimate source in the two which flanked the entrance to the original Temple of Solomon.[87] Spiral columns are also intimately linked with St. Peter's in Rome, where Constantine the Great is supposed to have brought columns from the second temple of Solomon to the original St.

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[83] Blick, S., 'Reconstructing the Shrine of St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral' in S. Blick and R. Tekippe (eds.), *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles* (Leiden, 2005), 439.

[84] Matthew, E., 'Butler, James, forth earl of Ormond (1390-1452)', 251, 400, 436. In 1450 he was granted permission to absent himself from Ireland for a year to go on pilgrimage 'as well to Canterbury as to other places', see *Statute Rolls Ireland Henry VI*, 211. This was not his first visit to Canterbury; he had visited in 1430.

[85] Matthew, E. A. E., 'The governing of the Lancastrian lordship', 250-1.

[86] Blick, S., 'Reconstructing the Shrine of St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral', 439.

[87] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 116. See Fernie, E., 'The Spiral Piers of Durham Cathedral', *BAA*, C.T. 3, 1977 (1980), 51-3.

Peter's basilica. As Rome was the ultimate destination of many pilgrimages in the late middle ages, it was perhaps natural that Holycross, in promoting the cult of its own relic, would make visual references to that great pilgrimage centre. Closer to home, earlier spiral columns may be found at St. Mary's Cathedral Limerick in the Budstone Sedilia (Plate 3.29). The sedilia was erected by John Budstone, who was Bailiff of the city in 1401, and is of three cusped moulded openings, with spirally fluted shafts provided with capitals and bases. John Budstone's name (IONS BUDSTONE) and merchant marks (P.T) are carved in the cusps.[88] Here, the spiral fluting is less complex and closer to those of the cloister at Quin, Co. Clare (Plate 3.30), the flutes are simple quarter hollows as opposed to the triple hollows interspersed with flat bands at Holycross, and at Holycross there is no capital. This flowing of the shaft into the capital appears not only in French Flamboyant designs (Plate 3.31),[89] but can be found in late Gothic throughout Europe, such as in The Llotja (market hall) in Palma de Mallorca of *c.*1425 (Plate 3.32).[90] The free flow of column onto vault ribs, with no visual hindrance by a capital was a particular favourite of German late Gothic architects and can be seen at St. Anne's church, Annaberg (Plate 3.33) and at St. George's church, Nordlingen.[91]

There is a second shrine at Holycross (Plate 3.34), and since there appears to have been more than one relic of the True Cross, this second shrine may have been used to house the 'Butler Relic', connected with the MacRichard Butlers, as opposed to that held by the abbey since the days of Donal Mór O'Brien. This shrine was housed in north-west corner of the north transept,[92] and is three bays long and one bay wide. The suggestion that this shrine may relate to the patronage of the MacRichard Butlers springs from its similarity to the sedilia in the Augustinian friary at Callan, Co. Kilkenny (Plate 3.36), founded by this branch of the family in 1461, but not a fully functioning convent until 1472.[93] In both the shrine and the sedilia, the octagonal fluted columns have a buttress running up their centre, and there is no capital so that the fluted moulding runs into the soffit of the arches (Plate 3.35). Although the second shrine is similar in detail to the work already described, it is more coarse in general execution and does not have the sculptural

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[88] Talbot, J., *The Monuments of St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick* (Limerick, 1976), 14.
[89] Stalley, R., *Cistercian Monasteries*, 115 footnote 15 where he mentions the fifteenth century spirally fluted column with no capital at St. Severin in Paris.
[90] Coldstream, N., *Medieval Architecture*, 133
[91] Coldstream, *Medieval Architecture*, 205-6.
[92] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 117, he quotes the 1913 report of the Commissioners of Public Works, which referred to 'stones belonging to a shrine or tomb which stood at the north-west angle of the north transept', *81st Report of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland* (1913), 40.
[93] Carrigan, W., *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, III, 311-312.

finesse of the sedilia and south transept shrine, this perhaps suggests that it is a slightly later copy, just as will be discussed below, the Callan sedilia (Plate 3.36) is a later copy of that at Holycross.

Some of the other church furnishings at Holycross are remarkable for the scale of their moulded details, again they are best described as micro-architecture and the relation to the moulding proportions of woodwork must be noted (Plates 3.37, 3.38). Most remarkable are the piscinae/aumbries in the north transept where the multiple quadrants and hollow chamfers are laid out along the chamfer plane (Plate 3.39). In scale, these mouldings are even smaller than those found in the surviving medieval misericords from St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick, dating from the late fifteenth century.[94] The southern chapel of the north transept is singled out for special treatment (Plate 3.40). The window reveal is treated with shafts formed of roll and fillets, which are given highly elaborate bases and capitals, like the most complex of the cloister but with extra multiples of the mouldings. Flanking the window are pinnacles corbelled off on pyramidal bases (Plate 3.41), with mouldings as fine as those of the pisicna/ambry (Plate 3.42). The reason for the special treatment of this chapel is unclear; if it was a chantry or if it housed some special relic, then all knowledge of these is now lost. In this chapel, the window tracery is moulded on its interior face with quadrants, and the exterior is also moulded. The northern chapel is has chamfered mullions both internally and externally.

This discussion of tracery brings us to look at the eastern elevation of the building, which is stout and massive (Plate 3.43). The chancel has heavy angle buttresses, and smaller buttresses are placed along the transept walls between the windows. The buttresses of the south transept have offsets moulded with string courses, while those of the chancel have offsets higher up, marked by stringcourses (Plate 3.44). The second level of stringcourse is moulded with a hollow chamfer and contains foliage and some figurative carving, this kind of decorative stringcourse can be found in both Decorated and Perpendicular architecture in England. The north transept does not have the same level of buttressing and is handled in a more characteristically Irish way, with a base batter. This is very curious, as one might expect the areas covered by high vaults to be more substantially buttressed, but here the opposite occurs.

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[94] Haydn, J. A., *Misericords in St. Mary's Cathedral Limerick* (Limerick, 1969), 1-2.

Key to adding variation and texture to the east end at Holycross are the windows, and variation is the key word in describing these. Each is markedly different not only in tracery pattern but in mouldings, where it seems the masons deliberately sought to apply a different pattern to every one (Plate 3.45).[95] The southern window of the south transept is the most elaborate in the building, both in its moulding and in the number of elements the mason has sought to cram into the head (Plate 3.46). The north window of this transept is also elaborate, and it seems the designers were seeking to emphasise the importance of the space within (Plate 3.47). The mullions and tracery bars of the north window are not moulded, and this is detrimental to the design, as the bars seem heavy. With these transept windows more than any other windows in the building, the mullions appear out of proportion with the size of the window. The masons do not vary the size of the tracery bars depending on their importance within the window. This is most clear in the southern window, where the head is more solid than void. One wonders if the idea of using major and minor tracery bars to create a sense of hierarchy within the pattern was lost by Irish masons by the mid-fifteenth century.

The east window (Plate 3.48) is similar to other curvilinear windows in the locality, most notably one found in the Dominican friary at Kilmallock (Plate 3.49). This window dates from the fourteenth century, and it, or another like it but now lost, may have acted as a model for the Holycross work.[96] There is a sensitivity in the handling of the fourteenth century window at Kilmallock which is absent at Holycross, which has chunky, chamfered mullions and tracery bars, cusped lights and uncusped tracery. The mason has found the junction between the reticulation and the window head difficult to bridge, and the design appears squashed. The east window at St. Mary Callan, Co. Kilkenny (another building under Butler patronage) shows a better handling of the reticulation seen in the Kilmallock window, and here the edges of the window are more crisply handled (Plate 3.50). The design of the east window at Holycross has come in for much criticism,[97] especially for its

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[95] This is noted by Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 121. He suggests that in English 'Decorated' architecture masons freely changed the tracery patterns in one building, although the variation in profiles is rather more unusual to Ireland. The cloister arcades at Bective, Co. Meath and Sligo Dominican Friary have bases and capitals of great variety, and it has been shown that Irish masons appear to have sought to vary their designs.

[96] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 120; Hogan, A., *Kilmallock Dominican Priory: An Architectural Perspective 1291-1991* (Kilmallock, 1991), 45.

[97] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 120; John O'Donovan in the OS Letters, quoted in Ó Conbhuidhe, C., OCSO, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary*, 268. The window was dismantled during the restoration in the 1970s, as the architect in charge, Percy Le Clerk, felt that the tracery bars might be so arranged as to correct the misalignment just below the central vesica in the window head. The task proved impossible and the window was reassembled as it had been. This information came from two Office of Public Works General Operatives who were employed at this very task during the restoration.

small scale as the main focus of the chancel. To judge the window as such is to apply English standards to Irish design. During this later period in Ireland large windows of the Decorated era are being replaced with smaller ones;[98] this development is the antithesis of the Perpendicular aesthetic current in England, where walls of glass were being constructed in both parish churches, and high status buildings.

In his discussion of the tracery at Holycross, Stalley emphasised the importance of English curvilinear work in the designs, and argued that 'in the absence of any direct link with France, it seems safer to assume residual English influence'.[99] He also draws parallels with various Scottish works of the fifteenth century, and argues 'in Scotland influence from the Low Countries appears to have been a cogent factor, which was not the case in Ireland'.[100] The variance of tracery pattern between windows can be seen in Decorated architecture in England, as at Astley Church in Warwickshire of the 1340s where the designs are variations around the theme of inwardly flowing mouchettes, not dissimilar to the south transept windows at Holycross (Plate 3.51).[101] We have already seen the possible residual influence of the Decorated work at Kilmallock on the east window at Holycross, but in terms of the dense curvilinear and flaming forms found in the eastern and northern elevations, there is no surviving Decorated work that can have acted as a model for these windows. The closest comparisons are probably the western aisle windows at St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin (Plate 3.52), which have been highlighted as dating from the late fourteenth century by Michael O'Neill,[102] but although these may have acted as models for other curvilinear windows in Tipperary, they relate less to the tracery of Holycross than to tracery found at other sites in Ormond.[103] In the choice of St. Patrick's Cathedral as inspiration for window tracery in Tipperary and Kilkenny we may be seeing an example of architectural 'cherry picking', although to argue strongly that Ormond windows relate directly to surviving work in Dublin is to ignore the fact that we have lost almost all of the great secular and religious buildings that once stood in the capital, as noted above, and indeed, other great cities like Waterford.

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[98] This occurred at Athenry Dominican Friary, Co Galway in the east window.
[99] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 121.
[100] Ibid., 123.
[101] Coldstream, N., *The Decorated Style: Architecture and Ornament 1240-1360* (London, 1994), 153.
[102] O'Neill, M., 'St. Patrick's Cathedral Dublin, and its prebendal churches: gothic architectural relationships', 255. A window very close in design to the west window of the north aisle at St. Patrick's is illustrated by Rickman in his *Attempt*, from Irthlingborough, Northamptonshire of *c.*1350, see Rickman, T., *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture* (London, 1862), 186.
[103] The St. Patrick's windows are a little closer to the east window at St. Mary's, Clonmel and the south transept window at Cashel Dominican Friary.

At King's College, Aberdeen, begun *c.*1500, there are five windows in the north elevation with variance in size and in arch type and much variance in tracery, though all designs are dominated by the use of mouchettes (Plate 3.54).[104] Just as at Holycross, there is no uniform provision of cusping, and Richard Fawcett observes 'the medieval tracery is largely composed of tiered groupings of cusped mouchettes above rounded light heads; in the west window the light heads are uncusped'.[105] When Fawcett comes to describe the artistic pedigree of such details he argues 'what we see in the tracery of the windows at King's College Chapel is tracery which is almost certainly designed by a Scottish mason whose approach to the problem before him was firmly conditioned by current Scottish tastes, but who was also being required to respond to fashions in continental Europe by a patron of markedly European outlook. The result is a fascinating hybrid'.[106] Division of the tracery field into two distinct halves, as occurs at Aberdeen, is characteristic of windows in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century, as is the omission of cusps, where the tracery was of brick; cusps were less likely to be included and the central mullion strengthened the tracery field.[107] Although connections with the Low Countries are more marked in Scotland, Ireland was not without links in this area, particularly through trade, as has been suggested above. The patron of King's College Chapel, Bishop William Elphinstone, had visited the Netherlands in 1495,[108] and so his stimulus in including architectural details from this area is clear, but we must not forget that the patron of Holycross, the fourth earl of Ormond, had campaigned in France, lived in England and perhaps undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, so was not without knowledge of architecture outside Ireland.

One of the windows of the north elevation at Holycross is remarkable for its decoration with billet ornament, it is of three lights and has been slightly restored (Plate 3.53).[109] The western mullion has been replaced with a plain chamfered one, unlike the originals, which are moulded and decorated with a billet pattern. Billet is really a

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[104] Fawcett, R., 'The Medieval Building' in J. Geddes (ed.) *King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, c.1500-2000* (Leeds, 2000), 38.
[105] Ibid., 39.
[106] Ibid., 48.
[107] Fawcett, R., 'Late Gothic architecture in Scotland: Considerations on the influence of the Low Countries', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquities of Scotland*, 112 (1982), 490-1. Fawcett's comments here are very relevant to Ireland, he states: 'all of the Scottish windows of this type are related to forms which had been current in Scottish medieval architecture since the early fifteenth century, but there is a refinement in the simplification of the designs which suggests that masons were responding to a new impetus and not paring down their existing repertoire'.
[108] Fawcett, R., 'The Medieval Building', 48.
[109] This window was moved during the restoration of the 1970s by Percy Le Clerk who was in charge of the building operations, it seems that he wanted the window to line up with the arches in the nave; this information was provided by Roger Stalley. The other pieces of this billet window can be seen in the stone store.

Romanesque motif, but appears twice here at Holycross, in this window and the chapter house door (Plate 3.55). Although a type of billet was revived in the Perpendicular period, and an example may be seen in the hood of the chancel window at St. Patrick's church, Trim (Plate 3.56), this is formed in a different manner from the Holycross work. On examination, the Holycross billet is the alternation of quarter hollows, two stacked above three and so forth. Quarter hollows lined up along the chamfer plane appear at this site, and so billet may naturally have suggested itself as a refinement of this motif. A deeper reading of the appearance of this ornament is provided by Rachel Moss, who argues that billet rarely occurs in Ireland in the Romanesque period, so that its appearance here is anomalous and may suggest that this doorway is intended to communicate a definite meaning, perhaps a deliberate act of historicism, so that the renovated abbey was not striped of all antiquity – so important to status and authority.[110]

It is doubtful if the west wall was provided with buttresses in the middle ages, but in the interests of harmony, new buttresses were added in the 1970s. A large, reticulated window with chamfered jambs and a chamfered hood dominates the west wall (Plate 3.57). The window is of six lights with ogee heads; the two rows of reticulation above are treated with ogees at their heads. It has been suggested that this window is influenced by Perpendicular work in England.[111] The panels of reticulation are elongated, and the window heads run in straight lines, akin to transoms in Perpendicular windows. This window is completely uncusped, even in the lower lights, in this lack of cusps and loosely Perpendicular design the window agrees with late fifteenth-century windows in the south aisle at St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick (Plate 3.58).

The west door is a striking composition of two distinct square orders. This is unusual in itself as this feature appears at only one other site, in the north door of Clonmacnoise Cathedral (Plate 3.59).[112] The other door mouldings taken in this survey are all worked on the chamfer plane. Each order here is treated with a corner chamfered mitre flanked along the two side faces by two quarter hollows separated by a freestanding fillet. This door is moulded in the same manner as the door and wall arch in the north wall of the

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[110] Moss, R., 'Revivalist tendencies in the Irish Late Gothic: defining a national identity?' in M. Reeve (ed.), *Reading Gothic Architecture* (New York, forthcoming).

[111] Champneys, A., *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 189; Stalley calls it 'up-to-date' but says it seems 'toothless and unattractive' because it lacks cusps, Stalley, R., 'Irish Gothic and English Fashion', 81.

[112] This door is dated by an inscription which reads "Doms Odo Decani Cluain me fieri fecit"; the *Annals of the Four Masters* record that "Dean (Odo) O Malone (or Molan) the most learned man in all Ireland, died in Clonmacnoise' (1461), 1013. He is also known to have lost the title of dean two years earlier in 1459, Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 74.

north transept. As mentioned above, the chamfered mitre can be seen as a freestanding element in voussoirs of the clerestory windows in the nave at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, illustrated in Street's moulding book (Plate 3.60).[113] The formation of these chamfered mitres is different than the later examples. In the Christ Church examples the flat face of the mitre is the original face of the block and the stone has been cut away around it. At Holycross, the angles of the mitre are the original faces of the block and the front face is that which has been chamfered, the Holycross chamfered mitres are thus formed with a great deal less undercutting. As with the other mouldings found at this site, the impact is achieved through a multiplicity of small and shallow repetitive elements rather than any great effects of light and shadow due to the removal of great volumes of stone.

The doorways of the cloister form a heterogeneous mix, those of the western range relate to the west door in being formed of square orders, while another reset fragment is worked along the chamfer plane with quadrants and hollow chamfers (Plate 3.61a and b). The door at the northwest corner of the cloister leading into the south aisle is finely moulded with hollow chamfers of a small scale (Plate 3.62). In both composition and proportion this moulding relates directly to a door under the tower at Devenish, Co. Fermanagh, and other architecture at this site shows strong affinities with the architecture of Ormond despite its distance from the heartland of Kilkenny and Tipperary. The reconstructed southern door of the western range is moulded with alternating quadrants and hollow chamfers, this door moulding is without doubt the most common arrangement found in late medieval Ireland (Plate 3.63). It is interesting that it appears only once at the site, but this gives an indication of how important variation appears to have been to the designers (Plate 3.61a).

The door which once may have lead to the calefactory (Plate 3.64) is moulded with roll and fillets and hollow chamfers along the chamfer plane and is similar in composition to that which leads from the south transept into the sacristy (Plate 3.61). The hard grey-blue carboniferous limestone has held the detail beautifully, and so the broad fillets of these doors are as sharp as when they were first carved. The fillets are wide and should be noted, as they are quite unusual to Holycross and its immediate sphere of influence. Also, in the sacristy door (Plate 3.65), the quadrant closest to the inner jamb is canted at a

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[113] Collection of Architectural Drawings of Christ Church Cathedral Dublin, Representative Church Body Library, Dublin, MS C.6.1.27.9

different angle from the rest of the moulding. Irish masons of this period rarely vary the planes on which they work, so again this feature may offer a key to finding other work by the Holycross School, if it might be so called.

V. Discussion

The most important item of information to be gleaned from the association of the Butlers with Holycross is that this patronage was an overtly political act. The important monastery lay at the edge of a territory they struggled to control, and was the most probable focus of devotion of many of the Anglo-Irish and Gaelic families in the area. The cult of the relic appears to have grown during the period of Butler patronage, and by the second half of the fifteenth century there is a growing body of documentary evidence which describes the importance of Holycross as a site of pilgrimage. It appears that important events in the dynastic lives of the Butler family were marked architecturally at Holycross with the erection of particular structures, and the heraldry allows us to make informed guesses as to which family members are concerned.

During the first half of the fifteenth century it is clear that the main line of the Butler family dominated the architectural patronage at the site, and that some of the finest structures in the building date from this period. Although we have no direct documentary evidence to link Edmund MacRichard Butler and his family to Holycross, it is important to note the patronage of his foster father, Richard O'Hedian in 1429, while later in the century the foster father of Edmund's grandson (Piers), the earl of Kildare, donated lands to the abbey some time around the date that Piers MacRichard married his daughter Margaret. As the figureheads of the Butler family in Ireland during the absentee period of the earls, the MacRichards are likely to have kept up their association with Holycross for the same reasons that the earls had established it, and the MacRichards were conscious of establishing the legitimacy of their link with the main line of the Butler family. What better way to do this than to associate themselves with a monument so heavily patronised by the White Earl? Architectural evidence suggests that the MacRichards were patrons of some of the later fifteenth century architecture at Holycross, particularly the second 'shrine', and as will be argued below, they appear to have emulated the architecture of Holycross for their own dynastic ends.

In terms of what we might call 'architectural association', the architecture of Holycross presents some interesting problems. The confusion over the original location of

the Dublin cloister poses some difficulties. The White Earl was buried in St. Mary's, Dublin and was a known patron of the abbey, which was the richest Cistercian house in Ireland.[114] It clearly had strong royal associations, as Ormond described himself as 'on of the chef founders nexte the kyng'.[115] On the other hand, Christ Church was the most important cathedral in the land, being particularly famed as a pilgrimage centre and as the centre of many political activities, it being the church where lieutenants were invested with their office and where parliament was often held.[116] Thus, whether the cloister makes reference to architecture of St. Mary's or Christ Church or both, the White Earl was associating himself with royal power and political power in Ireland – particularly the sought after office of lieutenant, for which Ormond had to battle with the Talbot family for much of his career.[117]

This architectural affiliation, tapping in to the political or spiritual potency of the older model, has been noted elsewhere. Kate Heard has convincingly argued that the architecture of the Wilcote Chantry at North Leigh in Oxfordshire, founded in 1438, makes clear reference to the architecture of the chancel at St. Mary's Warwick, built in the fourteenth century and finished by 1401. The chancel at St. Mary's was rebuilt by the Beauchamp earls of Warwick and by using windows associated with the earls of Warwick, Elizabeth Wilcote was 'aligning her architecture with an important example from the West Midlands, the patrons of which were highly influential and respected'.[118] Notably, architectural historians had previously dated the Wilcote Chantry to before the 1420s on the evidence of the architecture, despite the license to endow the foundation in 1438.[119] Heard argues that the chantry was built after 1438, but makes reference to buildings

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[114] In the *Annals of Ireland* included in the *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey* there is recorded an affray which occurred in the earl 1430s when it is recorded of the citizens of Dublin that 'they, with the loss of some lives, arrested James, earl of Ormond, broke three of the doors of St. Mary's Abbey, dragged the Abbot to the gate, some holding him by the feet, and others by the Arms and Shoulders. Fore these offences the annals state that, in 1434-35, the Mayor and citizens of Dublin had to do penance at Christ Church, St. Patrick's Cathedral and St. Mary's Abbey' *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey Dublin with the Register of its house at Dunbrody and the Annals of Ireland* , xliv. The incident appears to be linked with Talbot-Ormond faction fighting, but it is interesting that the White Earl took refuge at St. Mary's, and that the Abbot was harassed by the mob, perhaps suggesting a close association between the two men.

[115] Griffith, M. C. 'The Talbot-Ormond struggle for control of the Anglo-Irish government, 1414-47', 395, he made this statement *c.*1423.

[116] Ormond took his oath before the Irish council in Dublin in the Lady Chapel of Christ Church on 22 April, 1420, see Matthew, E. A .E., 'The governing of the Lancastrian lordship', 122.

[117] Christ Church was used throughout the fifteenth century for holding sessions of parliament, bolstering the link between the architecture of Christ Church and the centre of political power in the lordship of Ireland, see Lydon, J., 'Christ Church and the Later Medieval Irish World, 1300-1500', 84-5.

[118] Heard, K., 'Death and Representation in the Fifteenth Century: The Wilcote Chantry at North Leigh', *JBAA*, 145 (2001), 134-149, esp. 142.

[119] Heard, K., 'Death and Representation in the Fifteenth Century: The Wilcote Chantry at North Leigh', 135.

constructed over forty years before, in much the same way as the sedilia and cloister at Holycross can be seen to do.

Although it is impossible to argue a direct link between the 'shrine' at Holycross and that of Becket at Canterbury (since the appearance of that at Canterbury can only be reconstructed through secondary evidence such as pilgrim badges) it can be strongly suggested that the shrine at Holycross was based on English Decorated shrines of the fourteenth century. The use of earlier shines for political means was not unusual, and a contemporary case of just such 'association' may be seen the architectural patronage of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in the 1440s, who chose to be buried next to the shine of St. Alban (which had been remodelled in the fourteenth century). He made architectural reference to the shrine in the design of his own chantry, in an attempt to 'advertise Humphrey's royal blood and association with his patron, St. Alban, visually'.[120] Ormond may have been attempting to do exactly the same thing, but any architectural demands he made were filtered through the abilities and technical knowledge of the masons he employed at Holycross, who with no evidence to the contrary, appear to have been Irish.

This brings us to the problem of which elements of the building are 'revivalism', which are designed around the idea of 'association' and which are due to 'residual Decorated influence'; and it appears that we may be dealing with all of these. Certainly with the billet door and window we are encountering some deliberate sense of revivalism, but the reason for reviving an English Romanesque motif is difficult to uncover, unless it occurred in the original architecture of the building, and its inclusion emphasised that Ormond patronage of the site was not a wholly new endeavour. In the sedilia and the shrine we see the influence of woodwork, and of English Decorated shrine architecture respectively, but in both of these cases it might be argued that these Decorated designs were being used more for their associations than their architectural 'style'. In the case of the sedilia, its translation of woodwork details into stone preserves for us some of the 'marvellous woodwork' described in the poem about the site. The blank shield, to the western side of the upper canopy, suggests that the monument was once painted, and also emphasises the importance of other three shields, which are carved in relief – the Royal arms of England, Ormond, Desmond – suggesting that the function of this piece of architecture was to convey loyalty to the crown, and dynasty.

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[120] Goodall, J., and Monckton, L., 'The Chantry of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester', *BAA*, C.T. 24, 1999 (2001), 249.

In other areas of the building, there appears to be 'residual Decorated influence'- especially at a technical level- so that the cloister may *look* like 'one of the most authentically Perpendicular pieces of architecture outside the Pale',[121] (a title which, it is argued below, it must cede in favour of another cloister) but the moulded details suggest it to be an insensitive copy of another work, and the Holycross cloister utilises a mixed range of Early English and Decorated details, which are absent in the Dublin originals, which appears to be an early if unusual piece of Perpendicular design. As Roger Stalley states 'much hinged on the training of the mason'[122] and what we are seeing at Holycross is the tackling of new designs (most probably communicated in general form on paper) with an out of date skill set which can be most easily discerned in the design and cutting of architectural mouldings to the drafting of window tracery.

The tracery exhibits the same symptoms as the cloister, and displays a heterogeneous mix of influences producing varied results. This again is most probably the result of the masons trying to absorb various influences with a basic set of skills, just as we encounter the mason of King's College, Aberdeen tacking new stylistic challenges in his own particular way, based around current Scottish architectural practice. Stalley suggests that the Holycross masons were 'cut off from major workshops' and 'lacked the training and technical expertise to produce outstanding results, especially when using complicated forms'.[123] Thus the architecture at Holycross appears to be the result of masons with out of date skills responding to the demands of a sophisticated client. Their work was well received in Ormond, as the vaulting and tracery at Holycross can be found at many sites in the surrounding area, as can some of the door mouldings. Perhaps Holycross was the site where a school first came together, as argued by Colum Hourihane,[124] as although the architecture at the site is very inconsistent, its influence can be traced for the next 100 years and beyond. This architecture appears to be intimately linked to tomb sculpture in the area, and Holycross has a rich collection of late medieval tomb slabs.[125] There is considerable evidence, discussed below, that despite a lack of training and expertise, these

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[121] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 156.
[122] Ibid., 122.
[123] Ibid., 121.
[124] Hourihane, C., *The Mason and his Mark*, 35, he describes Holycross as the 'earliest building in the grouping'.
[125] Hayes, W.J., *Burials in Holycross Abbey* (Holycross, 1970); Maher, D., *Medieval Graves Slabs of County Tipperary, 1200 – 1600 A. D*, 16-21, 60-2.

masons were not entirely cut off from the output of other major workshops outside Ormond.

One final issue must be addressed, and this is the question of audience: who was the architecture of Holycross aimed at? If we are to accept that Holycross brings together many different influences and some of these are conscious references to other buildings and monuments – we must ask – would the population of Kilkenny and Tipperary have been able to read these? Certainly there was a merchant class that travelled regularly to England and the continent, and local Irish lords went on pilgrimages to both Santiago and Rome. One wonders if they were more likely to recognise references to continental architecture than they were to recognise references to architecture in Dublin, from which, after the 1440s, they were often cut off. What of creating an architecture that would impress the O'Carrolls, the O'Kennedys and the Purcells of Loughmoe? These people were patrons of bardic poetry, and in the case of the former, were enshrining relics in work that reflected twelfth-century aesthetics. Here a more antiquated architecture may have appealed, one that stressed the age and importance of the family by making reference to the past rather than showy architectural statements of modernity. This is certainly reflected in Edmund MacRichard's *Book of Pottlerath*, with its deliberate reliance on Insular manuscript illumination, with only a hint of international influence. If emulation is the highest form of praise, then Holycross was an extremely successful building, for, as is argued below, it formed the basis for a number of later buildings which seek to reflect its glory.

Chapter 4

Butler patronage: local and national context

This chapter comprises a chronological discussion of the architectural patronage of the Butler family. It is divided into three sections, the first dealing with the White Earl, the second with the cadet branches of the family and the third with the patronage of Piers Butler and his wife Margaret FitzGerald, their retainers and children. The impact and importance of Holycross forms a theme throughout this essay, and comparisons are made between later buildings related architecturally to both Holycross and each other; the meanings of this relationship with Holycross is also discussed. The tomb sculpture of the Ormond family and their retainers is given a long overdue architectural appraisal, and the relationship between these works in stone and the political ambition of the Butlers is assessed. This assessment culminates in a brief analysis of Ormond Castle at Carrick-on-Suir, a testimony in stone to the success story of the MacRichard Butlers. A success story so great that the Queen of England 'with joy gloried in the untainted nobility' of the family.[1]

I. James 'the White Earl': the reach of Ormond 1405-c.1452

The foregoing section, which created a framework for understanding Butler patronage through the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, strongly argued that the patronage of the White Earl was far reaching and was in tune with his political ambitions as chief governor. The bulk of surviving documentary evidence ties this patronage to the 1430s, when protection and lands were granted to Holycross, although an earlier protection was granted in 1414. In all cases, it appears that the earl's patronage coincides with times when he was in Ireland, and for buildings in Ormond, when he was in Ormond (see Appendix 2). In January 1434 he arranged for the Augustinian priory of St. John the Evangelist in Kilkenny city to provide a chaplain to say daily masses in the castle and in May he granted land for the building of new buildings between the inner and outer castle walls.[2] In 1443, after he was forced to abandon office as deputy, the earl was once again in Ormond and works were taking place at a number of castles. At Carrick-on-Suir, gloves

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[1] Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny 1515-1642*, 99.
[2] Matthew, E. A. E., 'The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship', 258; *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 112, 105; no. 115, 106-7. The earl was also at Kilkenny on the 1 July, *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 118, 107.

were being provided for masons, workmen were being paid at Gowran and a wooden hall was being built at Mellagh (location unknown).[3]

The difficulty in discussing the architectural patronage of the White Earl is one of chronology. We can tentatively date the sedilia at Holycross to the 1430s, perhaps the shrine in the south transept (designed after the earl's trip to Canterbury in 1430?) and the cloister to his time, but other works in Ormond are difficult to date with any certainty. Documentary evidence suggests his involvement with many of the other Cistercian houses in Kilkenny and Tipperary. The earl had been renting lands to the abbey of Jerpoint, and in 1449 gifted these lands to the house.[4] The house appears to have been mainly English in make-up, as they petitioned the earl in 1436 for the removal of an intruded Irish abbot.[5] Other local landowners, such as Richard Walsh, were granting lands to the house in the 1440 and early 1450s, and a Papal indulgence of 1442 was given for 'the conservation, repair etc., of the church of the Cistercian monastery of Jerpoint in the diocese of Ossory (whose cloister, dormitory, bell-tower and other offices are in need of much repair)'.[6] The crossing tower of this house bears a strong resemblance to Holycross (Plate 4.1), particularly the punch dressing of the stonework of the chamfered corner towers and the corbels supporting a chamfered soffit rib (Plate 4.2). A number of these fine crossing towers survive in the area, of which two in Ormond bear Butler arms; they are looming reminders of the power of both the church, and local families.[7]

The cloister is very different from Holycross, and has been the subject of a chronological tug of war over the past forty years. Edwin Rae was the first author to subject the cloister to serious art historical and iconographical analysis, and he concluded, on the basis of costume, that it was most likely built within a decade either side of 1500

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[3] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 157, 139.
[4] The rental appears to have been undertaken in the time of the second earl see White, N. B. (ed.), *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds*, no. 8, 6. The house gained various lands in the later part of the fourteenth century (1372-4). James, fourth earl, rented lands to the convent in 1407, (see above deed no. 18, 15).
[5] White, N., B. (ed.), *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds*, no. 36, 232.
[6] *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland,* IX, 248. The architecture of the site has been generally discussed by O'Brien, C., 'County Kilkenny – Parish of Jerpoint Abbey – Jerpoint Abbey', *The Architectural and Topographical Record*, 1 (1908), 53-68, the author suggests the cloister arcades date from the 'latter part' of the fifteenth century, 62. This was the only issue to be published of this excellent journal, many of the illustrations contained in the volume were reproduced by Leask in his *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, the drawings are all accompanied by moulding profiles, and these are of excellent quality and extremely accurate, Francis Bond and Walter Leathby were on the committee that published the journal. For a lively discussion of the history of Jerpoint see Hegarty, M., 'Jerpoint', *Old Kilkenny Review*, 23 (1971), 4-14.
[7] Moss, R., 'Permanent Expressions of Piety: The Secular and the Sacred in Later Medieval Stone Sculpture', 80.

(Plate 4.3).[8] The remains of a similar cloister at Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny, not far from Jerpoint, give some weight to this late dating (Plate 4.4).[9] The Inistioge cloister was erected by Milo Baron, who was prior of the house before being elevated to the diocese of Ossory (see Appendix 8).

Rae discerned a strong Romanesque revival element to the carving, both in the use of round arches and in the treatment of the bases, which are a strange medley of early twelfth century form (particularly the inclusion of spurs) with that of the fourteenth century.[10] The appearance of head capitals and stiff leaf also belies a revival of Early English motifs. These may be emulating Early English work at Jerpoint which could well have had an Early English cloister like those found at Kells Priory and Athassel.[11] Head capitals are found at important sites like Cashel Cathedral, St. Canice's and the Butler mausoleum at Gowran.[12] Rae's analysis was based on the costumes of the knights, ladies and ecclesiastics that appear in the webbing forming the 'dumbbell' element in the piers of the cloister arcade (Plate 4.5). He notes that the influence of English alabaster carvings is likely, and certainly the disarticulated head of an apostle illustrated by Rae as plate 10b appears to derive from alabaster carvings of the head of John the Baptist, another close copy of an English alabaster is known from Waterford, and a medieval alabaster of the Trinity survives in the Black Abbey, Kilkenny.[13]

The sculpture of the cloister at Jerpoint includes a lively mix of religious and non-religious subject matter, and this has raised questions as to its function.[14] For John Hunt the

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[8] Rae, E. C., 'The Sculpture of the Cloister of Jerpoint Abbey', *JRSAI*, 96 (1966), 87.
[9] Manning, C., 'Inistioge Priory Cloister Arcade', *Old Kilkenny Review*, 1:3 (1976), 190-200; Manning, C., 'A Sixteenth-Century Rothe in Stone', *Archaeology Ireland*, 7:2 (1993), 12-3. Manning suggests that the Jerpoint cloister dates to *c.*1400 and depicts members of the landed gentry. He argues that the Inistioge cloister reflects its later date because of the inclusion of a member of the Rothe family, merchants operating in New Ross, Inistioge and Kilkenny.
[10] Rae, E. C., 'The Sculpture of the Cloister of Jerpoint Abbey', 63, 73.
[11] Early English cloister fragments with twin endelit colonetttes have been found at Kells Priory and Graiguenamanagh as part of the National Inventory of Carved Stone, see Montague, J., 'Kells Cloister Arcade: A Reconstruction' (BA dissertation, University of Dublin, 1999).
[12] Cashel is extensively discussed in Hourihane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland*, 35-64; for Gowran see Unkel, J. E., 'Faced with Faces: The Head Capital in Medieval Ireland' (MPhil, University of Dublin, 2004), 37-40.
[13] Rae, E. C., 'The Sculpture of the Cloister of Jerpoint Abbey', 88. For the Waterford carving see McEneaney, E., 'Politics and Devotion in late Fifteenth-Century Waterford', 46. An English alabaster head of John the Baptist which resembles these Irish copies occurs is illustrated in *Gothic Art for England 1400-1547*, catalogue number 219, plate 117, 335; the piece dates from *c.*1470. See Cheetham, F., *Alabaster Images of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2003), 182: 2,400 carvings of this subject, including fragments, have been recorded. The Trinity alabaster from Kilkenny is written up in Fenning, H., *The Black Abbey* (Kilkenny, 1996), 11-12; Hunt, J. and Harbison, P., 'Medieval English Alabasters in Ireland', *Studies*, 65 (1976), 310-21, esp. 310-14.
[14] Moss, R., 'Permanent Expressions of Piety: The Secular and the Sacred in Later Medieval Stone Sculpture', 79.

cloister 'stands out as a magnificent monument, totally unique'.[15] With this statement in mind, it is interesting to draw attention to the thirteenth century cloister arcade from the Benedictine priory of Haverfordwest, in Wales, fragments of which were discovered built into the footings of its fifteenth-century replacement. Here the capitals were treated as a ground for all manner of sculptural ornament, including 'fish, leeks, clouds and figures' – the figures are particularly interesting, one being a fox dressed in clerical garb preaching, a sheela-na-gig, and perhaps also a St. Peter.[16] From the surviving remains at Haverfordwest it is difficult to discover if the sculpture was part of a themed cycle. Harrison states 'the possible figure of St. Peter suggests more seriously religious images, though these seem to have been mixed with more abstract ones'.[17] The Haverfordwest sculpture matches that at Jerpoint in its lively playfulness and charm, and it might be suggested that the mix of sacred and secular themes in cloister at Jerpoint is not quite as unique as has been thought.

Roger Stalley revisited the chronology of the Jerpoint cloister in his *Cistercian Monasteries*. He relates the armour and other dress directly to English court fashion of the late fourteenth century, like those of the weepers on a number of late fourteenth-century tomb sculptures at Westminster Abbey (Plate 4.6).[18] Despite the documentary evidence that the cloisters of Jerpoint were in bad repair in 1442, Stalley suggests caution, as appeals for indulgences were often exaggerated. Both he and Hunt place the cloister shortly before 1400.[19] Close study of the mouldings and the physical form of capitals and bases suggests that Leask, in his chronological essay on cloisters, is right in assigning the work at Jerpoint and Askeaton to the first half of the fifteenth century.[20] The cloister at Askeaton, Co. Limerick resembles that of Jerpoint in overall form, the date here is easier to arrive at, as the house was founded *c.*1420 by the earl of Desmond (Plate 4.7).[21] The mouldings at Askeaton are really quite Early English in character, with banks of rolls and crisp fillets (Plate 4.8). The dumbbell piers are made up of round shafts connected by a simple strip of webbing, and the capitals and bases are cut round to reflect this. In this, they strongly resemble the work at Jerpoint, where the capitals, carved with a foliated upper roll alternating with an upper roll and fillet, are round in section.

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[15] Hunt, J., *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600*, 114.
[16] Harrison, S., 'Benedictine and Augustinian Cloister Arcades in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries in England, Wales and Scotland', *JBAA*, 159 (2006), 119.
[17] Ibid., 121.
[18] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 192
[19] Ibid., 190-3.
[20] Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 138.
[21] Gwynn, A., and Hadcock, R., N., *Medieval Religious Houses Ireland*, 242. The foundation and dating of this cloister will be discussed extensively in chapter 5.

Another cloister with these round capitals and bases occurs at Clontuskert. This is not included in Leask's typological essay on cloister forms because the fragments were only discovered in the ruins of the building during excavations by Fanning in 1971-2.[22] The cloister has dumbbell piers of a type similar to those at Jerpoint and Askeaton, but the area of webbing has been contracted (Plate 4.9). The capitals and bases are round, and some of the capitals are moulded with rolls and fillets. The work at Clontuskert is difficult to date, as a fire took place in 1413, and relaxation was granted to allow funds to be collected for repairs;[23] the west door can be firmly dated to 1471 by an inscription. The dumbbell piers, and round capitals and bases seem to tie the cloister to work at Askeaton and Jerpoint, along with the use of roll and fillets (Plate 4.8).

Rae speculated that the cloister at Jerpoint might have acted as a kind memorial to those who donated funds to the works, and since chief benefactors like the Butler and Walsh families appear as armed knights with heraldic shields in the cloister, there is some reason for agreeing with this conclusion (Plate 4.10).[24] The same might be said of the 'small but attractive entry to the chancel in Clonfert' which bears, on the south western face, a *chief indented* of the Butlers.[25] It may seem difficult to suggest why an Ormond shield occurs here – but the Butlers had actually acquired the extensive manor of Aughrim O'Kelly near Ballinasloe *c.*1282.[26] By the fourteenth and fifteenth century it appears the earls of Ormond did not realise much profit from the manor, and it may have been largely overrun by the O'Kellys.[27] The appearance of a Butler shield at Clonfert it fits in with the White Earl's aim to expand his political standing and domination. Perhaps this act of artistic patronage was designed to remind Gaelic neighbours holding lands at the northern edge of his territory that they were within his 'sphere of influence'.[28] What better way to remind people of your power than a public display in an ancient church? Anyone attending mass at Clonfert cannot but see the shield, and there is every chance that in the middle ages

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[22] Fanning, T., 'Excavations at Clontuskert Priory, Co. Galway', *PRIA*, 76C (1977), 97-170, he suggests that the cloister fragments are coeval with the door dated by an inscription to 1471, but indulgences grated to the site suggest that work was going on from 1414 onward, 102.
[23] Gwynn, A., and Hadcock, R., N., *Medieval Religious Houses Ireland*, 165.
[24] Rae, E. C., 'The sculpture of the cloister of Jerpoint Abbey', 90-1; Harbison, P., 'An Illustration of the Lost Walsh Knight from the Jerpoint Cloister Arcade', *Old Kilkenny Review*, 25 (1973), 13-15, Harbison argues that the Walsh knight described by Carrigan as being at Piltown is illustrated in Sheffield Grace's *Memoirs of the Family of Grace*, see his description, 14. Rae notes one 1451 donation to the cloister by Robert Folyng 'for his soul, that of his wife Johanne Bross', and for the soul of James Butler, Earl of Ormond, and for their ancestors'. (see Rae, cited above, 90)
[25] Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 9.
[26] Curtis, E., 'Original Documents Relating to the Butler Lordship of Achill, Burrishoole and Aughrim (1232-1640)', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 15 (1931-3), 121-8.
[27] Curtis, E., 'Original Documents Relating to the Butler Lordship of Achill, Burrishoole and Aughrim', 122.
[28] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 60.

it was painted.[29] Again, it is difficult to date this Clonfert work, but in terms of political 'reach' it is most likely to be a product of the White Earl's benefaction, relaxations to raise funds for the buildings at Clonfert were granted in the early fifteenth century.[30]

The White Earl can firmly be linked to the sedilia at Holycross, and an angel very similar to the angel on this sedilia may be seen on the north side of the chancel arch at Clonfert Cathedral (Plates 4.12, 4.13). This angel has a gown tied tightly at the waist, so that the upper part of his robe falls in round bunches over his belt, his hands meet at his chest in prayer, his wings are spread out behind him, and his robe ends in two lobes, which appear to represent the folds at the bottom of his gown.[31] In all of these details, he is paralleled by the sedilia angel at Holycross. Hourihane suggests another stylistic link with Clonfert, in that the facial features of the angels in the chancel arch 'indicate that they were carved by the same hand as the figure of St. Dominic over the doorway at Clonmacnoise' (Plate 4.14).[32] The facial features are indeed alike, particularly the upper lip, smiling mouth and cheeks. The door at Clonmacnoise is dated to *c.*1461, but the sculptures above are anomalous and do not appear to be by the same hand as the lace like work of the door. Their surrounds are each treated differently, and they may well be reused. If this is the case, these Clonfert and Clonmacnoise angels could have been carved before 1450, during the tenure of the White Earl.

These angels, with large ripples at the foot of their gowns, can be seen elsewhere. They appear in the arcades of the chest of the tomb niche at Strade Dominican Friary, in Co. Mayo where in the eastern panel the pinnacles that divide the weeper niches are corbelled off and these corbels take the form of angels with a very similar treatment to their hems, and hands grasped in prayer (Plates 4.15, 4.16). There is a remarkable similarity between the flamboyant tracery at Strade and the wooden screen at Carlisle

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[29] There are some survivals of original paintwork on sculpted stone in Ireland, perhaps the blue and red paint on the female head at the apex of the west door of the Augustinian Friary Lorrha, Co. Tipperary is the most famous. There are traces of painted heraldry on the choir wall at Jerpoint, but the only shields that can be readily identified are the Druhull and Purcell families, see McGrath, M., 'The Materials and Techniques of Irish Medieval Wall-Paintings', *JRSAI*, 117 (1987), 102-4; Crotty, G., 'Heraldry in County Kilkenny', in J. Kirwan (ed.), *Kilkenny Studies in Honour of Margaret M. Phelan* (Kilkenny, ND), 49.

[30] An indulgence was granted for the repair of the fabric of the cathedral in 1414: see Gwynn, A., and Hadcock, R., N., *Medieval Religious Houses Ireland*, 64.

[31] These rippling lobes at the bottom of the angel's gown can be seen in the pillar piscina at Trim dating to *c.*1449-50, see Potterton, M., *Medieval Trim*, 402-6. The White Earl was acting as Richard, duke of York's deputy for the last two years of his life, an office in which he was most successful. This last deputyship may be a reasonable suggestion as to a date for the Clonfert work, Gorman, V., 'Richard, Duke of York, and the Development of an Irish Faction', 171

[32] Hourihane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland 1169-1550*, 81.

Cathedral paid for by Thomas Gondibour, who was Prior from 1465-1500.[33] The low round arch with cusps and flaming daggers (probably better described with the French term *soufflets* as they are so similar to French forms[34]) are remarkably close (Plate 4.17), but there are further similarities to the Gondibour screens at Strade. The chancel arch is supported by corbels, both of which are moulded with a deep hollow chamfer running underneath a quadrant (Plate 4.18). This hollow chamfer, on the south side, is filled with a human face with high cheeks and curly hair, and this face is flanked at either side by square foliage. This exact arrangement is seen in the Gondibour screens, suggesting that the masons who worked at Strade may have been aware of high quality woodwork and used it as a model for their designs. This link between Strade and woodwork is strengthened further by some relationships with medieval woodwork at Limerick Cathedral; in the fifteenth-century misericords.[35] The carved representations at the base of the seats are of humans, an angel, and both fantastical and realistic beasts. Here the angel has similar circular motifs carved at his feet, but his arms are broader, and are clasped at his waist rather than his chest (Plate 4.19).

There are further links between the high quality works at Strade and Holycross, and these is relate to the mouldings of the cloister capitals, and the moulding of the same element in the east window of the north transept at Strade (Plate 4.20). These comprise almost identical elements, and the similarity of the abacus is particularly stinking, as is the inclusion of the keel in the bell (Plate 4.21). The necking roll of the Holycross capital is missing, but others at the site of almost identical type have a scroll for a necking roll. At Lorrha Dominican Friary there survives a dismembered wall tomb niche of the kind found at Strade, but here the niche had jambs with capitals and bases (Plate 4.22). These capitals and bases, are moulded almost identically to the finest capitals and bases of the cloister at Holycross, in the north transept chapel (Plate 4.21). What we are seeing is a direct link between the finest work of the east, at Holycross, and the finest in areas under control of the Gaelic Irish (Plate 1.4).

This link between the Holycross cloister mouldings goes further than either Strade or Lorrha, and can be found in a seam of high quality works along the Shannon; furthermore, many of the sites where this link occurs have, or once had, elaborate canopied

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[33] Weston, D., *Carlisle Cathedral History* (Carlisle, 2000), 51.
[34] Frankl, P., *Gothic Architecture,* 217; the work at Strade is stylistically very similar to mature Flamboyant works in France, particularly the façade of La Trinité, Vendôme constructed in 1500.
[35] Haydn, J. A., *Misericords in St Mary's Cathedral, Limerick* (Limerick, 1969), 2.

tomb niches of 'Gaelic' western type.[36] These include Kilconnell, famous for having two canopied tombs (Plates 4.23, 4.24), where both the south transept arcade and the piscina in the chapel to the east of this transept have Holycross cloister mouldings (Plates 4.25, 4.27), Clontuskert, where the rood screen has the same mouldings (Plate 4.26), and remaining pinnacles remounted in the south wall of the choir suggest the presence of a fine tomb niche (Plate 4.28) ,[37] and Kilfenora (Plate 4.29), where the capitals and bases of the niche in the north wall of the choir are also moulded very similarly. At Sligo Dominican Friary, site of another canopied tomb (Plate 4.30), the cloister capitals are moulded with very broad keels in the bell (Plate 4.31), but the overall workmanship here is rather low, as is the drafting of the tracery of in the tomb.[38] The mouldings speak of a clear relationship between the best of the work (Plate 4.32).

Much as has happened with the cloister at Jerpoint, the western tombs have been the subject of a chronological tug of war, and this is clearly in evidence in the recent publication on the history of Clare Island, where there is a stark divide between the archaeologists and wall paintings experts at one side, who want the canopied wall tomb to date from the early years of the fifteenth century, and the art historians at the other, who wish to place it in the early sixteenth century.[39] The appearance of the Holycross cloister capital design at these western sites can give some clues as to chronology. Certainly the design of the sophisticated Holycross cloister capital appears to have been fully worked out *c.*1450. Holycross may be the site where many disparate influences are brought together, and the cloister could well be a copy of Dublin work, including Early English and Decorated elements. Holycross might be tentatively suggested to provide a *terminus post quem* for many of the dated elements that appear at the site. Clear dating evidence for

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[36] Gillespie notes the divide between Gaelic canopied tombs of the west and the box-tomb of the east in Gillespie, R., 'Irish Funeral Monuments and Social Change 1500-1700: Perception of Death', in R. Gillespie and B. Kennedy (eds.), *Ireland Art into History* (Dublin, 1994), 159.

[37] The pinnacles are attached to a tomb niche which looks very late, but the workmanship is so utterly divorced from this niche that they must have belonged to a finer work. The chancel screen at Clonmacnoise cathedral looks to be related to this screen at Clontuskert, as measurement of the mouldings may show.

[38] The O'Crean tomb at Sligo bears an inscription that dates it firmly to 1506.

[39] Manning, C., Gosling, P., and Waddell, J., (eds.), *New Survey of Clare Island Volume IV: The Abbey* (Dublin, 2005), 24-5, 140-141. Manning mislabels the Clare Island tomb niche 'Perpendicular', perhaps referring to the chest, but the canopy is really the antithesis of the Perpendicular style. He sees it in a line of development beginning with Early English niches at Gowran, through the canopied niche at Dungiven, to the Bultingfort-Galwey tomb at St Mary's Cathedral Limerick. The Dungiven tomb may well be mid to late fifteenth century, while the Bultingfort-Galwey tomb is best read as late Decorated. Stalley places the Clare Island tomb in the context of works like Kilconnell and Strade, which he dates to the early sixteenth century due to similarities between the figure sculpture here and that of the Ormond School, particularly the tomb of Piers and Margaret at St Canice's dating to the years before 1539.

many of the western friaries is lacking, but there are hints that work was being carried out at many sites during the course of the fifteenth century.

Although the 'first founder' of Kilconnell died in 1420, the house became Observant in 1464 and this might indicate the date of the extension to the church. Other aspects of the architecture suggest that direct artistic references are being made to Holycross, as a fluttering owl is carved on one of the tower supports, just as occurs at Holycross (Plate 4.33).[40] Documentary evidence shows that works at Clontuskert were taking place post 1414, and in the 1470s when the new west door was inserted.[41] One of the capitals of the Clontuskert rood screen bears the name 'JOHANES' (Plate 4.34), and Leask noted that this name is also carved on two of the cusps of the south transept window at Portumna Dominican Friary (Plate 4.35).[42] This Portumna window is remarkably like the north window of the south transept at Holycross, its head filled with inward facing mouchettes with further tracery springing out above (Plate 4.36).[43] There are a number of fifteenth-century references to Strade: indulgences were granted for restoration of the abbey by pope Eugenius IV in 1434, and the MacJordan family refounded the friary in the early fifteenth century.[44] The friary is also associated with one of the most famous poetic families in Ireland, as can be seen in 1448 when the *Annals of the Four Masters* record that 'Tadhg Oge, the son of Tadhg, son of Gilla-Colaim O'Higgin, chief Preceptor of the Poets

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[40] For the history of Kilconnell, see the excellent series of articles by Francis Joseph Bigger in the *Journal of the Galway Archaeological Society,* 1 (1900-1), 145-167, 2 (1902), 3-10, 3 (1903-4), 11-16; the second part of the article brings together all historical references to the site, see his excerpt from Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, ibid. 4, for the above dates.

[41] Fanning, T., 'Excavations at Clontuskert Priory, Co. Galway', 102, for a discussion of the rood screen see 118.

[42] Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 163. The friary at Portumna was founded in 1426 as the first Dominican observant house in Ireland, and had close links with the older house at Athenry. See Macalister, R.A.S., 'The Dominican Church at Athenry', *JRSAI,* 43 (1913), 202; Coleman, A. (ed.), 'Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry', *Archivium Hibernicum,* 1 (1912), 205-6. The west window at Athenry is thought to be coeval with the fourteenth century east window, but is so similar to the east window at Portumna that it must have been inserted after the fire at Athenry in 1423. These windows are immediately distinctive both in the attenuation of the mullions and tracery bars, and the small and sparse cusps. Both windows are of four lights topped with depressed ogee archlets. The windows have such distinctive quirks that it must be the work of the same mason. The transept window at Portumna is of utterly different character, and is close to Holycross both in composition, use of cusps, and proportion of tracery and mullions, suggesting a date for the Portumna transept similar to that of the major rebuilding at Holycross of the 1430s-50s.

[43] In detail, the schemes comprise mouchettes filled with two falchions at the narrow end, and the round terminations of these mouchettes create a pleasing shape at the broad end. The head is filled with two falchions that spring from the centre of the window, and a kite shape is left in the window head.

[44] All of the important material for dating the work at Strade was brought together by Lynne Henry in her thesis, 'A Study of the Canopied Niche in Strade Friary, County Mayo' (BA dissertation, University of Dublin, 1999). She debates whether the tomb might be that of the O'Higgin or the MacJordan family. Henry may underestimate the status of Tadhg Oge O'Higgin, who she calls a 'mere poet'; he was in fact probably much more famous and important than the MacJordans, ibid. 34. See Simms, K., 'Bardic Poetry as a Historical Source', 62, where we find Tadhg offering political advice to parties far outside his territory.

of Ireland and Scotland, died, after penance, at Cill-Connla, and was interred in the monastery of Ath-leathan [Strade]', and in 1476 'Brian, the son of Farrell Roe O'Higgin, head of his own tribe, superintendent of the schools of Ireland, and preceptor in poetry, died on Maunday-Thursday, and was interred at Ath-leathan'.[45] Tadhg Oge O'Higgin was commissioned to write a praise poem for the fourth earl of Ormond in 1447, and O'Higgin also wrote a poem of Maelrooney O'Carroll of Éile, with whom the White Earl had contracted a double marriage alliance *c.*1440.[46] This evidence suggests that O'Higgin family were well acquainted with clients in the east of the country, and when he did commission a tomb, could have looked to the 'school' of masons at Holycross for a suitable craftsman.

It is interesting that the prickly tracery in window of the south transept at Strade, already noted for its Holycross-type capitals, has tracery resembling that of the three light window in the north aisle wall at Holycross (Plates 4.37, 4.38). In this Holycross window the outer lights are round headed while the central one is topped with an ogee. Two fat mouchettes spring from the spandrels of the lower lights, and these mouchettes contain crosses created by arcs, the arcs leaving a spherical diamond at the centre; the window head is filled with a vesica. This is a particularly strange composition, but appears in a two light version at Strade. At Aghaboe, Co. Laois, there is a three light version of this window, with a transom, in which some of the tracery is cusped and some is not (Plate 4.39). The occurs without cusps in a four light version at Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny, in a window originally the east window Fertagh (Plate 4.40),[47] and at Old Leighlin, Co. Carlow, where the design is particularly awkward (Plate 4.41).[48]

From the above discussion it becomes strikingly evident that the links between the best architecture in the east, and the best architecture in the west, developed earlier than has previously been suspected. It also shows that the vocabulary of forms built up at Holycross in the middle years of the fifteenth century were prime artistic currency for

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[45] *Annals of the Four Masters*, IV(1448), 961; (1478), 1099.
[46] Simms, K., 'Bards and Barons', 186-7; Leonard, A., and FitzPatrick, L., 'The Human Face of the Territory of Éile', 14.
[47] Carrigan, W., *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, II, 294. Carrigan calls this the 'beautiful east window in the Perpendicular style', perhaps he confuses this work with Perpendicular because the mullions appear to extend above the sub arcs, but Perpendicular it is not. The MacGillapatricks appear to have paid for new architecture at Fertagh when they chose it as their place of burial in the 1530s, and they are closely associated with the monastery at Aghaboe, see Carrigan, W., *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory,* II, 295.
[48] The choir at Old Leighlin is dated to the tenure of Bishop Matthew Sanders, who took up office in 1527 and died in 1549: see Ware, J., *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland, Revised and Improved by Walter Harris*, 461.

many years, still being fresh enough to replicate in the 1530s at Fertagh and Old Leighlin. This does make the dating of Strade difficult, and most of the argument for a date for the tomb has been based around figurative sculpture. Hourihane has suggested that the pelican pecking its breast under the south corbel of the chancel arch at Strade is by the same hand, or is heavily influenced by, the pelican carved on the north 'shrine' at Holycross, and dates both to *c.*1450s (Plates 4.42, 4.43).[49] Stalley argues heavily that the figure of Christ showing his five wounds 'replicates the Kilkenny [tomb chest] designs almost exactly'.[50] This exact replication of the image of Christ showing his five wounds was noted by Helen Roe, who suggested that 'in spite of their widely distant locations, each picture of the subject is so nearly identical in detail that we must suppose a single exemplar only to have been available to the Irish craftsmen' (Plate 4.44, 4.45).[51] This suggestion of a single exemplar was taken further by Margaret Phelan, who went on to show that all six examples of the subject known in Ireland are approximately the same size.[52] There are two points to be made here, the first being that perhaps too much reliance is placed on figure sculpture alone, as the patron is more likely to ask for a sculpture to be replicated, than they are for a moulding, for example. The second is that if masons were using a single exemplar for the reproduction of a piece of figurative sculpture, this exemplar may have been in the possession of the workshop for generations, and so the appearance of a design such as Christ showing his five wounds should not be solely relied upon as dating evidence.

The kind of work commissioned at Holycross and other sites in the east by the Butlers and their associates is markedly different from that commissioned by Gaelic patrons in the west, but the constructional details of this architecture suggest that the work was carried out by the same, perhaps, large school of masons, possibly working with a stock set of moulding forms over generations. The cultural divide is marked, and most interesting; it has already been strongly argued that in the work commissioned by James Butler, fourth earl of Ormond, the main source of inspiration was recent architecture in Dublin, and perhaps architecture at Canterbury Cathedral in England. This prompts the question: where were the Gaelic patrons of the west looking for architectural inspiration? This question is relevant whether the tomb at Strade was commissioned for the MacJordan

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[49] Houruhane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland*, 109.
[50] Stalley, R., 'The Abbey in its later Gothic Context', in C. Manning, P. Gosling, and J. Waddell (eds.), *New Survey of Clare Island Volume IV: The Abbey* (Dublin, 2005), 141.
[51] Roe, H. M., *Medieval Fonts of Meath*, 96. Here she discusses the appearance of this subject on the font at Rathmore, Co. Meath.
[52] Phelan, M., 'Irish Sculpture Portraying the Five Wounds of Our Saviour', in E. Rynne (ed.), *Figures from the Past Studies on Figurative Art in Ireland in Christian Ireland in honour of Helen. M. Roe* (Dublin, 1987), 246.

family, or the O'Higgin poets, and to the O'Kellys at Kilconnell and Clontuskert, the O'Creans in Sligo, and the other Gaelic patrons of canopied tombs.

There are two key points to make with regard to these canopied tombs, and the first relates to what might be called the cultural community that existed between Gaelic Scoltand and Gaelic Ireland in the middle ages, as previously stated 'the area of Gaelic rule spanned the north channel: the Gaedhealtacht, or Gaeldom had a common language, law and culture, but was divided into more or less independent lordships'.[53] In the O'Higgin eulogy Tadhg Oge is rememberd as 'chief Preceptor of the Poets of Ireland and Scotland' and Katharine Simms notes that 'the Mac Domhnaill Lords of the Isles repeatedly issued unsuccessful invitations designed to lure the most skilful Irish bards of their day over to Scotland'.[54] In the fifteenth century, Scottish architecture was heavily influenced by France and the Low Countries, and this led to a fashion for curvilinear tracery that in England had been obsolete in church architecture for almost one hundred years.[55] Richard Fawcett notes the presence of foreign masons in Scotland who reintroduced this form so that in using curvilinear tracery Scottish architects were 'choosing a path that was closer to Continental Europe than England'.[56] This was true of patrons too, for the monks of Melrose employed the French mason, John Morrow, who completed choir and some of the transept with curvilinear window tracery;[57] in the 1440s these monks also commissioned their choir stalls from a craftsman in Bruges.[58]

As members of the highest echelons of Gaelic society, the O'Higgin poets could have moved freely between Gaelic Scotland and Ireland, and it is certain that other members of the learned classes did. John Bannerman details the background of the O'Brolchans

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[53] Ellis, S., *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 11.
[54] Simms, K., 'Bardic Poetry as a Historical Source', 66.
[55] Stalley argues that curvilinear forms continued in church woodwork long after they had gone out of fashion in full scale church architecture, citing Lancaster as a case in point, where the choir stalls date from the 1360s and are flamboyant in design, see Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 209; the Gondibour screens from Carlisle are also a case in point – interestingly the full scale architecture associated with Gondibour at Carlisle is Perpendicular, see Weston, D., *Carlisle Cathedral History*, 17.
[56] Fawcett, R., *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 123.
[57] Fawcett, R., 'Scottish Medieval Window Tracery', in D. Breeze (ed.), *Studies in Scottish Antiquity Presented to Stuart Cruden* (Edinburgh, 1984), 154-5.
[58] Fawcett, R., *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 284. The stalls were commissioned from Cornelius Aeltre of Bruges, and were to be modelled on examples at Ter Duninen and Thosan, in what is now Belgium, it is not known at what date the stalls were ordered, but it emerged in the course of legal action in the 1440s, undertaken by the monks on non-delivery of the work, that Aeltre had been afraid of reprisals when he ran behind and would have to hand over the order late. It is interesting that the monks specified models in Belgium, suggesting that they were familiar with the work there.

> To Derry…belong the Ó Brolchans, whose interest in stone carving is on record throughout the twelfth century. Becoming domiciled in Scotland at least by the middle of the fourteenth century, they are on record at Iona in *c.*1450. Thus Donald Ó Brolchan was responsible for the restoration work carried out at the abbey at that time. An inscription on a cross set up at Ardchattan tells us that it was carved by John Ó Brolchan in 1500.[59]

The O'Brolchans were also a professional clerical family, and this may be one way of explaining why John O'Brolchan was able to sign his work in a mixture of Latin and Gaelic.[60]

Roger Stalley has noted the similarity of fifteenth century tracery at Iona with that of the canopied tomb at Dungiven, Co. Derry, suggesting that the works might be coeval (Plates 4.46).[61] The assignment of this tomb niche to the mid-fifteenth century has recently been dismissed outright by Tom McNeill, who dates the features of the tomb to the late fourteenth century. He bases his dating on the constructional details, particularly the tracery (which he compares to Exeter), the use of nail head, and the use of wave mouldings.[62] It is far more likely that the tracery is related to the mid fifteenth-century work at Iona, along with the effigy, and the nail head with the Irish fifteenth century revival of thirteenth century decorative forms; the wave mouldings, too, actually appear to be quadrants. Certainly high ranking members of the learned classes may well have been conscious of artistic developments in Scotland, and in looking either to Scotland or continental Europe for artistic inspiration, they could have been consciously rejecting English (Dublin?) forms that to some extent were being consciously emulated by the White Earl.

Inspiration from continental Europe may well have come directly to western Ireland through trade links with continental Europe, and there survive a number of records of this kind of artistic interchange. Wealthy merchants were certainly not averse to

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[59] Bannerman, J., 'The Lordship of the Isles', in J. M. Brown (ed.), *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977), 234.
[60] Mac Lean, D., 'The Status of the Sculptor in Old-Irish Law and the Evidence of the Crosses', *Peritia,* 9 (1995), 129.
[61] Stalley, R., 'Ireland and Scotland in the Later Middle Ages', *BAA*, C.T. 8, 1986 (1994), 109; this article is the first to argue a range of similarities between Scottish and Irish architecture in the late middle ages. Champneys had noted that similarities existed, as the title of his book suggests. He drew attention to the similarity between the transept capitals at Roscommon Abbey and those at Iona, see Champneys, A., *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture* (Dublin, 1910), 184. There was certainly a canopied tomb at Roscommon, as remaining breaches in the wall and high quality pinnacles belie its former presence.
[62] McNeill, T., 'The Archaeology of the Gaelic Lordship East and West of the Foyle', in P.J. Duffy, D. Edwards, and E. FitzPatrick (eds.),*Gaelic Ireland c.1250-1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement* (Dublin, 2001), 348-50.

lavishing imported artworks upon favoured churches, and so we hear of William Butler, donating 'an adorned altarpiece well painted and gilded' of the Virgin – her death and burial, to the Dominican Friary in Athenry (site of another canopied tomb), which he had brought back from Flanders.[63] There must have been a market for high art and luxury goods in the west of Ireland in the fifteenth century, as in February 1490 a consortium was formed between three merchants from La Rochelle and two from Dieppe to send a Spanish ship, *Sante-Marie* of San Sebastian, to Limerick and Galway with a cargo of 63 tuns of honey, 61 tuns of wheat, 28 tons of iron and some pastel, some pounds of saffron and fine silk and 24 ells of linen and silk, dyed wool, woad and stained glass.[64] Interestingly, in the *Account of the Town of Galway*, an entry of 1493 records that 'James Lynch FitzStephen built the quire of our lady's church in the west of Galway ... also on his own cost and charges put up all of the painted glasses in the church of St. Nicholas'.[65] Raw materials for the production of some such luxury goods were exported from Ireland during the fifteenth century, Irish wood was particularly prized for carpentry on the continent, and the cathedral chapter of Rouen had their choir stalls made of Irish oak in the 1460s.[66]

These portable artworks must have acted as inspiration for Irish architects when patrons demanded that their tomb or chapel might look like work in continental Europe. One recent author has argued strongly that the architecture of the St–Esprit Chapel, at Rue in Picardy was strongly influenced by the panel paintings of Roger van der Weyden. She states

> The links between painting and sculpture, and subsequently sculpture and architecture in the late middle ages were perhaps more crucial than has previously been realised. In fact, considerable production of carved wooden altarpieces in northern France and the Netherlands may have contributed in the diffusion of Rogier's [Rogier van der Weyden's] ideas into sculpture, and from these portable models into architecture'.[67]

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[63] Coleman, A. (ed.), 'Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry', 209. Many thanks are due to Alph O'Brien for translating some of this document.
[64] O'Brien, A. F., 'Commercial Relations between Aquitaine and Ireland *c.*1000 to *c.*1550', in J. Picard (ed.), *Aquitaine and Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1995), 51.
[65] Walsh, P., 'Account of the Town of Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* 44 (1992), 60. Transcribed from the original TCD MS 886 (Abbot Catalogue), f.14 in Blake, M. (ed), 'Account of the Lynch Family and of Memorable Events in Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society,* 8 (1912), 88. We are told here that this stained glass was 'at the time considered a most sumptuous ornament, and it certainly was a very expensive one, and a remnant of which with Lynch's Arms therin, remains to this day in the great window over the Protestant communion table'.
[66] O'Brien, A. F., 'Commercial Relations between Aquitaine and Ireland *c.*1000 to *c.*1550', 39.
[67] Labrecque, C., 'A Case Study of the Relationship Between Painting and Flamboyant Architecture: St-Esprit Chapel at Rue, in Picardy', in S. Blick and R. Tekippe (eds.), *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles* (Leiden, 2005), 90.

This movement of architectural form between what have been considered 'minor arts' and monumental architecture has been noticed for other media too, notably stained glass, and items of gold work, so that there may have been many channels for the flow of new architectural ideas into the west of Ireland in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[68] The works may not have been solely continental, as in the Register of the Dominican house at Athenry, it is recorded that at tomb was brought to the house from Bristol.[69] At Ennis, home of a very fine canopied tomb, there are a series of panels thought to originally be from the MacMahon tomb of *c.*1470, which are copied from English alabasters (Plate 4.47).[70] Finally, to bring the argument full circle, the base mouldings of carved altar frontal at Strade are of English late Gothic form, some of the most 'Perpendicular' bases to be found in late medieval Ireland (Plate 4.48).

The foregoing passages amply demonstrate the complex architectural relations at work in late medieval Ireland, and these reflect the complex social relationships that existed between different magnates and merchants at a local and national level. The relationship between the White Earl of Ormond and Richard Duke of York was sealed by an indenture, and by Ormond standing as godfather to York's baby son, the bonds being thus political and religious. Their joint patronage of the pillar piscina at Trim seems to seal the above political and religious bonds in stone, and the fresh and exacting architecture at this site appears to have given a new injection of inspiration to architects working in the Pale and beyond (Plate 4.49). The surviving choir window is of three cusped ogee lights under a square billeted hood with open, cusped spandrels and hood stops. Leask describes the stops: 'that on the right is a bishop whose mitre fills a small ogee arched canopy surmounted by a pinnacle. On the left is a bearded man wearing what is, apparently, a ducal coronet. While crowns are not uncommon in Irish medieval sculptures no ducal coronet has yet been noted among them'.[71] This window can be directly compared to Perpendicular work in England such as Church Hanborough, Oxfordshire, built after 1399 (Plate 4.50).[72] A mid-fifteenth century date for the window has been called into question by Bradley, who calls Leask's suggestion that it dates from the time of Richard Duke of York

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[68] For stained glass see Bugslag, J., 'Early Fourteenth-Century Canopywork in Rouen Stained Glass', *BAA*, C.T. 12, 1986 (1993), 73-80, and for micro-architecture in minor arts see Bucher, F., 'Micro-Architecture as the 'Idea' of Gothic Theory and Style', *Gesta*, 15: 1/2, Essays in Honour of Sumner McKnight Crosby, (1976), 71-89.

[69] Coleman, A., ed. 'Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry', 207.

[70] Hunt, J., *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600*, 121-6; Hunt, J., 'The Influence of Alabaster Carvings on Medieval Sculpture in Ennis Friary', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 17 (1977 for 1975), 35-41.

[71] Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 185-6.

[72] Harvey, J., *The Perpendicular Style*, 153-4.

as 'nothing more than fanciful'.[73] Here it appears that Bradley is applying Leask's time lag. To dismiss the argument that this window is associated with Richard, duke of York is to the high quality and unusual pillar piscina in the church, also bearing his personal arms (Plate 4.51). It also ignores the nature of the Duke's patronage in England, from which it is clear that Richard was a knowledgeable and discerning patron, who had an eye for architectural detail.

The Trim window is closely replicated at Moymet church, Co. Meath, including the delicate cusping and open spandrels (Plate 4.53). Few authors have noted that the manor of Moymet was a Butler manor, belonging to the Butlers of Dunboyne.[74] This window must represent direct emulation of architecture associated with the main line of the Butler family by a junior branch, in this case the Dunboyne Butlers. Later windows at Callan also appear to learn from this window at Trim, but here the copies are not so faithful.

The pillar piscina at Trim was not influential in the liturgical sense, and it appears to be the only such example in the country, but the form of decoration does find followers, particularly the angels holding armorial shields. It is difficult to argue that Trim was the only source of inspiration, as other high quality fonts such as that at Crickstown also acted as models to copy (Plate 4.52).[75] But in a font such as that at Dunsany it is clear that Trim must have had an influence, and it is practically possible to distinguish the sources of inspiration for the piece. The shaft quotes directly from the font and other heraldic panels at Trim, while the base moulding is similar in composition to base mouldings at Holycross, particularly the bell ending in a fillet above a roll. The underside of the bowl appears to be made up, to some extent, from the pages of a pattern book, one panel certainly represents a

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[73] Bradley makes this point in the *Urban Archaeological Survey of Meath*, here quoted from Potterton, M., *Medieval Trim*, 290.

[74] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 141, he describes that the Butlers of Dunboyne lost control of their manors of Dunboyne and Moymett after the skirmishes with James FitzMaurice FitzGerald over his accession to the manors of Maynooth and Rathmore in 1454, but Edmund regained them *c.*1460; Abraham, A. S. K., 'Patterns of Landholding and Architectural Patronage in Late Medieval Meath' (PhD, Queens University Belfast, 1991), 337. Abraham states the possible manorial power-centre at Moymet held by the Butlers was also the location of a fairly large tower-house, but a much smaller tower-house appears to have been built on their outlying manor at Rathkenny. The towerhouse at Moyment is probably sixteenth century in date.

[75] Roe, H. M., *The Medieval Fonts of Meath*, 37-45; Roe suggests that the source of inspiration for the Crickstown font may well be alabaster carving, pointing out similar compositions in alabaster retables such as that in the British Museum from Abergavenny, dating from *c.*1450. The relationship between these carvings is very clear, see Bedford, R. P., 'An English Set of the Twelve Apostles, in Alabaster', *The Burlington Magazine*, 42:240 (1923), 130-4. It is interesting, if most likely coincidental, that the White Earl's mother-in-law was Joan, Lady Abergavenny.

vault pattern (Plate 4.54).[76] The panels around the bowl bear a strong relation to Meath tomb sculpture of the mid-century, particularly the Plunkett tombs at Killeen with their ogee canopies with Perpendicular arcading above (Plate 4.172).[77]

The apostle shaft at St. Patrick's church, Trim, although not directly linked with Butler or York patronage, is incredibly fine, and is one of the best examples of figure sculpture to come down to us from the fifteenth century (Plates 4.55, 4.56).[78] Comparisons have been made between this piece and a hexagonal shaft from Château Comtal, Carcassonne, France, and although the composition is very similar, the figure sculpture is rather different.[79] At Trim, we are seeing work much closer to English figure sculpture of the fifteenth century, perhaps influenced once again by alabaster carving.[80] It is interesting to note that there is an apostle font at Hitchin St. Mary, Hertfordshire, a manorial centre of Richard, Duke of York, where the apostles are housed under ogee canopies.[81] Joan Pike illustrates this font, but does not connect it to the Duke of York.[82]

There is documentary evidence to suggest that the White Earl was instrumental in gathering funds for the restoration of Kilcooly after 1444. The convent had been burned early in this year, and the 'armed men' responsible may well have been the earl of Desmond and his allies, who raided Kilkenny and Tipperary in 1444 because the 1429 contract for betrothal of his heir with the daughter of the earl of Ormond had been breached. The document in the *Calendar of Papal Letters* reads:

> To David Ofoy, a Cistercian monk of the Blessed Virgin of Kilcooly, in the diocese of Cashel. Dispensation at his recent petition – containing that the said monastery had been almost completely destroyed and burned by armed men, that its abbot, Philip, has left it and betaken himself to England with two monks in search of food and clothing, and who has

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[76] Roe suspects the pelican may be influenced by pre-Reformation needlework, but this doesn't impinge on the idea that architectural pattern books might also have been used, Roe, H. M., *The Medieval Fonts of Meath*, 16. Moss noted the use of architectural drawings in the form of window tracery at Ballylarkin, Co. Kilkenny and Dunsany, Co. Meath, suggesting that this is in line with a common European trend for the use of such drawings, Moss, R., 'Permanent expressions of piety: the secular and the sacred in later medieval stone sculpture', 84.

[77] Hunt, J., *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600*, 207-8, 210.

[78] Potterton, M., *Medieval Trim*, 400-1.

[79] Potterton, M., *Medieval Trim*, 400-1, with an illustration on page 404; the comparison was first made by Roe.

[80] Compare the illustration in Potterton, page 403 with Bedford, R. P., 'An English Set of the Twelve Apostles, in Alabaster', 133. The treatment of the hair is quite similar, but the English works are more accomplished in their treatment of drapery. The Trim drapery looks rather stylised in comparison, the linearity coming close to Romanesque aesthetics.

[81] For Richard's links with the manor of Hitchin see Johnson, P. A., *Duke Richard of York*, 15; for a brief description of the font at Hitchin see Pevsner, N., *Hertfordshire* (Harmondsworth, 1977), 198.

[82] Pike, J., *Medieval Fonts of Ireland*, 35.

> given David, who is a priest, and on whose behalf James earl of Ormond, has also petitioned the pope, license to serve any ecclesiastical benefices – to receive and hold any benefice in Ireland with or without cure, even wont to be governed by secular clerks.[83]

The financial situation of the abbey at this time must have been very dire, as the abbot and clerks were not even begging for funds towards the restoration of the church, but for the basic means of living. Roger Stalley states 'during his travels, the abbot's mind must have been concentrated on physical survival, rather than the finer points of architecture, and there is little in the design of the monastery which can be attributed to a knowledge of contemporary English building'.[84] Abbot Philip died in 1463 and was buried in the choir of the abbey church along with his parents and is commemorated by a very fine grave slab.[85] He was succeeded as abbot of the house by his son.[86] Stalley argues that the character of the architecture at Kilcooly strongly suggests that the rebuilding of the eastern arms was not carried out until 1500, and heraldic evidence bears this out well, so that this abbey, along with works at Hore, and Cashel Cathedral, will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

II. The cadet branches: the Butlers on the outside c.1452-c.1505

In some ways, it is difficult to divide the chronology of building in Ormond into three different sections, because there is a strong sense of continuity between the architecture known to date from the time of James, fourth earl of Ormond, and the building works undertaken by the cadet branches of the family after his death. This similarity may be the result of continuity in workshop practice, or may be a case of deliberate emulation of a much-venerated building – Holycross and possibly Gowran – by those trying to build up their own power base in the territory. Since we know that some buildings were founded during the later fifteenth century, it is possible to write about them chronologically, even if the architecture provides few hints of progression.

We know from Edmund Mac Richard's *Book of Pottlerath* that he was a prolific builder, as we are told that 'the Bawn of Dunmore and the two castles of Thurles and the

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[83] *Calendar of Papal Letters*, IX, 458.
[84] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 125.
[85] Hunt, J., *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600*, 227-8; Maher, D., *Medieval Graves Slabs of County Tipperary, 1200 – 1600 A. D*, 63.
[86] Carrigan, W., 'Kilcooly Abbey', *Journal for the Preservation of Memorials of the Dead in Ireland*, 5 (1901-3), 453, and Carrigan, W., *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, II, 396.

castle of Buaidlic [were built] by the son of Richard in that year [1452]'.[87] There are two standing tower houses in Thurles, and though it is impossible to say if these were constructed by Edmund, they appear to be early examples of the type, especially the castle at the bridge. These have been written about by Conrad Cairns in his study of Tipperary towerhouses. That at the bridge is a small three storey tower with a vault over the first floor (Plate 4.57). There are few architectural features that can be discussed in a formal manner. The window openings are simple slits, while the ground floor chamfered door may have been added later.[88] At Buolick there is a tower house, and fifteenth century parish church also survives at Dunmore. It is believed that Edmund was responsible for building one of the tower houses at Carrick-on-Suir.[89] It is in the later period, under the patronage of the eighth earl of Ormond and his wife that architectural affinities begin to occur between ecclesiastical and domestic architecture and so will be discussed later.

The history of the foundation of an Augustinian friary at Callan at the request of Edmund MacRichard Butler and his wife, Gyllys O'Carroll, in 1461 has already been outlined. The establishment of the friary actually fell to Edmund's son James, as Edmund died in 1464 and was buried in the Franciscan house in Kilkenny city.[90] William Carrigan believed that James Butler had been living in concubinage with his cousin Syve Kavanagh, and suggested that his patronage of the house at Callan was undertaken to atone for his great sin.[91] The only remaining building of the once elaborate friary complex is the church, which like most friars' churches is long and narrow with a tower separating the nave and chancel (Plate 4.58).[92] It is entered through a west door with cut stone details closely resembling work at Holycross (Plate 4.59). The moulding is formed of three rolls and broad fillets separated by hollow chamfers, somewhat like the door immediately south of the chapter house door at Holycross (Plate 4.60). The rolls at Callan are much broader, but the sharp mouldings cut in hard blue limestone mark the work as that of a Holycross

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[87] Dillon, M., 'Laud Misc. 610 cont.', 147.

[88] Cairns, C. T., *Irish Tower Houses: A County Tipperary Case Study*, 35; there were several of tower houses in Thurles, and so it is impossible to tell which were built by Edmund. Certainly the bridge castle, with its strategic defensive location, could well have been built by Edmund as the earl's deputy, to protect the Butler town of Thurles from attacks from the north.

[89] Empey, C. A., 'The Manor of Carrick-on-Suir in the Middle Ages', *JBS*, 2:2 (1982), 207.

[90] Carrigan, W., *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, III, 311. It is interesting that Edmund chose to be buried at the mendicant friary of the Grey Friars in Kilkenny, as opposed to the family chantry at Gowran. This may well reflect his Gaelic sensibilities, his son granted land to the friary in 1479, and one wonders if this grant is in some way connected with masses for the soul of Edmund, see White, N. B. (ed.), *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds*, no. 53, 236.

[91] Carrigan, W., *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, III, 311-312.

[92] The best architectural appraisal of the site is O'Brien, C., 'County Kilkenny – Parish of Callan – Augustinian Priory', *The Architectural and Topographical Record*, 1 (1908), 79-83.

mason. The jambs at Callan are flanked by pinnacles that terminate at the hood; these pinnacles have a tall base moulded with rolls and a scroll, and on the south pinnacle an angel is carved in the round. Hourihane describes this door at Callan as follows

> A small opening, with multi-moulded splays of alternating rolls and hollows is broken only by the carving of an angel on one of the rolls of the southern jamb. Even though the carving at Callan is now damaged and the upper part of the small figure is missing, the work of this sculptor can also be recognised at Holycross Abbey, Co. Tipperary, where there is a similar angel in exactly the same unusual position on the sedilia in the southern wall of the chancel.[93]

Interestingly, although the unusual position of the angel is the same, the details of the costume and positioning of the wings and hands are very different, so that although the idea of an angel on the round may have been taken from Holycross, the same 'exemplar' was not used for the work (Plates 4.61, 4.62). The west window at Callan is a cuspless copy of the north transept, north chapel window at Holycross, with an added transom. Callan is a later work undertaken by a mason or masons, familiar with Holycross, and perhaps trained there, or copying the work at Holycross at the demand of their patron.

The sedilia at Callan suggests that the latter is the most likely explanation for the similarities between the architecture here and that of Holycross. Overall, the sedilia at Callan is far less detailed than the Holycross example: the section below the seating area has no foliate carving, the three arches are not ogee in form and uncusped, the flanking pinnacles are cut with ogee headed panels stacked one above the other but there are no crocketed pinnacles above each ogee head as at Holycross (Plate 4.63). The openings themselves have crocketed ogee hoods running into pinnacles, but no second row above; there is no overhanging vault, though the sedilia does have a moulded cornice and hipped roof. The moulding of the shafts is identical to Holycross, but the inclusion of mini buttressing brings the design closer to the north 'shrine' at Holycross rather than the sedilia proper. The only detail where the Callan sedilia surpasses the Holycross version in complexity is in the moulding of the bases, which at Callan have multiple rolls and are very similar (perhaps coeval with) the bases of the elaborate window rear arch in the north transept chapel at Holycross. The workmanship at Callan suggests that it is a later copy of the more accomplished original (Plate 4.64).

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[93] Hourihane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland 1169-1550*, 83.

In a way, the Callan sedilia is a copy in the medieval sense, as Krautheimer describes it, 'where the model is never imitated *in toto* ... evidently the medieval beholder expected to find in a copy only some parts of the prototype but not by any means all of them'.[94] Although the two sedilia are not identical, they are sufficiently similar to suggest that one was designed to look like the other. Only one other piece of church furniture in the country is so similar in design, and this is the 'Royal Tomb' or 'McMahon tomb' which once stood against the north nave wall at Ennis Franciscan Friary, Co. Clare (Plates 4.65, 4.66).[95] This 'tomb' is triple arched and freestanding; in general form it resembles the sedilia at Callan, and indeed, the similarity of this piece to both Callan and Holycross was noted by O'Brien in 1908.[96] The tomb was in a fragmentary condition when Westropp surveyed the site in 1889, but reconstructional drawings were made by both Westropp and O'Brien, and in these it is clear that the moulded details closely replicate the work at Callan (Plates 4.67, 4.68. 4.69).[97] From Westropp's detailed drawings, it is also evident that there is a great amount of variation in the foliate carvings of the 'Royal Tomb' and this can be seen in other monumnets at the site, particularly the 'Inchiquin' tomb, which has a fine overhanging vaulted canopy of a type very similar to the overhanging canopy of the sedilia at Holycross (Plates 4.70, 4.71).[98] The 'Royal Tomb' differs in function and location from the sediliae at Holycross and Callan, in that it is designed in the overall form of a sedilia but appears to have been commissioned as a tomb by Morina O'Brien for her McMahon husband, Terence.[99] The tomb was designed to hold panels copied directly from English alabaster carvings, which have already been noted above.[100]

Hourihane made the suggestion that work at Holycross and Ennis can be linked by means of a masons' mark, and some sculptural forms.[101] Although these links alone appear tenuous, the likelihood of common workmanship at the site is increased by the replication

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[94] Krautheimer, R., 'Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture',' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), 13; this article was followed many years later by Crossley, P., 'Medieval Architecture and Meaning: The Limits of Iconography', *The Burlington Magazine*, 130:1019 (1988), 116-121, where Krautheimer's approach is validated, see esp. 121.
[95] Westropp, T. J., 'History of Ennis Abbey, Co. Clare, 1240-1693', *JRSAI*, 9 (1889), 44-9; Westropp, T. J., 'Ennis Abbey and the O'Brien Tombs', *JRSAI*, 25 (1895), 135-54; O'Brien, C., 'County Clare – Parish of Dromcliff – Ennis Franciscan Priory', *The Architectural and Topographical Record*, 1 (1908), 143-67.
[96] O'Brien, C., 'County Clare – Parish of Dromcliff – Ennis Franciscan Priory', 158.
[97] The tomb is now housed in the OPW depot at Athenry, many thanks to John Montague who gave me his photographs of the tomb.
[98] Westropp, T. J., 'Ennis Abbey and the O'Brien Tombs', 150.
[99] Ibid., 137.
[100] Hunt, J., 'The Influence of Alabaster Carvings on Medieval Sculpture in Ennis Friary', 36.
[101] Hourihane, C., *The Mason and His Mark*, 35.

of architectural minutiae, such as the moulding of the tomb uprights and bases.[102] There is also some historical evidence to suggest a close relationship between the O'Briens of Thomond and the Butlers of Ormond in the 1460s and later. The 'irregular union' formed between John, sixth earl of Ormond and Reynalda O'Brien in the early 1460s has already been mentioned, and this resulted in the birth of Sir James Ormond, colourfully known later as 'the Black Bastard'.[103] Reynalda stayed with the Butler family after the sixth earl's departure from Ireland in 1464, and married Richard, baron of Knockgraffon. After he died, she entered the convent of Kilone in the diocese of Killaloe where she died as abbess in 1510.[104] These family connections make the argument for common workmanship, and architectural emulation, all the more plausible, and can also be seen in other aspects of the architecture of Callan Augustinian friary, to which we now turn.

The windows at Callan friary heterogeneous mix and since the house was in existence for such a short period of time, this variety cannot be attributed to successive phases of building at the site (Plate 4.72). The east window, now broken, appears to be of a type common in the Butler territories in the late fifteenth century, occurring at St. Mary's church Clonmel and Cashel Dominican Friary (Plates 4.73, 4.74, 4.75). At Callan, the window appears to have been designed without cusps, a choice which seems to have been made at random. The Clonmel window is fully cusped, the others are not. These windows are flamboyant in design, and close examples can be found in fourteenth century England, and as already stated, at St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin (Plates 4.76); the omission of cusps, however, appears to be related to architectural fashion in the Low Countries, where the tracery was of brick and cusps were less likely to be included.[105] The work at Cashel may date to the reign of archbishop of Cashel John Cantwell II (1450-1482), who paid for the reconstruction of the Dominican house after it had been destroyed by fire (see

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[102] Maher notes the presence of a grave slab at Ennis that appears to be of a type common in the south-east of Ireland, particularly Tipperary, but this slab is too broken to attribute an exact date, see Maher, D., *Medieval Graves Slabs of County Tipperary, 1200 – 1600 A. D*, 19. If it could be shown that this slab was of an Ormond type, it would further bolster the case for arguing that the Ennis work may be by artists from Tipperary/Kilkenny.

[103] For an excellent assessment of the life of Reynalda see Ó Dálaigh, B., 'Mistress, Mother and Abbess: Reynalda Ní Bhriain (*c*.1447-1510)', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 32 (1990), 50-63 and for a briefer discussion see Kenny, G., *Anglo-Irish and Gaelic Women in Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), 168-9.

[104] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 180-1

[105] Fawcett, R., 'Late Gothic Architecture in Scotland: Considerations on the Influence of the Low Countries', 490-1. Fawcett's comments here are very relevant to Ireland, he states: 'all of the Scottish windows of this type are related to forms which had been current in Scottish medieval architecture since the early fifteenth century, but there is a refinement in the simplification of the designs which suggests that masons were responding to a new impetus and not paring down their existing repertoire'.

Appendix 9). Cantwell was a close associate of the Butler family.[106] Although there is no evidence to suggest that James MacRichard was connected with St. Mary Clonmel, his son Piers left instructions in his will to have his anniversary celebrated in the church (see Appendix 8).

A curious window occurs in the south wall of Callan friary, where the tracery takes the form of what looks like two egg-timers, really an isolated piece of cuspless reticulation (Plate 4.77). This window is an anomaly, and no stylistic comparison can be found in any standard texts on late Gothic architecture in England, France or the rest of Europe, but at Fertagh, Co. Kilkenny is a tomb where we find an approximation of this very window (Plate 4.78). The tomb is closely related to work of the O'Tunney atelier and commemorates John MacGillapatrick, his son Brian and their wives, and dates to before 1537.[107] On one long side of the tomb is a two-dimensional representation of the window at Callan. The panel to the right of this is an approximate drawing of the vault over the crossing tower at Old Leighlin Cathedral, Co. Carlow, and in the middle is a window which may be found in full three dimensional form at Fertagh. There appears to be a direct relationship between the full-scale architecture, and two-dimensional representations of that architecture in tomb sculpture. The relationship between the Butlers, their 'affinity', and both architecture and tomb sculpture emerges as an important basis for understanding the development and spread of architectural forms throughout the Ormond lordship and beyond.

Butler family relationships can help to establish a foundation date for Roscrea Franciscan friary, which has been a point of some confusion. Although some reliable sources credit Maolrooney O'Carroll, who died in 1532, with the foundation there is ample evidence to suggest that the house was in existence in 1470, and was a newly built convent at this time, perhaps founded some time in the 1460s.[108] This dating evidence takes the from of a colophon in an edition of canon law texts called the *Clementinae* written by the

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[106] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1507-47,* no. 33, 29, where William Cantwell gives evidence as to Piers Butler's legitimate right to inherit the earldom; we also find John Cantwell of Moykarkey giving evidence that 'he had heard his father, John Cantwell archbishop of Cashel, 70 years of age, who used to be with the White Earl in all parts of Ireland before he was archbishop, as also was John his son, saying confidently in secretwise, in the time of the said John, that if John and Thomas, his brother, should die without heirs male of their bodies, that then the legitimate heirs male of Richard Butler would succeed the said Earl in his inheritance'.

[107] Hunt, J., *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture, 1200-1600*, 166-7.

[108] The origin of this house has been debated by various sources. See Gwynn, A., and Gleeson, D., *A History of the Diocese of Killaloe*, 493-6; Ó Clabaigh, C., *The Franciscans in Ireland, 1400-1534* (Dublin, 2002), 47.

prior of Lorrha Augustinian monastery, Rodericus Olachtain, in 1470, where he describes in some detail how:

> At this time the Friars Minor gathered together in Roscrea in the company of Eugenius O Cerbaill, and they sacked the castle of O Mechair, and later the castle of the noble lord Seán O Cerbaill, chieftain of his nation; and they sacked the great church of St. Cronan and invaded the fine church and new residence of their own patron Saint Francis, together with William O Cerbaill and with MacGillapóil; and from those places they carried away much booty: fine clothing and vestments, cows, rams, ewes, meat and butter without measure, with beer and wine, all of which they consumed.[109]

William and Eugenius O'Carroll were the younger brothers of Seán, and the fact that they were attacking both their brother's castle and the newly founded friary suggest that the friary was associated with or even founded by Seán.[110] We have encountered Seán or John O'Carroll before, for when Edmund MacRichard was married to Gyllys, a daughter of Maolrooney O'Carroll, probably *c.*1440, his sister, Mary, was married to John O'Carroll.[111] The arrangement was apparently stable, as John received money from representatives of the exiled earl of Ormond in the 1460s.[112]

Thus, at much the same time as Edmund MacRichard and his O'Carroll wife were founding the Augustinian friary at Callan, John O'Carroll and his Butler wife Mary were most likely founding the Franciscan house at Roscrea, in easy reach of the Butler castle which they occupied, the castle and friary raided by John's brothers in 1470. The similarity of these acts of patronage go further in that Roscrea Franciscan friary appears to have been designed to look like Holycross (Plates 4.79, 4.80). The view from the nave into the east end of both Roscrea and Holycross is dominated by tower supports of punch dressed limestone with a chamfered archway, moulded corbels carrying an inner chamfered order that runs along the soffit of the arch. Although Holycross is the more elaborate building, a number of minor details tie these structures even closer together: the corbels under the crossing are moulded almost identically (Plate 4.81), and the expanses of punch dressed limestone below the towers are liberally carved with large masons' marks. The east

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[109] Gwynn, A., and Gleeson, D., *A History of the Diocese of Killaloe*, 495; Ó Clabaigh, C., *The Franciscans in Ireland, 1400-1534* (Dublin, 2002), 47.

[110] See O'Carroll, S., 'The genealogy and rulers of Éile Ó Cearbhaill', 16-17, were he describes the rivalry between the brothers. Eugenius (or Uaithne) was made tanist in attempt to appease him. After Seán's death in 1498 William and another brother Tadhg fought for the captaincy, and Tadhg succeeded for a time but by 1504 Seán's son Maelruanaidh.

[111] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 191, 175-6.

[112] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1413-1509*, no. 234, 212, payments were to Schan O'Carwyll, the horsemen of William O'Carroll.

window at Roscrea is of two lights, but there is reticulation in the window head, so that here too we are encountering a reference to Holycross.

Another area of close resemblance between Roscrea and Holycross is the moulding of cloister bases. The form of the cloister at Roscrea is lost to us, but from surviving fragments it appears that it was heavily buttressed, and would have carried the upper floors of the domestic ranges, forming an 'integrated cloister'. These buttresses seem to have been incorporated into the design of the piers and there is evidence of them in the cloister bases (Plate 4.82). Even with so few fragments surviving, it is possible to make a number of deductions about the cloister. It appears that in general form it replicated Holycross, with oddly shaped polygonal bases which must have carried moulded piers, and the openings may well have been contained within square frames, with spandrels filled with low relief decoration (Plate 4.83). The comparison works better at a constructional level, where very anomalous bases from Holycross are replicated quite closely at Roscrea, the closest comparison that can be found for the Holycross bases (Plate 4.84). A plaque in the cloister garth bore the following inscription 'Pray for the soul of Mulrooney O'Carroll, lord of Eli and Prince of Ireland at the time, 1523: it was he who caused me to be built'.[113] One early seventeenth century visitor to Roscrea recorded the founder of the house as 'Maolruny O Cearuill, lord of Éile, who built tombs for himself and his descendants and family there'.[114] In patronising the Franciscan house at Roscrea Maolrooney may have been continuing the work of his father, and in building tombs here, he was outlining his claim to the lordship, that had been disputed by his uncles in the 1490s.

As noted above, the third and fourth earls of Ormond were closely associated Holycross Abbey, and the O'Carrolls had traditionally been buried there.[115] With the foundation of the Augustinian Friary at Callan, and the Franciscan Friary at Roscrea, the MacRichard Butlers and the O'Carrolls created new burial places for their descendants, but made them resemble the older and much venerated Holycross Abbey. In replication of the architecture of this building, it is as if the MacRichard Butlers and the O'Carrolls are creating secondary relics of this much lauded site, the visual replication is meant to call to

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[113] Gwynn, A., and Gleeson, D., *A History of the Diocese of Killaloe*, 494, the inscription is quoted from Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*, but was originally preserved in the seventeenth century by Dr. Madden.
[114] Dontus Mooney's text is published in *Analecta Hibernica*, 6 (1934), see page 160 for the above quote.
[115] Leonard, A., and FitzPatrick, L., 'The human face of the territory of Éile', 14, where Tadhg's burial place is identified as Holycross by means of a Gaelic praise poem.

mind the sanctity of Holycross in these new buildings, constructed for the spiritually invigorated Mendicants as family mausolea.

Another building which bears a striking resemblance to Holycross is Fethard Augustinian Friary, founded in 1306.[116] There are fine Geometric windows in the north wall of the nave, which probably date to the first two decades of the fourteenth century, but much of the other cut stone detail was replaced in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries. A shield bearing a *chief indented on a bend overall gules* three escallops of the first marks this work out as the patronage of the Butlers of Dunboyne (Plate 4.85).[117] Are we here again encountering Mendicant patronage by Gaelicized members of the Butler family? The flanking shield has not yet been identified, but does not appear to represent any of the wives of the heads of the Dunboyne line in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The Dunboyne Butlers are traditionally associated with this building; they were granted the friary at the dissolution and had been benefactors before this date.[118] They do not appear to have evicted the friars, and a plaque records that the Edmund Butler, Baron of Dunboyne 'nova hac fabrica restavravit', this Edmund died in 1640.[119] The simplicity of the shield at Fethard suggests that it dates to the fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries, as later Dunboyne shields are quartered.[120]

The late medieval work at Fethard comprises two chapels, one added to the north of the nave (now ruinous and marked by a large pointed opening in the north nave wall) and one to the south side of the choir, perhaps the south aisle may also have been added at this time. The work resembles that at Holycross, with large expanses of punch dressed masonry and crisply cut architectural features, broken up with small but charming incidental carvings (Plate 4.86). The quality of the Holycross carving is absent at Fethard however, and the same restraint has not been employed (Plate 4.87). Hourihane suggests that one of the masons employed in the cutting of the cloister at Holycross was employed at Fethard, and can be identified by his mark.[121] The mouldings of the corbels at this site lack the clarity of the Holycross examples, and the size of the incidental details in the punch

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[116] Gwynn, A., and Hadcock, R., N., *Medieval Religious Houses Ireland*, 299.
[117] Butler, T., 'Some Heraldic Shields of the Butlers in Ireland', *JBS*, 3:3 (1991), 368.
[118] O'Keeffe, T., *Fethard: Irish Historic Towns Atlas no. 13*, (eds) A. Simms, H. B. Clarke and R. Gillespie (Dublin, 2003), 3.
[119] Brennan, J., 'Inscriptions from 17th century monuments in the Abbey of Fethard, Co. Tipperary', *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, 4 (1862-63), 146.
[120] Butler, T., 'Heraldry of the Butlers in Ireland', *JBS*, 2:1 (1980-1), 93.
[121] Hourihane, C., *The Mason and His Mark*, 38. For the masons' marks at Fethard see also Maher, D., 'Masons Marks at the Augustinian Abbey, Fethard, Co. Tipperary', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 32 (1990), 35-40.

dressed limestone is very large. The mason who undertook this work may have been trained at Holycross, but lacked the skill in design of the masters at this site.

One small detail at Fethard Augustinian is reminiscent of the east window at Moymett, and this is a square opening filled with an openwork ogee, fully cusped and with open cusped spandrels, carried in the pier that separates the nave and chancel (Plate 4.88). The other windows in the building relate directly to late Gothic examples in the area, the east window is a four light version of the intersecting window with round headed sub arcs, which can be found in three light form in the east wall of the south aisle at Callan St. Mary (Plates 4.89, 4.90). The east window of the south aisle chapel at Fethad Augustinian is almost identical to the north transept north chapel window at Holycross, but the sub arcs at Holycross are cusped (Plates 4.91, 4.92). At Callan, the west window of the south aisle is identical to that at Fethard, and others at Callan Augustinian, Jerpoint, and Kilcooly suggest that late alterations to these buildings are related (Plates 4.93, 4.94, 4.95, 4.96). There is a two light ogee headed window under a square head in the north chancel wall, and this has spandrels filled with low relief foliate carving (Plate 4.97). The hood is treated in a way that Champneys saw as particularly Irish, it 'seems in some cases to be treated as a canopy of stuff, its ends trailing off in to a knotted ribbon which again develops into foliage'.[122] Here the foliage is very asymmetrical and rambles for some distance. In this it is very like that over the south door of St. Mary's Callan, and the east window of this aisle (Plate 4.98). Taken together all of these details suggest that this aisle and the works at Cahir and Callan are coeval and also likely to be by the same hand.

Rae felt the O'Tunney's sculptural style could be seen in the south door of St. Mary's church Callan.[123] Could this Fethard architecture also be early work by their school? The mason's mark on the corbel between the chancel and eastern chapel is exactly the same and occurs in exactly the same place as those on a number of the cloister capitals at Holycross (Plate 4.99). Are all of these buildings then related? There are certainly other hints that these late building campaigns in the Butler territories were being carried out by the same masons. At the parish of St. Mary in Clonmel, already noted for having an east window like the broken example at Callan Augustinian, the west window has a hoodstop ending in knots and meandering leaves of the kind seen at Fethard and Callan, St. Mary (Plate 4.100). Although the appearance of these knotted hoodstops is quite common in

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[122] Champneys, A., *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 187.
[123] Rae, E. C., 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: II, the O'Tunney Atelier', 14.

Irish late Gothic work generally, their appearance in such a confined geographical area, perhaps under the patronage of the same family, suggests that these works may be related.

Hourihane has argued for a link between some of the sculpture in Fethard, work at Cahir Augustinian Priory and Cashel Cathedral. In describing label stops at Cashel Cathedral he relates how

> These distinctive label stops (including one with a stylized ribbon motif) were carved by a sculptor whose hand can be traced to St. Mary's Priory, Caher [Cahir]. With its unique modelling of the ears, eyes and nose, the single head is … closely paralleled by the label stops to the east window at Caher, which dates from the early fifteenth century and must be contemporary with the work at Cashel. It is possible also, although less certain, that the same sculptor may also have been responsible for the sheela-na-gig from Fethard.[124]

The work at Cahir and Fethard is related in a number of ways. There is a proliferation of human heads in the architecture of both sites not found at Holycross, and these mainly take the form of hoodstops (Plates 4.101, 4.104). Also, there are large, low-relief interlace patterns carved into the punch dressed masonry at both sites, and in some cases these are very similar in design (Plates 4.102, 4.103). At the parish church of Cahir these interlace designs and heads also occur, suggesting that the work is coeval (Plate 4.105). The heads at Cahir are more distinctive than those at Fethard, and are most remarkable for their ears, which are carved at perpendicular angles to the face.

The mouldings at Cahir priory and the parish church also differ a little from the Fethard work (Plate 4.106). They really appear to be Early English revival, and are made up of a repetition of the same elements over and over. The rear arch of the east window takes the form of a roll and fillet at the angle, the bases are round in section and tall; formed by stacked up rolls with upper fillets, emulating Early English water-holding bases, the examples in the parish church at Cahir are particularly striking (Plates 4.108, 4.110). The arch over the window in the priory is made up of shallow repeated elements, mainly quadrants, the easternmost window of the north wall is similarly treated. In the capitals, it seems that the sculptors are trying to replicate Early English head capitals with stiff leaf foliage: in between some of the heads, trefoil leaves appear, curling downward as they do in earlier capitals (Plate 4.104). The most marked pieces of Early English revivalism are the corbels in the window jambs beside the rear arch of the east window (Plate 4.109). These are directly related to early English examples at cathedrals of Kilkenny and Cashel,

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[124] Hourihane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland 1169-1550*, 57.

but more importantly the collegiate church at Gowran. At Cashel, some of these corbels were carved in the fifteenth century by a sculptor that both Rae and Hourihane suspect of having worked at Jerpoint (Plate 4.111). There seems to have been a loss of skill, however, between the carving of the stiff leaf at Jerpoint and the carving of these capitals at Cahir – the effect is very different. Unkel notes the appearance of fifteenth century head capitals at both Jerpoint and Cahir, and suggests 'the Butlers themselves may have played a role in the continued employment of the head capital in the fifteenth century'.[125]

It really appears that the revival of the head capital in late medieval Kilkenny and Tipperary is a product of the new work being based on venerated older models. There may have been head capitals in the cloister at Jerpoint before the fifteenth century rebuilding, and at Cahir Priory, originally founded in the late twelfth century, or alternatively, they both might be based on the thirteenth century work at Cashel Cathedral, St. Canice's Cathedral and Gowran, three of the most important and imposing buildings in the area. Interestingly, the east window at Cahir is an attempt at intersection, but the design is strange, combining three lancets with intersection above (Plate 4.112); Leask states that it is 'more curious than beautiful and obviously of late date'.[126] Perhaps the combination of lancets and intersection is also an attempt to tie in the new work with what was originally at the site, the three narrow ogee headed lights in the east wall replicate the arrangement of lancets at friaries with surviving thirteenth century work like Nenagh and Athenry (Plate 4.113).

There is no heraldry in either of the Cahir churches to suggest that the fifteenth-century work was a product of Butler patronage, but proximity to the Butler castle strongly suggests that they are the most likely candidates. A figure with the same perpendicular ears occurs as a corbel supporting the over-mantle of a fireplace in the north-west tower of Cahir castle, and this head is identical to a head at the parish church, so that it is safe to judge that the same craftsmen were involved (Plates 4.114, 4.115).[127] The castle at Cahir was greatly expanded in the fifteenth century, with two towers added to the north of the inner ward.[128] In arrangement it is very similar to those at Adare and Askeaton, Co.

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[125] Unkel, J. E., 'Faced with Faces: The Head Capital in Medieval Ireland', 39.
[126] Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 131.
[127] This head corbel is illustrated in the frontispieces of the Cahir guide book, see Wheeler, H. A. (with contributions by D. Pollock and J. Fenlon), *Cahir Castle, Co. Tipperary*, C. Manning and A. O'Shaughnessy (eds.) (Dublin, 1999). When I visited the castle I hunted for the head in vane, but the north-west tower was closed and the guide, Lorraine Egan, kindly told me that this is where the head was to be found.
[128] Wheeler, H. A, *Cahir Castle, Co. Tipperary*, 20-21.

Limerick. Askeaton was the caput of the earls of Desmond, to whom the Butlers of Cahir were related.

III. The rehabilitation of MacRichard and the 'Butler affinity' c.1505-1552

When Piers 'Ruadh' Butler married Margaret FitzGerald, the daughter of his foster father in 1485, he was marrying into the most politically powerful family in Ireland who maintained strong ties with English court culture.[129] As described in chapter 1, however, the first twenty years of their relationship as a time of uncertainty and it was not until the death of Sir James Ormond and Piers' reappointment as the deputy of Earl Thomas that the couple comfortably had the means to engage in the building spree which ensued. Hore and Graves say of Margaret:

> Evidences of improvement and civilisation introduced by her into the neighbourhood of the city of St. Canice continued to be remarkable for more than a century, as affording a contrast to the unreclaimed barbarism of other districts. She took an active and unusual part in erecting fortifications, having rebuilt Gowran Castle, and according to a manuscript authority, constructed a fortress called 'the strong hand.'[130]

Indeed, when Hore and Graves were writing in the 1860s, they suggested that the name of the 'Great Countess' was tangled up in the local building history of most of the castles in Co. Kilkenny.[131] The three castles with which Margaret is most associated are Granagh, Gowran and Ballyragget.[132] Of these, Gowran and Ballyragget are the simpler, Ballyragget retains its crow stepped battlements and a chamfered door at the ground floor (Plate 4.116). Gowran has lost its battlements, but retains a number of square headed ogee lights, one is twin with a transom, and a similar window occurs in the hall of vicars choral at Cashel cathedral attributed to patronage of Richard O'Hedian (Plate 4.117, 4.118).

Of the three castles, Granagh has the best-preserved architectural features, particularly an oriel window in the top storey of the five-storey tower (Plate 4.119). Piers and Margaret renovated and extended the castle in the 1490s; it held a commanding position over the Waterford estuary at the mouth of the Suir, and controlled the main

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[129] *The Book of Howth* states that the two were married in 1485, see Graves, J., and Prim, J. G. A., *The History, Architecture and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St Canice*, 191; Edwards questions this as the date of their marriage, stating that Margaret would only have been 14 at the time, but this was not an unusual age for a woman to be married, see Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny 1515-1642*, 84. For the Kildare's ties with court culture see chapter 5 below.
[130] Hore, H., and Graves, J., *The Social State*, 79.
[131] Hore, H., and Graves, J., *The Social State*, 88.
[132] Carrigan, W., *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, II, 92-3.

ferries from Kilkenny to Waterford.[133] It has been argued that this oriel window dates from Margaret's rebuilding at the site, but it is more likely that this window is a later addition copied from work at Carrick-on-Suir.[134] There is also a two-storey hall at Granagh, and here the end window is lavishly ornamented at its inner face (Plate 4.120). The lights take the form of depressed ogees as if the masons were attempting a four centred arch, the rear arch is round, and ornamented with a spiralled roll interrupted at impost level by capitals. These capitals have the stacked up appearance of work like Cahir Augustinian Priory; the elements appear to be quadrants but it is impossible to tell from the ground. The proportion of the spiralled roll at Granagh is reminiscent of the west door of the Dominican Friary at Waterford, not surprising due to proximity and other Butler patronage in the city (Plate 4.121); the corner ornament of the font at Kilcooly is also very similar (Plate 4.122). There is some figure sculpture in the splay of this window, depicting St. Michael weighing souls (Plate 4.120). Fenlon has made a connection between this figure, and those in the window of the tower room at Carrick-on-Suir castle, suggesting that works to this castle at Carrick are contemporary.[135] The south door angels at St. Mary Callan (Plate 4.123), those supporting the head corbel in the south transept at Holycross (Plate 4.124) and the angels of Margaret's pillow on her tomb at St. Canices are also a good comparison (Plate 4.125); this all adds to a picture where the same craftsmen are being used by the Butlers, at both their castles and favoured churches.

There is strong evidence for suspecting that the masons who carried out the large body of tomb sculpture in Ormond were responsible for erecting ecclesiastical architecture and it has been observed that late medieval church towers bear a striking resemblance to tower houses.[136] As discussed above, sculptural detail also points to a link between those who built churches and those who built castles. Cairns made a number of points on towerhouses that are cogent and add to this thesis, the first is that there are local schools of castle building, and one such school existed in Tipperary, but that 'the occurrence of unusual features in different parts of the country shows that some master masons did travel

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[133] Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny 1515-1642*, 69.
[134] Duggan, B., 'Granagh Castle' (BA dissertation, University of Dublin, 1991), 43. Duggan argues that the oriel windows at Granagh dates to the early sixteenth century, on the basis that similar window at Carrick-on-Suir are better and more developed in design. Here it is more likely that this window is later than those at Carrick and a poor copy.
[135] Fenlon, J., *Ormond Castle*, 15.
[136] Craig, M., *The Architecture of Ireland* (Dublin, 1997), 97; O'Keeffe suggests that those masons responsible for building town defences may also have been involved in tower house construction, see O'Keeffe, T., 'Townscape as Text: The Topography of Social Interaction in Fethard, Co. Tipperary, AD 1300-1700', *Irish Geography*, 32:1 (1999), 15.

widely'.[137] The second observation is that 'the same styles were used for centuries, with the typically 'medieval' ogee found at Knockgraffon, built in 1603'.[138] The continued use of certain architectural forms and their relationship to tomb sculpture is amply demonstrated by works at Kilcooly, Hore and Cashel Cathedral, to which we now turn.

The 1444 fire at Kilcooly and subsequent fund raising mission by Abbot Philip O'Molwanayn have already been noted above, as has the burial of the abbot in the choir of the church in 1463, recorded with an elaborate grave slab (4.126).[139] Members of the Cantwell family also chose to be buried here, and employed members the O'Tunney atelier to inscribe their tombs.[140] Two John Cantwells had been Archbishops of Cashel between 1452 and 1485, and on a slab now used to repair the tomb of Piers FitzJames Oge Butler there is a raised black letter inscription that reads 'The Archbishop of Cashel grants all who say an Our Father and Hail Mary'.[141] In this case, the archbishop of Cashel mentioned may be Edmund Butler, the illegitimate son of Piers, eighth earl of Ormond, who was archbishop of Cashel from 1524 to 1553.[142] In the 1537-8 inquisitions a jury returned the following verdict on the house at Kilcooly

> And they say that Edmund, Archbishop of Caishell, and all his predecessors Archbishops of Casshell, an in right of the said Archbishoprick of the time whereof memory runs not to the contrary, had and enjoyed one procuration of 40s. lawful money of Ireland issuing from the said Abbey, Monastery, or house of Kilcowle aforesaid yearly payable at the Feasts of Easter and Saint Michael, of which procuration and of every parcel thereof the said Edmund, Archbishop, on the said eighth day of April was seised in his demesne as of fee as in right of his Archbishoprick.[143]

The archbishops of Cashel, then, enjoyed revenues from the house, but it appears in return that Edmund may have been a generous benefactor of Kilcooly. Stalley argues that the architecture at Kilcooly dates to *c.*1500 or after on the basis of tracery, 'the masons employed were local men, three of whom had worked at Holycross;' the reconstruction of

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[137] Cairns, C. T., *Irish Tower Houses: A County Tipperary Case Study*, 19. He also discusses possible links with Scottish towerhouses, but these are found to be tenuous, and the point is made that cross fertilisation between the two countries would lead to the heaviest distribution of towerhouses in Ulster, but this is not the case, it being the least castellated province of Ireland, 10.
[138] Cairns, C. T., *Irish Tower Houses A County Tipperary Case Study*, 16.
[139] Carrigan, W., 'Kilcooly Abbey', 452; there is an earlier slab commemorating Donnell O'Hedyn and his son of 1452, one speculated that the O'Hedyn (O'Hedian) must have been a clerical family in the area, as in 1516 we find Edmund Butler (Piers' illegitimate son) competing for post of archdeacon of Ossory with one Robert O'Hedyan, see White, N. B., *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds*, no. 73, 117.
[140] Carrigan, W., 'Kilcooly Abbey', 454-5.
[141] Ibid., 453.
[142] Evans, M. D., 'Butler, Edmund (d. 1551) Archbishop of Cashel', *ODNB*, 9, 124-5.
[143] Healy, P. P., 'The Cistercian Abbey of Kilcooly, Co. Tipperary', *JRSAI*, 20 (1890), 221.

the east end at Kilcooly, indeed, was carried out 'under the shadow of Holycross'.[144] Fr. Columbkille describes that 'the carvings of the inscriptions on the various monuments between 1526 and 1587 was the work of Rory O'Tunney, son of Patrick, and it is more than likely that the earlier fifteenth-century carvings were the work of his father'.[145] Are we again seeing a link between work at Holycross and later work by the O'Tunney atelier?

There are a number of Ormond shields at Kilcooly, two occur on the southern stall built into the crossing tower (Plate 4.127). The smaller shield is the chief indented of the main line of the Butler family, while the second is more elaborate. This takes the form of a *chief indented* within a *bordure* (illegitimacy) with three *pheons* (dexterity and nimble wit) under the chief (Plate 4.128). Above the shield, but attached to it is a jewelled cross, suggesting that this might be the symbol of a clergyman. At Holycross, the shield of Dionysius O'Congail has an Abbots crook at the centre and a crucifixion appended to the shield at the top, emphasising his religious status (Plate 4.129).[146] A processional cross was the particular attribute of an archbishop,[147] and so the logical conclusion is that this shield represents an illegitimate Butler archbishop of the early sixteenth century: Edmund Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, 1524-53.[148] The appearance of this shield at Cashel Cathedral above the entrance to the archiepiscopal palace in the west wall of the nave, and at nearby Hore Abbey, strengthen this argument.[149] Architectural evidence helps to tie this work to the 1520s-30s, and this takes the form of window tracery.

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[144] Staley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 125.
[145] Ó Conbhuidhe, C., 'Kilcooly Abbey Part One', *Old Kilkenny Review*, 3:1 (1984), 61.
[146] Stalley provides the best illustration of this O'Congail shield, the picture was taken before the cloister was re-roofed, see *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 115. The crucifixion above O'Congail's shield is briefly discussed in Hourihane, C., ''Holye Crossys', A Catalogue of Processional, Altar, Pendant and Crucifix Figures for Late Medieval Ireland', *PRIA*, 100C (2000), 36.
[147] Hayward, J., 'Sacred Vestments as they Developed in the Middle Ages', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 29:7 (1971), 305: the crossed staff of the archbishop was carried before him in processions but never by him. See also Lawlor, H., 'The Monuments of the Pre-Reformation Archbishops of Dublin', 137-8.
[148] This shield does not occur in any of the articles on Butler heraldry. In trying to isolate who it represents I have appealed to the Chief Herald, Conleth Manning of the Office of Public Works and Dr. Adrian Empey, all of whom kindly considered the problem but replied that they did not know. Toby Butler, in his 'Some Heraldic Shields of the Butlers in the Middle Ages' attributes a chief indented with a bend sinister to Edmund, but his evidence is scant, based on the appearance of this shield on a broken tomb at Cashel Cathedral; ibid. 370. The bordure here may not represent illegitimacy, as other Butler shields have bordures but are associated with legitimate children, and so the surround may have been strictly ornamental.
[149] R. H. Long attempted to isolate the seal and heraldry of Edmund. He describes his seal as 'three figures standing under a sort of triple sedilia or arcade. The centre figure is an archbishop bearing a cross in his left hand, and a mitre on his head'. He too suspects that the tomb fragment at Cashel with a Butler shield is that of Edmund, but describes it as having a baton instead of a bend. He describes a shield in the east transept as being his, and this represents both his office and his family. This shield comprises 'a chief indented and one covered cup in the base…the shield is supported by two greyhounds, collared; a crozier and cross saltier rest upon it; above is a mitre'. Long, R. H., 'Archbishops of Cashel – 1525–1622', *Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, 3 (1897), 229-30. This arrangement sounds very elaborate, could it really be as early as 1550?

Stalley notes that 'the spectacular, though somewhat inept, [east] window at Kilcooly was composed by doubling the pattern used by one of the chapels at Holycross [south transept south window]'.[150] In fact, the mason more than doubled the pattern, he stacked up the motif of inward flowing mouchettes twice at each side of the window, as if the multiplicity of forms made the work better and more impressive (Plate 4.130, 4.131). This window pattern is replicated exactly in a tomb frontal at Callan St. Mary (Plate 4.132), and another window in north transept can be found exactly replicated in two dimensions on the tomb frontal at Fertagh (Plate 4.134), it is indeed exactly the same design as that now re-set in the west wall of Jonhstown Catholic church – originally from Fertagh (Plate 4.133).[151] It looks like the masons were trying to cram this tracery design into the head of the great east window at Kilcooly, and the straight bars of this tracery pattern are those whereby 'the curvilinear flow' is 'wrecked' according to Stalley.[152]

This doubling of tracery pattern to fill a larger window can also be seen in the west tower at Fethard Holy Trinity, a work that could have been underway in 1508,[153] here the Fertagh window is doubled to create a four light window and the upper head is filled with three daggers and a vesica (Plate 4.136). Holy Trinity cathedral in Waterford was rebuilt in the eighteenth century in a Neo-Classical style and the medieval cathedral is only known from antiquarian drawings. Through the engraving included in Ware it is just possible to see that the west front had a great window of five lights, with large in filled mouchettes in the head very similar to this Kilcooly type. The windows of the north-western chapel of this cathedral are easier to make out, and are of the type found in the south transept at Kilcooly (Plate 4.137).[154] Here it is important to note the connection between Piers Butler and Margaret FitzGerald and the Cathedral in Waterford, and Holy Trinity in Feathrd.

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[150] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 126-7.

[151] O'Brien reproduces this tomb frontal as a drawing in his O'Brien, C., 'County Kilkenny – The Parish of Callan – Parish Church of S. Mary', *The Architectural and Topographical Record*, 1 (1908), 78 where he describes 'the setting out of a six light Flamboyant window (and fortunately the mason never perpetrated the real thing' he does note the similarity between this drawing and the east window of Kilcooly. He also notes the appearance of the other designs to standing architecture.

[152] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 120.

[153] Two inscriptions in the church record that the fabric was being restored by the Hackett family. One records that Edmund Hackett and his wife Anna Rockel piously died in 1508 during the restoration of the church, the other appears one of the north arcade pillars and records that Edmund was building the church: Carrigan, W., 'Fethard', *Journal of the Society of the Preservation of Memorials to the Dead in Ireland*, 5 (1901-3), 450-1. O'Keeffe states that the tower may have been built in 1450 in O'Keeffe, T., *Fethard: Irish Historic Towns Atlas no. 13*, 3, but offers no precise dating evidence. In *Fethard: A Guide to the Medieval Town* (Fethard, 1997), 20-1 he describes the additions to the church as 'late medieval'. A broken three light traceried window of similar design can also be seen in the now ruinous chancel.

[154] Ware, J., *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland, Revised and Improved by Walter Harris*, I (Dublin, 1764), the plates are bound in a separate volume, they are unnumbered.

Piers left instructions in his will for his anniversary to be solemnly celebrated in both churches (see Appendix 8), and Margaret left money in her will for the purchase of vestments for the Cathedral in Waterford. Indeed, there is a Butler tomb at Waterford cathedral, of a single knight on an arcaded chest. It has, unfortunately, been so far impossible to identify the subject (Plate 4.138).[155]

The west window at Kilcooly is an attempt to translate this Fertagh window design from two to three lights, and the manipulation of the forms has lead similar awkward effects as are found in the head of the east window (4.139). However 'debased' this design might be, it appears again in the north transept at Clontuskert, Co. Galway, a structure which Fanning dates to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century (Plate 4.140).[156] The south transept windows at Kilcooly are both related to Holycross, as the illustrations amply demonstrate (Plates 4.141, 4.142, 1.243). Cusps are completely omitted at Kilcooly, which seems to be a feature of many of the windows in Ormond of the early sixteenth century. The window jambs and tracery are moulded with simple chamfers, unlike the elaborate eastern ranges of Holycross.

Tracery is not the only link between Holycross and Kilcooly; Stalley notes that the 'structure and patterns of the vaults are also related'. The graphic use of vault patterns on tomb frontals such as that at Fertagh is continued at Kilcooly, with vault patterns being used to decorate the font in the north transept (Plate 4.145). The appearance of a font at a Cistercian monastery is unusual, but may well point to the secularisation of the site as it became a place of burial for junior branches of the Butler family, Irish Cistercians having 'lost any sense of religious exclusiveness'.[157] The elaborate carving scheme of the north wall of the south transept has been extensively discussed elsewhere (Plate 4.146), and Stalley wonders 'was this a private chapel or mausoleum of the Butler family, whose arms are so prominently displayed?'[158] The overhanging mini-vault, a crude copy of that over the sedilia at Holycross, may be another example of architecture borrowing and echoing the sanctity of that site, but it has not been possible to ascertain what branch of the Butler family were responsible for this chapel. The shields are chief indented with a *bordure*, which may denote illegitimacy. In 1526 a junior branch of the family chose to be buried at

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[155] Hunt, J., *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture, 1200-1600*, 235.
[156] Fanning, T., 'Excavations at Clontuskert Priory, Co. Galway', 157. Fanning suggests that this transept may be even later, dating to the post-dissolution phase of the monastery when the friary was re-occupied in the early seventeenth century.
[157] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 196.
[158] Ibid., 120.

the abbey, and their tomb is discussed in detail below. It is interesting that the aumbury and sculpture of the abbot which flank the doorway in this screen wall are both framed with ogee arches and foliate crockets (Plate 4.147). That above the cleric, to the west side of the door, has rippling leaves and a tie at the apex of the ogee hood from which more leaves spring, much resembling the work of the O'Tunney family discussed below (Plate 4.148).[159]

The moulding of the doorway in this south transept wall is very similar to the sacristy door at Holycross. The proportion of the roll and fillet is particularly striking, and these also occur in the moulding of the sedilia arch and that of the 'abbot's stall' built into the crossing tower at Kilcooly (Plate 4.149). Other mouldings at Kilcooly are somewhat different, the corbels differ slightly from those at Holycross, and the door in the south wall of the nave presents a new variation on moulding elements originally found at Holycross.[160] These undercut quadrants found at Kilcooly can also be seen in the south door of the nave at Cashel cathedral, where they are interspersed with roll and fillets (Plate 4.149). Other work at Cashel is related to Holycross. The upper storey added to the nave has supporting shafts which mimic the overall from of Early English work at the site (Plate 4.150), but have capitals moulded with the distinctive Holycross capital moulding with a keel placed in the bell (Plate 4.151). In the archbishop's castle, the north wall has a window with a round head enclosing an openwork ogee, a design identical to the chapter house doorway at Holycross (Plates 4.152, 4.153). The chronology of the work at Cashel is difficult to unravel. Hourihane attributes the hall of the vicars choral, the south door of the nave and the archiepiscopal castle to Richard O'Hedian, archbishop from 1406-40 (also see Appendix 7),[161] but the similarity of this work to the cloister at Holycross and indeed to Kilcooly, may suggest that it is rather later. The shield with *chief indented* with three *pheons*, and a jewelled cross above, is built into the west wall of the nave, in the midst of this later work, perhaps once again suggesting the hand of Edmund Butler, archbishop of Cashel (Plate 4.154).

This shield also occurs at Hore Abbey, located at the foot of the rock of Cashel, to the west (Plate 4.155). The late medieval restoration of this site appears to have been limited, as the original 1270s lancets were not replaced, but in-filled at the top and given a late medieval treatment below: the northern was filled with ogee lights under a square

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[159] Hourihane describes these openings as resembling fifteenth-century portals, see *Gothic Art in Ireland*, 84.
[160] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 127.
[161] Hourihane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland*, 63-4.

hood, the southern with a pointed window with tracery, now broken (Plate 4.156). The cloister, of which only a few fragments survive, has dumbbell piers and simple polygonal capitals (Plate 4.157). The crossing is very similar in treatment to Holycross and Jerpoint, but the corbels are closer to Kilcooly in design with their tapering points; they are too high to be measured but appear to vary slightly from the Kilcooly moulding (Plate 4.158). It is difficult to ascertain from the ground how closely they replicate the Holycross corbels, but there seems to be an extra roll in the upper unit at Hore. A Butler shield is carved on the south-west crossing pier, in a rather mannerist fashion, as if it were hanging from a hook. A further Butler shield occurs on the pier between the two north transept chapels, and this is again the *chief intended* with three *pheons* and appended cross found at the cathedral and Kilcooly.[162] Does this again denote the involvement of Edmund, archbishop of Cashel?

Stalley describes how the architecture of Kilcooly was 'emphatically local, with Holycross as the principal source of inspiration … the remodelled abbey represents Irish Gothic at its most introspective'.[163] It does appear that the architecture of Holycross had a remarkably strong impact on masons and patrons in Ormond for at least one hundred years after its construction, and masons sought to embellish the best designs of this site through multiplication of certain elements, so that often the clarity of the original design is lost, as happens in the east window of Kilcooly. There is some hint, however, that new ideas were arriving in Ormond, and that the masons were seeking to overcome technical challenges and incorporate these into their architecture, this is particularly true of the north aisle of St. Mary Callan.

The large medieval parish church of St. Mary Callan has not been the subject of any in depth architectural research.[164] Leask states that the building was begun in 1460, and suggests that the north arcade is a little earlier than the south.[165] One wonders here how Leask arrived at a date of 1460, as a relaxation was granted in June 1465, where the church is described as dilapidated: 'the buildings of which, on account of wars and age, are very much in ruin'.[166] The diverse architecture at St. Mary has led to the growth of a local legend that three maiden Comerford sisters were responsible for deciding on a design for

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[162] Collins, T., 'Hore Abbey, Cashel: The Archaeological Record', *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1998), 237.
[163] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 127.
[164] Brief early accounts include basic descriptions of the building: O'Brien, C., 'County Kilkenny – The Parish of Callan – Parish Church of S. Mary', 69-81; Carrigan, W., *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, III, 296-8.
[165] Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 83-4.
[166] *Calendar of Papal Letters*, XII, 427.

the church, upon which they could not agree. Credit for the fifteenth century architecture is given to both the Comerfords and the Butlers, and it is not clear who paid for which parts of the building.[167] Edmund and James MacRichard are particularly associated with the Augustinian friary at Callan, but there appears to have been a shift in patronage in between the tenure of James and his son. Piers Butler was a generous benefactor of the parish church in Callan, in his will he left 'the remainder of his goods to the churches of St. Mary in Callan and Gowran'.[168] For this reason, St. Mary will be discussed in the context of the architectural patronage of Piers, Margaret and their affinity.

Some features of the south aisle have already been mentioned in relation to work at Fethard Augustinian Friary, and this aisle displays many features of the stock set of architectural forms current in Ormond at the time. The frontal located in the south aisle was noted above, in that a two-dimensional version of the Kilcooly east window is reproduced here. The west widow of the south aisle at St. Mary's is also replicated on this tomb frontal (Plate 4.159, 4.160). The significance of these two-dimensional reproductions of full-scale architecture will be fully explored in chapter 6. Rae saw the roots of the O'Tunney style in the south door at St. Mary, and other details in this aisle tie in with later work associated with them, for example the meandering foliage at the end of hoodstops can also be seen in the windows from Fertagh. There are some unusual features in this aisle, and the south nave arcade of octagonal piers has boldly moulded capitals not seen before in the architecture of late medieval Ormond, and the chamfered soffit ribs end in pendants (Plate 4.161). Pendants occur, perhaps emulating these, at Kilcooly in the ends of the soffit rib at the eastern side of the crossing tower (Plate 4.162).

The work of the north aisle is somewhat more restrained; the arcade is formed of square piers with a chamfered soffit order carried on pointed corbels (Plate 4.163). The north door, and east and west windows of this aisle are remarkable in that they are the closest examples to English Perpendicular work found in Ormond at the end of the fifteenth/beginning of the sixteenth centuries (Plate 4.164). The door is round headed and has a moulding formed of a three quarter hollow flanked by fillets, with a further quarter hollow at each side. It appears that the mason was trying to form a casement moulding, but

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[167] Kennedy, J., *Callan Co. Kilkenny, A Short Guide to its History, Monuments and People* (Callan Heritage Society, 2002), 9-10.

[168] See Appendix 6; it is interesting that Piers lavishes patronage on St Mary's when his father was buried at the Augustinian Friary in the town. Was he trying to distance himself from this more typically Gaelic type of foundation?

instead of using the three small arcs needed to form it, used a full swoop of the compass (Plate 4.165). Morris has isolated this kind of three quarter circle flanked by fillets as one of the mouldings that lead to the development of the casement,[169] but here we are seeing the opposite effect – and attempt to form a casement without the technical knowledge of how to do so. This is not the only instance of lack of ability with the compass seen in late medieval Ireland, and other examples will be outlined in the next chapter.

The west window of the north aisle is very unusual. It is related to the three light window at St. Patrick's Trim, with is open spandrels, but the Callan version is executed entirely without cusps and includes a strange mix of reticulation and supermullions in the window head (Plate 4.166, 4.167). The east window is more convincingly Perpendicular, it is of three lights, fully cusped, and has supermullions running up to abut the window head (4.168). It still has echoes of Ormond about it, as the arrangement of ogee lights contained under round heads has already been encountered, at Kilcooly, Fertagh and Fethard, but the upper section of the window is has a proliferation of supermullions (Plate 4.169). In searching for a source for Perpendicular designs, it is logical to look to the Pale where the churches of Killeen, Dunsany and Rathmore were built in the 'Perpendicular' style, or rather, they are said to have Perpendicular tracery (4.170). Champneys says that the tracery at Killeen is 'in forms hardly, if at all, distinguishable from English work'.[170] Interestingly, at Killeen and Rathmore, the mason does not allow the supermullions to abut the window head, and yet these two windows are constantly singled out as Irish examples wholly Perpendicular in style.[171] Exact comparisons for these windows in England are hard to find. When Leask was writing an article on Rathmore Church, he wrote to John Harvey, author of *The Perpendicular Style* for help. Harvey responded in a letter which makes a very telling statement about Irish Perpendicular tracery:

> One thing I should say about the Englishness of these Irish windows; although they are clearly inspired by English ideas in design, I feel sure that they are carried out by Irish masons. They do not give the 'feel' of real English work, probably because of relatively slight differences in the proportions of the mouldings. But I should say that the (Anglo-)

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[169] Morris, R. K, 'The Development of Later Gothic Mouldings in England *c.*1250-1400 Part I', 41-3.
[170] Champneys, A., *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 189, he states that the Callan tracery 'bears a more or less close resemblance to English work'.
[171] O'Keeffe, T., *Medieval Ireland: An Archaeology*, 150, is one of a number of examples.

> Irish masons in question were under (for Ireland) exceptionally strong and direct English influence.[172]

The window at Callan does not have the 'feel' of English work either, most probably because of the use of round sub arcs, and the chunky mullions which show no sense of hierarchy as they ascend into the upper parts of the design. Of the three 'Perpendicular' features in the north aisle at Callan, the square headed windows with open spandrels are clearly related to work in Meath, at Trim and Moymett (Plate 4.171), and this Meath influence can also be discerned in tomb sculpture in Ormond, as outlined below. Indeed, Rae felt that the germ of Ormond figure sculpture can be seen in the hoodstops and head sculpted above this door. The use of a casement moulding is very rare, and fifteenth century casements survive in Ireland at just one other site, in a work paid for by Margaret FitzGerald's grandparents, the seventh earl of Kildare and his wife, daughter of the earl of Desmond, which will be fully discussed below. In the case of the east 'Perpendicular' window, could this be the influence of the patron? If so, one wonders how this design was communicated.

Undoubtedly the best body of surviving architectural material from the reign of Margaret and Piers are the series of tomb sculptures at St. Mary's church, Gowran and St. Canices Cathedral, Kilkenny. The link between the Butler family and one workshop of tomb sculptors in the area has become so strong that they are known as 'the Ormond School'. Interestingly, these tombs have never been properly discussed in their architectural context before, and scholarship has tended to focus on the figure sculpture, both of the gisant, and the 'weepers' of the tomb chests.[173] Rae suggests that the artistic background of the tombs produced for the Butler family lies in the Meath/Dublin area, and that the political success of the MacRichards in the early sixteenth century 'could well have set the stage for an influx of talent from north Leinster to Kilkenny'.[174] Rae points to the 1485 marriage between Piers' sister and Sir Alexander Plunkett, who later became Lord of Rathmore, which took place at a time when Piers was very much part of the Kildare affinity, as were the Plunketts. The social ambition of the Plunketts is readily

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[172] Leask papers, TCD MS 3875/37. Leask goes on to directly quote Harvey's remark about 'the feel' of English work *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 14. Thanks to Dr. Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh for making me aware of this letter.

[173] Rae, E. C., 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: I, The Ormond Group', 1-38; Stalley, R., 'Irish Medieval Tomb Sculptures: Some Curiosities and Queries', *International Society for the Study of Church Monuments*, 8 (1983), 172.

[174] Rae, E. C., 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: I, the Ormond Group', 6.

described by their architectural patronage during the middle years of the fifteenth century, as discussed by Kennedy Abraham.[175] Their patronage of tomb sculptures, such as mid century examples at Killeen (Plate 4.172), with quasi-Perpendicular detailing, and later examples at Dunsany and Rathmore (Plate 4.173), where the Perpendicular details are absent and the figures are in higher relief, is another facet of this political and baronial ambition.[176]

It appears that in the Pale, by the later fifteenth century, the tomb had become an important marker of social status. Ellis describes how:

> Roland FitzEustace, whose support for Richard, duke of York, was lavishly rewarded by a grant of the Manor of Portlester, and his elevation to the peerage as Lord Portlester…for most of his reign … was lord treasurer.[177]

FitzEustace may also be looked upon as a member of the Kildare affinity, his daughter, Alison, was Margaret FitzGerald's mother. Roland provided himself with two different memorial effigies, a cenotaph in the Portlester Chapel at St. Audoen's Church in Dublin of 1482 (Plate 4.174), and a tomb at the Franciscan Friary he founded at Kilcullen, Co. Kildare, of 1495.[178] Rae states 'transitional between the fifteenth-century Dublin-Meath gisant and the sixteenth-century south Leinster is the FitzEustace effigy now at St. John's church in Ballymore Eustace' (Plate 4.175).[179] With these thoughts in mind, it might be strongly argued that both the means of commemoration and the craftsmen to create the tombs in Ormond were imported from the Pale, under the influence of Margaret. As argued above, female influence would not be unusual in the transmission of both culture and fashion.

Recently the clothes worn by Margaret in her effigy at St. Canice's have come in for individual scrutiny (Plate 4.176). A number of important conclusions were drawn from this close analysis undertaken by Wincott Heckett. The conservatism of both Margaret's horned headdress (widely worn in Europe in the fifteenth century) and the laced sleeves of her smock are noted. However, her headdress does show some evolution from the common

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[175] Abraham, K., 'Upward Mobility in Later Medieval Meath', *History Ireland*, 5:4 (1997), 15-20; esp. 18-20.
[176] Hunt, J., *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600*, 144-5, 207-8, 205-6, 210, 211-3.
[177] Ellis, S., *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power*, 115. See also Tickell, E. F., 'The Eustace Family and Their Lands in County Kildare', 270-81; FitzGerald, W., 'New Abbey of Kilcullen', *Journal of the Kildare Archaeological Society*, 3 (1899-1902), 300-17.
[178] Hunt, J., *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600*, 138-9, 158-9. Rae notes the FitzEustace-Margaret Butler connection: Rae, E. C., 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: I, The Ormond Group', 12.
[179] Rae, E. C., 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: II, the O'Tunney Atelier', 5.

fifteenth century type, and this tallies with the argument that 'in different parts of Europe national trends had become specific rather than generalised;' German court headdresses of the early sixteenth century, for example, were different from those worn in the English court. It is suggested that 'the FitzGerald dress may represent the deeply held conservatism of a member of the aristocracy, a conscious choice that underlined her independence of thought, and an affirmation of her place in society'.[180]

The 'anachronistic armour and costumes' of the Ormond tomb sculpture has been the subject of discussion for some years before the work of Wincott Heckett. [181] Rae has described the men's armour as 'a practical, and effective type reminiscent of but not identical with that used in earlier times'[182] while of the woman's headdress he says it was 'superseded as high fashion by other modes, [but] appears to have been retained in south Leinster as a mark of high estate'.[183] Hunt discusses fashions in Irish armour, and this is particularly interesting in reference to Piers Butler and Gerald, the 'Great' earl of Kildare, both of whom bequeathed their 'habergeon' in their will. He concludes that the armour depicted in Piers tomb does appear to be an accurate portrayal of what was being worn in Ireland in the early sixteenth century, even though the wearing and bequest of a habergeon 'a hundred and fifty years earlier would be no matter for surprise'.[184] Both Piers and Gerald had visited the Tudor court, indeed, Gerald had spent extended periods of time there, and yet, at home these men wore and valued armour that had fallen out of fashion outside Ireland over one hundred years before. Certainly practicality must have had something to do with the lingering of this style of armour, as Irish fighting was often closer to a skirmish than a set piece event, and there was no need for jousting armour.

What was the catalyst for the explosion of tomb sculpture at the beginning of the sixteenth century in Ormond? Both Stalley and Rae see it as a means of strengthening the MacRichard line, in the person of Piers, so as to bolster his chances of gaining the earldom on the death of Earl Thomas.[185] There has been much speculation as to who is commemorated at Gowran, where three of the Ormond effigies are found, but perhaps

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[180] Wincott Heckett, M., 'The Margaret FitzGerald Tomb Effigy: A Late Medieval Headdress and Gown in St Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny', in D. G Koslin and J. E. Snyder, *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress: Objects, Texts, Images,* (Hampshire, 2002), 209-222, esp. 211.
[181] Stalley, R., 'Irish Medieval Tomb Sculptures: Some Curiosities and Queries', 172.
[182] Rae, E. C., 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: I, The Ormond Group', 3.
[183] Rae, E. C., 'Architecture and Sculpture, 1169-1603', 774.
[184] Hunt, J., *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600*, 62-3.
[185] Stalley, R., 'Irish Medieval Tomb Sculptures: Some Curiosities and Queries', 172; Rae, E. C., 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: I, The Ormond Group', 10-11.

more interesting still is the choice of site. The earls of Ormond had used St. Mary's Gowran as their principal place of burial in the fourteenth century and elevated it to a collegiate church where masses were to be sung for the family.[186] In the fifteenth century, as discussed in the previous section, the MacRichard line founded an Augustinian friary at Callan in which to be buried, and indeed, James MacRichard, Piers' father, was buried there. Piers and Margaret chose deliberately to rebuild the castle at Gowran, and to have new Ormond tombs erected there (the majority of 'Ormond' school tombs appear to be linked with Piers and Margaret, and thus those at Gowran must be linked to their patronage).[187] They then chose to be buried at St. Canices, in a new departure for the Butler family. In their tomb patronage they sought to strengthen their link with the fourteenth century earls of Ormond, from whom Piers was descended, and set their line apart from the more Gaelicized members of the family buried at Callan, by starting a new family tradition of being buried at St. Canices.

That these tombs can be seen as claims in stone to a noble linage can is readily demonstrated in another Butler tomb, created by a different craftsman, at Kilcooly (4.177). The tomb inscription commemorates Pierce Fitz Oge Butler, who died in 1526, and his parents, along with the craftsman who carved the inscription, Rory O'Tunney.[188] Although this tomb has been written about extensively as a piece of sculptural artwork connected with the O'Tunney atelier, few recent scholars have sought to establish whom the 'Fitz Oge' Butlers were. In fact, they were a junior branch of the family descended from John 'of Clonmilchon' (two miles from Kilcooly) brother of the first earl of Ormond (†1338). They had been living quietly at Lismalin, not far from Kilcooly abbey, for a number of generations, with some members of the family holding the office of sheriff of Tipperary.[189] It appears that at this time of dynastic uncertainty, when Earl Thomas was reaching the end of his life, the 'Fitz Oge' thought it expedient to make their status known, and this piece of

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[186] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1172-1350*, no. 470, 183-189; Carrigan, W., *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, III, 409; Rae, E. C., 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: I, The Ormond Group', 3; Rae, E. C., 'Architecture and Sculpture, 1169-1603', 749.

[187] For the meaning and potency of burial site in the late middle ages see Palliser, D. M., 'Royal Mausolea in the Long Fourteenth Century', in W. M. Ormrod (ed.) *Fourteenth Century England III* (Woodbridge, 2004), 13-16. The movement of Henry VI's body is particularly interesting, as is the decision to bury Henry VII at Westminster in a new chapel.

[188] Hunt, J., 'Rory O'Tunney and the Ossory Tomb Sculptures', *JRSAI*, 80 (1950), 22- 28; Rae, E. C., 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: I, the O'Tunney Atelier', 3; Hunt, J., *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600*, 228.

[189] Mosley, C. (ed.), *Burkes Peerage and Baronetage*, 107th Ed. (London, 2003),I, 703; Healy notes the connection in Healy, W., 'The Cistercian Abbey of Kilcooly, Co. Tipperary', 223. Carrigan briefly outlines the family history in Carrigan, W., 'Kilcooly Abbey', 453, and Carrigan, W., *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, II, 396.

dynastic manoeuvring was eventually to pay off, when Pierce Butler of the Fitz Oge line was made first Viscount Ikerrin in 1629.[190]

The O'Tunneys made tombs for some lesser branches of the Ormond family, and members of what might best be called the Butler 'affinity'. These tombs are to be found in the Kilkenny area and include that of James Shortall at St. Canice's (Plate 4.178); those of William Cantwell and Margaret Butler at Kilcooly, that of John Cantwell and Ellis Stokes, and James Stokes and Margaret Butler in the same abbey; a slab from another Ormond-Cantwell monument at St. Canice's, and the tomb of John Grace (Plate 4.179). The Grace's had another chapel at Tullaroan, which also housed a (now lost) grave slab, probably by the O'Tunney workshop.[191] Of these people, we find James Shortall of Ballylorcaine presiding over an assembly at Fennell Hill, Co. Kilkenny in which numerous members of the Kilkenny landlord families substantiated Piers claim to the title 'earl of Ormond'.[192] The Cantwells appear in records directly linked to Piers, at the same assemblies in which James Shortall is present, substantiating his claim to Ormond lands in Ireland;[193] they are also clearly linked to the family by marriage. John Grace of Courtstown was heavily involved with Piers, and was indicted for imposing coign and livery in the inquisitions of 1537, as was 'Lorde Shertell' – James Shortall mentioned above.[194]

There are a number of other tombs in the Kilkenny-Tipperary region which, though unsigned by the O'Tunneys, are believed to be of their oeuvre. Of these pieces that bear inscriptions, all the families named fall within what has already been described as 'the Butler affinity'. Melachlin O'More, whose tomb is dated 1502, was brother-in-law to Piers' uncle Walter; the O'Mores were a strong anti-Kildare faction who fired the shot that led to the eighth earl's death (Plate 4.180).[195] Although it is impossible to say exactly which branch of the Walsh family are commemorated in the fragments at Jerpoint, but the Edwards notes they were among Piers' 'allies and clients'.[196]

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[190] Mosley, C. (ed.), *Burkes Peerage and Baronetage*, 703.
[191] Cockerham, P., and Harris, A. L., 'Kilkenny Funeral Monuments 1500-1600: A Statistical and Analytical Account', *PRIA*, 101C (2001), 154. The slab is recorded in Sheffield Grace's *Memoirs of the Family of Grace* privately published in London in 1823.
[192] Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny 1515-1642*, 149; *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, 1507-47, no. 33, 32.
[193] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1507-47*, no. 33, 29.
[194] Hore, H., and Graves, J., *The Social State*, 106.
[195] Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny 1515-1642*, 152.
[196] Ibid., 147.

The MacGillapatrick tomb at Fertagh is described by John Hunt as 'a product of the O'Tunney workshop' (Plate 4.181).[197] There is an inscription which reads 'Here lie the good Lords of Ossory, John MacGillapatrick and Brian his son. On whose souls may God have mercy. Pray for Honora, wife of Brian. Here lies Katherine Mulloy, the Lord Brian's mother, who erected this tomb'.[198] The MacGillapatricks, in the later fifteenth century, had had a turbulent relationship with the Butlers,[199] but James MacRichard's nephew and Piers' first cousin, was married to Morina, daughter of Fineen MacGillapatrick. This Butler-MacGillapatrick alliance became stronger in 1532 when the MacGillapatricks turned their back on their long term patrons, the earls of Kildare, and Brian MacGillapatrick married Margaret Butler, Piers' daughter; Edwards is cynical about the match, suggesting that 'the marriage alliance was a charade and a double-cross, a pragmatic means to draw closer to the Butler's source of strength, the English crown'.[200] However much of a sham this marriage was, it produced a daughter, Grizel, and if the family were caught up in outward displays of loyalty, what better way than to advertise this union than in stone? Cockerham and Harris have suggested that

> It is tempting to see that this MacGillapatrick monument was designed as a personal expression of familial independence, emphatically distinct from the Ormond-dominated and routine sculptural fashions of Kilkenny, and as a kind of monumental snub to the Ormonds. But because the Kilkenny workshops had a monopoly in the region, the MacGillapatricks probably had to commission a tomb from them even against their inclination, with some workshop features duly incorporated, as they had no choice.[201]

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[197] Hunt, J., *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600*, 167.

[198] Carrigan, W., *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, II, 297.

[199] *The Annals of the Four Masters* describe that in 1443 (IV, 929) 'Fineen and Dermot, two sons of Mac Gillapatrick, Lord of Ossory, were treacherously slain at Kilkenny, at the instigation of MacRichard Butler'. MacFibris's annals describe the slaying of Fineen and Dermot in more detail: 'Ffinghin Mac Gille Patrick, Mac Gille Patrick, King of Ossory, his two sons (the said King being well worthy of the kingdome of Ossory, was soul Lord, through his virtuous quallities, and conditions, both in princely person, wealth, liberality, and Martiall ffeates) were both murthered in Kilkenny, by MacRichard Butler's direction. Walter the Sirry, his son, and Alexander Croc, and John Begg O'Conallay, by these three' Ffingin was beaten to death; and after Richard Buttler's sons cruelly ransacked Ossory'. The MacGillapatricks eventually gained revenge for this atrocity in 1478 when the Four Masters describe how 'Richard, the son of Edmund Mac Richard Butler, was slain by Fineen Roe, the son of Fineen, one of the Ossorians, in the doorway of the church of St Canice', see 'The Annals of Ireland, from the Year 1443 to 1468, Translated From the Irish by Dudley Firbisse, or, as He is More Usually Called, Dunald Mac Firbis, for Sir James Ware, in the Year 1666', *The Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society*, 1 (1846), 198. In revenge for the MacGillapatricks, along with Thomas FitzMaurice raided Ormond and were rebuffed by Edmund MacRichard, ibid. 199.

[200] Edwards, D., 'The MacGillollapadraigs (FitzPatricks) of Upper Ossory, 1532-1641', in P. Lane and W. Nolan, *Laois History and Society* (Dublin, 1999), 331. Edwards has discussed the MacGillapatricks and their manipulation of circumstances in the sixteenth century in 'Collaboration without Anglicization', in P. J. Duffy, D. Edwards and E. FitzPatrick (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland c.1250-c.1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement* (Dublin, 2001), 77-97. Was the creation of a family mausoleum at Fertagh, and employing the O'Tunneys, were they engaging in yet another outward show? I contend this is the case.

[201] Cockerham, P., and Harris, A. L., 'Kilkenny Funeral Monuments 1500-1600', 154.

There are a number of reasons for questioning this suggestion. Primarily, it has been shown above that Kilkenny-Tipperary artists worked in both Gaelic areas and areas under English control, and were as comfortable with the traceried wall tomb as they were with a freestanding monument of the Ormond type. Indeed, the chapel which housed the MacGillapatrick tomb was designed with elaborate tracery. Thus, the suggestion that the MacGillapatricks did not have a choice of what kind of tomb to commission for themselves is impracticable. Secondly, the tracery and vault designs on the Fertagh tomb refer directly to architecture clearly associated with the Butler family at Holycross and Callan.[202] Indeed, as we have seen, one fragment of tomb chest very similar in design to that at Fertagh survives at St. Mary's, Callan, a building known to have been patronised by the Butlers in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. If this use of architectural designs on the Fertagh tomb was meant as a 'snub' to the Butlers, one wonders what brave patrons had the very similar tomb erected at Callan? Taking the above factors into consideration, it is more likely that this tomb is created in the same vein as those of other members of the 'Butler affinity', tapping into and claiming to be part of their power – potent markers of social status.

The final monument closely associated with the O'Tunney atelier is that of Edmund Purcell and Ellena Grace at St. Canice's Cathedral (Plate 4.182). Here there is no reason to argue for the place of this man in the 'Butler affinity' because the inscription reads 'Here lies Edmund Pursell captain of the earl of Ormond's Kerns who died 4th November 1549 and Ellen grace who died A. D'.[203] Edwards describes how:

> The Purcells of Foulkesrath … served as hereditary captains of the Butler kernetighe, or household troops … taking charge of a company of 'three score kerne in the county of Kilkenny'. In the north-west the Graces of Courtstown [mentioned above] were responsible for 10 swordsmen based in their country.[204]

A later cross slab of 1552, carved by William O'Tunney, describes James Purcell and Johanna Shortals as being 'of Foulksrath'.[205]

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[202] The vault pattern most closely relates to Old Leighlin Cathedral, but is similar to the crossing vault at Holycross. The arcaded long side, with its niches where cusps turn into interlaced leaves is similar in treatment to the long sides of the shrine at Holycross, while the upper section here, with intertwined leaves forming a series of squares approaches the design of the lower panel of the sedilia at Holycross. The square headed tracery on the long face of the tomb relates directly to windows in the south wall of Callan Augustinian friary.

[203] Bradley, J., 'The Medieval Tombs of St Canice's Cathedral', in A. Empey (ed.), *A Worthy Foundation The Cathedral Church of St Canice, Kilkenny* (Portlaoise, 1985), 78-9.

[204] Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny 1515-1642*, 156.

[205] Bradley, J., 'The Medieval Tombs of St Canice's Cathedral', 83-4.

This large body of tomb sculpture has been divided stylistically into the work two separate workshops: the 'Ormond School' and the 'O'Tunney atelier'. These have been extensively but separately discussed by Rae, and he sees two different streams of influence in the output of these workshops. He argues that the Ormond group of tomb sculptors had their artistic roots in the Meath-Dublin area, while the O'Tunneys, apart from one tomb in Dublin that is consistently labelled 'curious', had a local background based around work in Callan.[206] For both schools, Rae suggests that the Rice monument, dating from *c.*1480 in Waterford Cathedral, must have had some influence, but again he is referring to the figure sculpture here rather than the architectural details of the niches in the tomb chest.[207] Rae says of the Ormond group of sculptors

> They had little interest in architectural effects. Their mensa slabs sometimes barely cover the surrounds, and can therefore make no attempt to give a strong, horizontal, monumental accent … even in their more architectonic later work… they use neither column nor buttress nor pilaster.[208]

It is difficult to discern why some of these tombs have more architectural details than others. Was this the choice of the patron? Or were different artists employed to carve the surrounds while the figure sculpture was left to a one master, which lead to a greater coherency? Of those tombs thought to have influenced the Ormond School, there is variation in the complexity of the architectural detail included. The Plunkett tombs at Dunsany and Rathmore have ogee headed niches with leaves running along their upper faces, divided from each other by unornamented pilaster strips. At Rathmore, the leaves have spiralling stems that run along the upper side of the ogee arch (Plate 4.183). The St. Lawerence tomb at Howth has more architectural detail, with crocketed pinnacles topping the pilasters that separate the niches from each other (4.184).

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[206] Rae has great difficulty with the Purcell tomb, now housed at St Werburg's Church in Dublin, but originally from All Hallows, and he describes that the parallels between this tomb and O'Tunney work are 'insistent enough to justify the assumption that a craftsman who worked on the Dublin monument may have joined the O'Tunney atelier', Rae, E. C., 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: I, The O'Tunney Atelier', 13. Perhaps Rae's difficulty arises from the fact that the other O'Tunney work is locally dispersed around Kilkenny and Tipperary, and this Dublin monument breaks that pattern. Since there has been so much loss, and since many inscribed grave slabs survive that strongly resemble O'Tunney work, but are unsigned (the large collection in Old Leighlin for instance), it is naïve to think that their work does not extend much farther than their signed output suggests. Rae, E. C., 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: I, The Ormond Group', 2.

[207] Rae, E. C., 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: I, The Ormond Group', 5; Rae, E. C., 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: I, The O'Tunney Atelier', 13. McEneaney, in his discussion of art and politics in late fifteenth century Waterford, suggests that the architectural features and arcades of the Rice tomb have close ties with west and south-west England. He says that the mason may have been Irish and from Waterford, suggesting that he could have worked in south-west England with a group of masons creating lavish church furnishings. Although all such theories are plausible, we are presented with no comparative or source materials from which deduce such relationships, see McEneaney, E., 'Politics and Devotion in Late Fifteenth-Century Waterford', 37.

[208] Rae, E. C., 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages: I, The Ormond Group', 8.

Some of the most exciting architectural detail can be found on the chest of the Purcell tomb at St. Werburgh's church, Dublin (Plate 4.185). Here there are pilasters with bases, off sets and crocketed pinnacles, while the narrow niches the ends of the long face (formed of the sides of the end panels) have cusped arches. One of the figures on the western end slab is not covered by an ogee arch, but by an overhanging crocketed pinnacle, more architecturally ambitious than anything found in full-scale architecture of the period (Plate 4.186). Another FitzEustace tomb, at Castlemartin House, has well developed architectural details in the tomb chest. The pinnacles are particularly detailed, having sunken front faces with small traceried details, off sets and pinnacles (Plate 4.187). The end slabs have barley twist columns treated with capitals and bases.

One of the Gowran tombs, that of the single unknown Butler knight, has ogee headed niches with spiralling leaves and crocketed pinnacles strongly resembling the work at Howth (Plate 4.188).[209] The other works at Gowran, and the Ormond School tombs at St. Canices have much less mini-architectural form, as if the Ormond artists quickly loose interest in these details and become more interested in how to fill the spandrels in between the plain ogee niches. These become a focus of decoration, being filled with complex leaves, fantastical beasts and angels holding shields (Plate 4.189). These angels are very similar to the angels of the shrine base at Holycross, a piece never mentioned in relation to these Ormond tombs, despite its similarly of form, earlier date, and Ormond connections.

One of the finest examples of this tomb chest mini-architecture is that of James Rice in Waterford Cathedral of *c.*1480 (4.190).[210] This tomb has complex niches of two orders (some spiral), each with a base, separated by detailed pinnacles with crockets and bases. The niches have a string course at impost level, an ogee head, and the arches are tied off at their apex by a band, above which they turn into rippling leaves. These leaves also run along the upper faces of the arch, and their stems twist and spiral. In some cases, above the apex of the arch, the orders also turn into fruit, at which birds with intricately feathered wings peck. The Rice monument is perhaps most important to the O'Tunney atelier,

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[209] Hunt sees this work as part of the output of the O'Tunney atelier, while Rae sees it as an Ormond work, the latter attribution seems more likely, as this school appears to have dominated at the site.
[210] Rae, E. C., 'The Rice Monument in Waterford Cathedral', *PRIA*, 69C (1971), 1-14; Rae, E. C., 'Architecture and Sculpture, 1169-1603', 774-5.

because of its proximity to their home territory; the popularity of this monument with the people of Waterford has already been noted.[211]

The O'Tunneys include much more architectural detail in their tomb chests, although again, this varies from tomb to tomb, and it is impossible to discern if this reflects the taste of the patron or the whim of the artist. The fragments of tomb chest which Rae links to the tomb of James Shortall have spiral columns treated with capitals and bases which run into ogee arches, some of which have leaves along their upper face.[212] At Kilcooly, the tomb chest of Pierce Fitz Oge Butler has pilasters with capitals and bases, and ogee headed niches that are tied off at the apex and spring into rippling leaves (Plate 4.191).

One key point never noted before is that it can be shown that the tomb sculpture of the O'Tunney atelier relates directly to full-scale architecture paid for by the same patrons. James Shortall and his wife, Catherine White, not only commissioned their tomb from the O'Tunneys at St. Canice's in Kilkenny, but also paid for the construction of a tower at the Dominican Friary in the town, their patronage of which is commemorated in an inscribed plaque (Plates 4.192, 4.193).[213] Although there is no documentary evidence to prove that the O'Tunneys were involved, the vault under the tower is treated very similarly to the 2D vault patterns on the MacGillapatrick tomb at Fertagh, also thought to be by the O'Tunneys. At Fertagh, much of the architecture is now dispersed and housed in the Catholic and Protestant churches at Johnstown,[214] but when it was all in the same place, it is clear that the tomb and architecture were designed to harmonise with each other (Plate 4.194). The east window at Fertagh was replicated on the tomb chest, while the font has patterns of niches with interlacing cusps that turn into square flowers, identical to the detailing on the other long side of the tomb (Plate 4.195). The doorway (Plate 4.196), once housed in the chapel, does not appear to be replicated in the tomb chest, but in design it is similar to the niches of the Fitz Oge tomb at Kilcooly, and almost identical in design to the niches of the Rice monument, with two small orders tied off at the top by a band and

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[211] McEneaney, E., *A History of Waterford and its Mayors*, 89.
[212] Rae, E. C., 'An O'Tunney Masterpiece Reconstituted', *Old Kilkenny Review*, 18 (1960), 66.
[213] Rae, E. C., 'An O'Tunney Masterpiece Reconstituted', 63; the plaque reads 'Pray for the souls of James Shortall, lord of Ballylarkin and Ballykeeffe, and his wife Katherine White, who gave the workmen, employed in the erection of this tower, their daily pay from the beginning to the end' from Carrigan, W., *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, III, 181.
[214] Carrigan, W., *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, II, 294, the Doorway was moved to the church of Ireland church (and one large window, which now acts as the east window at the same church. Another window, that which also appears on the side of the tomb, is mounted in the west wall of the Catholic church in the same town, while the font is housed inside this church.

springing forth into fruit and leaves which are pecked by birds, flanked by crocketed pinnacles (Plate 4.197).

That the door at Fertagh represents a full-scale piece of O'Tunney architecture can be strongly argued because of its appearance at another site paid for by O'Tunney patrons, which once may have housed a tomb slab by their workshop; this is the Grace chapel at Tullaroan founded by John FitzJohn Grace of Courtstown and his wife in 1543.[215] We have already encountered the Graces as members of the 'Butler affinity' who paid for an O'Tunney tomb at St. Canices, but family had their own chapel at Tullaroan, and here we find a door almost identical to that from Fertagh, if a little more difficult to see because of a liberal covering of lichen (Plate 4.198). A third doorway, now remounted in the precinct wall at St. Canices, represents a third tomb niche writ large, and the mouldings of all three doorways are remarkably similar, particularly as the in the shape and position of the flanking pinnacle in relation to the rest of the moulding (Plate 4.199, 4.200).[216]

The appearance of an identical door, with identical mouldings, at the opposite end of the country, at Devenish, Co. Fermanagh, suggests that this workshop was more widely travelled than has been thought before (Plate 4. 201).[217] This doorway relates so exactly to the work at Fertagh, Tullaroan and St. Canice's, and there can be little doubt that it is by the same hand. Most authors have ascribed this work to the mid-fifteenth century along with the west door, and the crossing tower to the early sixteenth (Plate 4.202).[218] Waterman believed that because the west door and chancel door are of sandstone and the tower is of limestone, they are of different dates, but the mouldings and general form tell a different storey. Similarities to O'Tunney work of the 1530s and 40s are very clear; other details at the site, particularly the door in the south-east corner of the crossing tower, are close to Ormond work (Plate 4.203, 4.204, 4.205). This door strongly resembles the one

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[215] Graves, J., and Prim, J. G. A., *The History, Architecture and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St Canice*, 262; Sheffield Grace has an engraving of the door in his *Memoirs of the Family of Grace* along with an illustration of the tomb slab commemorating the founders thought to be by the O'Tunneys, unfortunately there are no plate numbers on these illustrations.

[216] This St Canice's door is rather mysterious, and doesn't appear in standard accounts of the building. It must relate directly to the period of building activity at the site which lasted from the building of the vault by Archbishop Hackett in 1478, and continuing with the explosion of tomb sculpture at the site in the early sixteenth century.

[217] Leask dates this door to *c*.1450 on the basis of an inscribed slab (see note below) Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 77-8; Hourihane describes the door as 'typical of mid fifteenth-century workmanship but makes no stylistic comparisons to support this, see Hourihane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland*, 86.

[218] Mullarkey, T., 'St Mary's Abbey, Devenish', *The Clogher Record*, 4 (1961), 10-11, there is documentary evidence in the form of an inscribed plaque describing that 'Matthew O Dubegan made this work for Bartholamew O Flannaghan, prior of Damynis A. D. 1449'.

leading from the north-west corner of the cloister at Holycross into the south aisle. The fine tailoring of the stone at both sites is almost identical, as is the design and proportion of the moulding. The east window, too, is a simplified version of the Fertagh window inscribed on the tomb chest and the vault resembles Ormond work (Plate 4.206, 4. 207).

Other details cement this relationship with work in Ormond. There is a fragment of jamb moulded with a spiral roll of identical proportion and design to those on the font at Kilcooly and the hall window at Granagh Castle (Plate 4.208). There are also the remains of the jambs of a window with trailing and interlacing hoodstops, as have been noted at Callan and Clonmel (Plate 4.209). There remains at the site a grave slab similar to 'Group Four' cross slabs, as catalogued by Maher in Tipperary (Plates 4.210, 4.211).[219] There are some overall differences between Devenish slab and those found in Tipperary, particularly the rounded end (the top half of the cross head is missing, so it is impossible to tell what shape the other end was). At Devenish, the areas at either side of the cross stem have been used as fields for dense interlace terminating in ivy heads. In Tipperary, Maher identified a slab at Lisronagh were various interlace designs were placed in the voids formed by the intersecting arms of the cross.[220] It is most interesting that at Lisronagh, the interlace is confined to small areas of the slab, while at Devenish the interlace has been allowed to overrun the slab with free abandon. Interlace must have been 'read' as an overtly Irish form of decoration, confined to small creative bursts in Ormond, and allowed to run free in Fermanagh.

A fire appears to have occurred in the east monastic range at Devenish *c.*1500, and afterwards fine tableware from Beauvais, the Netherlands and Spain suggests that there was surplus wealth here.[221] Such finds have lead authors to suggest that 'the European reach of individuals, and of individual places … is attested by the diversity of imported pottery recovered from St. Mary's Priory, Devenish'.[222] The priory was on the route to 'one of the most exotic places of pilgrimage in the western hemisphere' – St. Patrick's Purgatory, Lough Derg.[223] The Purgatory was believed to be a gate into another world –

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[219] Maher, D., *Medieval Graves Slabs of County Tipperary, 1200 – 1600 A. D*, 19-21
[220] Ibid., 65-6; Maher, D., 'A Medieval Grave Slab at Lisronagh, Co. Tipperary', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 34 (1992), 30-7.
[221] Waterman, D., 'St Mary's Priory, Devenish: Excavation of the East Range, 1972-4', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 42 (1979), 47-8.
[222] Bourke, C., 'Medieval Ecclesiastical Metalwork from the Diocese of Clogher', in H. A. Jeffries (ed.), *History of the Diocese of Clogher* (Dublin, 2005), 40.
[223] Walsh, C., '*…in finibus mundi:* The Late Medieval Pilgrims to St Patrick's Purgatory, Lough Derg, and the European Dimension of the Diocese of Clogher', in H. A. Jeffries (ed.), *History of the Diocese of Clogher*

namely into Purgatory, and was located on a small island now known as Station Island in the lough. The Purgatory became a destination for pilgrims from many parts of continental Europe. Accounts of these pilgrimages to Ireland and indeed, the pilgrims' experiences in Purgatory, have recently been published by Katherine Walsh.[224]

In addition to location on a busy pilgrimage route, Devenish, in the later middle ages, was at the centre of a peaceful and prosperous kingdom. Indeed, the Maguires, Kings of Fermanagh, may have been involved in escorting some of the most important guests to St. Patrick's Purgatory. When Count John of Perilhos, already noted for his conversations with O'Neill, visited the Purgatory in the winter of 1397-8 he reached Lough Erne and describes how 'the lord of the place, who is a great lord, and his brother, who had great devotion to Saint Patrick, and helps much to direct the pilgrims, volunteered to go with me, and accompanied me as far as the monastery, where we were very well received'.[225] In making his pilgrimage, Count John had passed from the Papal court, through the court of King of France, Charles VI (of whom he had been a servant), and got letters of recommendation from the king and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. He also passed through the English court, where he stayed ten days with Richard II, receiving more letters of safe conduct.[226] The Maguire family of Lough Erne had ushered in an extended period and prosperity in Fermanagh and had a long family tradition of piety and generosity to the church. Thomas Mor 'the [best] man of hospitality and prowess of the West of Europe' was said in 1430 to have 'frequently set up oratories and churches and monasteries and holy crosses and images of Mary'.[227] Fifty years later his son, Thomas Oge, was said to be 'a man that made churches and monasteries and Mass chalices and was [once] in Rome and twice at the city of St. James [of Compostella] on pilgrimage'.[228] According to Simms, 'in addition to visiting bards, the kingdom of Lough Erne had an unusually large number of poets and learned families of all kinds settled within its boarders'.[229] With such cosmopolitan visitors to the kingdom of Fermanagh, and with such well travelled rulers, it is not surprising to hear that in 1447 Thomas Oge Maguire put a 'French roof' on the

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(Dublin, 2005), 41. Devenish was *en route* to the Purgatory, Bourke, C., 'Medieval Ecclesiastical Metalwork from the Diocese of Clogher', 37.

[224] Walsh, C., '*…in finibus mundi:* The Late Medieval Pilgrims to St Patrick's Purgatory, Lough Derg, and the European Dimension of the Diocese of Clogher', 41-9.

[225] Mahaffey, J. P., 'Two Early Tours of Ireland', 9. The Maguires had been dominating Lough Erne during this period, and indeed dominated it until much later, see Simms, K., 'The Medieval Kingdom of Lough Erne', *The Clogher Record*, 9:2 (1977), 131.

[226] Mahaffey, J. P., 'Two Early Tours of Ireland', 3-5.

[227] *Annals of Ulster* III (1430), 111.

[228] *Annals of Ulster* III (1480), 269.

[229] Simms, K., 'The Medieval Kingdom of Lough Erne', 135.

church of Aghlurcher, and built a new eastern gable there.[230] Rachel Moss notes that there is evidence that some windows at Aghalurcher contained Perpendicular tracery. [231] It is noteworthy that the annalists did not describe this tracery as 'English'. It seems clear that the Maguires were happy to commission masons from another area and their taste was decidedly eclectic.

The *Annals of the Four Masters* record that in 1537 'Maguire (Cuconnaught son of Cuconnaught son of Brian, son of Philip), Lord of Fermanagh, a charitable and humane man, the most renowned ... for his... nobleness and hospitality ... a man who possessed happiness and affluence in his time ... was treacherously killed this year on Craghan, an island in Loch Erne belonging to the friars ... he was buried first at Devenish, but was sometime afterward disinterred by the Friars Minor, who carried him to Donegal and buried him in a becoming manner'.[232] The burial of such an illustrious figure at just this time may explain the importation of masons from Ormond.

According to Cockerham and Harris, a sculptural hiatus occurred in Ossory from 1555-65, and after this, the elaborate mensa tomb became less common.[233] They suggest:

> The dominance of the Ormond and O'Tunney Schools of sculpture in Kilkenny, and their almost exclusive patronage by the Ormonds and their followers, was perhaps their undoing.[234]

They also hypothesise about the end of the O'Tunney school, suggesting the death of Rory to be the turning point:

> Furthermore, the noteworthy commission of the heraldic sculptured fireplace (1565) at Ormond Castle, Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary, displays qualities far better than anything else of the period worked in Kilkenny marble, suggesting that the earl imported a sculptor specifically for the task. Would he have done this if a suitable, previously favoured workshop was still able to provide sculptors competent enough to do the work?[235]

Strangely, some O'Tunney vault patterns occur on the Carrack-on-Suir fireplace, as noted by Roger Stalley, and Jane Fenlon, and the latter suggests that this may be O'Tunney work.[236] The overall design of the new work at Ormond Castle, Carrick-on-Suir speaks of a

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[230] *Annals of Ulster* III (1447), 161.
[231] Moss, R., 'Revivalist Tendencies in the Irish Late Gothic: Defining a National Identity?' forthcoming.
[232] *The Annals of the Four Masters* IV (1537), 1441.
[233] Cockerham, P., and Harris, A. L., 'Kilkenny Funeral Monuments, 1500-1600', 145.
[234] Ibid., 148.
[235] Ibid., 148.
[236] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 139 footnote 33; Fenlon, J., *Ormond Castle*, 11, it seems strange that an English master mason would allow designs so out of date to be included in such a

diametric change in taste by Thomas Butler, as does his commissioning of a firm of London tomb sculptors to create his tomb in St. Canice's.[237] Native masons may have been involved in this new work in Ormond, but their personal style was largely superseded by imported forms. There are only small hints of their influence, such as the appearance of the Kilcooly font panel in the fireplace at Ormond castle.

When Thomas's grandfather, Piers, was commissioning his tomb sculpture in the early part of the sixteenth century, the highest echelons of society could fashionably choose to have themselves buried in either a Gothic tomb, or one that embraced the new Renaissance style. The effigies of Henry VII and Margaret of York were carved between 1512 and 1519 by the Italian sculptor Pietro Torrigiano, but Bishop Foxe, one of the main executors of Henry VII's will and overseer of the construction of his tomb

> Chose the horrifying suggestion of the corruption of his own body for his monument in Winchester Cathedral, which was housed in a splendid gothic chapel made to his own design. Foxe died in 1528: the year before Wolsey handed over Hampton Court to Henry VIII – that investiture, symbol of the coming of age of the Renaissance prince of England.[238]

By the mid-sixteenth century, Thomas Butler must have been struck by the how old fashioned his grandparents' tomb was, both in its execution and in the clothes, particularly Piers' armour.[239] Thomas was a fashionable courtier, and in his portrait, we see him dressed in stylish contemporary armour. His high position at court, as one of Queen Elizabeth's favourites, and yearly visits to London,[240] made him more culturally in tune with English court taste than either his father or his grandfather, and this is clearly apparent in his architectural patronage. Perhaps this shift in taste made him less likely to employ local masons as designers of his buildings, so that the disappearance of the O'Tunney and

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fashionable building. One wonders if the fireplace was commissioned from the O'Tunneys, they were given a template, but added their own touches? We can only speculate here.

[237] Apparently 'the most elaborate and magnificent monument of the period which the cathedral contained was that executed by Stone, a London sculptor, to the memory of Thomas, the tenth Earl of Ormonde, which is now totally destroyed. The tomb, we are told, was ornamented with an effigy of that nobleman, and was rich in painting and gilding', see Graves, J., and Prim, J. G. A., *The History, Architecture and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St Canice*, 138; Fenlon, J., *Ormond Castle*, 21.

[238] Howarth, D., *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649*, 158.

[239] We know little of James Butler, ninth earl of Ormond's tomb, since he was buried in London and the church where the tomb was is long since destroyed. We see him portrayed in court high fashion by Holbein, but if his cenotaph now located next to the double tomb of his parents at St Canice's, it does not reflect court taste, being one of the final works of the Ormond School. Perhaps due to his early death, his tomb had not yet been commissioned when he died.

[240] Edwards describes how Thomas Butler tried to go to London every year, or at least every eighteen months Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny 1515-1642*, 99.

Ormond schools has much to do with the loss of their major patron, who chose to bring in master craftsmen from elsewhere, as it does with the death of Rory O'Tunney.

Fenlon notes in her biographical description of Thomas Butler that he 'retained some measure of good will with the Gaelic Irish' (Plate 4.212).[241] Could this have affected his decision to retain the two towerhouses to which the new north front was added? O'Keeffe sees the building as representing three different phases of construction between the thirteenth and late sixteenth centuries –

> A rectangular building of the thirteenth century had a pair of towers added to one of its long sides in the fourteenth or fifteenth century (when the family is regarded as being 'Gaelicized'), thus giving it a new symmetrical façade, and in the late sixteenth century a new building was added to its front, giving the architectural complex its third consecutive façade.[242]

O'Keeffe imagines a sixteenth century visitor shown through the castle being told that the further back they move in the building, the older it becomes, and sees Thomas Butler persuading the visitor that 'the architecture and portraiture did not just signal a new 'Anglicization' but a reconciliation with his family's (and indeed his castle's) origin in English colonisation'.[243] One wonders if the decision to keep the towerhouses, and the sculpture in them, which would have looked decidedly provincial in the light of the high quality plaster work, was a deliberate attempt to retain some hint of the family's antiquity and long standing in the area; less as an advertisement of their 'origin in English colonisation' but in the longevity and power of their lineage, so important amongst their Gaelic neighbours? The commissioning of a bardic poem in celebration of his houses suggests the latter may be closer to the truth.

IV. Conclusion

In the architectural patronage of the Butlers, it is difficult to firmly apply the three chronological divisions which are suggested by the political history of the family, and their other cultural patronage. Conversely, family history does aid in establishing a rough timeline, and this history also helps to explain why 'Ormond' architecture appears in the home territory of the O'Carrolls.

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[241] Fenlon, J., *Ormond Castle*, 19.
[242] O'Keeffe, T., 'Concepts of 'Castle' and the Construction of Identity in Medieval and Post-Medieval Ireland', *Irish Geography*, 34:1 (2001), 85.
[243] O'Keeffe, T., 'Concepts of 'Castle'', 86.

The works associated with the fourth earl, such as Jerpoint and Holycross, demonstrate a confusing mix of archaism and modernity, but these buildings do relate to architecture in Dublin and perhaps to work at Canterbury and Westminster. In the sponsorship of 'Dublin' architecture, we may be seeing a reflection of the White Earl's political ambition – tapping into the architecture at the administrative heart of the English lordship in Ireland. It has already been noted that the colonial community in Ireland had pride in their history and institutions. In emulating the architecture of key Dublin buildings, the earl may have been echoing this pride in Ormond, to reinforce his suitability for the position of Lieutenant. It is most interesting that the White Earl chose to be buried at St. Mary's in Dublin, breaking with a century old family tradition of being buried in Gowran. The decision, however, is not difficult to understand – more than any other member of the Ormond dynasty and any other previous magnate in Ireland, the fourth earl had been heavily involved in governing the lordship, and repeatedly served as lieutenant. Burial in St. Mary's, Dublin served as a reminder of this contribution to the colony. The loss of his tomb is lamentable, as it must have exerted an influence on the choices made by Piers and Margaret for their funerary monument, since they were stressing their descent from the main line of the Butlers.

The architectural patronage of the cadet branches of the family post 1452 demonstrates that buildings with long established and important Butler family connections became a key source of design. There are clear links between the architecture of the MacRichard Butlers, the Butlers of Dunboyne and the O'Carrolls and the architecture of Holycross. At Cahir, it is clear that references were being made to Early English work. Although such work may have been present at the Augustinian friary there before the fifteenth century, it can also be strongly argued that they were making architectural references to church of St. Mary at Gowran. The Butlers of Cahir were descended from the third earl (†1405), who was buried in the church of St. Mary Gowran, where the Butlers had a chantry.

The tomb sculpture of the early sixteenth century has been described above as representing the Butlers and their 'affinity' in stone. Understanding the relationships of the Butlers, their neighbours and their retainers has clarified why Gaelic lords like Brian MacGillapatrick and Meachlin O'More chose to be buried in the manner of the 'English of Ireland'. These men were cultivating a relationship with the Butlers to secure their

position, while the Butlers were in turn attempting to cultivate a relationship with them, to secure their borders and spread their influence.

Power and influence were clearly very important to Piers Butler and Margaret FitzGerald. Stanyhurst describes Pierce thus 'being himselfe (saue only in feates of arms) a simple Gentleman, he bare out his honour, and this charge of gouernement very worthily, through the singular wisedome of his Countesse: a Lady of such a port that all estates of the Realm crouched vnto hir; hir aduice; manlike, and tall of stature; very rich and bountifull; a bitter enimie'.[244] Stanyhurst's description hints at ruthlessness on the part of the countess, but the MacRichards had every right to be ambitious, they had a title to gain and much to loose if they did not attain it. The encroachment of the power of central government, and with it the authority of the crown, has already been noted. Piers and Margaret were attempting to wrest a title from claimants who were amongst the king's favourites at court – the Boleyns.[245] Thus, they clearly had much convincing to do.

At just the time when Piers and Margaret were investing in their tomb sculpture at St. Canice's , Henry VIII was sending out his trusted king of arms to inspect heraldry and take away and grant arms as he saw fit.[246]As early as 1408, in a case of disputed inheritance, the court repaired to a church to inspect a funerary brass.[247] And, 'in the social competition of the Tudor genteel and landowning world, enthusiasm for heraldry and enthusiasm for ancestors were in consequence inseparable'.[248]

In this respect, we might revise the idea of 'Ormond' school. The works associated with this 'Ormond' school are linked by heraldry and inscriptions to the main line of the Butler family, which after 1515 in Ireland was the MacRichard line in the person of Piers Butler. They sought to reinforce their claim to this title by a large investment in funerary sculpture. Importantly, this sculpture had to be different from that of the ordinary landed gentry like the Graces and Purcells. The MacRichards were not claiming gentility, they were claiming nobility, and the different 'style' of the Butler tombs – largely based around an assessment of figure sculpture, may have been demanded by the patron because they wished to differentiate themselves from the lesser gentry around them.

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[244] Miller, L., and Power, E., *The Historie of Irelande … Richard Stanyhurst*, 257.
[245] Ellis, S., *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 117.
[246] Keen, M., *Origins of the English Gentleman*, 16.
[247] Ibid., 52.
[248] Ibid., 52.

The ensuing chapters discuss two of the main issues raised in the foregoing discussion of the sophisticated use of architecture and tomb sculpture in Ormond. The next chapter will look at the architectural patronage of the other comital families in Ireland, the earls of Desmond and Kildare, and assess whether they used architecture as a building block of their campaigns to show loyalty and win office. The last chapter will look at stonemasonry in Ireland as it developed in during the medieval period, to fully understand the effect the training of the mason had on his architectural practice.

Chapter 5

Comital power, legitimisation and lieutenancy: the evidence of architecture

It has been shown in the previous chapters that members of the house of Ormond used architecture in a sophisticated manner to bolster their standing in society. This can be seen, in the case of the fourth earl of Ormond, in the architecture of Holycross where subtle echoes of Dublin architecture, particularly Christ Church, underpin his claim to the position of lieutenancy. In the case of the MacRichard Butlers, it has been clearly demonstrated that Piers Butler and his wife Margaret FitzGerald worked hard to legitimise both their claims to political power in Ormond and Dublin, and indeed, their claim to the Ormond title, by very public displays of church patronage and the widespread commission of funerary sculpture. The potency of these acts of architectural patronage will be reinforced if it can be shown that the other great magnates in Ireland were engaged in such clear demonstrations of social display through artistic patronage. This chapter assesses the architectural patronage of the other two great comital houses in Ireland, Desmond and Kildare, for evidence that they sought to legitimise their claims to noble and political power through the patronage of architecture. This multiplication of examples will demonstrate that there was an audience of this kind of propaganda, who understood the message being sent.

I. Interlinking lineages and power

During the fifteenth century, the main lines of both the Desmond and Kildare dynasties died out (or were usurped) twice, and dynastic side-stepping often resulted in claimants to the title who had been living less than 'princely' lives on the periphery of colonial society. These men had to bolster their claims to power by acts of patronage that cultivated an image of civilisation, they had to tread a fine line between appeasing and controlling their Gaelic neighbours, and making outward shows of what should, and can, be considered 'Englishness', such as founding chantry chapels and joining guilds.[1]

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[1] Gwynn and Hadcock explain that 'from the fifteenth century onwards, when so many collegiate churches of the chantry type were founded in England and Scotland, the Irish themselves favoured the Franciscan Third Order Regular system (Tertiaries) to the collegiate system'. Although collegiate churches were founded in the west, at Youghal, St. Nicholas, Galway and St. Mary, Athenry, the majority of new lay foundations in the west were of the Franciscan Third Order Regular, the first contemporary record of the order occurring in 1426, Gwynn, A., and Hadcock, R., N., *Medieval Religious Houses Ireland*, 358, 264.

Recent research by Peter Crooks has highlighted the role of the great comital houses as sources of stability in fifteenth century Ireland. He suggests that the claims and counter claims of maladministration and violence which pepper official documents have been allowed to dominate the narrative in traditional histories, to the detriment of understanding the immutability of these noble houses, and their contribution to colonial society.[2] He states:

> The mechanics and diplomatics of lordship, the extent to which the resident nobility was considered a buttress of royal power; the nobility's mechanisms for defusing their disputes, such as arbitration, compensation and marriage alliances; and the complex social networks created by dispute resolution: these are some aspects of colonial society that have been relatively neglected.[3]

And just as these great houses were considered a buttress of royal power, so too did the earls of Ormond, Desmond and Kildare seek to win royal favour. It has been described how this royal favour 'allowed the noble to have the good lordship of his supreme lord, the king, and perhaps as importantly, to dispense patronage on his own at no cost to himself by using the bounty of the crown'.[4]

The lieutenancy was the most prized title for magnates like Ormond, and as discussed in chapter 1, Ormond spent much of his political career attempting to wrest this office from his rivals, the Talbots. The lieutenancy allowed for the building up of affinity that could serve to protect the interests of the lieutenant (and, of course, royal interests).[5] The lieutenancy allowed for an extension of power and jurisdiction, and also for liberal distribution of patronage. As Crooks describes 'an impressive repertory of patronage lay at the chief governor's disposal. Lands, cash sums, wardships, marriages, letters of protection, appointments in the central and local administration, and ecclesiastical benefices: all these were distributed astutely to satiate the demands of followers and bolster local influence'.[6]

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[2] He makes the valid point that 'there is no provable correlation between the volume of complaint and the level of disruption…vocal disapproval may indeed indicate higher expectations of public order', Crooks, P., 'Factionalism and Noble Power in English Ireland, *c.*1361-1423', 23.
[3] Crooks, P., 'Factionalism and Noble Power in English Ireland, *c.*1361-1423', 27.
[4] Gorman, V., 'Richard, Duke of York, and the Development of an Irish Faction', 179. In the words of Crooks 'Vibrancy rather than frailty, is often the conspicuous characteristic of the tissue connecting court and 'country'. It was by capitalising on these connections that fortunes were advanced', see 'Factionalism and Noble Power in English Ireland, c 1361-1423', 50.
[5] Matthew's narrative most clearly details this dispensation of patronage, see, for example, the dispensation of 'patronage' to Richard Nugent by Ormond during his term of office, at the expense of the archbishop of Armagh, Matthew, E., 'The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship', 361.
[6] Crooks, P., 'Factionalism and Noble Power in English Ireland, *c.*1361-1423', 53.

In England, patronage of colleges, schools, large chantry churches and almshouses became extremely popular during the fifteenth century. A fashion for large-scale architectural munificence was established, and major projects were undertaken, often combining chantry, educational and charitable functions. The example was set by king Henry VI, whose double foundations, Eton and King's College, have already been noted. Henry was a discerning patron of architecture, and the exacting demands laid out in his 1447 'will' for the construction of King's College show him to have been sensitive to the very minutiae of architectural form. In this 'will' he states 'And I wol that the edification of my same college procede in large fourme clene and substancial, setting a parte superfluite of too gret curious werkes of entaille and besy moldyng'.[7] This same sensitivity to minutiae has already been noted in the contract for the building of Fotheringhay Church, made between Richard Duke of York and the mason William Horwood in 1434.[8]

Similar concerns for architectural restraint can be seen in the Oxford colleges where during the construction of the Divinity School the architect, Winchcombe, was dismissed from the project in 1439 and in 1440 Thomas Elkin was appointed. He was instructed that 'numerous magnates of the realm and other knowledgeable men do not approve, but reprehend, the over curiosity of the … work already begun, therefore the … University wishes the said Thomas … to restrain the superfluous curiosity of the … work, as in niches for statues, bowtels, casements, fillets, and other foolish curiosities'.[9] In the light of court fashions for educational institutions and concern with architectural detail it is most interesting that at a parliament summoned in 1465 by Thomas, earl of Desmond, an act was passed for the establishment of a university at Drogheda. It was to be modelled on Oxford, and was intended to promote 'knowledge, commerce and good government'.[10] Although the plan for the foundation of this college came to nothing, it is a clear indicator that Irish magnates were interested in emulating acts of cultural patronage that were popular in England; this emulation can be seen in the foundation of the university and the emulation of Oxford Collegiate architecture found at Adare, discussed in detail below.

In an environment were 'numerous magnates of the realm' were expressing well educated opinions on architecture, and the patronage of large architectural projects became

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[7] Salzman, L. F., *Building in England Down to 1540*, 522. The 'will' for Eton is worded similarly, see ibid., 523.
[8] Ibid., 505-9.
[9] Ibid., 513-14.
[10] McCormack, A., *The Earldom of Desmond 1463-1583*, 60; Otway-Ruthven, A. J., *A History of Medieval Ireland*, 389.

fashionable amongst the most influential men at court, the idea that the three great comital houses of Ireland should have engaged in similar activities as shows of loyalty and civility is wholly valid. It is also a very real possibility that these kind of activities were mutually inspired, or perhaps more properly, in the later fifteenth century, were learned from the example of the fourth earl of Ormond.

For most of the first half of the fifteenth century, the earls of Ormond and Desmond were on particularly good terms, and these good terms were sealed with an indenture in 1422, and a marriage alliance between Desmond's heir, Thomas, and Ormond's daughter, Ann, in 1429, to take place when the couple were of age.[11] One of the terms of this arrangement was that the young Desmond heir was to reside in Ormond's household and be educated by the countess of Ormond; the countess died in England in 1430, and it has been assumed that the young Thomas was with her at this time.[12] The impact of this brief education on the young Thomas must have been great, Otway-Ruthven calls him 'a renaissance magnate with an Irish tinge',[13] and in his eulogy in the *Annals of the Four Masters* he is described as 'the most illustrious of his tribe in Ireland in his time for his comeliness and stature, for his hospitality and chivalry, his charity and humanity to the poor and the indigent of the Lord, his bounteousness in bestowing jewels and riches on the laity, the clergy, and the poets and his suppression of theft and immorality … the greater number of the men of Ireland were grieved at the news' of his death.[14]

Not only did the heir to the Desmond earldom spend time in the fourth earl of Ormond's household during the 1430s, but so did the heir to the Kildare title. This situation occurred because, as already described in chapter 1, in 1434 the White Earl married the daughter of Gerald FitzGerald, fifth earl of Kildare. As part of this marriage arrangement the heir to the Kildare title, Thomas, son of John 'Cam' the sixth earl of Kildare, was a minor.[15] It is not clear how long the young Thomas FitzMaurice spent in the earl's household, but it appears he grew impatient, as he would not inherit the title until the death of Elizabeth, and this did not occur until 1452. Thomas, who took the name FitzMaurice, stressing his descent from Maurice FitzGerald, fourth earl of Kildare, became

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[11] These arrangements are discussed in chapter 1.
[12] Matthew, E., 'The Governing of the Lancastrian Lordship', 241-2.
[13] Otway-Ruthven, A. J., *A History of Medieval Ireland*, 389.
[14] *The Annals of the Four Masters*, IV (1468), 1051-3.
[15] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 106. This succession is confusing, but the key point is that the heir to the Kildare title spent time in the White Earl's household, before rebelling against him and eventually becoming an outlaw.

a thorn in the side of the fourth earl of Ormond in the 1440s, and in the parliament of 1447 he was outlawed.[16] FitzMaurice had this act overturned by royal writ five years later and by 1454 was acting as deputy to Richard, duke of York.[17]

Richard, duke of York, acts as another uniting element in the history of the three great Irish comital families. It has already been described how both the fourth earl of Ormond and seventh earl of Desmond stood as godparents to the duke of York's son, George, in 1449. This gesture must have been a show of unity by the earls after outbreaks of sporadic violence between the two (or at least, their extended families[18]) in the years between 1444-47. Ormond was acting as York's deputy in the years after the Duke's departure from Ireland, and Thomas FitzMaurice, seventh earl of Kildare, took over this position in 1454, and in 1455 became seneschal of York's Liberty of Meath. It is clear that York cultivated the support of all three men, and they in turn must have been impressed by this dispersal of patronage. They may also have been impressed with his investment in architecture in Meath during his short stay in Ireland.[19]

Between them, the earls of Ormond, Desmond and Kildare, along with Richard, duke of York, holder of the lands of the other great earldom, Ulster, were responsible for some of the largest and most innovative acts of architectural patronage of late medieval Ireland. Below, the patronage of the earls of Desmond and Kildare are assessed separately in order demonstrate how great their individual contributions were.

II. The earls of Desmond

The first building to come under discussion is the Franciscan house at Askeaton, Co. Limerick, close to the caput of the earls of Desmond. Their imposing castle still overshadows the small town, and the well-preserved Franciscan house is sited just outside

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[16] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 122.
[17] Gorman, V., 'Richard, Duke of York, and the Development of an Irish Faction', 171. Crooks sees the recognition of FitzMaurice's claim to the Kildare title by Henry VI as clear evidence of the importance of the great comital houses to royal power in Ireland, Crooks, P., 'Factionalism and Noble Power in English Ireland, *c.*1361-1423', 376.
[18] Empey, C. A and Simms, K., 'The Ordinances of the White Earl', 166, where they describe 'The first recorded instance of trouble was in 1447, when we learn that Edmund MacRichard was taken prisoner by Piers FitzJames of Cahir. We know nothing of the circumstances of the quarrel, but we may suspect the complicity of the Cahir Butlers with the raids of the earl of Desmond in 1444 and 1446'.
[19] Gorman, V., 'Richard, Duke of York, and the Development of an Irish Faction', 170-1; the high born lieutenants that came to Ireland in the fifteenth century brought with them some of the trappings and ceremonies of nobility. Crooks describes how 'Richard Duke of York, rewarded his colonial supporters after winning submissions from the Gaelic Irish in 1449 by knighting a number of lords and gentry from Dublin, Meath and Louth', Crooks, P., 'Factionalism and Noble Power in English Ireland, *c.*1361-1423', 47.

its centre. The foundation date of this site is a matter of some dispute, but the most detailed and definitive description comes from the *Annals of the Four Masters* in the year 1420 which describe 'The monastery of St. Francis at Eas-Gephtine, in Munster, on [*recte* near] the bank of the Shannon, in the diocese of Limerick, was founded for Franciscan friars by the Earl of Desmond, who erected a tomb in it for himself and his descendants'.[20] Foundation dates do pose a problem for architectural historians in Ireland, and the Augustinian house at Banada acts as a cautionary tale. While founded in 1423,[21] we hear in 1444 that the house was 'recently begun' and that the cloister, refectory, sacristy, chapter house, bell tower and many other things were still wanting.[22] The house appealed again for a relaxation in 1460, when we learn that the choir and cloister were still lacking.[23] At Askeaton, the difficulty in firmly dating the site may in some part be due to it being confused with an unidentified friary in Limerick called Inysgebryby, founded *c.*1400.[24] Writers on the architectural history of the building have all agreed that the 1420s date for the church and domestic ranges is more likely than that of 1389 or 1400, Champneys saying 'one can hardly hesitate to adopt the later date'.[25]

The date 1420 sits particularly well with the notion that acts of architectural patronage were demonstrations of power and claims to noble lineage. In 1411, the young heir to the Desmond earldom, Thomas FitzJohn, was usurped by his uncle, James FitzGerald.[26] The heir made a bid to reclaim his lordship in 1414, when he arrived in Ireland accompanied by a force sent by Henry V, but was unable to wrest control of his lands and title from his uncle, and died in France fighting for Henry V late in 1420.[27] James FitzGerald, during the period of his nephew's exile in France, was in a vulnerable position. It was vital that he staked his claim to the earldom, and after his nephew's death, it was vital that he be recognised as the legitimate heir to the Desmond title. It is clear that the building of the convent at Askeaton represents just such an act. Desmond was active in the politics of the colony in these early years of his earldom. In 1423 he brought a force

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[20] O'Brien, C., 'County Limerick – Parish of Askeaton – The Franciscan Convent', *The Architectural and Topographical Record*, 1 (1908), 250; Ó Clabaigh, C., *The Franciscans in Ireland 1400-1534* (Dublin, 2002), 15; *The Annals of the Four Masters*, IV (1420), 843.
[21] For the early history of the foundation of the house at Banada see Martin, F. X., 'The Irish Augustinian Reform Movement in the Fifteenth Century', 238-40.
[22] *Calendar of Papal Registers*, IX, 455.
[23] *Calendar of Papal Registers*, XII, 103.
[24] Gwynn, A., and Hadcock, R. N., *Medieval Religious Houses Ireland*, 242.
[25] Champneys, A., *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 240.
[26] Cosgrove, A., *Late Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1981), 88.
[27] Ormond was happy with the status quo, and supported James FitzGerald's claim to the title. There are no good histories for this period of Desmond history, see Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 52-3.

'reputed to be 5,000 men' from Munster to Carbury, Co. Kildare, to assist in its defence against the O'Connors and Meiler Bermingham.[28] In both stone and deed, James was making a bid for his legitimate claim to the title and loyalty to the crown.

The domestic ranges of the friary at Askeaton are well preserved, and the cloister and reader's desk in the refectory have already been mentioned. The church did not fare so well, having been 'defaced and burned' during the Desmond rebellion the 1570s.[29] In his discussion of the complex (Plate 5.1), O'Brien describes how the church may be of the earlier date mentioned for the foundation, of 1389, but the building campaign of the 1420s left the friary in its present form, apart from the transept, which he dates to the sixteenth century. He, too, notes the 'comparatively early character' of the reader's lectern in the refectory, although this desk is probably not as early as 1389, because the mouldings of the base and capital are simplified versions of those in the cloister (Plates 5.2, 5.3). The domestic ranges most likely to date from the 1420s, and they may have originally been intended to be placed to the north of the church, which was common in Irish Franciscan houses of the late middle ages, instead of the south where they are presently located.[30] Leask cites O'Brien's deductions about the layout of the house as evidence that the domestic ranges date from the period 1420-40.[31]

A general description of the cloister at Askeaton has already been provided, but here it is important to add further observations. The first is that these capitals and bases are compositionally very strange, and it is difficult to find examples inside or outside the country that they might reasonably be compared to.[32] In Ireland, as noted above, there are some grounds for comparing the work to Jerpoint, where the proportion of the roll and fillet is quite similar. Outside Ireland, the capitals might be compared with the late thirteenth century capitals at Glasgow Cathedral where there is a stacking up of roll and filets and the capital is differentiated at its front and rear faces by a projection (Plate 5.4). The roll and fillet continued its thirteenth-century popularity well into the fifteenth century in Scotland, so too did stiff leaf of the kind found at Jerpoint.[33]

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[28] McCormack, A., *The Earldom of Desmond 1463-1583, The Decline and Crisis of a Feudal Lordship* (Dublin, 2005), 55.
[29] Westropp, T. J., 'Notes on Askeaton, County Limerick. Part I. – The History, A.D. 900 to 1579', *JRSAI*, 33 (1903), 37-40.
[30] O'Brien, C., 'County Limerick – Parish of Askeaton – The Franciscan Convent', 251.
[31] Leask, H. G., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 101, note. 7.
[32] The best modern discussion of this cloister can be found in O'Donoghue, A., 'The Mendicant Cloisters of Munster: A Comparative Study of Six Franciscan Cloisters' (BA dissertation, University of Dublin, 1995).
[33] Fawcett, R., *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 195-9.

The second observation is that Askeaton represents one of the earliest pieces of ecclesiastical architecture built in the fifteenth century, and is one of the closest to Early English revivalism, the mouldings are made up of roll and fillets, and angle fillets, but there appears to have been an attempt to modify these by multiplying the number of units introduced, and adding variance by including three different types of capitals and six different types of base (Plate 5.2). This multiplication and variation of elements has been seen already at Holycross, and is an important characteristic of Irish fifteenth century aesthetics. Aisling O'Donaghue makes three very interesting points in her study of the cloister, the first is that the consistency of the dimensions and regularity of the central square suggest that it was built in an unusually short space of time. The second point is that the overall quality of the stonework of Askeaton is high, and must have been costly to produce, suggesting that the wealth and prestige of the patron rather than the ascetic values of the friars was the driving force behind the architectural style of the site. The third point is that it appears the only means of accessing the friar's church at Askeaton was through the cloister walks, a journey which 'displayed the patron's wealth and good taste for all to see'.[34]

Here again we encounter the problem of audience, as the cloister design at Askeaton is very introspective. It is interesting to note that the seventh earl of Desmond never travelled to England, and had as a boy been fostered to the Gaelic O'Brien family, kings of Thomond.[35] We might well ask if the seventh earl would have known that the design of the cloister at Askeaton was out of date? Did he especially commission it to look old, to stress how old the Desmond title was, and how valid his claim was to it? Rachel Moss has noted a revival of architectural forms that pre-date the Anglo-Norman invasion in late medieval Ireland, and suggests that this represents a act emphasising lineage among Gaelic patrons. Indeed, English bishops in eastern Ireland began to promote the cults of native Irish saints 'to strengthen the position of the Anglo-Irish church through its association with the beginnings of Christianity in Ireland'.[36] Could this Early English revivalism at Askeaton reflect the same type of cultural dimension, but with post- instead

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[34] O'Donoghue, A , 'The Mendicant Cloisters of Munster: a comparative study of six Franciscan cloisters', 25.

[35] Waters, K. A., 'The Earls of Desmond and the Irish of South-West Munster', *The Journal of Medieval History*, 32 (2006), 66.

[36] Moss, R., 'Revivalist Tendencies in the Irish Late Gothic: Defining a National Identity?' forthcoming.

of pre-invasion forms? Certainly, dog-tooth occurs in some churches sponsored by English families, such as at Killeen in Co. Meath, patronised by the Plunkett family.[37]

Nail-head occurs in the cloister capitals at Jerpoint, although it is clear on one capital that the design became too tedious or to costly for the mason to carve – only half the capital has nail-head while the other simply has a roll (Plate 5.5).[38] Early English revivalism cannot solely be assigned to the English of Ireland in the fifteenth century, however, as the nail head occurs in the rear arch capitals at Roscommon Dominican Friary (Plate 5.6), a building outside the reach of the Dublin Administration at this period.[39] Perhaps more significantly, at Abbeyknockmoy, Co. Galway, a kind of dog-tooth and nail-head synthesis occurs in similar capitals to those at Roscommon (Plate 5.7).[40] This capital has been dated to *c.*1210 on the basis of the style of the vault it supports, and in light of this similarity to Roscommon there are some grounds for questioning an early date for the vault.[41] There is a keel in the bell of this vault capital at Abbeyknockmoy, a feature already noted as characteristic of many of the high quality capitals seen in fifteenth-century Ireland, a similar capital is also found at Mellifont, Co. Louth (Plate 5.8), although it is a fragment and undated.

Moss has drawn attention to the O'Kelly tomb at Abbeyknockmoy, which was designed in 1402 for Maolseachlainn O'Kelly, perhaps in conjunction with an elaborate scheme of wall paintings. The tomb is remarkable for its use of chevron and beast head terminals of Romanesque type, which she convincingly argues were designed to create a

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[37] Champneys notes the occurrence of dog-tooth at both sites, Champneys, A., *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 192. See also O'Neill, M., 'The Medieval Parish Churches of Co. Meath', 18-21.
[38] This is illustrated in Rae, E. C., 'The Sculpture of the Cloister of Jerpoint Abbey', Plate 9b.
[39] Nicholls, K., *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*, 173-4.
[40] Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 128. Leask's reconstruction of the tracery at Roscommon is identical to the east window at Clontuskert, unknown to Leask as it was only found during Fanning's 1971-2 excavation. Clontuskert was under O'Kelly patronage in the later middle ages, and the O'Kelly's were heavily involved in trying to dominate the O'Connors of Roscommon, suggesting a possible link in patronage between the sites, and indeed, a link between these sites and Abbeyknockmoy, Nicholls, K., *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*, 173-4; Fanning, T., 'Excavations at Clontuskert Friary, Co. Galway', 102-3.
[41] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 132-5, Appendix 4, fig. 72. Credit for the re-dating of this vault must go to Professor Stalley, who suggested that I question the date of the capital in light of the fifteenth century examples with keels placed in the bell. The other difficulties with the vault are as follows: the capital described above is at the top of a long corbel which terminates in a sprig of foliage and supports the central ribs of a quadripartite vault of two bays. The abacus of the capital is part of a string-course that runs around the wall at the springing of the vault, so that it is quite clear that the capitals are not insertions. Moreover, they do not agree with the scalloped Romanseque capitals of the chancel arch; furthermore the ribs that abut the western corners are squashed into the space behind these capitals. The geometry of the vault is rather imperfect, and the *formerets* bear no relation to where the vault abuts the wall. Stalley directly compares the Abbeyknockmoy vault capitals to one found in architectural excavations at Mellifont, see Stalley, R., 'Mellifont Abbey: A Study of its Architectural History', *PRIA*, 80C (1980), 333.

visual link with the chevron decoration of the original east windows of the abbey church.[42] The revival of nail-head at Roscommon and Abbeyknockmoy poses more of a problem, since these motifs were introduced in the wake of the Anglo-Norman invasion. Here we can look to Scotland for a parallel development, where Fawcett sees 'a willingness to reconsider architectural solutions that had been current earlier in Scotland, and that were perhaps in some way identified with a particularly Scottish approach to design at a period when it was seen as important to stress the strength of Scotland's own traditions. The fact that many of those ideas had originally reached Scotland by way of England was presumably no longer remembered'.[43] In relation to discussing revivalist tendencies in the Askeaton cloister, then, it is maybe best to simply argue that the cloister is making reference to older forms, perhaps a venerated model which is now lost.

The church at Askeaton is a long, narrow friars' church, and unusually, the tower (now lost) did not bisect it but was appended to the north-west corner of the sacristy (Plate 5.1). There is a heterogeneous array of windows here, the east is of five intersecting lights with no sub arcs. It is closely related to the east window of the Augustinian friary at Adare, which was founded by the earl of Kildare in 1315. Leask safely assigns this Adare window to the early fourteenth century because the mullions are moulded at their outer face with rolls (Plate 5.9).[44] The eastern window of the south wall is one of two rather unusual windows here; it is intersecting but has single cusps where one might expect to see sub arcs, this arrangement also occurs at Kilmacduagh cathedral, Co. Galway (Plate 5.10). One of the north windows of the chancel is exactly replicated at the nearby castle, in the western wall of the banqueting hall. The most anomalous window occurs in the east wall of the north transept, and this is a two light version of the east window of the Augustinian house at Cahir (Plate 5.11), already noted for its highly unusual arrangement of lancets and intersection. Here we are most likely seeing the manifestation of family connections, as the Butlers of Cahir were related to the Desmond Geraldines through 'Catherine of Desmond' and it appears that the families maintained close links throughout the fifteenth century. They may well have used the same craftsman, but the head capitals seen at Cahir, with their remarkable ears, remain conspicuously absent. Another manifestation of family connection can be seen in the tomb niches along south wall of the nave, which have their

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[42] Moss, R., 'Revivalist Tendencies in the Irish Late Gothic: Defining a National Identity?' forthcoming.
[43] Fawcett, R., *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 121; this comment was made in relation to tracery design, but has equal validity in describing the use of repetitive mouldings in both Scotland and Ireland.
[44] Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings II*, 126.

origin in work sponsored by the seventh earl of Kildare and his wife, Johanna, daughter of the seventh earl of Desmond, these will be extensively discussed below.

The next documented example of Desmond church patronage relates to the eighth earl of Desmond, who is credited with endowing a collegiate church at Youghal, and a chantry at Dunsany.[45] The eighth earl, Thomas, was engaged in both Anglophile and Gaelic cultural activities, and remembered as such in the annals.[46] The foundation of a collegiate church in Youghal and a chantry at Dunsany are markedly English acts of cultural patronage. Are we here seeing the influence of the Countess of Ormond, by whom Thomas was educated for a short period? These outward shows of English culture are a reflection of Thomas's ambitions to act politically on a national level. The Battle of Piltown of 1462 has already been discussed in chapter 1, and its disastrous consequences for the Butler family outlined.

The outcome of Piltown for the earl of Desmond could not have been more different, it was he, his father (who died soon after), and his brother-in-law, the earl of Kildare, who inflicted this defeat. In reward for his suppression of the Lancastrian rebellion Desmond was made the new deputy of Ireland in 1463, a post that a member of the house of Desmond had not held for over one hundred years.[47] Ellis calls the appointment of Desmond by Edward IV 'an unusual experiment in the crown's efforts to extend the Dublin administration's normal range of operation'.[48] Desmond was largely successful in the office, but was summoned to England by King Edward to answer a number of charges against him. His journey was preceded by a message from the Irish Parliament testifying to his good service. It described

> The tendre respect vnto the lawes and custumes … within this your said land wherevuno he hath applied him to set and put tranquilite, peix and rest among your subiects and true liege people … in such wyse as by Goddis grace and his said labour, pollitique wite, reule, manhode, widsome and streyngthe.[49]

This English sojourn appears to have gone smoothly for Desmond, and Edward retained him as Lord Deputy. The *Four Masters* in 1464 record 'Thomas, Earl of Desmond, returned from the King of England, having been appointed the King's Deputy, and

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[45] Otway-Ruthven, A. J., *A History of Medieval Ireland*, 389.
[46] Ibid.; Thomas was a patron of Gaelic poets.
[47] McCormack, A., *The Earldom of Desmond 1463-1583*, 59.
[48] Ellis, S., 'FitzGerald, T., seventh earl of Desmond (1426?-1468), *ODNB*, 19, 846.
[49] Otway-Ruthven, A. J., *A History of Medieval Ireland*, 390. This valediction closely mimics the wording of the document which laid out his terms of office Cosgrove, A., 'The Execution of the Earl of Desmond', *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*, 8 (1975), 16-17.

bringing great presents from the King'.[50] Desmond was retained as deputy until 1467.[51] Despite this vindication, he had enemies in the Pale, and it did not help his image that 'MacWilliam Bourke and O Donell and many of the English and Irish of Irland went to Dublin towards Thomas Earl of Desmond, Lord Deputy of Ireland and adhered to him'; Otway-Ruthven suggests that this incursion of Irish and Gaelicized English from the west must have been more alarming than reassuring to the people of the Pale.[52]

The collegiate church of St. Mary at Youghal retains much of its medieval fabric; even some medieval roof remains. The building has a complex history, with both late twelfth and early thirteenth century fabric, and was renovated in both the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Plate 5.12).[53] The choir has a number of cut stone features dating from the fifteenth century, and these include the piscina and sedilia, and the southern windows. The windows in the south wall are paired lancets, the rear arches of which are moulded with double ogees (Plate 5.13), presenting an extreme mix of old a new, Early English with Perpendicular if the work is to be judged by English standards.[54] The east window is of six lights, the tracery is formed of two three light designs where the pattern begins as reticulation and then branches off into mouchettes flanking a central vesica, the head is filled with a rose motif. This widow is very unusual, it is cuspless and the lower portions of the tracery design look like sixteenth-century work found in St. Nichols church, Galway, suggesting this tracery may be as late as the 1580s.[55] The base mouldings of the rear arch of this window are Perpendicular, and so again we meet the paradox, here of a debased window with well-executed English base mouldings (Plate 5.14).

The sedilia has a dense and complex moulding, with ogees arranged both singly and doubly (Plate 5.15). The round capital is of four units, an upper square abacus, a beak like projection, a squared scroll and a necking roll. In general form, the sedilia is related to a number of examples found in the Cork-Kerry region at the periphery of Desmond influence, for example at Adare Franciscan friary (Plate 5.16), and these may represent simplified copies of this complex work. A moulding of this complex form and scale, with multiple uses of the single and double ogee can be seen in the west door of the Cistercian

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[50] *The Annals of the Four Masters*, IV, (1464), 1035.
[51] McCormack, A., *The Earldom of Desmond 1463-1583*, 60.
[52] Otway-Ruthven, A. J., *A History of Medieval Ireland*, 390.
[53] Craig, M., *The Architecture of Ireland*, 75.
[54] Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 113.
[55] Leask, H., 'The Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas, Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 17 (1936), 1-23. The Galway windows differ slightly from the Youghal example in that the mouchettes spring outward not inward.

monastery of Abbeydorney (Plates 5.14, 5.17, 5.18); in overall form, the door resembles the door of the Benedictine cell in Youghal, described below. Abbeydorney is located just north of Tralee, well within Desmond territory. The abbot and convent made a complaint against the earl of Desmond and FitzMaurice of Kerry in the 1460s, accusing that they 'subjugated the said monastery to ... jurisdiction and temporal rule as if it were their own patrimony'. The earl was obliged to restore to the Abbey what he had taken away or 'make composition with them', and Desmond appears to have 'ceased for some years from such rapines and insolences'. Perhaps the east door at Abbeydorney may be seen as 'composition' to the abbot and convent for previous abuses.[56]

The presence of ogees and double ogees at Youghal, elements unusual in Irish fifteenth century work, suggests that the building was constructed under particularly strong English influence, and this is most evident in the base mouldings of the east window at St. Mary's which are fully Perpendicular in form (apart from lacking a tall sub-base) (Plates 5.14, 5.19). The works in the choir at St. Mary's were most likely undertaken when the church was made collegiate, as this area of the church would have been the main focus of ceremony. The relationship between the work at St. Mary's and that at Abbeydorney strongly suggests a Desmond connection.

Other architecture at St. Mary's and in the town of Youghal shows English influence. There is a tomb niche in the choir of the church dating from 1470 and belonging to Thomas Flemming (†1470).[57] The tomb niche is of decidedly English character, and may well have been imported ready-made. The Benedictine cell located in the town centre of Youghal has a door of two orders, the inner of which has a mitre at the corner (Plates 5.20, 5.22). The door is under a square hood with tracery in the spandrels. It comes particularly close to English examples, and may be compared to the doorway at Portchester Castle of 1396-99 (Plate 5.21).[58] In the surviving aumbury, located just behind this doorway, the jamb and arch are moulded with double ogees (Plate 5.22). There is no

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[56] *Calendar of Papal Letters*, XII, 274-5; the surviving letter details how after the death of the eighth earl in 1467 his heir, Thomas, and Thomas FitzMaurice of Kerry once again began to exact money from the monastery.

[57] Hayman, S., *The Illustrated Guild to St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Youghal, Co. Cork* (Youghal, 1865), 28. In his second work on the history of Youghal, Hayman dates the Flemming monument to 1470, Hayamn, S., *Memorials of Youghal, Ecclesiastical and Civil* (Youghal, 1879), 13.

[58] Harvey, J., *The Perpendicular Style*, 110, plate 52.

documented connection between Desmond and this cell, and it is probable that English influences were reaching Youghal through trade.[59]

The tenure of the eighth earl of Desmond perhaps ushered in a mini-Renaissance in Munster at the behest of this 'Renaissance prince', but it was short lived. Desmond, along with the seventh earl of Kildare and Edward Plunkett were attained in February 1468 by the new Lord Deputy, John Tiptoft, who had just replaced Desmond in office, on charges that they were in league with the Gaelic Irish.[60] Kildare and Plunkett escaped, and Kildare made his way to England, 'gained the King's ear, and achieved such a speedy success that by the very same parliament at which he had been attained his attainder was reversed'.[61] Desmond was not so lucky, and was kept in custody for five nights before being taken out and beheaded.[62] Historians have struggled to find a valid reason for the execution, but some have argued that Desmond's Irish affinities were too much for Tiptoft.[63] Alternatively, the reason for the execution may lie almost wholly with Tiptoft, who earned the nickname 'Butcher of England' and 'was hated of the people … for the disordinate death that he caused'.[64] Desmond's family responded quickly and ferociously to his death by raiding and burning Meath with a large force, the violence of which so alarmed the king that he recognised Thomas's heir despite the attainder.[65] This heir was the subject of a special mission by Richard III in the early 1480s, who sent the bishop of Annaghdown to take his oath of allegiance, with the message that his father had been 'extorciously slayne and murdered by colour of the lawes within Ireland … ayenst alle manhode, reason and good conscience'. The bishop was to relay that that the king deplored this act and to urge Desmond to take a fitting wife that Richard would find for him. He was also urged to stop wearing 'the Irisshe arraye' and begin wearing English costume. The king sent over a wardrobe of gowns, doublets, shirts, hose, hats and tippets, and a collar of gold.[66] Despite

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[59] O'Brien, A. F., 'Medieval Youghal: The Development of an Irish Seaport Trading Town, *c.*1200-*c.*1500', *Peritia*, 5 (1989 for 1986), 346-78.
[60] Cosgrove, A., 'The Execution of the Earl of Desmond', 22.
[61] Bryan, D., *Gerald FitzGerald The Great Earl of Kildare* (Dublin, 1933), 4.
[62] Cosgrove, A., 'The Execution of the Earl of Desmond', 22-3.
[63] Ibid., 25-7.
[64] Keen, M., *Origins of the English Gentleman*, 36.
[65] McCormack, A., *The Earldom of Desmond 1463-1583*, 60-1.
[66] Otway-Ruthven, A. J., *A History of Medieval Ireland*, 402; Richard had every reason to 'woo' the earl in the 1480s, in the words of Crooks 'a government report on the size of Desmond's army stated that he had four hundred horsemen, eight battalions of galloglass warriors, one battalion of crossbowmen and gunners, and some three thousand kern at his disposal', see Crooks, P., 'Factionalism and Noble Power in English Ireland, *c.*1361-1423', 34.

these overtures, the Desmond earldom entered a period that Anthony McCormack has labelled 'isolation and instability'.[67]

There is one other piece of architecture which can be assigned with certainty to the earls of Desmond and dated to 1500, and that is Desmond Castle at Kinsale, Co. Cork. As described above, after the execution of the eighth earl, his heir, James, entered a period of alienation from the crown and was later murdered by his younger brother John in 1487.[68] Maurice, brother of the murdered James, became tenth earl of Desmond, and quickly got caught up in the plot to depose Henry VII and replace him with the pretender, Perkin Warbeck.[69] Once again, the house of Desmond became the subject of a special mission from the crown in 1496, this time in the form of Richard Hatton, Henry VII's chaplain and privy councillor. Under his persuasion, Maurice made an oath of allegiance to Henry and promised to be a faithful liegeman.[70] There were a number of interesting conditions to his submission; the most telling was that 'he would not be compelled to attend parliament if he chose not to go'.[71] Thus, although Desmond was promising to be a true liegeman, he had no interest in integrating himself into the Dublin administration as his father, the eighth earl, had done to his cost.

Desmond's little castle in the town of Kinsale (Plate 5.23) was probably built after the customs and prise wines of Limerick, Cork, Kinsale, Youghal and Baltimore were granted to Maurice by Henry VII in January 1497.[72] It is really a small urban towerhouse of three storeys. There is a central door in the ground floor that opens at street level. In the first floor there are two twin ogee headed lights with transoms, and in the corners are squint windows that allow a view up and down the street, these are also provided with transoms. The top storey of the tower has one transomed window placed centrally at the street front, but the head of this opening has been replaced at a later date, as it is moulded with an ogee and shallow hollow. The most remarkable features of Desmond castle are the

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[67] McCormack, A., *The Earldom of Desmond 1463-1583*, 58-74. 'FitzGerald, Thomas, seventh earl of Kildare', *ODNB*, 19, 847.
[68] McCormack, A., *The Earldom of Desmond 1463-1583*, 61.
[69] Ellis, S., *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 87-8; McCormack, A., *The Earldom of Desmond 1463-1583*, 62. McCormack suspects that Maurice's main inclination for supporting Warbeck was that his main enemies in Ireland, the Ormond family, were Lancastrian, thus 'his enemy's enemy became his friend'. In this way, Maurice's support for Warbeck becomes an act of local politics and does not suggest that he was craving action on a bigger political stage.
[70] McCormack, A., *The Earldom of Desmond 1463-1583*, 63; Ellis, S., *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 8.
[71] McCormack, A., *The Earldom of Desmond 1463-1583*, 63.
[72] Ibid., 63. Kinsale had been caught up in the plot to put Warbeck on the throne, and the residents did not receive their pardon until 1498, see Ellis, S., *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 92.

doorway (Plates 5.24, 5.26) and the armorial panels in this street front. The doorway is very exceptional for a towerhouse, in that it is as finely moulded as many of the west doorways in friaries and parish churches built in the late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century in Ireland. It compares particularly well with the south door of Callan, St. Mary with its hood stops trailing off into knots and asymmetrical bunches of square leaves (Plates 5.25, 5.26). The main difference between the two doors is that the hood at Kinsale is offset at both sides before it terminates, and the door moulding is made up of a greater number of repetitions of quadrants and hollow chamfers.

The armorial panels comprise the arms of Desmond and the arms of England. The Desmond arms are placed just above the apex of the door, and comprise a saltier on a filed of ermine (Plate 5.27). The shield is inset in a bevelled frame, and at the outer edges is flanked by mini-crocketed pilasters. The bottom arcs of the shield even knot and trail off into asymmetrical foliage. The royal arms are carved in mirror image (Plate 5.28), and this may well suggest that they were traced, as this kind of reversal occurs in other media where a drawing or print is used as a model.[73] Despite the inclusion of these English arms, the architecture of this towerhouse is more Irish in character than the work at Youghal and Abbeyknockmoy associated with the eighth earl. The house of Desmond were in a period of introspection, and with the earls of Ormond being absentees in England for the later part of the fifteenth century, it was time for a new star to rise, and this was the star of the house of Kildare.

III. The earls of Kildare

The wealth and position of the earls of Kildare was not predetermined. Their rise may be attributed to both good fortune and hard work, particularly the hard work of the seventh earl of Kildare. As noted above, the seventh earl did not come to the Kildare estates by direct inheritance, Thomas FitzMaurice was in fact grand-nephew of the fifth earl.[74] Beresford describes how 'Thomas FitzMaurice had lived on the edge of Anglo-Irish society since the early 1440s and had been outlawed on more than one occasion. However, he began to rehabilitate himself after the White Earl's [of Ormond] death in August 1452'.[75] He succeeded to his estates, but this brought him directly into conflict with the MacRichard Butlers and the Butlers of Dunboyne, who did not wish to relinquish the

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[73] It is often found that designs copied from printed media are reversed in misericord carvings, see Jones, M., 'German and Flemish Prints as Design-Sources for the Misericords of St. George's Chapel, Windsor (1477x48), *BAA*, C.T. 25, 1998 (2002), 163-4.
[74] Tout, T. F., revised Ellis, S. G, 'FitzGerald, Thomas, seventh earl of Kildare', 845.
[75] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 135.

manors of Maynooth and Rathmore.[76] Indeed, after approaching the deputy lieutenant unsuccessfully, the leading men of Kildare wrote directly to the lieutenant, suggesting that the dispute was causing more destruction than the Irish enemies and English rebels of a long time before.[77] A role reversal appears to have occurred at about this time between the houses of Ormond and Kildare, as the men of the Pale blamed the Butlers for the devastation in Kildare in 1453, and FitzMaurice, who had spent 'a decade as an outlaw' on the fringes of society, was elected justiciar, and by November 1454 was acting as Chief Governor.[78] From this time Thomas was being styled earl of Kildare and was periodically reappointed Chief Governor, holding the position in the 1460s and 70s until his death in March 1478.[79]

Thomas was married to his cousin, Joanna, daughter of James, seventh earl of Desmond, and sister of the Thomas beheaded in 1468, and these men appear to have had a very good relationship.[80] In order to secure the position of his family, FitzMaurice had to strengthen his hold on the Kildare estates. Ellis suggests that it is difficult to believe that Kildare's ancestral estates were worth more than £250 a year on his accession.[81] Whatever the financial value of the Kildare estates, however, they were of major strategic importance because of their proximity to the king's highway south, the only overland route connecting the two areas of English lordship, the Pale and the South.[82] This strategic importance, along, of course, with political astuteness, allowed the earls to dominate the post of Lord Deputy in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[83]

In his actions, Kildare can be seen following the same patterns of behaviour we have already witnessed in the career of the earl of Ormond. Politically, he had to make himself indispensable to the Crown and the English administration; he had started on the right foot, with his appointment as York's deputy. Militarily he had to show himself capable of defending the borders of the Pale and 1459 he began to prove himself by defeating and captured Con, chief of the O'Connors of Offaly, a major achievement.

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[76] Ellis, S., *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: The Making of the British State*, 111.
[77] Ellis, S., *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 57.
[78] Beresford, D., 'The Butlers in England and Ireland', 137; Ellis, S., *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 58.
[79] Ellis, S., *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power*, 111.
[80] Leinster, Charles William FitzGerald, duke of, *The earls of Kildare and their Ancestors from 1057 to 1773* 2nd ed. (Dublin, 1858), 41.
[81] Ellis, S., *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 58.
[82] Ellis, S., *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power*, 113.
[83] Piers Butler was appointed Chief Governor, but did not have the land or influence close enough to Dublin to carry out his duties successfully, Lyons, M. A., *Gearóid Óg FitzGerald*, 36-9.

Intermarriage between the Kildares and their Gaelic neighbours was an effective means of stabilising the borders of their territories, just as it had been for the White Earl in Ormond. Thomas's daughter, Eleanor, married Con Mor O'Neill, Prince of Tyrone, an alliance showing the cordial relations that existed between Kildare and O'Neill in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[84] Indeed, many of the eighth earl's children married into local Irish families. Just as in Ormond, the Kildare estates spanned a cultural divide, with an Anglicized area in the east and a Gaelic area to the west,[85] but the earl's interaction with local Irish lords had to be treated cautiously. The Pale as a region remained particularly conscious of its English identity, more so than the Butler territories, and anyone wishing to succeed in the Dublin administration had to take account of the Palesmen's interests and sympathies.[86] The foundation in 1474 of the Brotherhood of St. George, a force of 120 mounted archers and fourty men-at-arms for defence of the Pale, has already been noted, and this foundation indicates the sense of English identity felt in the Dublin region in the late middle ages. Thomas, seventh earl of Kildare, was president, and his son Gerald the first captain. This act may be seen as akin to Ormond's involvement in the College of Heralds, and the Dublin guild of St. George in the earlier part of the century.[87]

It is difficult to find the impact of the seventh earl's architectural patronage in Maynooth or any of his lands close to Dublin. Any changes that might have been made to Maynooth Castle at this time are not recorded, and have not survived in the fabric of the building (Plate 5.29). The location of the castle at the edge of a busy town led to its continued use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the dereliction was so far advanced by the eighteenth that the nineteenth earl of Kildare decided to build a new residence at Carton.[88] In searching for the architectural footprint of Thomas we must turn to one of their outlying manors, that at Adare, Co. Limerick. It is important to note here that only some of the work carried out at Adare by the seventh earl is recorded in documentary sources, and for other architectural patronage we must rely on the evidence of heraldry carved into the fabric of the building. In this circumstance, although we have no documentary evidence for improvements at Maynooth under the seventh earl, we might

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[84] Bryan, D., *Gerald FitzGerald, The Great Earl of Kildare*, 2. Gillian Kenny describes the generous marriage settlement later made between the daughter of the eighth earl of Kildare and McCarthy Reagh in 1516, whereby the bride had much land settled on her by her new husband, Kenny, G., *Anglo-Irish and Gaelic Women in Ireland*, 90.

[85] Lyons, M. A., 'The Foundation of a Geraldine College of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Maynooth, 1518', *Journal of the Kildare Archaeological Society*, 18:2 (1994-5), 134.

[86] Ellis, S., *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603*, 69.

[87] Tout, T. F., revised Ellis, S. G, 'FitzGerald, Thomas, seventh earl of Kildare', 845.

[88] FitzGerald, W., 'Historical Notes on Maynooth Castle', *JRSAI*, 44 (1914), 288.

strongly suspect that improvements were made. The castle had been enlarged or rebuilt by John, sixth earl of Kildare, in 1426, but this John died in 1427 and the seventh earl of Kildare, Thomas did not come into his inheritance until 1454. Thus, there had not been a resident earl at the castle for twenty-seven years and the building would certainly have been in need of some modernisation.[89]

The castle at Adare is not dissimilar to that at Maynooth (Plate 5.29), comprising an inner and outer ward, with a tower, and later hall.[90] It can be closely compared with the castle at Askeaton, and works at the two sites may well have been coeval. The improvement of the castle in the fifteenth century probably coincides with the establishment and endowment of religious houses in Adare by the seventh earl and his wife. We know that in 1464 'a monastery for Franciscans was founded at Athdara, in Munster, in the diocese of Limerick, on the banks of the river Mague, by Thomas [seventh] Earl of Kildare, and Judith, the daughter of James Earl of Desmond, where they erected at tomb for themselves'.[91] According to the historian of the Franciscans in Ireland, Donogh Mooney

> They laid its first stone in 1464, and erected the Church and the fourth part of the cloister within the same year. Kildare and his countess were munificent benefactors of our brotherhood; for, not satisfied with furnishing the Church with glass windows, they also bestowed upon it a bell of great value, and two silver chalices. The Church was consecrated in honour of Michael the Archangel, on the Saint's festival in 1466[92]

Architecturally, the friary displays some of the conceits seen at Youghal and Askeaton, reflecting current architectural practice in Ireland and reflecting the English Perpendicular style.

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[89] FitzGerald, W., 'Historical Notes on Maynooth castle', 282. The castle must have been fit for noble visitors, as it was the seventh earl received Richard, duke of York, when he came over in 1459, Bryan, D., *Gerald FitzGerald, The Great Earl of Kildare*, 3. It is interesting to note here that the O'Sullivans suspected that Edmund MacRichard borrowed the *Psalter of Cashel* from the Maynooth library when it was in the hands of the Ormonds, see O'Sullivan, A., and W., 'Three Notes on Laud Misc. 610', 150-1. This is rather a slur on their caretaking of the Kildare estates!

[90] McNeill, T., *Castles in Ireland: Feudal Power in a Gaelic World* (London, 2000), 38-40.

[91] *Annals of the Four Masters*, IV (1464),1035. See also Brash, R., R., 'The Franciscan Friary at Adare' *Transactions of the Kilkenny and South-east Ireland Archaeological Society*, 4 (1856), 2.

[92] This quote is from the 'History of the Franciscan Convents in Ireland, compiled by R. P. F. Donatus Mooney, at the command of the Rev. Father Purcell, Provincial of the Order in the Monastery of Louvain, A.D. 1617', now known as 'Brussels MS 3947'. The full text in Latin is printed in *Analecta Hibernica*, 6 (1934). The importance of this MS to Adare, and the existence of other possible MS related to the site in Ó Clabaigh, C., *The Franciscans in Ireland 1400-1534*, 58. A full translation occurs in Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, *Memorials of Adare Manor*, Printed for private circulation by Messers Parker, Oxford, 1865, 75-6.

The friary is similar in general layout to Askeaton, but the cloister is placed to the north at Adare in the usual Irish Franciscan arrangement (Plate 5.30). The east window is of four intersecting lights with no sub arcs (Plate 5.31) as we have seen at Askeaton, and at the nearby Augustinian house (Plate 5.32), the transept, added by a benefactor who died in 1483, has the same window in the south wall (Plate 5.33).[93] The architectural additions to the building were recorded in a chapter book that was inspected by Donatus Mooney in the early seventeenth century when he was compiling his history of the Franciscan houses of Ireland, a document now housed in Brussels. Colmán Ó Clabaigh notes of these benefactions 'it is clear that they [the friars] enjoyed the support of both Anglo-Irish and Gaelic patrons and that the friary was completed in a relatively short time. It shows that a number of patrons were involved in the foundation and that the principal patron did not shoulder the whole burden'.[94] In terms of time frame, the church was consecrated in 1466 and the last recorded benefactor died in 1503. These different patrons furnished the church with a transept with three chapels (two of which are attributed to specific benefactors), a dormitory, cloister ranges and an infirmary. One patron built the tower and another added ten feet to the chancel. In addition to this, many gave plate, much of which was gilt and one Marianus O'Hickey, furnished the north side of the choir with panelling and stalls. The house was also in possession of 'various suits of vestments' when Mooney visited, although by then they were in poor condition.[95] It would be a most interesting exercise to subject the named benefactors to the kind of prosopographical study that was undertaken with the tombs of Piers Butler and his affinity. Hints at how fruitful these relationships might be are contained in the chapter book, as we find John, son of the earl of Desmond, adding a chapel to the transept.

There is a fine triple sedilia in the south wall of the choir, with moulded bases and capitals, surmounted by a moulded string course (Plates 5.34, 5.35). In general form, it looks like the sedilia at Youghal St. Mary, but the mouldings are of a much simplified form, and the bases and capitals are polygonal instead of round. An identical triple sedilia occurs under the tower at the Augustinian friary at Adare, and a six seat sedilia, again of almost identical type, can be found at Askeaton (Plate 5.36). There is another triple version at Lislaughtin, Co. Kerry (Plate 5.37). Both of the Adare friaries, the friary at Askeaton, and that at Lislaughtin are linked by the presence of wall tomb niches, and the sedilia may be the product of the same team of masons, or a result of the relationship between the

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[93] 'Brussels MS 3947', 63-4.
[94] Ó Clabaigh, C., *The Franciscans in Ireland 1400-1534*, 59-60.
[95] 'Brussels MS 3947', 63-4.

various patrons of the houses (Plate 5.38). The latter suggestion is very likely, as the Desmond and Kildare families were patrons of the two Adare houses and Askeaton. Lislaughtin Franciscan Friary was founded by John O'Connor in 1477 'for the welfare of the souls of himself and his wife and their parents'.[96] It is located in north Kerry, close to Adare and Askeaton, and these houses clearly exerted an influence on it architecturally.

These tomb niches are an interesting aspect of the Franciscan house at Adare, and they almost fill the available wall space at the site (Plate 5.39). These tombs are formed of a depressed arched recess in the wall, covered by an ogee hood, and flanked by pinnacles with off sets. The width of these openings varies greatly at the site, but none are smaller than 1.83m (6ft) making them just big enough to have held a human effigy. If they did hold such sculptures, they are now long gone. In arrangement, they are reminiscent of the wall tomb niches at Winchelsea in East Sussex, where a series of niches fill the walls of the parish church replete with their original effigies (Plate 5.40).[97] These Whichelsea niches date from the early fourteenth century, and are very elaborate, while those at Adare are restrained in composition and detail, suggesting strong Perpendicular influence.

The house at Adare was the first Observant Franciscan house to be founded by an Anglo-Irish magnate, indeed, it was the first Franciscan house in Ireland to be founded as an Observant house.[98] This may well be an act of individual devotion on the part of the patron. The strength and vitality of the Observant movement in Ireland was particularly marked, the first house to take on the reform was that founded by the Sioda Cam MacNamara at Quin in 1433,[99] the pattern of Observant reform in Ireland remained strongly focussed in Gaelic areas.[100] Often, when founding new friaries, the patron specified that this was to be his or her place of burial,[101] just as the friary at Adare was to be for the seventh earl of Kildare and his wife. Since FitzMaurice was attempting the rehabilitation of his lineage, it is quite difficult to interpret his motives for the foundation of an Observant house. It could be an act designed to improve the earl's standing with the

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[96] *Calendar of Papal Registers*, XIII, 572-3.
[97] Coldstream, N., *The Decorated Style*, 156-7. For the most recent discussion of the dating of the tombs see Blair, C., Goodall, J. and Lankester, P., 'The Winchelsea Tombs Reconsidered', *Church Monuments*, 15 (2000), 5-30.
[98] Ó Clabaigh, C., *The Franciscans in Ireland 1400-1534*, 58.
[99] *Calendar of Papal Letters* VIII, 427, the strict observance is not noted in this original document. Ó Clabaigh discusses this difficulty in Ó Clabaigh, C., *The Franciscans in Ireland 1400-1534*, 50.
[100] Moss notes that there is evidence of growing concern about the growing popularity and power of the Franciscan Observant movement at the Synod of Cashel held in 1453, presumably at the expense of the secular clergy. See Moss, R., 'Revivalist Tendencies in the Irish Late Gothic: Defining a National Identity?' forthcoming.
[101] Fry, S. L., *Burial in Medieval Ireland c.900-1500* (Dublin, 1999), 156.

Gaelic Irish. Interestingly, it echoes the patronage of the Franciscan house at Askeaton undertaken by his wife's father, and was emulated by Roland FitzEustace, a close associate of the earl in the Dublin administration whose daughter later married Kildare's heir. He founded an Observant friary at Kilcullen, Co. Kildare, in 1486, the only Observant house to be founded in the Pale.[102]

To the south of the Franciscan Friary is one of the original gateways, emblazoned with the Kildare coat of arms, a *saltire*.[103] At the Augustinian friary, just over the river Maigue, a similar gateway survives, this gateway is more intact, and has both the Kildare and Desmond shields, the Desmond differing only in that the saltire is on a field of ermine (Plate 5.41). This friary was founded by John, first earl of Kildare, in 1315[104] and the seventh earl's motives for beautifying this building are easy to interpret; he was visually strengthening his association with the first earl, and stressing his descent from this line. There is no documentary evidence linking the seventh earl to the building, but the inclusion of both Kildare and Desmond shields suggests the period spanning the married life of Thomas and Johanna, from early 1454 to the earl's death in 1478. The alterations at the Augustinian friary may date from the Kildare's period of involvement with the Franciscan house 1464-6, or to 1472 when it became Observant.[105] Perhaps 1472 is a more realistic date, as the architecture of the cloister fits well with English design of that date (Plates 5.42, 5.43), comparing well with much larger cloisters in England, such as that at Magdalen College in Oxford of 1470s (Plate 5.48).

The evidence for suspecting that that the design of the Adare cloister owes something to recent collegiate architecture in Oxford may be less tenuous than one might first imagine. The act for the establishment of a university at Drogheda, to be modelled on Oxford, at the parliament summoned by Thomas, earl of Desmond, in 1465 has already been noted.[106] It is interesting that such an act was passed not long after Desmond returned from meeting king Edward IV, and just three years afterward, Thomas, earl of Kildare was again with the King in England. During this period, the fate of Magdalen College was hanging somewhat in the balance, as its founder was William Waynflete, bishop of

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[102] Ó Clabaigh, C., *The Franciscans in Ireland 1400-1534*, 63.
[103] O'Rahilly, C., 'Geraldine Coat of Arms Rediscovered at Adare Franciscan Friary', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 33 (2003), 115-6.
[104] Countess of Dunraven, *Memorials of Adare Manor*, 68, a confirmation dating to 1317 granted by Edward II is transcribed in full.
[105] Martin, F., X., 'The Irish Augustinian Reform Movement in the Sixteenth Century', 248.
[106] McCormack, A., *The Earldom of Desmond 1463-1583*, 60; Otway-Ruthven, A. J., *A History of Medieval Ireland*, 389.

Winchester and one of Henry VI's chief advisors. Waynflete had become provost of Eton in 1442 and was responsible for the development of the school both educationally and architecturally. Magdalen College was founded in 1458, and a charter reserved to the bishop of Winchester complete authority over his foundation.[107] Political events overtook the foundation of the college, however, and because of Waynflete's close association with the deposed king Henry, the future of the college remained uncertain in the 1460s. In 1467 however, Edward IV confirmed Henry VI's foundation charter and granted a further endowment to the college.[108] Planning and laying out of the quadrangle began in earnest soon after this, and the designer is known to have been William Orchard, who is famous for his design of the Oxford Divinity School, and also as a mason-contractor and quarryman, roles which he combined with success.[109] Magdalen was the prestige architectural project of the 1470s, and was designed to outstrip the quad of New College.[110] Thus it is not surprising that, since the university at Drogheda was to be modeled on Oxford University, those who set the plan for this Irish university in motion might make references to Oxford architecture.

The cloister at Adare Augustinian Friary is small, measuring just 7.6M x 7.6M (Plate 5.42). It is made up of three three-centred arches along each range; these openings are designed as cusped three light windows, grouped under an embracing arch (Plate 5.43). The shields seen in the gate houses of both this house that of the Franciscan friary are carved in the spandrels, a saltier and a saltier on a field of ermine, and this very composed piece of architecture also has a well moulded base course running around the outer face of the arcade. It is clear that that the southern and western ranges are later copies of the medieval work. A plaque records 'this cloister was restored and the south and east sides arched by Windham earl of Dunraven AD 1831'. There appears to be a mistake in this inscription, as while the south and west ranges carry medieval pointed barrel vaults, the medieval east and north ranges carry a groined vault that looks to be of modern construction. This already confused situation becomes worse when we look to the plan of the church reproduced by the countess of Dunraven in *Memorials of Adare Manor* (Plate 5.44), where the west and north ranges are shown to be groin vaulted.[111] There are a

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[107] Davis, V., 'Waynflete, William (*c.*1400–1486)', *ODNB*, 57, 782-4.
[108] Storey, R. L., 'The Universities During the Wars of the Roses', in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 1987), 325.
[109] Wilson, C., 'William Orchard, mason', *ODNB*, 41, 909
[110] Harvey, J., *The Perpendicular Style*, 209.
[111] A search through the Duraven papers held at the University of Limerick proved fruitless in clarifying what happened to cloister in the early nineteenth century. The church was converted for church of Ireland

number of reasons for judging that the east and north ranges of the cloister are, in fact, medieval in date.

When Sir Richard Colt Hoare visited Adare in 1806 he recorded 'on the northern side if the building are cloysters, of good *pointed* architecture, and in a very high state of preservation'.[112] He made a number of watercolour drawings of Adare, but unfortunately the cloister was not among them. The medieval fabric of the cloister, then, may have been consolidated at the time of the early nineteenth century restoration, some medieval fabric survived in good condition in the 1790s.[113] As juxtaposition of the old and new masonry shows a very telling difference in the working of the stone, and the southern range has different details (Plate 5.45). Just off the dining hall of the great Gothic Revival manor house at Adare, one bay of the cloister is replicated in the sunroom (Plate 5.46). Here the details of the original cloister are more closely replicated, but the shields of Kildare and Desmond have been substituted with those of the house of Dunraven. Perhaps then, the south and west ranges at Adare represent a sensitive piece of restoration by the second earl of Dunraven, replicating the medieval work but making the new sufficiently different to allow it to be discerned. Brash noted the earl to be as sensitive restorer, and here we have the proof.[114]

The Augustinian cloister agrees with that of Magdalen on a number of levels, such as unity of composition, the uniformity of the decorative carving, and the execution of a well-moulded base course (Plates 5.47, 5.48), which is really unknown in Ireland where most walls are battered. This Englishness is confirmed by the mouldings, which include jambs moulded with a casement, and mullions with an ogee roll and fillet (Plate 5.49). The jamb mouldings are similar to Magdalen, the only difference being that in Adare the casements face the cloister walks while at Magdalen they face the quad.[115] The arches at

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worship with First Fruits loans between 1818 and 1828, and a south elevation (D3196/J/1/1) shows the church un-restored. It is clear that the west door was moved to the south aisle of the church, and that a stone porch was built around it. The arcade between the aisle and was altered at this time also (D3196/B/5). A family mausoleum was constructed along the west range in 1825, and was designed by Payne of Limerick.

[112] Colt Hoare, R., *Journal of a Tour in Ireland* (London, 1807), 49.

[113] There is some documentary evidence to suggest that there was some restoration work carried out in the seventeenth century, see Hewson, R. F., 'The Augustinian Abbey of Adare', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 3 (1938), 112.

[114] Brash notes that the Earl of Dunraven was a sensitive restorer in his article Brash, R. R., 'The Franciscan Friary at Adare' *Transactions of the Kilkenny and South-east Ireland Archaeological Society*, 1:1 (1856). For a recent study of this subject see Doyle, A., ' The Conservation of Ruins in Ireland *c.*1850-1900' (M.U.B.C., University College Dublin, 2003).

[115] In his discussion of the cloister Hewson noted the presence of armature bars in the north range of the cloister, and suggested that he had seen these in the north ranges of the cloister at Canterbury. These bars were to hold glass to allow study carrels to be placed in the north walk (which got the most light) for the use

Magdalen are four centred, while those at Adare are three-centred. Harvey notes that some arches in the chapel are 'more or less segmental'.[116] The Adare cloister was emulated to a minor extent, and plainer versions of this design survive at Adare Franciscan Friary (Plate 5.50) and Timoleague Franciscan Friary, Co. Cork (Plate 5.51).

The choir of the Augustinian friary has the altar tombs (Plate 5.52) similar to those found at the Franciscan house, and the refinement of the mouldings of these suggests that they may be earlier than those at the Franciscan friary. One suspects that these Adare tombs must be the work of the man who designed the cloister. This is clear both from the use of a depressed arch, and the double ogee mouldings. The double ogee is less rare than the casement, but still did not find great popularity in late medieval Ireland and its appearance often suggests outside influence. The cloister, with its English mouldings, and the tombs in the choir at the Augustinian friary, are the work of an English trained mason. His work was widely copied, and these copies deserve special attention as they show the handling of English forms by an Irish masons, and the process by which these designs evolve, and even degenerate.

The tomb niches at the two Adare friaries were architecturally very influential. As one recent author has said

> Tombs had more of an impact than painted portraits. Although many family monuments were reserved within private chapels, their splendour could still be seen through the screen of stone or metal which surrounded them. Ordinary people were required to go to church but were not allowed access to the long gallery. Accessibility has always mattered as much as the object itself when considering the impact of images.[117]

If emulation is the greatest form of praise, then these altar tombs were much admired. As the design of this tomb is transmitted into the Gaelic hinterland, a 'Chinese whisper' effect occurs, with the architectural details of the tomb becoming simplified and the sculptural detail becoming more varied and asymmetrical, in other words adorned with lavish subsidiary ornament.

The tomb niches deserve closer study for their architectural 'degeneration'. We might start with a description of those where the overall composition and mouldings are

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of the novices, Hewson, R. F., 'The Augustinian Abbey of Adare', 112. There are indeed filled in holes at the springing point of the cusped openings in the north arcade, and this adds further weight to the argument that these cloisters are medieval.

[116] Harvey, J., *The Perpendicular Style*, 209.

[117] Howarth, D., *Images of Rule, Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649*, 153.

particularly pure (Plate 5.53): at the Augustinian Friary the niches are moulded with double and single ogees, a double ogee in the jamb and arch, a single in the hood. The hood itself is formed of an ogee with a crowning bulbous crocket and flanked by crocketed pinnacles with bracket mouldings and bases (Plate 5.54). In the aisle of this friary, the latest addition to the building, there is a version of this tomb niche with a round arch, and a high ogee hood (Plate 5.55).[118] The pilasters are narrow, and it appears that crocketed pinnacles were never added. Even within the same building, there is difficulty in emulating the exact from of the niche. In the choir at Adare Franciscan Friary, the niches of the north wall (Plate 5.56) are convincing copies of those in the same position at the Augustinian house. In the walls of the chapels added to the south transept, and indeed, the south wall of the south transept, there are niches with well-drafted three-centred arches, and double ogees (Plate 5.57). There is a slight digression from the original form, in that the poppy head that terminates the ogee hood has become the ground for all manner of 'subsidiary ornament' including a beautifully carved oak leaf (Plate 5.58). In the details of the niches of the north choir wall, all of the Perpendicular restraint of the choir work at the Augustinian friary has been lost (Plate 5.59).

At Askeaton, there are examples of both segmental and round arched niches differing in that there is no hollow between the jamb and hood (Plate 5.60). Even in the niche with a three-centred arch, it is clear that the mason has had difficulty with cutting the hood to run along the top of the depressed arch face, and it terminates off-centre. The ground level at Askeaton is lower than in the medieval period, and the flat arch visible underneath the niche may indicate a place of interment.

A number of examples of this type of niche occur in Kerry. At Lislaughtin, already noted for its fine sedilia, two tomb niches in the south wall of the nave have round arches and are open to the ground (Plate 5.61). Despite this, the mouldings are still very similar to the Adare Augustinian examples. Another of these niches can be found at Ardfert Franciscan friary (Plate 5.62), in the south wall of the choir. Like Lislaughtin, the arch is round, but here the niche does contain an altar. At Abbeydorney the differences from Adare Augustinian are greater, in the moulding, the hollow between the arch and hood has become more angular, and the hood is very broad (Plate 5.63).

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[118] Hewson, R. F., 'The Augustinian Abbey of Adare', 109.

Across the Shannon estuary, in Co. Clare, still more of these niches occur. At Ennis, a site already noted for its architectural connections to Holycross, there are two niches in both the north and south nave walls, but these are very broken (Plate 5.64).[119] One is moulded with a double ogee like the above examples, with no hollow between arch and hood. The hood is broken but began with a hollow chamfer, and a fragment in the transept may represent the lost hood of one niche; it is moulded with a hollow chamfer and ogee separated by a fillet. This is slightly different from the undulating curve of the Limerick examples. The niche to the east of this one has a jamb and arch moulded with an inner ogee and outer quadrant. Here we are seeing an Irish influence in the work: the niches are next to each other but are given different mouldings (Plate 5.53).

At Quin, Co. Clare, mentioned as having been founded in 1433 for the Franciscans by the MacNamara family, there is a tomb niche in the south wall of the chancel of this general type, but with very different details (Plates 5.53, 5.65). The jamb is moulded with a quadrant flanked by hollow chamfers, and a hood with an ogee and hollow chamfer. Various decorations have been added, in that the ogee is terminated at one end by a rippling leaf (Plate 5.66) and at the other end the roll of the ogee turns into a limp hand (Plate 5.67). The ogee hood is also given a sprig at the apex to liven up the design, and the poppy head at top of the hood has been replaced with a moulding like those of the cloister capitals at the site.

Two examples of the niche occur in Co. Galway, and these are quite far removed in their details from the Adare Augustinian niches, but replicate them in general from. At Rosserrilly (Plate 5.68), a tomb of similar format occurs, with mouldings like those at Quin, but with a hood filled with square flowers such as those encountered on the corbel at Strade. At Kilconnell the tomb follows the same basic format as the others (Plate 5.69), but the mouldings are undulating rolls. The mason here may have been attempting ogees, but this attempt has gone very wrong.

These niches give a fascinating insight into how architectural form moved around the country, between areas of English influence and the Gaelic hinterland. The transept at Adare Franciscan Friary and small chapels appended to the east of this transept were paid

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[119] When the nave of the friary was converted for Church of Ireland worship in 1817, O'Brien describes how these canopies were cut back so that a smooth coat of plaster could be put on the walls, see O'Brien, C., 'County Clare – Parish of Dromcliff – Ennis Franciscan Priory', 145. He also notes that the tomb niches are like those from Adare, 150.

for by English patrons, Maragret FitzGibbon (wife of Cornelius O'Dea), the son of the earl of Desmond and Margaret, wife of Thomas FitzMaurice. These niches replicate those at Adare Augustinian friary in overall form, but there is an incursion of subsidiary ornament and variation in the termination of the hoods and indeed, in the pinnacles. Does this reflect the taste of the mason or the patron? The contrast between exemplar and copy is starker in Gaelic areas, especially in Clare, where there is variance in detail between niches at Ennis, and at Quin in the addition of extra details. We can only conclude that the variation of detail and the addition of subsidiary ornament were considered key to good design in Gaelic areas, and that this aesthetic percolated into the taste of the English of Ireland, just as the appreciation of other Gaelic culture did, of which an esteem for bardic poetry is a prime example.[120]

There is another issue to be raised in relation to these niches, and this is: were they the product of a school of masons? What happened to the mason who carved the cloister and niches at Adare Augustinian Friary? How were his designs transmitted to the houses nearby and indeed, into the Gaelic hinterland? These questions, along with the issue of aesthetics and masonic skills, will be discussed in the next chapter.

Although we know more about the lives of the eighth and ninth earls, and indeed, have a better record of their material possessions, few survive. Scholarly attention has been focussed on their relationships with the English court, the Dublin administration, and to some extent with their Gaelic Irish neighbours. The ninth earl 'Gearóid Mór' is known as the 'Great Earl' of Kildare and was written about as such by his biographer Donough Bryan.[121] Recently, Gearóid Óg, the ninth earl, has been the subject of a historical reanalysis, and has emerged from the shadow of his father's greatness as an able leader in his own right.[122] These men, rich by English standards of the time, were by far the richest and most sophisticated lords in Ireland at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. The inventories of the library and plate of Maynooth castle suggest that this was a centre of wealth and luxury unsurpassed in Ireland.[123] Stanyhurst describes the contents of the house thus:

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[120] Lydon calls this 'the pervasive influence of native modes at the time', Lydon, J., *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1972), 242.
[121] Bryan, D., *Gerald FitzGerald, The Great Earl of Kildare (1456-1513)* (Dublin, 1933).
[122] Lyons, M. A., *Gearóid Óg FitzGerald, Ninth Earl of Kildare* (Dundalk, 1998).
[123] MacNiocaill, G. (ed.), *Crown Surveys of Land 1540-41 with The Kildare Rental Begun in 1518* (Dublin, 1992), 236-7, 312-17, 354-55. See also Bryan, D., *Gerald FitzGerald, The Great Earl of Kildare*, Appendix 2, 268-70, Appendix 3, 270-74.

> Great and rich was the spoile; such store of beddes, so many goodly hangings, so riche a Wardrob, such braue furniture, as truely it was accompted, for the householde stuffe and vtensils, one of the richest Earle his houses, vnder the Crowne of Englande.[124]

The eighth and ninth earls became increasingly part of the English Court set. After the death of his first wife, the eighth earl married Elizabeth St. John, a relative of the king. The ninth earl was largely raised in court, taken there as hostage for his father's good behaviour.[125] He played the principal part in the funeral ceremony of the King's eldest son, Arthur, at Worcester Cathedral, and two patents are extant by which he was given gifts of sumptuous apparel.[126] His wife, to whom he was married at the age of sixteen, shortly before he returned to Ireland, was Elizabeth, the daughter of Lord Zouche of Codnor, a cousin of Henry VII.[127] When Francesco Chiericati, the Papal Nuncio to Henry VIII visited Ireland in 1517, he described how 'The Earl of Kildare is the Chief lord of them all, and is a man of ability, and has all the civilisation of England'.[128] We know that both spent much time at court, and were men of 'English taste'. We even know what they saw, especially the pageantry witnessed by the ninth earl, for he had not only played a key role in the funeral of Arthur, prince of Wales; he had accompanied Henry VIII to the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, where he is said to have distinguished himself with his stature.[129]

As patrons of art, these men are at the uppermost end of the scale, perhaps most vividly shown by the ninth earl having his portrait pained by Holbein the Younger in 1530. It has been argued that 'a fifteenth-century painting is the deposit of a social relationship'[130] and this argument can be extended to include the Tudor portrait. The images we have of the most important people in early Tudor England are painted by Hans Holbein the younger, and our image of this time is based around his portraits and the architecture created by patrons like Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII himself, one of the most prolific royal builders in British history.[131] The ninth earl of Kildare, in having his portrait painted by Holbein, is placing himself on the same stage as these men, and his life was indeed

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[124] Miller, L., and Power, E., *The Historie of Irelande … Richard Stanyhurst*, 278.
[125] Bryan, D., *Gerald FitzGerald The Great Earl of Kildare*, 170.
[126] Ibid., 233.
[127] Lyons, M. A., *Gearóid Óg FitzGerald, Ninth Earl of Kildare*, 20.
[128] Mahaffey, J. P., 'Two Earl Tours of Ireland', 14; Garstin, J. R., 'The Earl of Kildare and Francesco Chiericati, Papal Nuncio to Henry VIII, A. D. 1517', *Journal of the Kildare Archaeological Society*, 4:4 (1904), 314-15.
[129] Lyons, M. A., *Gearóid Óg FitzGerald, Ninth Earl of Kildare*, 34.
[130] Baxendall, M., *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (Oxford, 1972), 1.
[131] Salzman, L. F., *Building in England down to 1540*, 15, where we hear of plans being devised by Henry and him scrutinising plans of works to be carried out for him.

played out on the dramatic stage of the early Tudor court. The act is identical to the commissioning of a similar portrait by James, ninth earl of Ormond, and in both cases these pictures tell of high standing at court.

The single most substantial piece of architectural patronage undertaken by the eighth and ninth earls was the college at Maynooth (Plate 5.70). The eighth earl had begun the process of founding a college of clerics in Maynooth before his death in 1513, allocating lands in Co. Meath for the endowment, but it was only in October 1515 that the ninth earl received permission to found a college from Henry VIII.[132] In 1521, the earl rebuilt the church of St. Mary in Maynooth, which had been the chapel of the castle, and endowed the college more amply than had first been intended.[133] The spiritual motivations for the foundation of this chantry college have been discussed elsewhere, as has the question of whether this foundation was to fulfil any educational functions.[134] Although there is no clear evidence to suggest that the college was founded as an educational institution, this college, and the others founded in the Dublin area in the early sixteenth century, are making direct architectural references to English collegiate architecture of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The chantry college at Maynooth has suffered the vicissitudes of time. The college buildings were damaged during the 1534 Kildare rebellion, and when it was surveyed in 1538 it is described that there were 'no buildings on the site save the old house inhabited by the rector … of Maynooth'.[135] The church has fared a little better, but the building has been heavily restored, by Richard Boyle, earl of Cork in 1630, by the Duke of Leinster in 1770-80, again in 1828 and in 1858-9.[136] Despite these heavy restorations, Leask suggested that if the windows of the church are not of the fifteenth century, they are close copies of the originals (Plate 5.71).[137] There is certainly value to this suggestion, as the windows display the kind of mix of English forms with varied subsidiary ornament characteristic of Irish architecture in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century (Plates 5.72, 5.73). The window heads are four centred and the jambs are moulded all around with a hollow and

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[132] Lyons, M. A., 'The Foundation of a Geraldine College of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Maynooth, 1518', 138.
[133] Lyons, M. A., 'Sidelights on the Kildare Ascendancy: A Survey of Geraldine Involvement in the Church, *c.*1470-*c.*1520', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 47 (1994), 83.
[134] Lyons, M. A., 'The Foundation of a Geraldine College of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Maynooth, 1518', 138-8, 141.
[135] White, N. B., *Extents of Irish monastic possessions, 1540-1541* (Dublin, 1943), 147.
[136] Horner, A., *Maynooth: Irish Historic Towns Atlas no. 7*, (eds) A. Simms, H.B. Clarke and R. Gillespie (Dublin, 1995), 8.
[137] Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III* (Dundalk, 1960), 32.

bowtel. The hoods are formed of a broad mitre, and are terminated with lively carvings which have all the appearance of medieval work.[138] The church has a west tower, and this tower has single light windows with three centred heads and square hoods of a type reminiscent of collegiate architecture in England (Plate 5.74). Since the college at Maynooth is in such a fragmentary state, it will serve to look at other chantry colleges in the area to suggest what the original form of this building might have been.

Perhaps the best preserved of the colleges founded in the Pale during the early sixteenth century is that at Slane, founded in 1512 by Sir Christopher Flemming and his wife, Elizabeth, for four priests, four clerks and four choristers (Plate 5.75).[139] The domestic buildings have a basic cloistral arrangement, and the south range retains its original windows (Plate 5.76). Above the door are placed the English royal arms, interestingly these are quite out of date, as if the mason is working from an old pattern. These Slane windows compare very well with those of the collegiate church at Maynooth. The hoodstops are particularly striking, as they have knotted vines trailing off into square leaves. There are also windows at Slane that closely match those in the tower at Maynooth (Plate 5.77). The windows at Howth College (Plate 5.78), another chantrry college close to Dublin,[140] are again similar, and these are a good match for examples at Eton College (Plate 5.79). The emulation of English collegiate fashion at Maynooth, Howth, and Slane, suggests that Kildare and other lords in the Pale are drawing direct parallels between their buildings and those founded by most important men in England, using architecture as a visual display of English civility.

Scholars of Tudor architecture in England have suggested that Tudor palaces are 'power houses', houses built by men who possessed or were making a bid for power. For a new man, 'such houses announced his arrival among the social and political elite. It would assert and reinforce claims to power over neighbouring gentry and tenantry'.[141] As the domestic buildings of the earls of Kildare at Maynooth have been reduced to a broken shell, we are forced to look at the fragmentary remains of the college. Here, it is possible to see clear links with English fashion and architectural practice, so that we can tentatively suggest that the earls of Kildare were building in a style befitting the intimates of the

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[138] The east window of the church was taken from Laraghbryan, the old and ruinous parish church of Maynooth during one of the renovations.
[139] Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 30.
[140] Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 28-30.
[141] Bernard, G. W., *Power and Politics in Tudor England*, 175.

English Court, and by surrounding themselves with architecture that was 'English', they were reinforcing their loyalty to the crown and their suitability for the post of Lord Deputy.

The provisions that the earls of Kildare made for their burial are rather interesting, for while the house at Adare was designated as the place where the seventh earl and his countess were to he buried, only the countess was buried there. The duke of Leinster, in his history of the earls of Kildare, describes how the seventh earl died on the 25th of March 1477, and was buried in the monastery of All Hallows near Dublin beside his father.[142] A similar division can be seen in the burial of the eighth earl and his first wife, Alison FitzEustace. Alison was faced with a choice of FitzEustace burial places, it has already been stated that an Observant house was founded in Kilcullen in 1486 by the FitzEustace family, they also built the Portlester chapel at the Parish church of St. Audoen in Dublin.[143] Alison's father had himself commemorated at both of these sites, but Alison chose to be buried at Kilcullen. Gerald, the eighth earl, had a chantry chapel in the northeast corner of the chancel at Christ Church cathedral Dublin, which was built in 1510, three years before his death. It contained his tomb, and an altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and was surrounded by ornate wooden screens on the southern and western sides. Stalley suggests that the artistic background to this chapel appears to lie in England, and states that 'in Ireland the Kildare chapel is by far the most elaborate piece of Gothic art on record and the drawings in the Gilbert collection provide a sad and tantalising glimpse of the ornate furnishings that, throughout the country, were swept away in the aftermath of the Reformation.[144]

Conclusion

'In an age which associated power with display it is important not to underestimate the value of architecture in politics or the sophistication with which it might be read'.[145] It has been clearly shown that the magnates of English Ireland were aware of, and party to, such sophisticated uses of architecture. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that display and appearance were extremely important. When Richard III attempted to woo the earl of Desmond in the 1480s, he was so determined that the young earl would take on the appearance of an English noble, that he sent him a wardrobe of fine clothes. Well before

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[142] Leinster, Charles William FitzGerald, duke of, *The earls of Kildare and their ancestors from 1057 to 1773*, 41.
[143] Gwynn, A., and Hadcock, R. N., *Medieval Religious Houses Ireland*, 251.
[144] Stalley, R., 'The Architecture of the Cathedral and the Priory Buildings, 1250-1530', 104.
[145] Goodall, J., 'The Architecture of Ancestry at the Collegiate Church of St Andrew's Wingfield, Suffolk', 171.

the end of the fifteenth century, livery was in use, and Gerald, eighth earl of Kildare, had to be pardoned by Henry VII for 'all infringements of statutes against badges and livery of clothes and caps and retinues'.[146] Gerald's concern with visual display shows a strong sense of continuity with the fourth earl of Ormond, who was clearly also interested in using such means of enforcing his 'claim to power'.

There is one interesting difference between the architectural patronage of the White Earl, and that of the later earls of Kildare and Desmond who filled the post of Lord Deputy. In the patronage of the former, it appears that his architecture made references to Dublin buildings, and especially Christ Church, where Lord Deputies were invested in office, and where parliament sat. It has been argued above that this reference to Dublin architecture was made specifically by the fourth earl of Ormond to identify himself with the institutions of English lordship in Ireland. In the later fifteenth century, the houses of Desmond and Kildare, in seeking to participate in the governing of the lordship, made reference to English architecture, and in the case of the seventh earl of Kildare, it is quite certain that he brought a mason from England to work at the Augustinian house of Adare. Perhaps this patronage of specifically English architecture became more important in the later years of the fifteenth century, when successive English kings began to play a more active role in the governance of Ireland. By the sixteenth century, we repeatedly hear claims that Ireland was being 'civilised' and 'reformed', and in the face of such external pressures, it became increasingly important for magnates to construct an 'English' identity, as Piers Butler and Margaret FitzGerald attempted in Ormond.

Perhaps of most architectural interest is the arrival and dissemination of 'Perpendicular' tomb niches in the Limerick area, which spread out into the Gaelic hinterland, and took on a new life with different mouldings and subsidiary sculpture. Fawcett notes a similar phenomenon in Scotland, and cites a number of instances where a tomb became architecturally influential, and could be copied many decades after the construction of the original.[147] It is noteworthy how popular these tombs became, and it is difficult to decide whether their popularity was due to their association with the earls of

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[146] Crooks, P., 'Factionalism and Noble Power in English Ireland, *c.*1361-1423', 37. A recent author of the Kildare dynasty perhaps underestimates the strong sense of continuity of visual displays of power, and precedents for much of what he discusses as 'innovation' on the part of the earls of Kildare in the sixteenth century had been going on for much of the fifteenth century. See Lennon, C., 'The FitzGeralds of Kildare and the Building of a Dynastic Image, 1500-1630', in W. Nolan and T. McGrath (eds.), *Kildare History and Society* (Dublin, 2006), 195-211.

[147] Fawcett, R., *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 317-21.

Kildare, or if the simplicity of the form appealed to both patron and mason. Perhaps the comital associations had something to do with emulation, as much the same phenomenon can be seen in the references made to both Holycross and Gowran by junior members of the Butler family. Whether this emulation could be successfully achieved by local masons raises the issue of masonic skill in late medieval Ireland

The issue of skill has frequently arisen above, particularly in the later sections, where it is apparent that certain architectural exercises, like the drafting of complex tracery and mouldings, was beyond the masons of late medieval Ireland. Their skill was in the carving of small-scale sculptural detail like foliage and hair, rather than dramatic architectural effects. This raises questions regarding the identity and training of these men. We know that members of the Irish O'Tunney family were working in Ormond and further a field for generations, and were employed equally by English families (albeit Gaelicized) and Irish families alike. Does the proliferation of interlace ornament at Holycross and other sites in Ormond reflect the nationality of the masons? Is this why their marks differ so radically from earlier marks left by masons working in an English architectural fashion? The next chapter will address just such questions.

Chapter 6

Masons, Form, Style

In the last two chapters, the role of the patron in the dissemination of architectural style has been the major theme of the discussion. Here, it is time to reverse this perspective, and look at the input of the mason in the creation of the building. The role of the patron cannot be forgotten – just as in modern architectural practice, the patron selected their mason because they admired their work, and might make specific demands of them as to the appearance of the building. But masons exerted clear influences at a constructional level, and these constructional details have been extensively discussed above. Previous authors have tended to divide their discussion, focussing on either the art and architecture or the mason, but not both at the same time. This is a false division, and here masons are the subjects of a well overdue appraisal. Where were they trained? Where were they getting their ideas? How were they organised? The answers to these questions are key to understanding the development of late Gothic architecture in Ormond and beyond.

I. The role of Holycross in the development of late Gothic architecture in Ormond

The extensive building campaign undertaken at Holycross during the middle years of the fifteenth century led Colum Hourihane to suggest that the site 'must have acted as a training centre for many of the masons who worked on later foundations in the immediate vicinity'. He records forty-nine masons working at Holycross in the fifteenth century, identified by masons' marks, and suggests that the building was 'one of the biggest centres for the trade'.[1] The first issue to consider here is what kind of training and organisation would have been in operation at the site. As noted by Roger Stalley, 'much hinged on the training of the mason'.[2]

Although there was a long tradition of monumental stone sculpture in Ireland before the Anglo Norman invasion of 1169, there appears to have been a large influx of trained masons in the early colonial period. Stalley describes how 'before 1169 the

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[1] Hourihane, C., *The Mason and His Mark*, 35.
[2] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 122.

occasional English mason may have found his way to Ireland, but by the early years of the thirteenth century dozens of English trained craftsmen were settling in the country. Before the invasion English ideas were absorbed into a native style; afterwards, English styles were imported wholesale'.[3] The appearance, post invasion, of masons' marks suggests that the systems of payment and organisation current in England had now also been imported wholesale into Ireland, along most probably with the systems of training.[4]

Stonemasonry was essentially passed down orally between master and apprentice.[5] Apprenticeship was particularly important for the training of master masons, and essential information was transmitted from master to pupil; such as how to lay out a plan and an elevation, or even how to derive the elevation from the plan.[6] German treatises of the fifteenth century describe in some detail how the shape and proportion of many architectural members, including mouldings, were arrived at. Lorenz Lechler, in the treatise he prepared for the instruction of his son in 1516, describes a system of design in which the majority of architectural elements within the building are derived from the width of the choir wall, even down to the details of mouldings and profiles.[7] The methods of laying out *ad quadratum* and in accordance with the Golden Section must have been the essential information passed down from master mason to an apprentice in training. Geometry 'functioned as the connective tissue between different strata of graphic and building activity', proving useful in three major ways: creating an overall harmonious framework, giving the dimensions of major and minor components, and giving a means of translating small-scale sketches into full size working drawings.[8]

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[3] Stalley, R., *Ireland and Europe in the Middle Ages*, 168.

[4] See, for example, Stalley's illustration of marks a Mellifont Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 42, or Moss, R., 'Tales from the Crypt: the Medieval Stonework of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin', in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin III*, (Dublin, 2002), 103 for an illustration of the marks at Christ Church.

[5] Shelby, L. R., 'The Education of Medieval English Master Masons', 22. Although written works on masonry emerge in Germany the fifteenth century, these appear to be in response to the growing literacy of masons, and perhaps were inspired by Renaissance literature on architecture, such as the work of Alberti, Shelby, L. R., 'The Education of Medieval English Master Masons', 14; for the basic historical context of the German pamphlets see Shelby, L. R, *Gothic Design Techniques. The Fifteenth-Century Design Booklets of Mathes Roriczer and Hanns Schmuttermayer* (Chicago, 1977), 4-6.

[6] At the Regnesburg Meeting of the Lodges in 1459 it was decreed that 'no one was to teach how to derive the elevation from the plan' to anyone outside the masons guild, Bucher, F., 'Medieval Architectural Design Methods', *Gesta*, 11:2 (1972), 44.

[7] Shelby, L., R., 'Medieval Masons' Templates', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 30:2 (1971), 147.

[8] Davis, M. T., 'On the Drawing Board: Plans of the Clermont Cathedral Terrace', in N. Wu (ed.), *Ad Quadratum. The Practical Application of Geometry in Medieval Architecture* (Aldershot, 2002), 195. For a simple visual explanation of arriving at the Golden Section see Coldstream, N., *Medieval Craftsmen. Masons and Sculptors* (London, 1991), 38.

The first reference we encounter to a system of apprenticeship in operation in Ireland is in the charter for the establishment of a guild of masons and heliers in Dublin in 1508. It was stated here that the apprentice ought 'to be free, of the English nation, and of good conversation, and to be bound for seven years, under indentures'.[9] Colum Hourihane suggests that after the Anglo-Norman invasion, the masons who arrived in Ireland took on Irish apprentices: 'this foreign workforce must have trained the native masons and established the craft'.[10] One wonders if this assertion is really tenable in the early years of the colony, but certainly by the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the names of masons' one encounters appear to be predominantly Irish. Names listed in the Guild Book appear to be Irish or Anglicized verions of Irish names, such as 'Kelly', 'Donyll', 'O'towll', 'Obrune', 'O'Hely'.

If we are happy to accept that masons, whether English or Irish, were being trained by a master at Holycross in the middle years of the fifteenth century, the next issue is who the master (or masters) might have been. In discussing the changes of style at Holycross Roger Stalley suggested that there might have been successive changes of master mason.[11] He calls the design of the windows 'a fairly hit-or-miss affair ... there is not much sign of stylistic direction and several of the windows can only be classified as debased.'[12] It is difficult to suggest major projects that the master mason (or masons) at Holycross could have been involved in before work began at Holycross in the 1430s. It has already been noted, however, that masons who built towerhouses and town walls were also engaged in ecclesiastical commissions, and we might add funerary sculpture in the form of grave slabs to the list of projects in which masons might have been involved in the early years of the fifteenth century. At Holycross, masons would certainly have learned the cutting of low relief mouldings such as the quadrant and hollow chamfer, along with mitres, and the more complex mouldings of the corbels and cloister capitals. Of all these features, the cloister capitals were the most distinctive, and one or more masons trained at the site went on to carve very similar capitals at other sites in north Tipperary, Galway and Clare. Holycross also spawned a number of vaults in the Tipperary and Kilkenny area, and these are

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[9] Berry, H. F., 'The Dublin Guild of Carpenters, Millers, Masons and Heliers in the Sixteenth Century', *JRSAI*, 35 (1905), 324. There are always fewer masons listed in the guild book than carpenters, and Berry suggests that this may have been due to the organisation of masons at this time into roving bands, working under one master, ibid. 328.

[10] Hourihane, C., *The Mason and His Mark*, 9.

[11] Stalley, R., 'Irish Gothic and English Fashion', he states 'If one man was in control, he had an extraordinarily heterogeneous approach to design, without any overriding conception of form. It is perhaps more likely that a series of master masons followed each other in quick succession, each leaving his own imprint on the building'.

[12] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 121.

characterised by the dying of the ribs into the angles of the space they cover (Plate 6.1). Again, could the ability to design such a vault be traced to Holycross? Roger Stalley felt there was a growing confidence evident in the evolution of vault designs at Holycross from the relatively plain vault of the chancel to the increased complexity of that found in the north transept.

Champneys suggests that Holycross 'certainly bridges over and makes it possible to understand the transition from fourteenth-century architecture to the composite vernacular Irish style of the fifteenth century.'[13] It has been clearly shown above that Holycross made reference to architecture in Dublin, and that the architecture of Dublin may have been specifically emulated at the behest of the patron, the fourth earl of Ormond. There are clear examples of the importance of metropolitan architecture in the design of new buildings, such as the importance of Parisian work to the architecture of Troyes Cathedral. In 1418-19, when the cathedral authorities of Troyes were in search of a satisfactory design for their bell tower, a cathedral official and the master mason were 'sent by my lord the bishop and the lords of the church and others of the city to confer with Master Jehan Guerart, master of the works of my lord [the duke] of Berry and of the city of Paris on the making of the windows, pinnacles, and balustrades of the said bell tower, and also for giving advice on the variety of forms of the bell towers of the said city of Paris'.[14] Drawings were particularly important for the transmission of such important information, 'architects and artisans of all times have kept – and many still keep – more or less portable notebooks where they record memories, comments, and drawings of things seen or conceived'.[15] If the Holycross master was asked to emulate work in Dublin, he may have made just such drawings, and these could well have included the choir stalls at Christ Church, the cloister there (or perhaps at St. Mary's) and a range of tracery, of which some is now lost. It is interesting that the mouldings of the Dublin cloister appear to have had little impact on the design of that at Holycross, but it is noteworthy that three-unit capitals of the type found at Holycross were common in woodwork in the fourteenth century (Plate 6.2), and again, we may be dealing with the loss of the original.

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[13] Champneys, A., *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 177

[14] Murray, S., *Building Troyes Cathedral. The Late Gothic Campaigns* (Bloomington, IN, 1987), 143.

[15] Carpo, M., 'How Do You Imitate A Building That You Have Never Seen? Printed Images, Ancient Models, and Handmade Drawings in Renaissance Architectural Theory', *Zeitshrift für Kustgenschichte*, 64:2 (2001), 230.

Dublin may not have been the only influence on the work at Holycross. The Dominican house at Kilmallock has been suggested as a possible source of inspiration for the east window at Holycross. Although many such windows may once have existed, the case of Kilmallock is noteworthy because there are a number of Decorated features here which become prime architectural currency in the later middle ages in Ireland, and it is clear that in the fourteenth century an English trained mason worked at the site (Plates 6.3, 6.9). The work at Kilmallock is of two separate campaigns, but the mouldings evidence, particularly the bases, suggest that these were close in succession. (Plate 6.4). The friary was founded in 1291 on land purchased with the consent of Edward I[16] and though the choir was perhaps begun immediately, the transept and aisle are of more distinctly fourteenth-century character, as is the tomb in the chancel. The fourteenth century works were carried out in the 1320s under the patronage of the White Knight, Maurice FitzGerald, who is buried in the chancel.[17] Hogan states 'if the design for the choir and nave at Kilmallock was an eclectic mixture drawn from local sources and ultimately derived from Early English architecture, then the south transept extension, in terms of sculptural motifs, was an exciting and relatively up to date creation in the late Decorated style. The transept ... appears to have been designed by a mason who was either English or who had recently worked in the West Country, for there are features found in the transept that have no prototype or indeed successors in Ireland'(Plate 6.5).[18]

The impact of this fresh injection of forms introduced by a mason fully versed in the Decorated style was not only hinted at in the tracery at Holycross, but also appears in other elements of the design. Not only is it possible that Kilmallock's east window inspired a similar design at Holycross, but there are other elements which may have influenced the Holycross masons even more. The tomb niche in Kilmallock's north chancel wall is comprised of a chest treated with foliage and a cusped ogee head with flanking pinnacles (Plate 6.6). This influence can be seen in the sedilia at Holycross, and the arch in the piscina in the north transept (Plate 6.7). The Kilmallock tomb has engaged shafts along the jambs, with bases and foliate capitals. The arch is moulded with hollow chamfers and quadrants (Plate 6.9), which may be differentiated from later work in that they do not run directly along the chamfer plane, and their sizes are varied. The arrangement of the moulding certainly indicates the type of earlier work Irish masons were looking at in the

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[16] Gwynn, A., and Hadcock, R., N., *Medieval Religious Houses Ireland*, 226.
[17] Hogan, A., *Kilmallock Dominican Priory. An Architectural Perspective 1291-1991* (Kilmallock, 1991), 39.
[18] Ibid.

fifteenth century, but they abandoned the use of the shafts with capitals and bases and opted instead for continuous mouldings between the jamb and arch.

The nave arcade at Kilmallock was made up of square piers with engaged polygonal shafts with capitals and bases (these have polygonal lower portions) carrying the chamfered soffit rib (Plate 6.10). The bases of the engaged shafts are tall and are moulded in a manner which approaches the standard Perpendicular base in England (Plate 6.9). The capitals are very broken but seem to have comprised four units of rolls. The use of polygonal capitals, bases, shafts, piers, columns and ribs can be seen at Holycross, and at least some of the inspiration for these must be taken from these simple works of the early fourteenth century such as are found at Kilmallock.

The collegiate church at Kilmallock, lying just at the other side of the river Maigue, has no firm foundation date, but it was in existence in the thirteenth century (Plate 6.11).[19] The building is described as having some fourteenth century fabric by Leask, but the south door is briefly mentioned in his discussion of fifteenth century doors, in the same sentence as the west door at Rosserk (founded pre 1441), and it does resemble this door in all external appearances.[20] The doorway is pointed, with jamb and arch mouldings unbroken by capitals (Plate 6.12). The ground level has been raised by at least 0.75m if the height of the stoup to the east of the door may be taken as evidence of the original height of the door. This stoup is now 0.3m from ground level and there may be a base buried below ground level. This door is almost certainly a Decorated work, dating from the early fourteenth century, and in it may be found the major components of later doors in Ormond, such as those created by the O'Tunneys.

The arch of the door is moulded, and the inner mouldings run up to form the pointed arch, while the outer run up into an ogee, and the line of the crocketed hood follows this ogee and terminates in a pinnacle. The doorway is flanked by thin pilasters with bracket mouldings, which terminated in crocketed pinnacles, but these have been lost and only the indentation of their crockets is left in the wall surface behind them (Plate 6.13). The small area left between the pointed and ogee arches has been lost, but may have been ornamented. The moulding at Kilmallock is the key factor in proving an early date. It

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[19] Gwynn, A., and Hadcock, R., N., *Medieval Religious Houses Ireland*, 360, 339.
[20] Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 78. In the collection of Leask's papers held at Trinity College Dublin there is a drawing of this door (including the moulding) on a small piece of tracing paper, and a note beside says 'probably late XV or mid', TCD MS 3878/23.

is not simply laid out along the chamfer plane and made up of repeated elements; rather, it comprises an ogee roll and fillet, flanked by rolls (Plate 6.14). To eyes familiar with the later mouldings, ranged as they are in repetitive groups along the chamfer plane, this moulding is strikingly different and may be compared with English Decorated mouldings with ogee roll and fillets like those in the inner doorway of the south porch at Boston in Lincolnshire, the west doorway at Standon in Hertfordshire, or the south doorway at St. Etheldreda's, Holborn.[21] This fourteenth-century door, so outwardly similar to fifteenth century examples that it was confused with them, gives us another ingredient in the mix of forms that went on to form a sourcebook for the architects of fifteenth century Ormond.

The work at Kilmallock most likely dates to the 1320s, and it has been suggested above that the cloister at Christ Church was constructed in the late fourteenth century. It is tempting to think that a number of Holycross' design elements were derived from a collection of architectural pattern drawings brought together specifically for the construction of the Abbey. If this is true, the drawings represented forms and motifs from a wide chronological range of sources; this would certainly explain the difficulty in establishing a chronology at Holycross and beyond. It sometimes happened that drawings brought together for the construction of a building accidentally survived and were transmitted to apprentices or other masters, 'given the organisation of Renaissance and late-medieval artistic workshops, some of these sketchbooks may in fact have been designed with an eye to semi-private circulation. They might have been used collectively or freely within the same workshop, and sometimes they actually were a workshop product – a collective work supervised by one master'.[22] It certainly seems that some sort of model book was in use. The circulation of such a book in late medieval Ormond is clearly the best means of explaining the appearance of two-dimensional versions of three-dimensional designs in architecture, as is found on a number of tomb frontals.

The tomb frontals at Fertagh and Callan St. Mary have already been briefly noted above. It has been suggested that the frontal at Callan (Plates 6.15, 6.17, 6.19) replicates the western window of the north aisle at the site (Plates 6.16), the east window at Kilcooly (Plate 6.18), and the vault under the crossing tower at Old Leighlin (Plate 6.20). The Fertagh panel (Plates 6.21, 6.23) clearly relates to the south wall windows at Callan Augustinian friary (Plate 6.22), one of the windows from Fertagh (now at Johnstown, co.

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[21] Paley, F. A., *A Manual of Gothic Mouldings*, Plate V; Bond, F., *Gothic Architecture in England*, Sheet II; Forrester, H., *English Gothic Mouldings*, 35.
[22] Carpo, M., 'How Do You Imitate A Building That You Have Never Seen?', 229.

Kilkenny) (Plate 6.24), and the Old Leighlin vault again. The presence of vault patterns and window designs on the font at Kilcooly has already been noted, as has the late appearance of such designs at Ormond Castle in Carrick-on-Suir. The font at Fertagh (Plate 6.25) is certainly the most clear example of the use of pages of a model book for decoration, as if the designs were important enough not only to be used for the design of architecture, but had artistic merit in their own right. One of these panels on the font relates directly to windows at Callan St. Mary (Plate 6.26). The closest contemporary window of this type I have been able to find outside Ireland occurs at the Vleeshuis at Antwerp (Plate 6.27), a building begun in 1501.[23] There are square leaves on some of the panels of the font basin at Fertagh (Plate 6.28), and these may be seen as simplified versions of the kind found in Hans Boeblinger's *Leaf Pattern Book* of 1435 (Plate 6.29).[24] A piece of architecture like the north aisle at Callan could be seen as demonstrating the process by which stylistic designs might arrive in Ireland, but the actual execution of these forms might only be tenuously related to the items they seek to replicate due to the limited skill of Irish masons.

The use of a model book may also explain the use, and non-use of cusps in works that are clearly related, and indeed, in the same building, as happens at Callan St. Mary in the north aisle windows. At Fertagh, one end of the tomb has panels decorated with cusps, and another has no cusps, as we have already seen. At Old Leighlin, a very similar tomb has a design of square-headed windows with ogee lights, and here the cusps are clearly delineated (Plate 6.30). It appears that the masons were working from a model book that included drawings of windows of various styles and dates, relating to Gothic architecture in a number of different countries and that the choice of which pattern to follow may have been made either by them, or at the behest of the patron. Perhaps the designs first brought together for the construction of Holycross, particularly vault patters, continued in use in Ormond in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The model book has become important in the history of art and architecture for explaining the means of artistic transmission. 'Ready use is made of it to explain similarities between works of art widely separated in space or time by postulating the existence of some kind of intermediate link which served as a vehicle of transmission … those links supposedly took the form of compact and inexpensive 'models', and surviving

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[23] Van de Walle, A. J., *Gothic Art in Belgium* translated by J.A. Kennedy (Brussels, 1971), 231.
[24] Bucher, F., *Architector. The Lodgebooks and Sketchbooks of Medieval Architects*, (New York, 1974), 383-402.

model books are often adduced to lend force to this premise'.[25] Scheller warns the scholar to be mindful of pursuing the argument for model books without considering other factors 'known to have played a part in the transmission of art in the Middle Ages', suggesting that the itinerant artist with a collection of models in his bag is just as likely to have transmitted artistic ideas as the movement of the model book alone; also portable works of art, such as illustrated manuscripts and ivories, which have been shown to have exerted considerable artistic influence and are known to have been widely distributed in the middle ages.[26] One further note of caution is added, and this is that a copy made of a work of art so that its form might be transmitted requires exactitude on the part of the copyist, and in the medieval craft tradition there is every chance that the copyist would have 'added his own stylistic nuances'.[27]

Irish masons of the late middle ages added their 'stylistic nuances' to many designs, and these often took the form of a symmetrical use of subsidiary ornament. In their use of mouldings too, it is clear even when they were copying a 'foreign' design such as the Adare tombs, they fell back on their favourite stock set of mouldings, the quadrant and hollow chamfer, as can clearly be seen in the tomb niches at Ennis and Quin. In this way, designs from outside Ireland, when reproduced here, were put through a kind of Irish stylistic filter so that their 'outside' origin is difficult to discern. This is clear when we look at the tomb niches of Adare Augustinian friary and that at Quin side by side. Such filtering of designs may mask foreign influences in Irish late Gothic architecture, and this situation is not unique to Ireland.

In the early sixteenth century a Spanish nobleman, Diego de Mendoza, bought a book containing a diverse collection of architectural drawings when he visited Rome, and brought the book back to his native Sierra Nevada where he used the material to have a new castle built in the 'Italian style'. Notably, the castle he had built, La Calahorra, does not bear a strong relation to the original drawings which Mendoza had provided.[28] One cannot help but think here of the Perpendicular tracery executed in Ireland in the fifteenth

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[25] Scheller, R. W., *Exemplum Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900 – ca. 1450)* (Amsterdam, 1995), 27.
[26] Scheller, R. W., *Exemplum*, 27-8.
[27] Ibid., 41. It is also incredibly important in terms of architecture that he copyist properly understand the mathematical schema behind the work being copied, in tracery for example. Bucher cites the example of Villard de Honnecourt who drew the south rose window of Lausanne cathedral, but missed the idea of the design, and 'only someone not totally imbued with the rotational precepts could have so thoroughly botched up and obvious design', Bucher, F., 'Medieval Architectural Design Methods', 40.
[28] Carpo, M., 'How Do You Imitate A Building That You Have Never Seen?', 230.

and early sixteenth century, which could well have been transmitted to Irish masons in perfect form on paper but in execution is not the same as Perpendicular tracery in England.

Another important aspect of the circulation of a model book in Ormond relates to tomb sculpture. It has already been argued by both Helen Roe and Margaret Phelan that the figure of Christ displaying his five wounds seen in Ormond and Connacht was copied from the same 'exemplar', and perhaps here it is pertinent to take this argument a little further. It has been discussed in relation to tomb sculpture in England that the same mason might create different results by using a different pattern.[29] Phelan and Roe have clearly shown that a pattern was in use for the carving of one of the tomb chest 'weepers', and we might tentatively suggest that such patterns must have been widely in use. Could such patterns have affected the 'style' of the sculpture that has up until now been attributed to the existence of two separate schools of masons, the Ormond and O'Tunney ateliers? It is not proposed to discuss this subject further here, but it is important to note that the use of different pattern books and the influence of the patron in asking the mason to emulate particular work (perhaps in the case of the Ormond group, the demand by Piers Butler and Margaret FitzGerald that their tombs should *look* like Meath/Dublin work) should investigated further in funerary sculpture in late medieval Ormond.

II. Holycross as a 'school' or a 'model'?

As noted above, Colum Hourihane has suggested that Holycross may have acted as a training centre for a generation of masons who plied their trade at sites like Ennis Abbey, Co. Clare.[30] The work at Holycross does appear to have had a remarkably strong impact in the area in the succeeding generations, and I have argued above that the relationships between certain buildings and Holycross are not simply forged by the same 'school' of masons being involved, but by the desire to copy Holycross because it was a site of Butler patronage, a site where important local families were buried, and perhaps also a site of great spiritual importance due to its possession of relics of the True Cross. It has been clearly shown that masons familiar with the architecture of Holycross, and perhaps trained at Holycross, were working for Gaelic Irish patrons in north Tipperary, and west of the Shannon and creating 'Gaelic' canopied tombs. This speaks of their versatility, and also their responsiveness to the demands of the patron – the broken tomb niche at Lorrha

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[29] Blair, C., Goodall, J. and Lankester, P., 'The Winchelsea Tombs Reconsidered', 18-19.
[30] Hourihane, C., *The Mason and His Mark*, 35.

Dominican friary is clearly different in overall form from the work in the cloister at Holycross, which Roger Stalley sees as the most accomplished piece of Perpendicular architecture outside the Pale, but the technical details, the mouldings of the capitals and bases, are almost the same.

The movement of craftsmen is particularly interesting, and is has been shown above that in many cases the use of the same craftsmen by a particular set of patrons could be the result of political interaction between them. This is clearly shown in the architecture of the O'Carolls at Roscrea, and indeed, in the 'Royal' tomb at Ennis, constructed at a time when there were cordial relations between the Butlers and the O'Briens of Thomond. In the early sixteenth century, the bonds of affinity are clearly written in stone, when patronage of the O'Tunneys was linked to a political relationship with Piers Butler and Margaret FitzGerald. Further investigation may uncover an historical reason for the appearance of O'Tunney architecture at Devenish. Here, it may be the case that the reputation of the O'Tunneys had reached the Maguires, who appear to have been particularly interested in architecture and patronage of the arts.

In the art patronage of Edmund MacRichard Butler, a clear taste for both the insular and the international can be discerned; this is amply demonstrated in the pages of the *Book of Pottlerath.* In terms of architectural revivalism, the cloister arcade at Jerpoint and the windows at Cahir Augustinian friary are clear examples of just such a phenomenon. At Cahir the architecture presents a particularly eclectic mix, with head capitals and stiff leaf used in the east window, and low relief interlace designs in the tower. It is perhaps important to remember the bardic poem written for Piaras Butler of Cahir, which praised him in the terms of a Gaelic noble, but also stressed his descent from the earls of Ormond. In just this manner, Cahir revives the architecture of the important Butler mausoleum of Gowran, but also contains some Gaelic motifs too large and in too prominent a position to have been added without the consent of the patron.

This brings us to the issue of masons marks in Ormond, which have already been the subject of a survey by Colum Hourihane, and of a short investigation limited to the Augustinian friary in Fethard by Denise Maher. Hourihane made some suggestions as to the meaning and function of these very obvious masons' marks that deserve further discussion. He states:

> This … workforce … placed their large and detailed marks in conspicuous positions on the stone as a proclamation of identity. Those marks which are based on Celtic designs were a conscious symbol of national identity.[31]

Hourihane suggests that if we see masons' marks as personal signatures, then the earlier, linear marks associated with Early English design can be seen as being written in English, while the later marks, found largely in Ormond, can be seen as being written in Irish.[32] In her review of Hourihane's *The Mason and His Mark*, Jennifer Alexander lamented that the book did not undertake a more detailed discussion of the later marks in Ormond, stating 'the time taken in creating these marks must have been much longer than that needed to cut the simple three or four-line marks more commonly found in medieval buildings and it is hard to imagine a workshop system, involving either payments or quality control, that would have been based on them'.[33] These marks certainly do not appear to be the same as those associated with piece work systems, where the mason marked the stone to aid in both quantity and quality control. At Fethard Augustinian friary, one stone is given two marks in close proximity, and both of these comprise elaborate interlace motifs. The juxtaposition of two such elaborate pieces of carving on one small block of stone seems to prove beyond a doubt that these marks could not represent individual signatures. One of the marks at Fethard is large and of two interlaced squares (Plate 6.31), common in some the cross heads of elaborate grave slabs in Kilkenny and Tipperary, such as that at St. Mary, Clonmel (Plate 6.32). Maher notes that small interlacings occur on some late medieval grave slabs at Lisronagh, and indeed, ancillary decoration also occurs in the slabs at Fethard.[34] The relationship between these masons' marks and the designs on funerary sculpture serves further to emphasise how closely architecture and tomb sculpture are related.

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[31] Hourihane, C., *The Mason and His Mark*, 10.

[32] *Ibid.*, 12; Alexander is the most recent author to discuss the issue of masons marks, and has suggested caution in the use of marks for tracing masons from one site to another, see Alexander, J. S., 'Masons' Marks and Stone Bonding' in T. Tatton-Brown and J. Munby (ed.), *The Archaeology of Cathedrals* (Oxford, 1996), 220-236. She has made extensive use of marks for working out the chronologies of buildings, most famously Southwell Minster where thorough system of mapping the marks, and defining their form, the sequence of construction of the choir, presbytery and north-eastern transept was fully outlined, see Alexander, J. S., 'Southwell Minster Choir: The Evidence of Masons' Marks', *BAA*, C.T. 21, 1995 (1998), 44-59. See ibid. 47 for an example of her approach to the investigation of both chronology and personnel through the study of masons' marks.

[33] Alexander, J. S., 'The Mason and his Mark, Review', *JBAA*, 155 (2002), 321-2. Here she suggests that the isolation of a thirteenth-century school in the Cashel area may well be valid, but feels that the discussion and analysis of the later marks is lacking. She feels the linking of work at Holycross, Quin and Ennis on the basis on one mark is tenuous.

[34] Maher, D., 'Masons Marks at the Augustinian Abbey, Fethard, Co. Tipperary', 39; Maher, D., 'A Medieval Grave Slab at Lisronagh, Co. Tipperary', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 34 (1992), 30-7. Maher does not note the interlacing squares at Fethard as replicating those on cross heads in Tipperary.

If these marks are not banker marks used in a piece work system, and thus have no constructional function, why are they present and so large? Why would patrons allow such obtrusive emblems to be carved in the stone? In *The Social State* a number of the juries assembled to give their verdict on the state of the southern counties describe how the earl of Ormond lodged his masons on the local population:

> Item, the saide Jurye present that all the Inhibytauntes of the siade Countye of Kylkenny ben chargeid by the saide Erlle to gyve mete, drynke, lodgeing and wageis unto all artyfycers and laborers which the saide Erlle shalle by hymselff or his officers retayne for any his byldeinges until the clere fynysheing of the same buyldeinges; and also compelleith the said inhibytauntes to carye and bryng with ther garrons or ploughorsseis all maner stuff or caryages for the said buyldeinges necessary or requysit at all tymes, withoute any recompence or payment made unto the said inhibytauntes therfor, contrarye to ther duetye and ayenst ther voluntarye mayndes to ther costes and chargeis.[35]

It appears that the earl of Ormond was causing the commons of Kilkenny to pay and feed his masons in a system similar to coign and livery for the support of Kerne. Another passage sounds incredibly similar to the complaint about the lodging of harpers and rhymers on the local population:

> Item, the saide Jurye present that the saide Erlle every festyvall daye during the tyme of his buyldeinges sendeith unto the Inhibytauntes of the saide Countye at his pleasure all his masons, whith whome they doo take their mete and drynke, and paye nothing therfor, to the greate chargeis and ayenste ther wylles.[36]

The tomb of a harper and his wife at Jerpoint has already been noted, as has the lodging of poets and musicians on the local community in Ormond. The above passage suggests that masons were being treated similarly to these 'folk of gifts'. Raghnall Ó Floinn describes how 'artisans – including goldsmiths, carpenters, masons and scribes – were regarded, as in pre-Norman times, as members of the professional learned classes, equal in rank with lawyers, historians and poets'.[37]

The O'Tunneys appear to have attained a high social status in society in late medieval Ormond, a society riddled with Gaelic custom, through the practice of their craft. The law tracts, written in the early medieval period but glossed in the high and later middle

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[35] Hore, H., and Graves, J., *The Social State*, 88-9. I would like to thank Dr. Adrian Empey for this reference, which he first published in Empey, C. A. 'The Sacred and the Secular: the Augustinian priory of Kells in Ossory, 1193-1541', *Irish Historical Studies*, 24:94 (1984), 145. Cairns also notes this passage in his *Irish Tower Houses. A Co. Tipperary Case Study*, 19.
[36] Hore, H., and Graves, J., *The Social State*, 89.
[37] Ó Floinn, R., 'Irish Goldsmith's Work of the Later Middle Ages', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, 12 (1996), 35.

ages give some hint of how this might be achieved. One such tract, *Uiaicecht Becc* details how social advancement could be achieved through the practice of a craft, but neither a talented commoner or his son could enter the class of 'dependent professionals' (a status close to minor nobility) in their own lifetime; only a grandson of the original craftsman could advance this far. David Mac Lean notes that this three generation rule 'protected the pride of a master *sáer* from the obvious skill of a brilliant assistant; the likelihood of its being inherited by both the son and grandson was fairly remote.'[38] It has already been noted that the O'Tunneys plied their craft over a number of generations, with a father named Patrick who had a prolific son named Rory, and other members called William, Patrick and James.[39] Their high status allowed them to sign their works, and leave large conspicuous marks on the stone they carved. The above is a suggestion towards the interpretation of the later masons' marks found in Ormond in the fifteenth century.

It is interesting to point out here that the names of many craftsmen have come down to us from late medieval Fermanagh. As already noted 'in addition to visiting bards, the kingdom of Lough Erne had an unusually large number of poets and learned families of all kinds settled within its boarders'.[40] These included not only the Uí Chiarmaic family but the O'Dowgans, who were masons and carpenters (the name of a member of this family appears on a patron's plaque at Devenish, while another member of the family is commemorated on a memorial stone, bearing a mason's mallet and chisel at Clonca, Co. Donegal).[41] Could the status of Lough Erne as a haven for talented craftsmen in the later middle ages explain the presence of O'Tunney work there? They may have been famed enough in Ireland to have gained an invite to Fermanagh, or may have travelled there in the hope of gaining patronage. It is interesting that good craftsmanship appears to transcend the cultural divide that existed in late medieval Ireland. For example in 1479 the Dublin goldsmith William Cornell made a gilt silver processional cross for an O'Connor chief, for his newly founded friary at Lislaughtin.[42] Maher notes the similarity of some of the late medieval cross slabs in Tipperary and Kilkenny to the Lislaughtin cross,[43] which tells of an interesting cross fertilisation between crafts in the late middle ages that has been noted

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[38] Mac Lean, D., 'The Status of the Sculptor in Old-Irish Law and the Evidence of the Crosses', 137.
[39] Hunt, J., 'Rory O'Tunney and the Ossory Tomb Sculptures', *JRSAI*, 80 (1950), 26-8. The exact family relationship between Patrick O'Tunney and William, Patrick and James is uncertain.
[40] Simms, K., 'The Medieval Kingdom of Lough Erne', 135.
[41] Ó Floinn, R., 'Irish Goldsmith's Work of the Later Middle Ages', 36.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Maher, D., *Medieval Graves Slabs of County Tipperary, 1200 – 1600 A. D*, 28.

elsewhere in Europe.[44] One of the original witnesses to the establishment of the guild of masons in Dublin along with their confraternity at St. Thomas' Abbey, was one 'William Callan', Callan being the site traditionally associated with the O'Tunney atelier.[45]

III. The arrival of new ideas

It is also abundantly clear that small-scale, portable artworks were exerting an influence on Irish fifteenth century architecture and sculpture. Hourihane has argued that the iconography of Irish fifteenth century art is up to date with English and continental forms, and this is the kind of information readily transmitted by manuscripts.[46] In the case of Ireland, we might readily substitute Nottingham alabasters for the ivories described by Scheller as a means of artistic transmission. Surviving alabasters in Ireland were catalogued by John Hunt and Peter Harbison, and it is certain that a number of these were in Ireland in the fifteenth century.[47] The influence of such alabasters can be seen clearly at Ennis friary, where the 'Royal tomb' has narrative panels copied almost directly from Nottingham works. Hunt has discussed these in detail, and draws particular attention to the Entombment and Resurrection, comparing them directly with English works.[48]

It is interesting here that the sculptor has 'added his own stylistic nuances' to both of these pieces. In the Entombment (Plate 6.33), he has added two ogee headed arches surmounted with entwining ivy leaves and separated by crockets. These do not appear on English examples of the Entombment in any of the standard catalogues of alabasters and may well have been added by the sculptor so that Irish audiences could 'read' that the slab on which Christ's body lies is to be understood as his tomb.[49] This adds an interesting

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[44] Bucher, F., 'Micro-Architecture as the 'Idea' of Gothic Theory and Style', 74.

[45] Berry, H. F., 'The Dublin Guild of Carpenters, Millers, Masons and Heliers in the Sixteenth Century', 324. Various laws were passed in the later middle ages commanding such conformities as: 'Every Irishman that dwells betwixt Englishmen in Dublin, Myeth, Ureill, and Kildare shall go like to one English man in apparel and shewing of the Beard above the mouth – and shall take to him and English surname of one town as Sutton, Chester, Trym, Skryne, Cork, Kinsale, or a colour as white, black, Brown, or arte or science as Smith or Carpenter, or office as Cook, Butler, and that he and his issue shall use this name, under forfeiting of his goods yearly', DeBurgh, T., 'Ancient Naas', *Journal of the Kildare Archaeological Society*, 1:2 (1892), 188. Here, then, we could easily be seeing the presence in Dublin of an O'Tunney under an Anglicized name.

[46] Hourihane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland*, 97-8.

[47] Hunt, J., and Harbison, P., 'Medieval English Alabasters in Ireland', 310-21, in some cases it is impossible to tell if the works came to Ireland in the Middle Ages, for example the Resurrection of Christ in the National Museum (p. 17), but from works such as the Trinity in Kilkenny, found walled into a niche in the church, it is quite clear that the work came to Ireland in the Middle Ages, ibid. 318.

[48] Hunt, J., 'The Influence of Alabaster Carvings on Medieval Sculpture at Ennis Friary,' 36; Hunt, J., *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600*, 121-4, plates 240, 241, 243.

[49] For a discussion of the idea that images can 'read' see Sears, E., and Thomas, T. K., *Reading Medieval Images. The Art Historian and the Object* (Ann Arbor, 2005), 1-7. For alabasters see Cheetham, F., *English Medieval Alabasters: with a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert* Museum (Woodbridge,

dimension to the discussion of tomb sculpture in Ireland, suggesting that by *c.*1470, when this piece is thought to have been sculpted, the tomb chest replete with arcading, twining leaves and pinnacles was a well established form that Irish audiences associated with a sarcophagus. In the Resurrection (Plate 6.34), Hunt describes how 'only in the labarum carried by Christ has the Irish artist allowed himself to substitute a native variation of a swastika for the normal cross gules proper in Resurrection scenes.'[50] Again the artist changed a minor detail so the image might be better 'read' by the native audience.

Alabasters may have had an impact on other tomb sculpture, and such effects are particularly clear in the Purcell tomb at St. Weburgh's, Dublin, were the weepers are given very original and lively treatments, as if they have been brought together from various sources. (Plate 6.35) One of the end slabs is particularly interesting in having a figure under an overhanging crocketed canopy (Plate 6.37), characteristic of those included in fifteenth century alabasters (Plate 6.36), but, as noted, unknown in surviving full scale architecture in Ireland. The long face of the tomb has a small depiction of the Trinity (Plate 6.40), and this and other carvings of the Trinity in local Irish stone belie the influence of alabasters. An O'Tunney Trinity in the Catholic parish church at Callan betrays the strong influence of Nottingham alabaster carvings, as comparison with a selection of such works will show (Plates 6.38, 6.39).

Other kinds of recorded imported artworks which may have exerted an influence on masons and their patrons are items like the altarpiece listed at Athenry and the stained glass brought from France to Galway in 1490. The relationship between painting, sculpture and architecture in the transmission or artistic ideas has already been noted in chapter three. It has been argued that the 'links between painting and sculpture, and subsequently sculpture and architecture in the late Middle Ages were perhaps more crucial than has previously been realised'.[51] Other strong arguments have been made for the artistic relationship between stained glass and innovative architectural design in France, where

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2005); Rollason, L., 'English Alabasters in the Fifteenth Century', in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 1987), 245-54; *Illustrated catalogue of the exhibition of English medieval alabaster work, held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, 26th May to 30th June, 1910* [preceded by papers by William Henry St. John Hope and Edward Schroeder Prior] (London, 1913), in this catalogue, one of the Entombments has a tomb chest painted with a random pattern of flowers, ibid. 59, plate no.30, but no alabasters illustrated in these catalogues have the kind of relief carving found at Ennis.

[50] Hunt, J., 'The Influence of Alabaster Carvings on Medieval Sculpture at Ennis Friary,' 36; Rynne, E., 'The Swastika at Ennis – Symbol of the Resurrection', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 32 (1990), 3-18.

[51] Labrecque, C., 'A Case Study of the Relationship between Painting and Flamboyant Architecture: St.-Esprit Chapel at Rue, in Picardy', 90.

architectural canopywork in Rouennais glass was so innovative that 'it is difficult to escape the conclusion that masons participated directly in the designing of these canopies'.[52] Panel paintings and sculpted altarpieces were often surrounded by rich architectural frameworks, and in addition, many panel paintings included contemporary architecture as a background to their religious subject matter.[53] There were, then, small scale artworks in Ireland that gave Irish masons a window to the kind of architecture practiced in England and continental Europe, and these have been relatively overlooked as sources of inspiration for Irish masons in the fifteenth century.

Large funerary monuments are also known to have been imported from England, and the tomb imported from Bristol mentioned in the Athenry register has already been noted. This does not survive, but one tomb from Youghal, Co. Cork, almost certainly has the same origin. At St. Mary's church in Youghal, there is a wall tomb which may be seen as a fully Perpendicular monument (Plate 6.41). It has a moulded elliptical arch, covered by an ogee hood with flanking pinnacles; the tomb chest is carved with an arcade of six cusped pointed arches. The jambs and recess are given a base moulding which runs around the back and sides of the recess, the surfaces of which have rectilinear panelling with pointed cusped arches. The hood is richly crocketed, and a shield is carved in the space between arch and hood naming the patron as 'Thomas Flemming' (died *c.*1470).[54] The jamb moulding is a simple sequence of three hollow chamfers interspersed with two quadrants (Plate 6.42), but is subtler than Irish examples in that the hollow chamfers get broader from inside to out. The mullions of the panelling have an ogee roll and fillet flanked by hollow chamfers. The base mouldings of both the recess and the pinnacles are

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[52] Bugslag, J., 'Early Fourteenth-Century Canopywork in Rouen Stained Glass', *BAA*, C.T. 12, 1986 (1993), 75.

[53] Martiny, V. G., 'Architecture in Brussels in Van der Weyden's Time', in *Rogier van der Weyden, Rogier de la Pasture, Official Painter to the City of Brussels, Portrait Painter to the Burgundian Court* (Brussels, 1979), 94-101, this article describes the architectural transformation of the city of Brussels from one dominated by Romanesque architecture to one dominated by towering Gothic structures. The half finished nature of some of the buildings that surrounded van der Weyden were included in his paintings, suggesting that they reflected the reality of his surroundings.

[54] Hayman, who wrote an illustrated guide to St. Mary's in 1865 identifies Thomas Flemming as the seventh Lord Slane, in corroboration of this evidence he states that Flemming was twice married, and during recent renovations one male and two female heads had been found in the tomb. Hayman identifies the stone as a fine sandstone, but the tomb is in excellent condition for a sandstone monument exposed to the elements for the two hundred years during which the choir was roofless. The stone is fine, and it has not yet been possible to ascertain its origin. If it is shown to be an imported English stone, the argument for its having been imported in pieces from an English source will be greatly strengthened, along with its construction by an Irish mason, see Hayman, S., *The Illustrated Guild to St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Youghal, Co. Cork* (Youghal, 1865), 28. In his second work on the history of Youghal, Hayman dates the Flemming monument to 1470, Hayamn, S., *Memorials of Youghal, Ecclesiastical and Civil* (Youghal, 1879), 13.

of double ogee type. In sum, the tomb displays the majority of characteristics described by Harvey as Perpendicular.

Is this the work of an English mason? Much of the architecture in the choir certainly looks to be influenced by English design, particularly the base mouldings of the rear arch of the east window. Close inspection of the tomb niche, however, suggests that it was imported in pieces and assembled by an Irish mason, or that the mason brought over to build this niche and do other work in the choir had native 'help'. The panelling at the back of the niche is beautifully carved, but the handling of the spandrels has gone somewhat awry. There is a difficulty with the graduation of the panels at the top and the right hand apex has gone utterly wrong. Some spandrels are fully carved while others are given a foliate treatment in low relief that wouldn't be amiss in Connacht. Even this most English of works has an Irish tinge, an addition of 'lavish subsidiary ornament'. It is difficult to judge the impact of this niche, as the work of the Adare mason is similar in its major components, namely the elliptical arch with flanking pinnacles and the use of the ogee roll and fillet.

It is interesting to note the example of the Neville screen at Durham in relation to this Youghal tomb niche. The screen was carved in London at the behest of the Neville family *c.*1380. The *Durham Chronicle* describes that the screen was packed into boxes in London, shipped to Newcastle, and from here the Prior had the screen transported to Durham overland.[55] Importantly, a mason was paid to travel up from London with a piece for the screen, and one speculates that he may also have assisted in its assembly.[56] It is interesting that this screen at Durham exerted very little effect on the architecture of the cathedral in the following decades.[57] Although the tomb at Youghal may not have exerted a strong influence, the simpler tombs at Adare were extremely influential, and it was perhaps the overall simplicity of these tombs (apart, perhaps, from the drafting of the arches) that appealed to both patrons and masons.

It has been noted in the course of the above architectural discussion that Irish masons of the later middle ages often foundered when it came to the use of complex geometry. Here it is important to illustrate one example of such difficulty. It has been strongly argued that the cloister at Adare was created by a mason who was trained in

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[55] Wilson, C., 'The Neville Screen', *BAA*, C.T. 3, 1977 (1980), 90.
[56] Ibid., 90.
[57] Ibid., 98-100.

England. He set out a small cloister, with each range divided into just three bays of three centred arches, moulded with casements and ogee roll and fillets. A diagram of the underlying geometry of these three centred arches shows that they are laid out with geometrical precision (Plate 6.43).[58] In contrast, the arches in the north wall of the nave at Adare Franciscan friary show that the masons were struggling to attain constancy in the drafting of their arches (Plate 6.44). All three arches here are formed of different arcs, but all are single centred arches as opposed to the three centred arches found in the cloister of the Augustinian house. Exactly the same difficulty with arches of more than one centre can be seen in the drafting of the casement at Callan St. Mary, and this really speaks of a loss of skill on the part of the masons.

IV. 'Degeneration' or 'aesthetics'?

It has been shown throughout this thesis that Irish masons added subsidiary ornament to their designs, multiplied the elements included in their mouldings to 'improve' the designs and also put much effort into varying their mouldings at any one site. The addition of subsidiary ornament is most clearly shown in the tomb niches in the south transept at Adare Franciscan Friary, and that at Quin, where various naturalistic details were added to designs which lacked such sculptural variety in their original condition. The multiplication of detail can clearly be seen in the north transept chapels at Holycross, where small scale quadrants and hollow chamfers are repeated over and over – so many have been added to the shelf and capitals in the south chapel that the mason has had great difficultly in maintaining straight lines. The variation is most clearly demonstrated in cloister mouldings, particularly those at Askeaton, Holycross and Sligo. Can the sculpture, mouldings and variation of detail be taken together as representing a kind of aesthetic in Irish late Gothic architecture? Perhaps the case of the west doorways of the Augustinian friaries at Ardnaree, Co. Mayo and Dunmore, Co. Galway will serve to elucidate this point.

Doors and their surrounding sculpture have been the subject of two essays in past publications, by Harold Leask and Colum Hourihane.[59] Hourihane discusses the door at Ardnaree in some detail, describing it as a low door, and dating it to *c.*1470 on evidence of the headdress worn by one of the hood-stops.[60] The door at Dunmore is said to be of the

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[58] I would like to thank Avril Beehan for her help and generosity in assessing the arches at Adare. Her PhD dissertation on photogrammetic surveys of Irish widow tracery is eagerly awaited!
[59] Leask, H., *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings III*, 72-7; Hourihane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland*, 71-98.
[60] Hourihane, C., *Gothic Art in Ireland 1169-1550*, 82.

mid-fifteenth century, but Hourihane does not see the two as closely related (Plate 6.45, 4.46). In fact, they are by the same hand, but only by close analysis of the sculpture, moulding and general construction of the two doors does this fact become apparent.

The door at Dunmore is better preserved because at Ardnaree, the ground level has risen dramatically and only the top half of the door is visible. It is best, then, to start with the former. It comprises a base course, jamb mouldings in two orders (or rather false orders, as they are not set back from each other but carved on the same plane), a capital frieze and an ogee hood flanked by pinnacles (Plate 6.49). The base course is badly worn, but the jamb and arch moulding, in two identical orders, is well preserved. The capital frieze creates a strong horizontal band across the door at impost level; it runs from the soffit right around to the place from where the pinnacles spring and the hood begins. The hood and pinnacles are particularly attractive, the door arch is two centred, but the hood is ogee in form, and the space between the head of the door and the hood is filled by a design in low relief. The hood is decorated by delicate crockets and the top of the ogee ends in a pinnacle terminated by a poppy head, as are the flanking pinnacles. The pinnacles taper into a point below the capital frieze and low relief foliate carvings spring from these points (Plate 6.47). They are moulded at their lower half, below gabled offsets. Flanking these pinnacles are human heads: on the south is the head of a bishop, on the north the head of a woman with a wimple (Plate 6.48). The positioning of these heads is rather unusual, as they are not head stops, but decorative details which have no real architectural function. The composition of the door at Ardnaree is almost identical, apart from that fact that the moulding is of three false orders and is slightly varied from Dunmore, as is the moulding of the capital frieze.

Apart from minor differences, the doors present a number of features that mark them out as being from the hand of the same designer. The first is the appearance at Ardnaree of the unusual heads flanking the arch just above springing point; these are very worn . At the north is a very smooth female head, which looks to be wearing a wimple (Plate 6.50). On the south is the head of a woman with a clearly visible head-dress consisting of a twisted band to which a wimple is fastened, fabric is carved in loose folds down the right hand side of her face (Plate 6.51). The head to the north looks like a weathered version of the head seen in the same position at Dunmore, while the head to the south at Ardnaree can be seen inside the building at Dunmore, mounted in the south nave wall (Plate 6.52). The design of these two heads is so similar that they must have been

copied from a template or pattern book. The flowing fabric of the wimple and the twisted headband are identical. Another similarity is the appearance at both Ardnaree and Dunmore of a floral motif, carved in low relief in the north soffit of the doorway (Plate 6.53, 6.54). The designs themselves are slightly different, but the positioning is identical. At Dunmore a smaller design can also be seen below the capital frieze, this time in false relief. Both doors have a stoup integrated into the south side of the jamb, carried out in fine punch dressed masonry (Plate 6.55).

The in depth study of the doors at Dunmore and Ardnaree is illustrative in the analysis of late Gothic architecture in Ormond. In some ways, these northern doors demonstrate an aesthetic similar to the architecture of Ormond: native carboniferous limestone is used, and is brought to a punch dressed finish where there are expanses of ashlar. Incidental carvings decorate flat surfaces, and it appears patterns were used between sites to create almost identical sculpture. It is also clear that patrons with close relationships appear to have used the same masons, and the reformed Augustinian Friaries of Dunmore and Ardnaree did just this.[61] There are also some details that belie knowledge of continental architecture. At both Ardnaree and Dunmore, the mouldings of the hood and pinnacles interweave in a fashion found often in late Gothic architecture in Germany, and can be see most clearly in vaulting (Plate 6.48, Plate 6.51).[62] In terms of mouldings analysis, the details at the two sites are treated slightly differently, although the overall composition is the same. The standard moulding elements encountered at Holycross, and in Ormond generally, are once again in evidence: the quadrant, hollow chamfer, and the roll and fillet running along the chamfer plane. In sum, the architecture speaks of a love of variety, a taste for low relief sculptural decoration and varied but simple, linear, shallow mouldings.

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[61] Martin, F. X., 'The Irish Augustinian Reform Movement in the Fifteenth Century', 242.
[62] Nussbaum, N., *German Gothic Church Architecture* translated by Scott Kleager (London and New Haven, 2000), 199 plates 201, 216, 219.

Conclusion

This thesis has mapped a large area of uncharted territory. The work has been regional in focus but national and international in scope. Although the area of special study was Ormond, the thesis has been based on fieldwork on a national scale: the primary data is a substantial collection of over 500 moulding profiles, measured by the author between 2001-2007. In truth, the initial results of this substantial fieldwork were disappointing. I had originally hoped to apply the methods of Eileen Roberts and Richard Fawcett in using mouldings to discover the work of individual masons and the movement of architectural ideas around the country. My first discovery, however, was that the same stock of moulding forms were in use throughout the country for much of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Like a virus, the quadrant and hollow chamfer appeared to have infected every west doorway from Kinsale to Donegal, making it near impossible to discern the work of an individual mason from one site to the next. Even in works where one could sense that the same approach to design was present, as at Ardnaree and Dunmore, differences were still visible in the minor details, as if the mason had purposefully changed the design of the mouldings between the two sites. The variance of detail at individual sites meant that there might be several different types, for example capital and base mouldings, present in what could be described as a single architectural feature, such as the cloisters at Sligo or Holycross. This variety is the antithesis of English fifteenth century architecture, where the Perpendicular style demanded a unified approach to design. Although the cloister at Holycross mimics overall Perpendicular forms, the moulded details speak of a completely different aesthetic at work.

Roberts, in her study of English Perpendicular architecture, found that 'buildings by a single architect tend to contain similar sets of mouldings, traceries and details. Unattributed buildings, with similar sets, plotted on a distribution map, usually have a geographic proximity to the sphere of the architect in question. Examined historically they are usually found to be related in time and circumstances to that architect'.[1] It seemed to me, that in Ireland, the opposite conclusion could be drawn: that similarities in moulding profiles were often found in sites separated by great distance. The sedilia at Callan Augustinian friary looked remarkably like the 'Royal tomb' at Ennis, some 142 kilometres away, while the door of the MacGillapatrick chapel from Fertagh, with its twining leaves

[1] Roberts, E., 'Moulding Analysis and Architectural Research: the Late Middle Ages', 10.

and pecking birds, looked remarkably like that at Devenish, separated by an even greater distance of 233 kilometres. It was clear that English regional models could not be readily applied, and a different approach was needed for understanding late Gothic architecture in Ireland.

Holycross suggested itself as a good place to begin in trying to map and understand the architecture of the fifteenth century. The surviving fabric preserved more mouldings than any other, and the building appeared to be representative of the aesthetic at work in architectural design. This aesthetic comprised a taste for shallow linear mouldings cut into the hard grey local limestone, with expanses of punch dressed masonry featuring lively subsidiary sculpture. The variety in detail at Holycross is striking, and this cannot be explained by changes in design over time. Windows that are clearly coeval, such as those in the south transept, are treated with different mouldings and different tracery. Roger Stalley had subjected Holycross to a detailed analysis, but expressed puzzlement at the gulf that existed between the sophistication of the patron of the house, James, fourth earl of Ormond, and the architecture at the site. Stalley mused that the earl 'had the opportunity of visiting some of the finest and most recent churches in England, but as a patron of Holycross he does not appear to have widened the architectural horizons of the monks, at least as far as the design of the church was concerned. Instead of a fashionable building in the Perpendicular style, which one might have expected, the architecture drew principally on local sources'.[2] This thesis has investigated that gulf, and proposed viable explanations for the stylistic origins, and the political and social function of the architecture at Holycross and beyond.

We might here revisit the statement made by Arthur Champneys that was quoted at the beginning of this work:

> The condition of things architectural in Ireland towards A.D. 1400 appears to have been somewhat as follows. It was a comparatively short time since the lancet window and other points of Early Gothic architecture had been in use … there were examples of newer or 'Decorated' style in Ireland, and across the channel … a growing number of Perpendicular work, which could hardly be altogether disregarded. It seems natural that … these influences should have united to produce a vernacular or national style which owed a debt to all of them.[3]

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[2] Stalley, R., *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*, 113.
[3] Champneys, A., *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 171.

In this statement, Champneys is essentially correct, but here he is talking simply of architectural form, as if architectural forms animate themselves, or as if each mason were in sole control of what the building looked like. One essential figure in the equation is missing – the patron. An understanding the political and social motivations of the patron emerges as a key issue in understanding the building that they paid for. It has been clearly shown above that the fourth earl of Ormond made specific references to Dublin architecture at Holycross to proudly emphasise his position as one of the main holders of the lieutenancy during the first half of the fifteenth century. His great nephew, James, echoed the architecture of Holycross in the friary at Callan, stressing his link to the earl and his sons, for whom he acted as deputy in their absentee years. Further, the Butlers of Cahir, descended from the fourth earl's illegitimate brother James Gallda, furnished their church with architecture that echoed the Butler family mausoleum at Gowran – the family mausoleum where the third earl, from whom they were directly descended, was buried. These architectural connections can only be properly understood in the light of detailed political and family history.

Of course, it is difficult to tell where specific revivalism ends, and architectural inbreeding begins. Fawcett said of Norfolk, 'forms which first became current in the late fourteenth century and fifteenth century were to retain their popularity until the very end of the middle ages. Individual architects would employ variants of their own on basic themes, but these must, almost invariably, be seen as personal mannerisms rather than serious attempts to question the acceptability of the themes'.[4] It has been shown that masons working in late medieval Ormond were working from a model book of some kind, perhaps brought together when construction at Holycross was going on in the 1430s, and the patterns it contained would reappear again and again, demonstrating their potency. The masons struggled with the drafting of complex tracery, and at Kilcooly, it is clear that they were attempting to merge two designs from their model book together, with mixed results. It seems that there was a loss of skill among the masons of Ormond, and this becomes particularly evident when they attempt designs alien to their repertoire, such as English Perpendicular forms. It must be noted, however, that although there was a deficiency in technical drawing ability and the mathematical knowledge needed to prepare these drawings, the masons were perfectly capable stone carvers. This skill in carving is evident in the north door at Callan St. Mary, where the stone is deeply and accurately cut.

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[4] Fawcett, R., *Later Gothic Architecture in Norfolk*, 101.

If one can identify an underlying conservatism in Ormond design, it cannot be attributed to a lack of inspiration and influence arriving from elsewhere. Again referring to Norfolk, Fawcett described how 'in some churches one may be conscious that the architect was evidently aware of the newest ideas, but from these he only selected those elements that seemed appropriate to his requirements. As a result, although new ideas were often introduced into the area relatively rapidly after their emergence, they might be weighed and found wanting by the majority of architects.'[5] This statement might be easily applied to Ireland, where in addition to a lack of technical ability, masons seem uninterested in experimenting with new moulding profiles. Again, in the north aisle of the parish church of St. Mary, Callan, it is clear that local masons were asked to reproduce Perpendicular forms, but their attempted casement moulding of the north door found little emulation in later architecture. The hood of Perpendicular window in this same aisle is moulded with standard Irish forms, the quadrant and hollow chamfer. Callan north aisle may have been created in Perpendicular style at the behest of the patron, but in the smaller mouldings that the patron was less likely to notice, the masons applied their standard designs.

It is necessary, here, to revisit another observation cited earlier, this time by John Goodall, where he says 'in an age that associated power with display it is important not to underestimate the value of architecture in politics or the sophistication with which it might be read'.[6] It has been shown above that architecture was used in sophisticated ways by those who sought to gain and wield political power in Ireland. In the early fifteenth century the fourth earl of Ormond paid for architecture at Holycross that echoed key buildings associated with the post of lieutenant and the government of the English lordship of Ireland. In the later fifteenth century, there appears to have been a move on the part of later deputies, the earls of Desmond and Kildare, to sponsor architecture of more decidedly English character than was seen at Holycross. It has been proven beyond reasonable doubt that the cloister at Adare Augustinian friary is the work of an English trained mason. Importantly, the forms which he introduced were taken up with gusto, but as they move further from their source, they become infected with the same virus that inflicted so many west doors, the quadrant and hollow chamfer. The earl of Kildare employed an English trained mason because he wanted an 'English' building, and Irish patrons clearly admired the overall composition of the tomb niches this mason designed. But, importantly, as the niches were copied they largely lost the English characteristics (three-centred arch, ogee

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[5] Fawcett, R., *Later Gothic Architecture in Norfolk*, 41.
[6] Goodall, J., 'The Architecture of Ancestry at The Collegiate Church of St. Andrew's, Wingfiled, Suffolk', 171.

mouldings, restraint of sculptural detail) and became the field for Irish mouldings and asymmetrical sculpture.

The transformation of the Adare tomb niches went further than a simple change in the shape of the arch and the moulding profile, and became fertile ground for 'lavish subsidiary ornament' of the kind Rachel Moss described as characteristic of Irish chevron.[7] The taste of the patron may have had some influence on the ornamentation of the architecture, but it appears that masons were at liberty to apply ornament as they saw fit. Two good examples of the mason's license are found in the misidentified banker marks at Cahir and Fethard, which boast large and conspicuous interlace designs. As has been shown, these are no mere banker marks but status symbols instead. It is clear that fifteenth century masons achieved high social status, akin to that which they held before the Anglo-Norman invasion. These masons were very mobile, and perhaps enjoyed a high reputation amongst discerning patrons. This status may well explain the appearance of an O'Tunney mason in Fermanagh, a kingdom famed for its fostering of native craftsmen.

This brief summation has exposed the most essential finding of this thesis: Irish late Gothic architecture can only be understood if approached in a holistic way. It is only by fully comprehending the historic circumstances that dictated the creation of the architecture, and by looking at the architecture and its appended sculpture together, that these designs begin to make sense, and come to life.

[7] Moss, R., 'Romanesque Chevron Ornament',146.

The Butlers in the 15th Century

The Earls of Ormond
The Butlers of Dunboyne
The MacRichard Butlers
The FitzThomas Butlers
The Butlers of Cahir

James FitzMaurice
3rd earl of Desmond

Catherine of Desmond — **James Butler III** = Anne Welles
3rd Earl Ormond
d. 1405

Jonh Baron Welles

William
Beauchamp = Joan
Baron Bergavenny
d. 1411

Gerald
5th earl of Kildare
d. 1432

Edmund
James Gerald Theobald
Gallda
d. 1448

Piers
d. 1464

Thomas Richard
d. 1476

Edmund
d. 1524

Thomas
1st Baron Cahir
d. 1558

Thomas
Prior of Kilmainham
d. 1419

Edmund John Thomas
Richard Theobald

Joan = **James** = Elizabeth
d. 1430 **4th Earl of Ormond**
d. 1452

Edmund Beaufort
Duke of Somerset
d. 1455

Tadhg
O'Brien
d. 1466

Avice Stafford = **James** = Eleanor Beaufort
5th earl of Ormond
Earl of Wiltshire
d. 1461
d. 1498

Reynalda = **John**
O'Brien **6th earl**
d. 1510 **of Ormond**

Sir James Ormond
d. 1497

Anne Hankerford = **Thomas**
d. 1485 **7th earl of Ormond**
d. 1515

Sir William Boleyn = Margaret Anne = Sir James
St. Leger

Richard
d.*c*.1420

Edmund
d. 1464

James
d. 1487

Piers
8 earl of Ormond
d. 1539

William 3rd Baron Dunboyne
d. 1405

Peter 4th Baron Dunboyne
d. 1415

James 6th Baron Dunboyne
d. 1446

William 7th Baron Dunboyne
d. *c*.1459

Edmund 8th Baron Dunboyne
d. 1499

James 9th Baron Dunboyne
d. 1508

Appendix 2
Itinerary for James, the fourth earl of Ormond

The following is an attempt to create a 'tentative itinerary' for James, fourth earl of Ormond. It is compiled from Beresford, Matthew and the Ormond Deeds.

1390	The earl is born in Ireland
1405	His father dies, and as a minor the earl's lands are granted by the king to Thomas Lancaster, later duke of Clarence
1407	Became deputy to Stephen Scrope, who was action as lieutenant
1408	The earl is summoned to parliament in Dublin
1409	Or just after, sailed for England with Lancaster
1412-13	Took part in Clarence's French expedition, moving through Normandy and Bordeaux marries Joan Beauchamp, the daughter of William, Lord Bergavenny and his wife Joan, before 28 August 1413
1414	Back in Ireland, to support John Stanley's lieutenancy
1414-5	In Kilkenny, Waterford and Tipperary as keeper of these counties for John Talbot, who was now lieutenant *Letters of protection issued to Holycross
1416	In Ireland, disagreements with Talbot began to escalate
1417	Talbot seizing Ormond lands, Ormond summoned to England to serve in France
1418	The Prior of Kilmainham, Thomas le Botiller, also summoned to France. Both are present at the siege of Rouen
1419	At Pointoise, near Paris
1420	Ormond made Justiciar, term of office 22 April-10 April 1422
1422	Ormond to England, bringing the young James to his grandmother
1423	Ormond remained in England, accusations of treason by the Archbishop of Dublin, Richard Talbot
1424	Back in Ireland, acting as deputy to Edmund Mortimer May-September
1425	After Montimer's death, Ormond was made Justiciar and served until 1427
1426	Held a parliament in Kilkenny
1428-9	Height of the Talbot-Ormond feaud, many charges and counter charges being made. The statutes may date from this time *Letters of Pardon granted to the Abbot and Convent of Holycross (March) *Grant of the Vill of Ballycahill to Holycross (September)
1429	Autumn Ormond in England, en route to France
1430	Coronation mission to France, one of 8 earls and dukes to accompany the king. He was accompanied by his son, who was just 9 at the time. His wife died in this year, and he returned to England in the autumn, and spent Christmas at Canterbury
1431	There are two possibilities here, Ormond may have gone on Pilgrimage to Rome or may have been in Ireland
1431-2	Back in Ireland, making war in Ely O'Carroll *Grant of protection to Abbot and Convent of Holycross (March 1432)
1433	His whereabouts are not recorded in this year
1434	Married the daughter of the Earl of Kildare, Elizabeth Gray. Thomas

	FitzMaurice FitzGerald entered the earl's household. He was in Kilkenny in this year, arranging for a priest to say mass for him at the castle, arranging for works to be done here and at Carrick-on-Suir
1435	February, in London, set up household here, possibly at St. Thomas of Acre. He may also have spent time at his manor of Shere
1436	In this year he may have gone to France with Humphrey Duke of Gloucester in the duke's personal retinue. Other evidence suggests that he was in Ireland, as he was joining a confraternity in Navan on 25 June
1436-7	Back in England, some time this year he met the author of *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye* and gave his opinion on the state of Ireland
1438	Back in Ireland, James Butler marries Avice Stafford
*c.*1440	Edmund Butler marries Gyllys O'Carroll, his sister marries Sean/John O'Carroll
1441	Ormond was deputy to lord Welles, parliament held in Dublin
1442	Ormond appointed lieutenant in his own right
1443	Had to abandon office due to the accusations of Thomas FitzGerald, prior of Kilmainham
1444	Summoned to London to answer charges of treason and necromancy made by the Prior of Kilmainham. Trying to delay, as Desmond was raiding Ormond territory after Elizabeth Butler married John Talbot II *Ormond petitioning the Pope for permission for the Abbot and clerks of Kilcooly to go to England to beg for funds as the convent had been burned by armed men (February 1444)
1445	Ormond was confined to the London area, awaiting his judicial dual with the prior of Kilmainham. He went on a pilgrimage to Canterbury in this year. Thomas Butler, the earl's third son marries Anne Hankeford.
1446-7	Still in England awaiting the dual, finally the case was resolved in 1447 and there was no dual. In this year Edmund MacRichard was taken prisoner by Piers FitzJames Butler of Cahir
1447-8	Ormond possibly still in England, work being done at the Butler manor of Aylesbury
1448	Settled his affairs in London, was appointed the deputy of Richard Duke of York, 'statutes and corrections' to the original ordinances enacted
1449	Richard Duke of York arrives in Ireland, Ormond assists him on campaign *Ormond grants lands outright to Jerpoint
1450	Indenture between Richard and Ormond
1451	Richard Nugent, baron Delvin appointed lieutenant, Ormond acting as his deputy
1452	Ormond lieutenant, dies in this year

Appendix 3
Indenture between Richard, Duke of York, and James, fourth earl of Ormond, made in 1450

Indenture made at Dublin on the 28th day of July in the 28th year of Henry VI, between "the high and mighty prince Richard, Duke of York, Lieutenant of Ireland," and James, Earl of Ormond, witnesses that the Earl is "with-holden and belast" to the Duke for the term of his life to do him service as will in war as in peace, as well in England when he shall happen to be there as in Ireland, to be with him against all other creatures of whatsoever estate, pre-eminence or condition they be next to (saving) the King and his heirs, Kings of England and France. For the which believing and withholding," the Earl shall take and receive yearly during the term of his life of the Duke 100 marks sterling, to be taken after the tenour and effect of certain letters patent made unto the Earl under the Duke's seal to that effect. If the Earl does not do service to the Duke as well in England as in Ireland, according to the "with-holding" aforesaid, then these letters patent shall be of no force or virtue

In witness whereof to one part of these indentures remaining with the Duke the Earl has set his seal.

"J. C. Ormond"

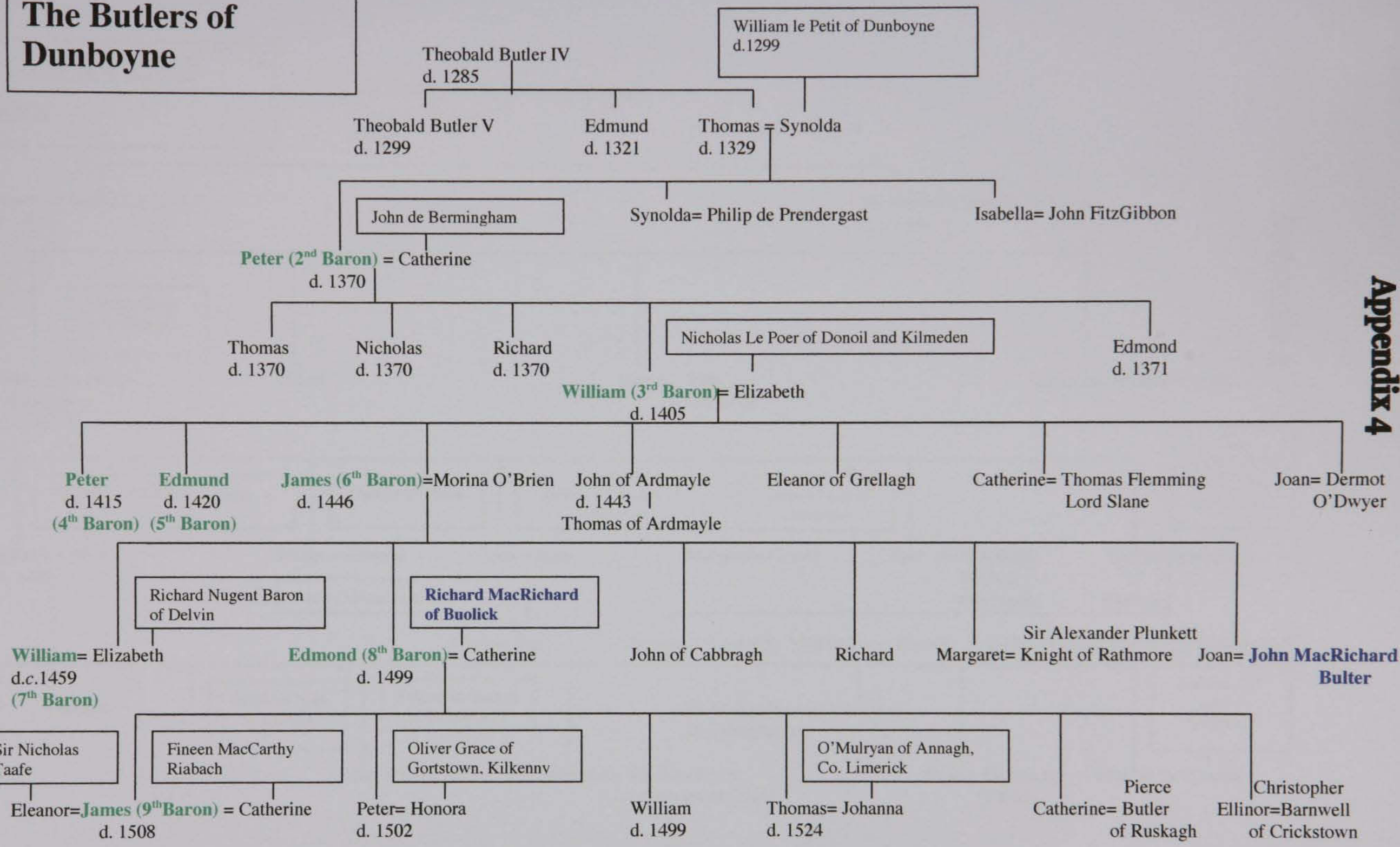
(Earl of Ormond's seal)

July 28, 1450.[1]

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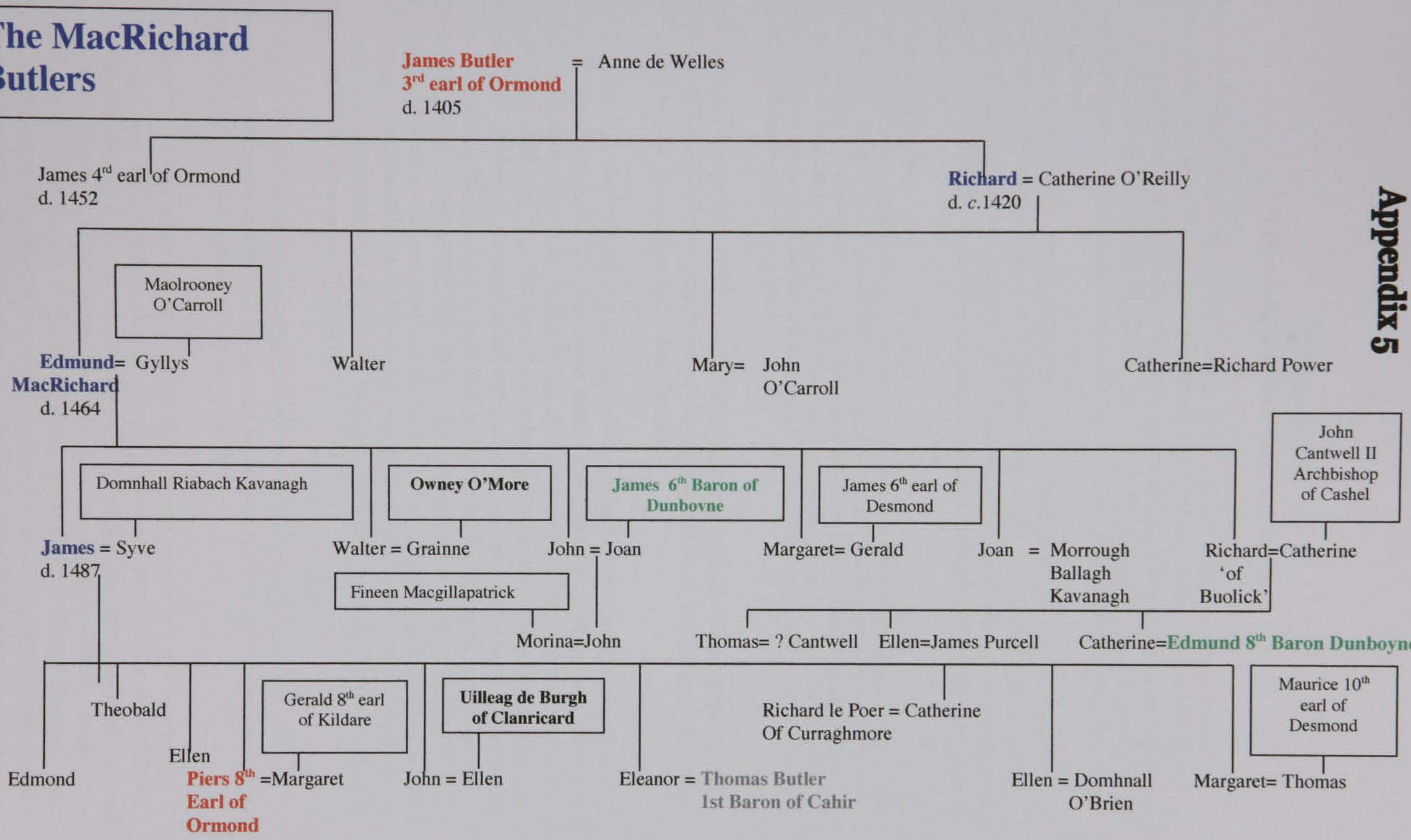
[1] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds 1413-1509*, deed no. 177, 167-8.

The Butlers of Dunboyne



Appendix 4

The MacRichard Butlers



Appendix 5

Appendix 6
Will of James MacRichrd Butler

Notarial instrument dated July 3, 1507, made in the city of Waterford in the house of William Whyte, mayor of the same, to the effect that Sir Peter Butler, knight, exhibited before the notary and witnesses specially summoned certain instruments signed and sealed by the archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Ossory, the tenour of which was as follows. The two Episcopal deeds relating to the marriage of James Butler and Sabina Kavanagh are then quoted.
The instrument proceeds to the effect that in the year 1494 in the 3rd year of Pope Alexander VI on the second week-day before the feasts of SS. Philip and James, in the parish church of Barnchurch in the diocese of Ossory, Sir Piers Butler exhinited the will of his father James Butler to the notary and other witnesses and asked that it be copied and confirmed.
The tenour is as follows:
"In the name of God, amen. By the tenour of this present instrument let it appear that in the year 1494 on the Monday before the feasts of SS. Philip and James, in the parish church of Barnchurch in Ossory diocese, in my presence and that of the subscribed witnesses, the noble Peter Butler exhibited to me (Oliver, bishop of Ossory) the will of James Butler, his father, written on a certain paper deed in public hand and for better corroboration of the same produced the subscribed witnesses and requested me to examine them" (The will of his father, Sir James Butler, is then quoted as follows).

' "In the name of God, amen. I, Sir James Butler, principal captain of my nation, lawful son and heir of Edmund Butler, late defunct, although sick in body sound in mind, make my will, with witnesses standing by, in this fashion.

'First I bequeath my soul to God and the blessed Virgin and all the Saints and by body to be buried in the monastery of the Augustine brothers at Callan. But all my moveable goods to be distributed according to my will and that of my executor. Also I make and appoint Peter Butler, my natural and lawful son, my true heir and executor, and bequeath him my horse and gown, rendering however, to all my creditors, whose goods I have unjustly had, out of the same horse twenty cows or satisfaction according to their will, and out of the gown six cows. Also I give and appoint to him the custody and defence of the lands of my lord the Earl of Ormond as it was given to me and as I have it. Also I give and bequeath to the said Peter a portion of the Holy cross and the shield of St. Michael, and all other relics of the saints and all my precious stones and rings with my oracles, and all jewels which by hereditary right belonged to me." (*c.*1487)

" *'After which, the abovesaid being handed to me and the tenour of it perused, I then proceeded to examination of the said witnesses and examined them secretly and under seal upon the holy gospels; whose depositions are as follows.*

Brother Donatus O'Maly, prior of the brothers of St. Augustine at Callan, first witness duly sworn, etc., says that he was present when the witnesses subscribed in the castle of Knocktopher with Sir James Butler who was then in extremis, who there made his will and disposed of his goods according to what is contained in the said deed. Brother Richard Barred of the said monastery, Sir William Molghan, public notary; Eveline Forstall, John O'Readde, witnesses sworn, etc., all give similar evidence. At the request of Peter Butler the notary made a public instrument of these depositions, there being present, baron of

Barnchurch, Patrick Sleger alias de sancto Leodegario, principal of his nation, and the vicar of Barnchurch, namely Sir John Bowland.'

'And we, Oliver, bishop of Ossory on the...day of the ...month in the year 1495.'

'And I, William Fyan, clerk of Cashel diocese, public notary, having been present at these attestations, etc., have drawn them up in form of a public instrument.'

Finally Sir Peter Butler, knight, requests that the notary below named to make a full instrument of these deeds given in the above which he does.

Done as recited in the said year, pontificate, etc., there being present William White, mayor of Waterford, James Sherlicke, bailiff of the same, and William Morese, canon of the church of Ossory, witnesses summoned and requested.

Sign and declaration of the notary of the whole instrument, namely Patrick Stronge, clerk, of the city of Waterford, follows.

July 3, 1507.[2]

[2] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds 1413-1509*, deed no. 329, 322-4.

Appendix 7
Protection Granted to Holycross Abbey by James, Earl of Ormond, in 1364

'James de Botiller, Earl of Ormond, Lord of the Liberty of Tipperary, to all the seneschals, sheriffs, provosts, bailiffs, servants and other lieges of the lord king, whosoever shall read these presents greetings.

Know ye, that for the love of God, and for the salvation of our own soul and the souls of our predecessors and successors, we, have given and granted to brother David, abbot of the church of the Blessed Mary of the Holy Cross near Cashel and to the convent of the same place and their successors, that they shall be free and quit for us and our heirs of all amercements in all our courts and places in all our lordship for whatever cause they may be emerced, and shall be exempt in so far as in us lies and as regards our lordship, from all secular service. Provided that the abbot and his successors appear before our Seneschal of the said Liberty, who is for the time being, on the first day of the assizes. We have granted also to them and their successors that they be free and quit of toll on all their goods and merchandise in all their buying and selling for their own use through our aforesaid liberty and lordship. And furthermore, we take under our special protection and defence the aforesaid abbot and convent with their successors, their goods, tenants, chattels, lands, rents, and all their possession and those of their tenants. Being unwilling that anything of corn, hay, cows, pigs, sheep, horses, carts, carriages, and other animals of the aforesaid abbot and convent or their tenants should be taken for our own use or that of any of our ministers against their will, we command all our officers and all others who it may concern, not to inflict any loss, damage, injury, burden or impediment of any kind on the said abbot and convent or on their tenants, but to permit them to enjoy and use the said liberties in all things. In testimony of which we have caused these our letters patent to be made and signed with our seal. Witnesses: Thomas le Botiller, Chancellor of the aforesaid liberty; Sir John Lercedekn, Knight; Roger de Sancta Brigida, sheriff of the said county; Thomas Brikyn, Clerk and many others. To continue as long as they shall well and faithfully keep the king's peace and ours. Given at Cashel, the twelfth day of December in the thirty-eight year of Edward III post conquestum Angliae'[3]

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[3] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1350-1413*, no. 106, pg. 87; translation from Ó Conbhuidhe, C., OCSO, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary*, 184-5.

Appendix 8
Will of Piers Butler, Earl of Ormond, made at Potellrath on May 28, 1539

After directing that his body shall be buried in St Canice's cathedral, Kilkenny, he appoints as his heir his eldest son, James Butler, and as executors of his will his wife, Margaret FitzGerald, and his sons, James and Richard. He then makes the following bequests: to his son James, his best cloak, and to his son Richard his second best cloak; the remainder of his goods to the churches of St Mary in Callan and Gowran; his breast-plate and his horse to said James, and his other horse to said Richard; to James his great collar of gold, and to Richard his small gold chain; and to every ploughland in Kilkenny one stone of steel. He then appoints James, his son and heir, to have his anniversary solemnly celebrated for ever in St Canice's cathedral, Kilkenny, Holy Trinity, Waterford, the churches of St Mary in Callan and Clonmel, St Patrick's in Cashel and St John's in Fethard [now Holy Trinity], and his second son do likewise in the churches of St. Mary in Kilkenny and Rossponte [New Ross]. James Clere, dean of Ossory, Nicholas Motyng, chancellor of the same, and Renald, Baron of Burnchurch, are appointed overseers of the will.

Appended is a declaration by Miles, bishop of Ossory, witnessed by Nicholas Motyng, the Baron of Burnchurch and Sir Patrick Aspoll, to the effect that the above has been administered in the proper manner.

May 28, 1539 Seal of the bishop of Ossory[4]

[4] *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1509-1547*, no. 238, 187-8.

Appendix 9
Archbishops of Cashel

Ware, J., *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland, Revised and Improved by Walter Harris*, Volume I (Dublin, 1764), 480-3.

Richard O-Hedian [*Succ.* 1406. *Ob.* 1440]

RICHARD O-Hedian, or *O-Hedan*, who, like his predecessor, was also Archdeacon of *Cashell*, was consecrated Archbishop of this See in the year 1406; but was not restored to the Temopralities until the 14th of *September* 1408. He recovered Lands belonging to the Archbishoprick, which, through the Slothfulness of his Predecessor had been unjustly usurped. "Insomuch that upon his Promotion, he had not one place in any of his 'Manors to rest his Head in;" as he himself says, In a Roll of the Revenues and Posessions of the See of *Cashell*, written in the year 1419. He built a Hall for the Vicars Choral, whom he also endowed with the Town Lands of *Grange-connell*, and *Baon-Thurlisbeg*. He repaired some of the Archiepiscopal Palaces on his manors; and (which ought not to be concealed) new-built the Cathedral of St. *Patrick*; or at least repaired it from a very ruinous condition, in which it then was. It was first founded by *Donald O-Brien*, King of *Limerick*, that great builder and repairer of Churches and Abbies.

A. D. 1421 A parliament met in *Dublin*, in which this prelate was impeached by *John Gese*, Bishop of *Lismore* and *Waterford*, upon thirty articles, the principal of which were, – "That he made very much of the *Irish*, and 'loved none of the *English* – That he gave no Benefice to any *Englishman*, and advised other Bishops to do like practice. – That he counterfeited the King of *England's* Seal, and his Letters Patent. – That he made himself King of *Munster*. – That he took a ring from the Image of St. *Patrick*, of which the earl of *Desmond* had made an Oblation, and gave it to his Whore; besides many other enormities which *Gese* exhibited against him in writing; and the Lords and Commons were much troubled by them." Thus far his Contemporary, *Henry* of *Marleburg*, Vicar of *Ballyscaddan* in the Diocese of *Dublin*. [By instrument dated the 22d of *September* 1429 this Prelate by the consent of his Dean and Chapter appropriated the Church of *Belagcachail* to the Monastery of *Holy-Cross*.] He died full of years on the 21st of *July* 1440, and was buried in his own Church. After his Death the See of *Cashell* was for ten

years vacant, and the Temporalities all that time were set to Farm to *James Butler*, Earl of *Ormond*, as appears in the publick Records.

John Cantwell- Ware could not find a royal confirmation for the appointment and this, together with the Earl of Ormond retaining the temporalities of the see from 1440-52, led Ware to doubt the existence of this man. He is mentioned in *The Calendar of Papal Letters*, Vol. X, 344 (1447), 518 (1451) and 568 (1452). This from O'Sullivan, A., *Poems on the Marcher Lords* (Irish Texts Society Vol. 53, 1987), 1.

John Cantwell [*Succ.* 1450. *Ob.* 1482]

This see having been ten years vacant, as I observed before, *John Cantwell*, Batchelor of Laws, and a Student of the University of *Oxford*, was advanced to it by a Papal Provision; [But was not consecrated untill the year 1452; in which on the 27th of *October*, in the first year of his Consecration, he granted the Vicaridge of the Church of *Rathkellan* to the Monastery of *Holy-Cross*.] He celebrated a provincial synod at *Limerick* in the year 1453, the Canons of which are to this day extant. He also convened another Synod at *Featherd* in *July* 1480; at which (among others) *Matthew*, Bishop of *Killaloe*, *Thomas* Bishop of *Limerick*, *John*, Bishop of *Ardfert*, and *William,* Bishop of *Cork* and *Cloyne* assisted. But I think the Canons made in this Synod are lost. This Prelate obtained many Priviledges from King *Edward* the IVth, which are mentioned in the Records of the High Court of the Chancery I the second and third years of Kind *Philip* and Queen *Mary*. He repaired the Monastery of the *Dominicans* in *Cashell* [at his own Charges; which had been burned down and utterly ruined; For which, *John Fitz-Rery*, Vicar General of that Order, together with the Prior and Convent, constituted him their Patron and Founder, and granted to him the Participation and full Benefit of all the Masses, Prayers, Sermons, Vigils, and other good things of all the *Dominicans* through Ireland. The Instrument of this extraordinary Favour bears date at Limerick on the Vigil of St. *Augustin* 1480; and the Original reported to have been in the Custody of Mr. *Cantwell* of *Moycark*, in the County of *Tipperary*, said to be lineally descended from the said *Archbishop*.] Two years before his death he endowed the College of the Vicars Choral in *Cashell* with some possessions in the Town of *Clonmel*. He died in 1482, and was buried at *Cashell*. Some say there was another *John Cantwell*, who was also a Batchelor of Laws of the University of *Oxford*, and Predecessor

of this Prelate; and who is said to have died on *Valentin's* day 1450. If any such was Archbishop, it is manifest he was not approved by the King, nor restored to the Temporalities of the See. But perhaps this matter deserves further inquiry.

David Creagh [*Succ.* 1483. *Ob.* 1503.]

DAVID Creagh, a native of *Limerick*, and Batchelor of Civil and Canon Law, was consecrated Archbishop of *Cahsell* in 1483; [and two years after on the 10th of *June* 1485 he granted the Vicaridge of the Parish Church of *Glankyne* to the Monastery of *Holy-Cross.*] Of the Injuries done to this Archbishop by *Girald Fitz-Girald* Earl of *Kildare*, (who althougha Man of approved Valour, yet was too rigid and severe) and the Succeessless Complaints which he made to King *Henry* VIIth against the Earl, by the persuasions of Sir *James de Ormond* Knight, who was for a time Treasurer of *Ireland,* the Reader may turn to *Campion's* History of *Ireland.* He died on the 5th of *September* 1503, having spent twenty years in his See.

Maurice Fitz-Girald [*Succ.* 1504. *Ob.* 1523]

MAURICE Fitz-Girald, or *Giraldine*, was advanced to this See by a Provision from Pope *Julius* the second in 1504. Some call him *Maurice Fitz-John*, and place his death in 1523. The Decrees of a Synod held by this Prelate at *Limerick* in the year 1511, were inderted in the Registry of *Thomas Pursel*, Bishop of *Lismore* and *Waterford*, and were heretofore destroyed by an accidental Fire, [as Sir *James Ware* observes, He held another Synod in the year 1514; four of the Canons whereof, relating to the dress and clothing of Clergy in *Waterford*, and the Manner of celebrating divine Offices are still extant.]

Edmund Butler [*Succ.* 1527. *Ob.* 1550.]

EDMUND BUTLER, natural son of *Peter* Earl of *Ormond*, was consecrated Archbishop of *Cashell* in 1527; and a little after was made one of the Privy Council of *Ireland* to King *Henry* the VIIIth. [I do not know how he came to be delayed so long in his Consecration; for it is certain he had a Papal Provision to this See, in which he is called, Elect Bishop of *Cashell*, in 1524; and on the 21st of *October* that year the Pope earnestly recommended him

to the favour of King *Henry* the VIII.] He was Prior of the Abbey of St. *Edmund* of *Athassel*, in the County of *Tipperary*, or he held it by commendam; which he surrendered at the time of the dissolution of the Abbies. [In an Inquisition held at *Clonmel*, *33 Eliz.* he is mentioned under the title of commendatory Prior; and is therein said to have granted to *James White* of *Clonmel*, Merchant, some Holdings in *Clonmel* for 101 years, by Deed dated the 8th *August* 1538, ay the Assent of is Convent.] He held a Provincial Synod at *Limerick*, about the Feast of the Apostles of *Peter* and *Paul* 1529; [at which *Nicholas Comin*, Bishop of *Lismore* and *Waterford*, *John Coyne* Bishop of *Limerick*, and *James O-Corrin* Bishop of *Killaloe*, assisted] and thereby Power was given to the Mayor of *Limerick*, to imprison Ecclesiastical Debtors, until they made Satisfaction to their Creditors, without Danger of incurring and Censure of Excommunication. The Clergy made a grievous Outcry against this Canon, as an infringement and violation of their Ecclesiastical Privilidges. He died on the 5th of *March* about the close of the year 1550, and lies buried in his own Church, not far from the Archiepiscopal Throne, under a Marble Monument erected by himself in his life time, and adorned with his Arms and Effigies; [of which there is nothing now remaining but his Arms; which is ladi as a Flag in the Isle leading to the Communion Table.]

Appendix 10
Bishops of Ossory

Ware, J., *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland, Revised and Improved by Walter Harris*, Volume I (Dublin, 1764), 413-15.

Thomas Snell [*Succ.* 1405. *Ob.* 1416.]

THOMAS Snell, Archdeacon of *Glendalough*, and afterwards in 1399 Bishop of *Lismore* and *Waterford*, was restored to the Temporalities of this See on the 23rd of *September* 1405. He made a present of some rich Vestments to his Church, [viz. Gloves, Pontifical Sandals, and a fair silken Caphin interwove with golden Spots,] and left his Successors a Mitre adorned with precious Stones. He died in *Waterford* on the 16th *October* 1416. While he was Bishop of *Ossory*, *William Purcell*, in the year 1415, assisted at the general Council of Constance by a Proxy for him, and another *Nicholas Fleming* Archbishop of *Armagh*.

Patrick Ragged [*Succ.* 1417. *Ob.* 1421.]

PATRICK Ragged, Bishop of *Cork*, was translated from thence to this See in 1417, and died on the twentieth of *August*, or, as some say, the twentieth of *April* 1421. [A Manuscript writer gives his the Character of a Prelate who governed his Flock with Justice and Piety, and fed them both by his example and instructions.]

Dennis O-Dea [*Succ.* 1421 *Ob.* 1427]

DENNIS O-Dea, Batchelor of Civil and Canon Laws, as also a Man of great Knowledge in the municipal Laws of his own Country, was elected to this See on the 26th of November 1421, and sat about five years.

Thomas Barry [*Succ.* 1428. *Ob.* 1459.]

THOMAS Barry ***succeeded next. He was made Treasurer of*** **Ireland** ***on the first of*** **January** ***1428, in the seventh year of King*** **Henry** ***the VIth. He built a Castle and Hall at his Manor of*** **Logh,** ***[and is said to have been a Benefactor to the College of Vicars.] He died (as they say) on the third of*** **March** ***1459, and***

was buried at St.* Canic's *Church before the high Altar. [in 1450 this Prelate, together with the Bishops of* Leighlin, Down, *and* Limerick, *were fined for not attending Parliament assembled in October that year.]

David Hacket [*Succ.* 1460. *Ob*. 1478.]

DAVID Hacket succeeded by Provision from the Pope, and sat about eighteen years; during which time he built the Castle of *Boly*, and added a Hall and Kitchen to the House of *Clonmore*. He also built the Arch of the Belfry of St. *Canic's* Church of squared stone, [and like his Predecessor is said to have been a benefactor to the College of Vicars, by uniting the Parish Church of *Ballybur* to the Body, at the instance and petition of *Richard Vole*, Patron of the said Church.] He died on the twenty fourth of *October* 1478, and was buried in his own Church near the high Altar.

John O-Hedian [*Succ.* 1479 *Ob.* 1486.]

JOHN O-Hedian, was Precentor of *Cashell*, succeeded *David Hackett*. He is said to have taken a great deal of pains in the Government of his Diocese; and having sat for about seven years, died on the sixth of *January* 1486, and was buried in a Chappel near the West Gate of the Cathedral. The see was after his death vacant about two years, [occasioned by the unquietness of the times and the Rebellion of *Lambert Simnel*.]

Oliver Cantwell [*Succ.* 1488. *Ob.* 1526.]

OLIVER Cantwell, a *Dominican* Frier, was appointed Bishop of this See by Pope *Innocent* the eighth in 1488; but was not confirmed by King *Henry* the seventh untill the twenty eighth of *February* 1495, in the eleventh year of his Reign; at which time he submitted to the King's mercy for his acceptance of the Pope's provision, in the presence of *Henry Dean*, then the Bishop of *Bangor*, and [both] Justice [and Chancellor] of *Ireland*. He expended great Sums of Money on the Reparation of the Episcopal Palaces of *Aghor* and *Freinston*. He also rebuilt the great Bridge of *Kilkenny*, which had been thrown down by a Flood, and appropriated the Church of *Mael* to the Vicars Choral [at the instance of *James Shortall*, then Prebendary of *Kilmanagh*, afterwards Prior of the Convent of St. *John* the Evangelist at *Kilkenny*. He also obtained Letters patent from King *Henry* the seventh for confirming the antient Grants of a weekly Market to the *Irishtown, Kilkenny*.] Worn out

with old Age he died on the ninth of *February* [*January*] 1526, having governed this See almost thirty nine years, and was buried, it is said, at *Kilkenny* in the Mortuary of his own Order. But I have been informed that a Monument was erected to his Memory in St. *Canic's* Church. He is said to have wore the *Dominican* Habit, even after he became a Bishop, during his life, [which I think was nothing extraordinary; but only agreeable to the Practice of all other Bishops in that Age; which may be seen in the life of *John Celey*, Bishop of *Down.*]

Milo Baron [*Succ.* 1527. *Ob.* 1550.]

MILO Baron, alias *Fitz-Girald* [an *Augustinian* Canon, and] Prior of *Inistiock*, was consecrated Bishop on *Ossory* in 1527; but held his Priory by dispensation until the Visitation of Religious Houses; at which time he surrendered it by Deed to King *Henry* the Eighth. [He was called, *Baron*, as being of that branch of the family of the *Fitz-Giralds*, who were Palatine Barons of *Burnchurch* in the County of *Kilkenny*, originally created by the Earl's Palatine of those parts; of whom an account may be seen in Sir *John Davis's* Reports.] Before he was advanced to this Bishoprick, he added a new Steeple and Cloyster to his Priory; and after his consecration repaired his Episcopal Palace at *Kilkenny*, and made a Present of a Pastoral Staff of Silver to his Cathedral, [and of a fair marble Table for the Altar.] He died full of days in the year 1550, or as some say 1551, of Grief, which often proves fatal to old age, and was buried among his ancestors in the Monastery of *Inistiok.* Some say that *John Bird* [Provincial of the *Carmelites*] was translated from his see of *Bangor* on the third of *September* 1539; but without doubt they are mistaken. For it is certain *Milo Baron* was the and long before Bishop of this See. [*Godwin* fixeth the Translation of *Bird* from *Ossory* to *Bangor* on the third of *September* 1531, and from *Bangor* to *Chester* in 1533; and adds that the Cause of this Promotion was for preaching certain Sermons before King *Henry* the Eighth against the Pope's Supremacy. He was deprived in the Reign of Queen *Mary* for being married, and died at *Chester* in 1556.

Appendix 11

Ecclesiastical Sites Identified on Map			
Site Name	**Site Type**	**County**	**Diocese**
Abbeydorney	Cistercian Abbey	Kerry	Ardfert
Adare (Black Abbey)	Augustinian Friary	Limerick	Limerick
Adare, St Michael Archangel	Franciscan Friary	Limerick	Limerick
Ardfert	Cathedral Church	Kerry	Ardfert
Ardnaree	Augustinian Friary	Sligo	Killala
Askeaton	Franciscan Friary	Limerick	Limerick
Callan Augustinian	Augustinian Friary	Kilkenny	Ossory
Callan, St. Mary's	Parish Church	Kilkenny	Ossory
Cashel	Cathedral Church	Tipperary	Cashel
Cashel, St. Dominick's	Dominican Friary	Tipperary	Cashel
Clonfert	Cathedral Church	Galway	Tuam
Clonmacnoise	Cathedral Church	Offaly	Armagh
Clonmel, St. Mary's	Parish Church	Tipperary	Lismore
Clontuskert, St. Mary's	Augustinian Priory	Galway	Clonfert
Devenish, St. Mary's	Augustinian Priory	Fermanagh	Clogher
Dublin, Holy Trinity (Christ Church)	Cathedral Church	Dublin	Dublin
Dublin, St. Mary's	Cistercian Abbey	Dublin	Dublin
Dublin, St. Patrick's	Cathedral Church	Dublin	Dublin
Dunmore	Augustinian Friary	Galway	Tuam
Ennis	Franciscan Friary	Clare	Killaloe
Fertagh, St. Ciaran	Augustinian Priory	Kilkenny	Ossory
Fethard, Holy Trinity (formerly St. John the Baptist)	Augustinian Friary	Tipperary	Cashel
Gowran, St. Mary's	Collegiate Church	Kilkenny	Ossory
Holycross	Cistercian Abbey	Tipperary	Cashel
Inistioge, St. Mary and St. Columcille	Augustinian Priory	Kilkenny	Ossory
Jerpoint	Cistercian Abbey	Kilkenny	Ossory
Kilconnell	Franciscan Friary	Galway	Clonfert
Kilcooly	Cistercian Abbey	Tipperary	Cashel
Kilfenora	Cathedral Church	Clare	Cashel
Kilkenny (Grey Abbey)	Franciscan Friary	Kilkenny	Ossory
Kilkenny, St. Canice's	Cathedral Church	Kilkenny	Dublin
Kilmallock, SS. Peter and Paul	Collegiate Church	Limerick	Limerick
Kilmallock, St Saviour's	Dominican Friary	Limerick	Limerick
Limerick, St. Mary's	Cathedral Church	Limerick	Limerick
Lislaughton	Franciscan Friary	Kerry	Ardfert
Navan, St. Mary	Augustinian Abbey	Meath	Meath
New Ross, St. Mary's	Parish Church	Wexford	Ferns
Roscommon, St. Mary's	Dominican Friary	Roscommon	Elphin
Ross (Rosserelly)	Franciscan Friary	Galway	Tuam
Sligo, Holy Cross	Dominican Friary	Sligo	Elphin
Strade, Holy Cross	Dominican Friary	Mayo	Achonry
Timoleague	Franciscan Friary	Cork	Ross
Trim, St. Patrick's	Parish Church	Meath	Meath
Tuallaroan	Parish Church	Kilkenny	Ossory

Waterford, Holy Trinity	Cathedral Church	Waterford	Waterford
Youghal, St. John's	Benedictine Cell	Cork	Cloyne
Youghal, St. Mary's	Parish Church	Cork	Cloyne

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