

THE NATIONAL COLLEGE OF ART AND DESIGN
COLAISTE NAISIUNTA EALAINÉ IS DEARTHA

'THE O'TUNNEY ATELIER'
A STUDY AND ANALYSIS OF THEIR
SCULPTURE AS AN IMPORTANT
PHASE IN THE EVOLUTION OF
IRISH ART AND DESIGN

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF HISTORY OF ART AND DESIGN & C.S.
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE

FACULTY OF DESIGN
DEPARTMENT OF VISUAL COMMUNICATIONS

BY

AISLINN ADAMS

APRIL 1981

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
Introduction	1
List of O'Tunney Sculpture	4
<u>Chapter</u>	
1 Historical background to the O' Tunney work and its influences	8
11 Origin and functions of the tomb effigy and its surrounds	13
111 O' Tunney effigies	16
1. James Schortal	
2. Piers Fitz Oge Butler	
3. John Grace	
4. Purcell Family	
5. Honorina Grace	
1V O' Tunney tomb surrounds	41
1. Jerpoint Abbey	
2. James Schortal	
3. Piers Fitz Oge Butler	
4. John Grace	
5. Purcell family and Honorina Grace	
V Summary and Conclusions	72
List of Footnotes	76
Glossary	77
Bibliography	81

INTRODUCTION

There are approximately one hundred and fifty medieval tomb effigies surviving in Ireland today, which date roughly from twelve hundred to sixteen hundred and they range from civilian and ecclesiastical to military effigies. In comparison to England, this number is a mere handful though not unusual, considering the history of the Church's religious struggles in Ireland. Owing to the rarity of these tombs one would have thought that they would have stimulated much interest, resulting in the publication of various studies, but unfortunately this is not the case. Compared to the amount of work published on early Irish Christian and Sculpture, Irish medieval tomb sculpture lags way behind and except for the few rare books dealing specifically with medieval tomb sculpture, most of the relevant study takes the form of articles in journals such as the 'Old Kilkenny Review' and the journal of the 'Royal Society of Antiquarians in Ireland'.

In many of the publications concerned with Irish Medieval Art, tomb sculpture is only mentioned, in passing, or while trying to extricate some facts of historical importance from tomb effigies, the authors, being scholars and not artists, tend to analyse the work from the academic viewpoint, concerning themselves only with the historical accuracy of the armour and dress or the evolution of the symbolic mourners on the tomb surrounds. Their work is mainly descriptive and little or no attempt is made to appraise the sculpture in terms of artistic merit and aestheticism. As an artist and designer, I found this deficiency rather disappointing but at the same time it has inspired me with a topic for my thesis and given me an opportunity to do some original work in a new field.

Having become familiar with the tomb effigies of the Kilkenny and South Tipperary area, formerly known as the Ossory Pale, I decided to choose a specific school of sculpture from this area. By fifteen hundred there were three main workshops in the Ossory Pale, the O'Tunney family, the Ormond artists and the Thurles workshop and having firstly studied the three generally, I decided upon the O'Tunney atelier specifically. I chose this atelier because;

- A. They were the oldest school of carvers having a long family tradition of stonecarvers.
- B. Almost alone among the makers of tombs in Ireland, the O'Tunney's had the habit of signing their productions and so they stood out among the other anonymous carvers, having a definite name and identity.
- C. Of the three workshops, the O'Tunney's show the most ingenuity of design and variety of dress in their figures, and finally
- D. Although their work was rigidly formalized by European standards, at that time, the O'Tunney sculpture has a great force and a vital character of its own, which can be traced to the influence of their Irish heritage, clearly visible in their work.

Although there are many fine examples of O'Tunney cross and floor slabs still surviving today, this study is concerned only with their effigial tombs and surrounds. The reason for this is not because the slabs, by their very nature, tend to be repetitions^{et} and limiting, but because all of the qualities of craftsmanship and good design, present in these slabs are even more obvious in the tombs.

The object of this work is to study the O'Tunney carvers from the viewpoint of the artist rather than the academic. But in order to do this, it is necessary, first of all, to outline the historical background to their work and its influences, as well as the origination of the medieval effigial tomb and its functions. Having achieved this the O'Tunney sculpture is analysed with the use of detailed observations made while viewing the original work, and by comparisons with other work.

The study is finally brought together by the summary and conclusion. The intention of which, is to justify the choice of topic by convincing the reader of the importance of the O'Tunney carvers work as an example of the integration of Norman culture into Irish art as well as being an important phase in its development.

THE O'TUNNEY ATELIERS WORK LISTED

The O'Tunney's were a family of stonecarvers living in Ireland in the late middle ages and they are traditionally supposed to have had workshops at Callan, Co. Kilkenny. Rory O'Tunney is the best known of these ossary craftsmen. The family were evidently master masons carrying on a traditional craft and perhaps employing a number of craftsmen in their lodges or workshops. Of Rory himself, apart from his signed tombs, we know nothing. He had a very long life judging from the dating of his work and as he signs himself 'Son of Patrick' on the Cantwell Cross slab at Kilcooley in 1552, the Patrick who signed the Stoke slab of 1587, also at Kilcooley, may have been his son or nephew. William O'Tunney, judging from his signed slab tomb of James Purcell and Johanna Schortals in St. Canices' Cathedral, Kilkenny 1552, was contemporary with Rory, perhaps a brother. All the tangible evidence of the existence of the O'Tunney craftsmen lies in their sculptural productions and so, in order to learn anything about them, one must concentrate on their work.

Having visited all the tombs either signed by or attributed to the O'Tunney workshop, a list of this work was drawn up on the strength of my own observations concerning its authenticity as O'Tunney atelier productions. The purpose of which is to clarify, for myself as well as the viewer, the extent of the O'Tunney work and to trace its development.

LIST OF O'TUNNEY WORKRory O'Tunney

<u>Date</u>	<u>Type of Tomb</u>	<u>Deceased</u>	<u>Location</u>
1501	Tomb Slab Signed	Robert Walsh & Katherine Porter	Jerpoint Abbey Kilkenny
1526	Tomb Effigy Signed	Piers Fitzoge Butler	Kilcooley Abbey Tipperary
1528	Tomb Slab Signed	William Cantwell	Kilcooley Abbey
1532	Tomb Slab Signed	John Cantwell	Kilcooley Abbey
1541	Tomb Slab Signed	John Tobyn	Callan Co. Kilkenny
1552	Effigial Tomb Signed	John Grace	Canices' Cath. Kilkenny
15??	Effigy Remains Signed	Unknown Knight	National Museum
15??	Tomb Slab Signed	Reddemundus (Daton) and Ellena Butler	Piltown Co. Kilkenny
15??	Border remains of a Tomb Slab Signed	Unknown	Cashel Cathedral Co. Tipperary

(6)

William O'Tunney

<u>Date</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Deceased</u>	<u>Location</u>
1531	Tomb Slab Signed	Unknown	Abbeyleix Co. Laois
1552	Tomb Slab Signed	James Purcell & Johanna Schortals	St. Canice's Cathedral Kilkenny

Patrick O'Tunney

<u>Date</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Deceased</u>	<u>Location</u>
1587	Tomb Slab Signed	James Stoke & Margaret Butler	Kilcooley Abbey Co. Tipperary

OTHER WORK ATTRIBUTED TO THE O'TUNNEY ATELIER

<u>Date</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Deceased</u>	<u>Location</u>
1502	Effigial Tomb	Maelachan O'More	Abbeyleix Co. Laois
1507	Effigial Tomb	James Schortal	St. Canices' Cathedral Co. Kilkenny
1510-40?	Double Effigy Tomb	Macgillapatrik	Fertagh Co. Kilkenny
15??	Double Effigy Tomb	Purcell Family	St. John's Priory Kilkenny
15??	Tomb Surrounds	on Butler/ Fitzgerald tomb	St. Canice's Cathedral Kilkenny
1596	Female Effigy	Honorina Gras	St. Canices' Cathedral Kilkenny

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND ITS INFLUENCES ON THE O'TUNNEY ATELIER

In studying the O'Tunney Atelier, one must consider their environment and historical background as part of the many and varied influences which determined their artistic results. In order to do this properly, one must firstly understand the role of art and the artist in Medieval Society, particularly in relation to the Church, who, at this time, monopolized this area completely. The O'Tunney's work being mainly, cross slabs, and effigial tombs was bound to the religious teachings of the time.

From the very earliest days of the Christian Church the function of art, i.e. imagery in Art, was a very controversial issue. Around the fourth century A.D. it was held that

"Statues were too much like those graven images and heathern idols that were condemned in the Bible" (1)

But although all devout Christians objected to large lifelike statues, their ideas about paintings differed a good deal. Those in favour of images said that they taught the Bible to those who could neither read nor write. Pope Gregory the Great, Sixth Century A.D. said

"Painting can do for the illiterate what writing does for those who read" (2)

As a result of this controversy, art was very restricted. The story had to be told as simply and clearly as possible and anything that might divert attention from this main and sacred aim was omitted. The role of the artist was, therefore, mainly that of the illustrator though he could still add a lot of his own interpretation to the story. For this reason, the paintings of the time looked primitive and childish but this was not due to lack of skill or knowledge but

to the authority and conservationsm of the Church. Thus Christian art of the Middle Ages became a strange mixture of primitive and sophisticated methods.

This question of the proper function of Art in Churches proved of immense importance for the whole history of Europe. On this issue the Christian Churches of East and West were split. One group the "Iconoclasts", image smashers, were against all images of a religious nature. When they were in power all religious art was forbidden in the Eastern Church. But their opponents were even less in agreement with Pope Gregory the Great's ideas. To them, images were not only useful but holy. They worshipped God and the Saints through these images. When they finally came into power, paintings were no longer just illustrations but mysterious reflections of the Supernatural world. Ironically, this supposed freedom of art restricted the artist even more because the Church, placing so much importance in art, could not allow the artist to follow his fancy in these works. No natural representation of ^{the sacred images. The paintings must have sacred symbols which would stimulate} Christ or the Saints could be used to portray[^] the viewers imagination about the well known Bible stories.

This period of gradual emergence of the Church as a powerful influence in the civilized world was followed by the Dark Ages 500 - 1000 A.D., thus named because these years were filled with migration, war and upheavals. The development of Art of any form was slowed down considerably and many attempts at their revival came to nothing because of new wars and invasions. The Northern Teutonic tribes who swept through Europe, raiding and pillaging were considered barbarian. In a sense they were barbarian but this did not mean that they had no feeling for beauty or no art of their own. They brought with them skilled craftsmen experienced in

finely wrought metalwork and excellent wood carving. This art was applied to the Christian art of the monks and missionaries of Celtic Ireland and Saxon England. The most amazing results of which were the illuminated manuscripts. The representations of human figures in these manuscripts do not look like human figures at all but like strange patterns made from human forms. Folds of dress were changed into interlacing ribbons, locks of hair into scrolls and the whole face, into a rigid mask. These patterned designs were also carried into the architecture and High Crosses. Here the artist had combined the tradition of Christian symbolic representation with pagan pattern design. In the time of the O'Tunney family, even more, better preserved examples of Celtic Sculpture existed than today and as a result, their influence can be seen, quite clearly in the O'Tunney sculpture, particularly in the Saints on their tomb surrounds.

The Norman invasions from the South marked the height of the Church's reign over the various nations. For among the feudal Lords were bishops as well as nobles and they soon began to assert their power by founding Abbeys^r and Monasteries^r. The style in which these buildings were erected was of a much grander and more lavish scale than anything that came before. The Norman Churches' influence had been felt in Ireland long before the actual invasion, thanks to religious orders, such as, the Augustinians and Cistercians. At the Cistercian Abbeys^r of Holycross, Kilcooley and Jerpoint, considerable building and Stone carving was being carried out during the course of the fifteenth century and the beautiful figure and pattern sculpture of Jerpoint Cloister C.1400 must have been seen by the O'Tunney carvers.

It was France that began to decorate Church^s with sculpture, though the word 'decorate' is rather misleading, everything that belonged to the Church had its definite function and expressed a definite idea connected with the teachings of the Church. Callan, Co. Kilkenny, home of the O'Tunney atelier, was the scene of much building activity also, in the fifteenth century. The Parish Church in Callan was being rebuilt around 1460 and later, so the O'Tunneys could well have gained experience in Stonemasonry here. With this discipline of architectural carving in Church^s, influenced, in turn by the teachings of the Church, the O'Tunneys, treated decoration in their own work as being primarily functional also. Though not being purely concerned with the Church^s' religious doctrines concerning imagery, they, as craftsmen and designers, combined both their aesthetic considerations with religious criteria. Concerning their effigial tombs, their employers were lay people but none-the-less conscientious Christians or, at any rate highly influenced by what would please their Church and so increase their chances of heavenly favour! Both the O Tunneys and their employers were the products of a Society where almost all forms of art were religious in nature and so were well accustomed to ideas and images represented by the sacred symbols of the Church^s' long tradition.

The Norman style of carving tombs was more obvious in the workshops of the Dublin area and also in the work of the Ormond atelier. This may be partly due to the fact that the O'Tunneys had been, by tradition, stonemasons for many generations in Ireland and so were continuously under the influence of their National Heritage whereas many of the carvers in Dublin and Ormond workshops were not Irish



'The Good man on his death-bed' Ulm c. 1470 Woodcut.

at all but English or French. So although the O'Tunneys were naturally influenced by all the latest developments around them, these influences were not strong enough to overshadow the older influences of Celtic pattern and design.

Besides Norman influence through invasions and religion, Ireland had already experienced foreign influence through trade. So it is not too incredible to consider the idea of German prints reaching Irish ports. The invention of printing pictures preceded the printing of books by several decades and quite possibly small leaflets with images of Saints and the text of prayers, which had been printed for distribution among pilgrims and for private devotion, could easily have reached Ireland through monks or soldiers. "The Goodman on his deathbed", a wood illustration for the 'Art of dying well' printed in Ulm C.1470 ⁽³⁾ is an example of an illustration used by the Church as a picture sermon. The O'Tunneys use of scrolls for identifying Apostles on tomb surrounds could well be part of this tradition of using scrolls. The emphasis, here, is not on realism but on communicating an idea through symbolism, this is achieved by simple representation of human and animal forms. It is well to remember that in this period of history, there was much unrest and travelling in Europe and so, as a result, international exchange of ideas was a common occurrence.

ORIGINS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE TOMB EFFIGY AND ITS SURROUNDS

In the early middle ages sculptured tombs were the prerogative of Saints, then the honour was extended to abbots who might one day be canonized. Lay men continued to lie beneath modest tomb slabs, a knight's marked only by the incised representation of a sword. Such tombs continued in use right down to the middle of the thirteenth century, especially for knights of the Temple. Meanwhile Kings and great Lords were gradually assuming the right to tombs as splendid as those of a Saint or abbot. The right was first acquired by being buried in the Abbey that they had founded. Benefactors as well as founders were gradually allowed to have such tombs also, for example; Purcells in St. John's Priory, Butler family, Schortals etc., were benefactors of the Church in Kilkenny.

The practise of depicting the deceased warrior upon his tomb in the armour he had worn in his life had begun in Europe contemporaneously with the Norman invasion of Ireland and the earliest effigies remaining in Ireland are concentrated in the fertile land which fell first under the invaders control. The armour found on these tombs are all of the same general type found throughout Western Europe at this time. When the Norman conquerors of Ireland had consolidated their position in the country and the Social structure was established on a strong economic base. The Norman masters of the country, therefore, could turn to the matter of saving their souls by the current expedient of donations to Churches^e and Chapels for masses and prayers, resulting in the beautification of existing Churches^e.

and the foundation of others to satisfy the necessities of the various religious orders. The further object of perpetuating and glorifying their names and families with funeral effigies was a concomitant of this.

As war was the principal preoccupation of the nobility and knightage throughout the middle ages, changes in armour were more frequent than those of civilian dress both masculine and feminine, in which a major variation occurred every sixty years or so. For this reason, one finds more variety of dress among the armoured rather than the civilian effigies on Irish tombs. Armour was detrimental to a knight's safety and so was treated with the gravest respect. Irish military effigies can be divided into two major groups which are separated by a century long hiatus.⁽¹⁾

Period I (1200 - 1350); The first group corresponds roughly to the latter part of the period of the Norman invasion and the subsequent peak period of Anglo-Norman penetration.

Hiatus (1350 - 1450); The century after the Black Death of 1348-49 has left behind little funeral sculpture in Ireland, and this is partially due to the Native Irish revival and the concomitant dwindling of the English colony as well as by the devastating effects of the Black Death itself.

Period II (1450 - 1570); The second group developed only after the earldoms of the middle nation (Norman/Irish occupied land in Central Ireland) had sufficiently established itself and society reached its zenith in the comparatively peaceful and prosperous years of their domination. The O'Tunneys' work being mainly in the sixteenth century falls into the latter part of Period II. Their

work can be studied for many different reasons, not the least of them being;

1. Costume, fashion of the civilian upper class
2. Military Costume, record of armour and weapons
3. Heraldry, family coats of arms
4. Social, record of burial costumes, and prominent families in the area
5. Literary, knowledge of Gothic lettering and Latin
6. Religion, attitude of Church and people towards the church

In order to understand the O'Tunney work one must know a certain amount about these various areas, but being an artist and designer myself, I will be mainly concerned with the sculpture in terms of; Craftmanship, Design problem solving, Symbolism and the aesthetic results thereof.



James Schortal of Ballyliscan 1507.

O'TUNNEY EFFIGIES

The earliest effigy attributed to the O Tunney atelier is that of James Schortal of Ballylorcan dated 1507, and is standing in the north aisle of St. Canices' Cathedral, Co. Kilkenny. The figure of the deceased is clad as a knight with only the face slightly damaged.

Armour description ⁽¹⁾:-

The body defense is made up of rectangular overlapping plates. The heads of the rivets fastening the plates to the foundation of the canvas or leather are shown. Below this is seen the skirt of the habergeon. The arms are guarded by Yambraces of several plates showing the hinges. The small cowters have rondel cubitus guards and encircle the arms articulating once above and below. The gauntlets are short, the cuff and metacarpal plate of one piece, with gads over the first joints of the fingers. The clegs are completely covered, the thighs with cuisses of three hinged plates and the shins with greaves. The poleyns have scalloped borders with secondary plates, two above and two below. The feet are shod in flexible sabatons with short pointed toes and they rest on a lion. The neck and shoulders are covered by a large pisane which is similar in material to the habergeon, and pointed over the breast. There are besagews as secondary defences on the points of the shoulders. The head piece is the usual sort of bascinet, with a pointed median ridge, the greaves of the calves are ridged in similar fashion. The lower borders of the cheek-pieces of the bascinet are slightly drawn in towards the neckline, here the carver has used artistic license for design purposes for it would have been impossible to put on such a head-dress. The visor is blind and is hung low down.

The sword which is hung from a belt around the waist, has a flat down-arched cross and a small circular-headed pommel which touches the point of the pisanne. The scabbard of the sword is broken away at the Chape, which has the remains of decoration in the form of an animal with foliate tail and knot below. Upon the cushion on either side of the knight's head are two heraldic shields; 1.- The Arms of the Passion and 2.- A cross with five lions' heads caboshed. The inscription runs down the edge of the moulded border of the tomb and is continued inside the effigy area beside the gisant's right foot and around on the opposite border. The inscription reads:-

HIC JACET JACOB' SCHORTHALS ⁽²⁾
 DNS DE BALLYLORCA[N] & DE BALLY-
 KIF' ET KAT'INA WHYTE UXOR EI'
 Q' HA[N]C TU[M]BA[M] FIERIFECIT
 AN[N]O D' M° CCCC°VII P[RO]
 QUOR' & PARE[N]TIB A[N]I[M]AB'S
 C'LIBET [DICENTI ORACION] E[M]
 D[OMI]NIC[AM] ET SALUTA
 [CION]'^{ca}A[N]G[E]L[ICAM] CO-
 [N]CEDU[N]T[U]R LXXX DIES IN-
 DULG[ENCIE]

"Here lies James Schortals,
 Lord of Ballylerkin and Bally-
 keefe, and Katherine White, his
 wife, who had this tomb made in
 A.D. 1507. An indulgence of
 eighty days is granted to
 everyone who says the Lord's
 Prayer and the Hail Mary for
 their souls and the souls of
 their parents

Although not signed by Rory O'Tunney, it is safe enough to attribute this tomb to him for the Gothic type alone shows great similarities between this tomb and that of Piers Fitzoge Butler of Kilcooley, signed by Rory O'Tunney in 1526. Furthermore the way in which the lower edges of the broad angular cheek pieces of the visor are parallel with the lower edges of the Bascinet, is a typical O'Tunney characteristic. The unusual rectangular plated anima is rare, the only other example is that of Piers Fitzoge Butler mentioned above. The rondels or besagews, as is usual for O'Tunney work, are off the shoulder and facing outwards rather than upwards like the Ormond atelier's effigies. The pisane is large and impressive with eighteen rows of chain mail. The neck is unusually long for the rest of the body and this is emphasised by the numerous rows of the pisane's chainmail and the narrowness of the neck itself. Also the fact that the effigy has large shoulders, again emphasised by the concave rows of mail of the pisane, highlight these unusual proportions.

The proportions of the legs in relation to the torso are visually acceptable but the fact that the feet are extended over the lions body helps to make the legs look longer. Probably, if the shoulders were not as wide the rest of the body would not look so disproportionate, but even so, the neck still remains long. When viewing this effigy from above the head looks as if it is ready to fall off the body or rather makes one think of a knight that has been decapitated in battle and the head replaced for the carver to study. The face is partially disfigured, having no nose, so it is difficult to analyse the gisant's expression. The eyes are very stylized, and being wide open look rather bulbous, the mouth shows the minimum of expression. The overall effect being one of a sober, serious person. This brings up the question of whether the carver wished to portray the knight in

a realistic manner, judging from the overall treatment of the body and armour, it is my opinion that the O'Tunneys approached their subject from the craftsman's i.e. stonemason's point of view, with strong emphasis on architectural form and structure. They treated the body as a series of connecting solid forms such as, cylinders, spheres, cones or cubes. They were more concerned with symbolism than realism and this will become more obvious as I discuss more of their work.

As I have already stated, Rory O'Tunney treated his work in a very architectural manner but the fact also that this is a very early sample of his effigial work, could explain the unusual proportions, also the effigy would never have been viewed from above, even when being carved, it is quite possible that the carvers^x worked with the stone horizontally at hip-level so fore shortening had to be considered and when viewed while standing along side, the proportions do not seem so obviously inconsistent. Actually, the effigy is so big, that when standing along-side, it is impossible to take in the whole image all at once. The eye travels from one part of the body to another, gradually taking in each shape and detail until one can read and understand the interconnecting pieces as one whole image. There is an incredible amount of minute detail from the hinges on the leg defences to the rows of mail on the pisanes. Such attention to detail shows the artists love of fine carving as a stonemason and a chance to show ones skill in this way.

The Gothic lettering is beautifully executed, showing again their skill in carving. Although, gothic lettering is practically illegible because of the extreme stylization and elaborate decorative



Piers FitzOge Butler, Kilcooley 1526.

effect of the letters, one can see that each work has been carefully spaced and as a whole the script becomes an interesting abstract pattern. The type acts, simultaneously, as a decorative border to contain the effigy. The repetitive verticle pattern of the type is rather like a fringe bordering an invisible rug or cloth underneath the body. The way in which the carving of the effigy is treated by the sculptor is rather like a series of surface patterns, for example, the poleyns are not carved in high relief but incised onto the stone, or the anima plates, being also very two dimensional, serve more as a pattern decoration than as a body defense. As a result the effigy has become an abstract design subject rather than a naturalistic exercise in the representation of the human body, and the typography acts as an extension of the effigy and so is an integral part of the whole image.

The next O'Tunney sculpture in 'chronological' order, and also the most similar to James Schortals' tomb, is that of Piers Fitzoge Butler dated 1526. This tomb is in a niche on the gospel side of the chancel at Kilcooley Abbey, Co. Tipperary. The gisant is depicted as a knight in armour and there is no need to prove the sculptor's identity for Rory O'Tunney has inscribed his name on the tomb.

Armour description:-

As I have already mentioned, the armour of this knight bears a strong resemblance to that of James Schortal. Regrettably the face and head piece have been badly damaged but one can still see the outline of the usual type of bascinet with the low position of the visor. The neck and shoulders are covered by a pisane which meets in a point over the chest. On the points of

the shoulders are secondary defences of besagews. Like the Schortal body defence, the anima is a splinted hauberk formed by lines of overlapping plates. The lowest is deeper than the rest but still this repeated over-lapping of plates creates a uniform pattern rather like brickwork. Unlike the Schortal tomb, there are no rivets shown attaching the plates to an undergarment. The habergeon appears underneath the hauberk in four rows of linking mail, defending the upper parts of the thighs. The arms and cowters are similar to the Schortal effigy except that there are no articulating plates and the cowters form a very broad guard for the inside of the arm encircling the joint.

The gauntlets are very unusual, the cuff and half the back of the hand is formed of four ^mlawes. The lowest metacarpal plate covers the lowest joint of the thumb also. This articulates with a wide plate over the upper joints of the fingers, the lower joints and the thumb being protected by separate plates. The poleyns have scalloped upper and lower borders, secondary plates with rounded edges above and below and expanded tendon plates. The greaves are slightly keeled. Like the Schortal effigy, the sword hangs by a buckled belt from the waist, but it falls more to the side. It has the same flat down turned cross but here, the grip and pommel are broken. The arms of the deceased fall passively by his side, with the two hands resting on the hips. The fact that the gisant is not grasping his sword with his left hand, as in the case of James Schortal, gives him a more passive and quiet appearance.

Similarly, to James Schortal's tomb, the inscription is on both sides of the tomb and reads thus:-

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. HIC IACET PETRUS FILIUS JACOBI
 JUVINIS BUTHELER CU'SUIS
 PARETIB'Q'OBTT I DIE SCI
 BNDI, ABB'IS A° DO'M°CCCC°-
 XX°V I°Q[U]R AIAB P[RO] PICIET'
 DE' PAT' NR & AVE MARIA</p> | <p>Here lies, together with his
 parents, Pierce Fitzoge Butler,
 who died on the feast of St.
 Benedict, Abbot, A.D. 1526.
 On whose soul God have mercy.
 A Pater Noster and Ave Maria.</p> |
| <p>2. HIC IACET JACOBUS FILI' PETRI
 BUTLER Q' ORBIIT [date uncut]</p> | <p>Here lies James Fitz Butler,
 who died?</p> |
| <p>3. RORICUS O TUYNE SCRIPSI</p> | <p>I, Rory O Tunney carved this
 inscription</p> |
| <p>4. ...AREPUS CASS' OMIB DICEN-
 TIB' PAR' NR & AVE</p> | <p>... Archbishop of Cashel
 grants to all who say a Pater
 Noster and Ave.</p> |

There is more detail of armour in the James Schortal effigy than in the Fitz Oge Butler effigy but in the case of the latter, the armour plates, poleyns and besagews are carved in higher relief. The proportions of the Butler effigy are much more unified and it is as if the carver has developed a better knowledge of the human anatomy. This effigy has not got that same awkward appearance as in the case of the Schortal tomb, resulting from the strange proportions. Fitz Oge Butler's legs are short and so they, and the body look stout and the dimensions of the arms, being more generous than in the Schortal instance, are more successful visually.

This effigy is more plastic like the Ormond atelier's work, but still it does not lose its sense of pattern and design. The body is very solid and cylindrical in shape and this shape is divided into different patterns created by the almost identical armour plates of the anima and the perfectly executed linking mail of the pisane and habergeon. Logically enough, the sword falls more to the side because there is no left hand grasping it to keep it more upright. This passive pose of the gisant makes him look truly dead, lying eternally in state and his decomposition suspended in time.

There is more unity of form in the design of this work, which can be seen in the way each part of the effigy reflects some aspect of line or form in another. If the head had survived, one's eye would have probably been attracted to it first and then, directed down the arrow shape of the pisane towards the waist to study the contrasting lines of the anima plates and diagonally placed belt which is continued by the angle of the sword. Back again to the waist, the eyes travel down the legs to the feet. The circular shapes of the shoulder and elbow besagews are repeated in the circular secondary plates underneath the poleyns. The linear structure of the pisane is repeated in the habergeon skirt and the arrow shape of the pisane is repeated in the subtle dip of the hauberk (or anima) and habergeon between the thighs. This 'dip' helps to soften the sudden impact of the end of the habergeon and beginning of the legs. The minutely detailed linking mail of the pisane would have overpowered the sculpture completely if it was not balanced by the similarly patterned habergeon. The horizontal plates of the

gauntlets are ^{ea}reported at the feet also.

The anima having both horizontal and vertical lines, pulls the various parts of the subject together, and here, the sculptor has succeeded in using all the various design problems created by the contrasting shapes, in such a way as to compliment each other and so, create a unified structure, in which, every single piece has an important function. The Lion, on which the gisants feet are resting, is a stark contrast to the gisant, for he is in an aggressive energetic pose. He is protecting his master, with his mouth open, snarling at all the viewers. This liveliness helps to lift the quiet features of the gisants expression and add a touch of naturalism to the tomb.

Again, the Gothic lettering is of a very fine quality and acts as a decorative frame for the gisant. There are many similarities of type, design and spacing between this inscription and that of James Schortal. The way in which Rory O Tunney signs his name with a fancy 'R' show^s his flair for novelty in lettering, this same flair can be seen in the capital 'J' and 'S' on the tomb of James Schortal. The sculptor shows, through his treatment, that the typography is an important part of the tomb and that much of its impact could be lost if this lettering was omitted. Again, this tomb shows that the sculptor is more interested in the subject as a design using many surface patterns for effect, than as a natural study.



John Grace 1552

In clear contrast to the last two effigies discussed is the next example of O'Tunney sculpture, which, is also standing in the nave against the north wall of St. Canice's Cathedral, not far from the tomb of James Schortal. This is the tomb of John Grace and his wife Honorma Branach dated 1552. The deceased is clad as a knight but completely different in fashion to the previous two. The effigy has been badly damaged, having no right arm from the wrist to the elbow, no legs and no face. None-the-less, there are sufficient remains to analyse the work and so learn more about the O'Tunney atelier.

Armour Description:-

The body defense consists of eight rows of lamed plate with the linking mail habergeon showing underneath, his style of arm is much simpler in design. There is a buckled belt around the waist but only the scabbard of the sword is visible emerging from underneath the body. The arms are defended by longitudinally banded sleeves of mail, quite unique in this respect. Mufflers, fingerless mail gloves, which could be drawn over the hands, fall limply by his side, held in place by straps at his wrists. This style of hands and gloves is similar to those on the earlier effigy of the Cantwell Knight in Kilfane dated 1320. The carver could easily have used this reference, for Kilfane, being in Co. Kilkenny, was within easy travelling distance of the O'Tunney atelier.

What remains of the legs seem to have been defended like the mail chausses also banded longitudinally, having poleyns of plate

at the knees. The feet also are missing, but judging from the length of the stone mensa, the legs could not have been very long. The bascinet which is much damaged is of the usual type with the visor hung low down. The pisane protects the neck and shoulders, but has no besagews. The head rests on similar cushions to those of the Fitz Oge Butler tomb. This style of armour resembles that of the Macgillapatrik tomb at Fertagh, in some respects, for example, neither have besagews, both have mail sleeves, although the mail banding is horizontal on the Macgillapatrik effigy and both have the same narrow proportions and archaic style.

This effigy was carved by Rory O'Tunney and an inscription runs along the south edge of the slab and reads as follows;

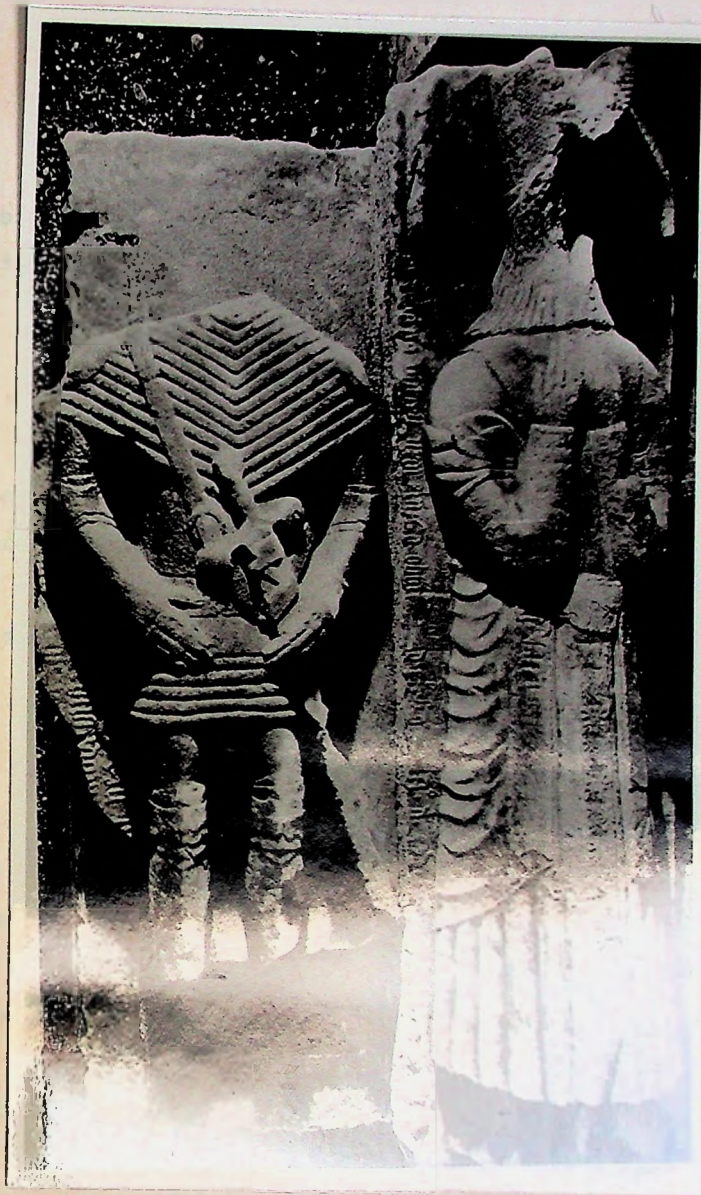
HIC JACET JOHES GRAS MILES AC	Here lies John Grace, Knight
BARO DE COURTISTOWN & ONORINA	and Baron of Courtown, and
BRENACH UX EI' A ^o DO' M ^o	Onorina Brenach, his wife,
C.CCCLII, VIII DIE ME[N]S...RORICUS	8th day of [] 1552. Rory
O TWNNE FABRICAVIT ISTAM	O Tunney made this tomb
TU[M]BAM	

Although this tomb is dated 1552, there is something very naive and primitive about its appearance, the inconspicuous position of the sword and the lack of secondary defence plates, such as besagews and cowters, give it a very passive appearance. The way in which the arms fall limply with the naked hands lying gently, palms down, give one the distinct impression of quiet and calm, may be harmlessness suits him better, for the effigy looks even more lifeless than that of Fitz Oge Butler at Kilcooley. This effect is increased by the mufflers falling limply to the sides. The proportions of the body

are consistantly slender and even the shoulders are not as broad as the usual O'Tunney dimensions, but the absence of besagews exaggerates the width of the pisane. Although the torso is very slender, the horizontal lines of the lamed hauberk help to counteract this and as a result of these eight rows of lamed plate gradually slipping off line, the hauberk slants from left to right, as does the habergeon underneath.

Whether the carver intended this or not, I wouldn't care to guess, but the effect gives the work more movement and a touch of humanity which certainly makes it more interesting. The habergeon skirt below the hauberk, as well as being slanted, does not fit the body in the usual cylindrical manner, but folds slightly, showing the return of the band underneath the legs. One may describe this as an attempt at naturalism but I would be inclined to regard it in terms of design potential awareness, for the fold has been converted through rigid stylization into a new swirling pattern which breaks the monotony, ironically enough, of the other rigidly formed rows of mail. It is a shame that the effigy is so damaged for the effect of so much linking-mail going in different directions would have been most interesting. Again, the pisane acts like an arrow, bring the eye to the waist and at the same time, the diagonal lines of the mufflars act like an arrow in the opposite direction and so brings the centre of focus to the waist again. The simplicity of the hands seems to reflect the plain shapes of the hauberk and the eyes can never rest for a second but must always follow the various directions of mail and plate.

There is less Gothic script on this tomb and this is damaged at the foot end. It is very similar to the Fitz Oge Butler tomb but



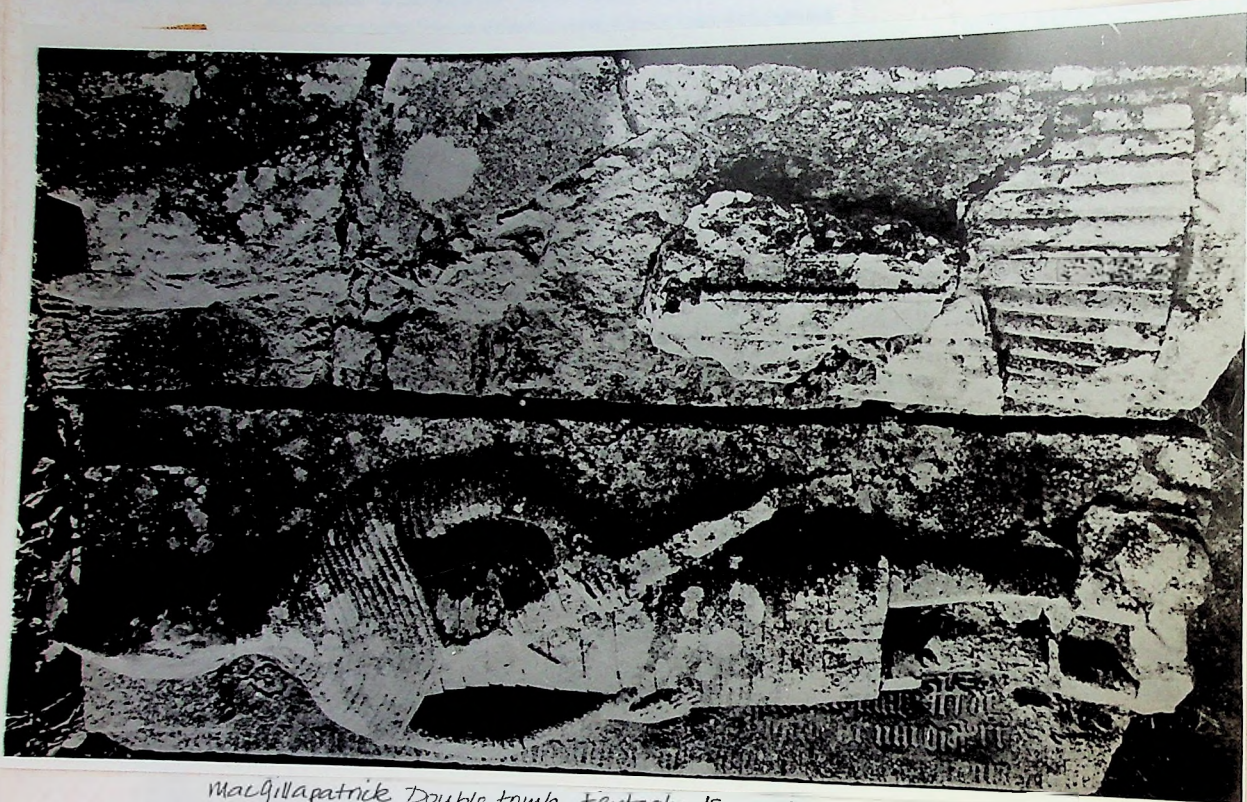
The Purcell Family Tomb, 15??

the type is shorter and so is thicker and more difficult to read, however, this does not take away from its abstract design qualities which do not depend on their legibility. The width of the stone slab itself is narrower and so the type is shorter and the effigy more slender. Possibly the shape of the piece of stone available to the carver, dictated the outcome of his design. Often this aspect of the carver's design problems is not considered and more reason, as to why it should be remembered. The resulting impression left by this image is one of a quiet, defenceless, humble figure, and ironically enough, the fact that he is clad as a knight without all the usual defences, makes him look even more innocuous than a man clad in civilian clothing. Some may regard these qualities as shortcomings resulting from strange proportions, and idiosyncratic design techniques but in my opinion, it is these obvious human touches which give the sculpture variety and an extra touch of humanity and show the beautiful sensitivity of carving in this work created by an unpretentious craftsman, proud of his trade.

As well as there being only two signed effigial tombs by Rory O'Tunney, there are also only two double mensa i.e. double effigy tombs attributed to the O'Tunney atelier.

1. The MacGillapatrik double tomb in Fertagh, Co. Kilkenny. 1510-1540
2. The Purcell family double tomb in St. John's Priory, Kilkenny. 15??

This study is only concerned with the second tomb, but will from time to time refer to the first for references and comparisons. The Purcell tomb occupies a niche in the north wall of the ruined chancel, now behind the present church, popularly known as the 'Lantern of Ireland'.



MacGillapatrick Double tomb Fervagh 1510-1540.

Maclachan O'More Abbeylax 1502.



This tomb is a double alter tomb and the knight and Lady are on separate slabs. The knights head and feet are missing and the Lady's face is damaged, and they have both suffered from the weather.

Armour description:-

The knight is represented in the usual type of armour with a few minor differences. The trunk is protected by five rows of lamed plate, the skirt of the habergeon appearing beneath. The arms are covered in plate and the cowters are smaller than the usual Kilkenny type with articulating plates above and below. The gauntlets have short tight cuffs which are similar to both the MacGillapatrik double tomb in Fertagh and the single effigy of Maelachan O More of Abbeyleix dated 1502, which has also been attributed by E.C. Rae⁽³⁾ to the O'Tunney atelier. The wife of Brian MacGillapatrik, buried in the MacGillapatrik tomb with his father John, was a sister of Maelachan O More, Lord of Leix, so there could easily be a connection between the two tombs. The sword grasp of the left hands, the strap arrangement of the belts and the style of cross, grip and pommel are all incredibly similar but different to other O'Tunney work. Possibly William O'Tunney, who had done work at Abbeyleix, either carved the Lord of Leix tomb or was influenced by it in doing the Fertagh tomb. It is impossible to know for certain owing to the fact that so little information remains, but regardless of whether William O'Tunney carved these tombs or not, they are very closely connected to the O'Tunney atelier and therefore important in themselves.

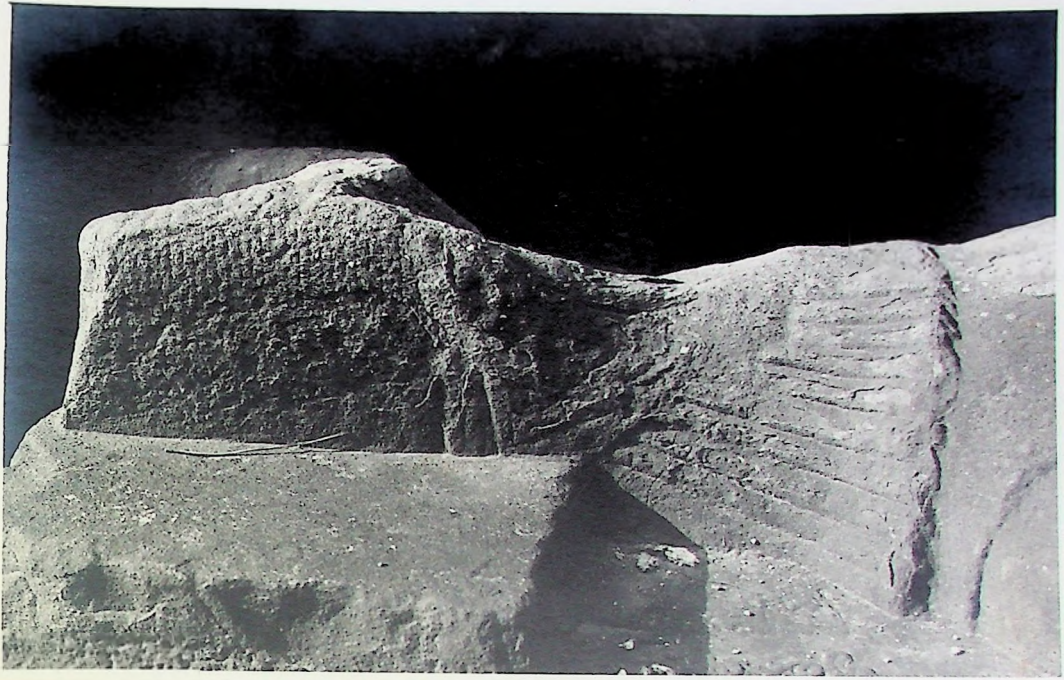


Detail of Purcell Family Tomb. 1510-1540.

The leg defences of the Purcell Knight are narrow and more elegant than the usual. The poleyns are simple in outline, articulating twice above and below. The neck and shoulders are protected by a broad pisane, characteristic of the O'Tunney style. The besagews on the points of the shoulders are small, as in the O More tomb, and are positioned on the side of the shoulders, as is typical of O'Tunney effigies. The sword is suspended from a belt which hangs over the gisants right shoulder, as at Gowran on the double mensa tomb of the two unknown knights, though there the likeness ends. The hilt of the sword has a drooping cross with very large and totally impractical disc-like terminations below a small oval-shaped pommel.

The carvers attitude to his work is that of the stonemason, rather than the fine artist striving for naturalism. The way in which the mail is delicately carved shows his love of his material and craft. This technique adds another dimension to the overall image of the effigy, one of texture, this effect is quite incongruous when one considers the hard black granite that is used, the minute textured pattern of the mail breaks up the plain surface of the sculpture and softens the stone.

The centre of focus seems to be somewhere around the hilt of the big awkward sword, the strap of which creates a diagonal from the gisants right-hand shoulder to the left-hand side of the left leg. The position of the gauntleted hands with palms down on hips is similar to the Schortal tomb, as well as the other two mentioned above. Another feature similar to the Schortal tomb is the manner



Detail of Ladies head of Purcell Tomb.

in which the skirt of the habergeon falls in a fold on either side of the thighs. The fold here, is even more stylized and contrasts quite comically with the rigid horizontally banded chain mail of the habergeon. The resulting impression of this effigy is one of extreme rigidity and stylization. This knight is much more solid and imposing than the effigy of John Grace, he has not got that same sensitivity of carving, and seems more confident and uncompromising in his pose, for this reason, one is less drawn to him. His treatment is rather predictable in style and does not have the same interesting human touches of the John Grace tomb or the clever graceful design of the Butler tomb at Kilcooley.

Although, the female effigy on the MacGillapatrik tomb in Fertagh is very damaged, one can still see certain similarities of dress between this female and Johanna Purcell at St. John's Priory but it is impossible to prove this conclusively. The head-dresses of both are very formalized in shape and both wear a barbe over the neck as a symbol of their widowhood. The Purcell lady wears a long gown with tubular folds and a V-neck. The tight sleeves are buttoned, probably, to the shoulder but this fact is hidden by the mantle thrown back off the shoulders and covering the upper part of the arms. The pattern of the sleeves are much worn but can be just (see pg. 32) about deciphered as spirals or circles, rather reminiscent of celtic pattern. This pattern is also like the spirals on the girdle of the MacGillapatrik Lady at Fertagh. The gown is belted with a wide girdle ornamented with quatrefoils, this design can also be seen in Ormond work. Her head-dress is heart shaped and the central kerchief decorated with foliage, below which falls the finely pleated barbe, very rigid and regular from chin to collarbone.

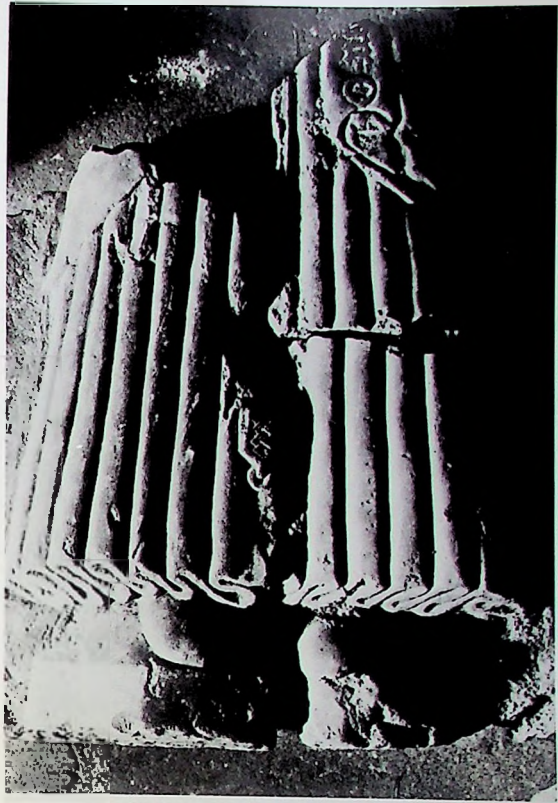
of the hands in prayerful attitude and the vertical girdle down the centre and there is more vertical than horizontal direction in the overall design of the figure. This is due to the upright head-dress, vertical pleated barbe, upturned lower arms, girdle and finally the tubular folds of the gown being vertical even the fingers repeat the shape of the barbe pleats. This effect tends to elongate and slenderize the figure which is big and solid-looking. The mantle draped over the shoulders adds another direction to the rather vertical image and so softens the effect, at the same time the mantle helps to draw together 'visually' the tubular folds of the gown.

The upward curving folds of the mantle bring the emphasis to the waist where the eye can study the lovely girdle particularly the big simply-shaped knot which is even more stylized in design than that of Honorina Grace in Canices. This circular knot is more in keeping with the spiral design on the sleeves of the gown. The tightly buttoned sleeves are quite unique in this area and the nearest reference I found to them was in earlier work nearer Dublin. Also the actual positioning of the hands is more akin to the Thurles and Dublin sculptors than to the Ormond atelier. The palms are lying flat on her chest with the little fingers first touching whereas the Ormonds carve the hands more raised and so are more like the conventional attitudes of prayer, *see overleaf*.

The barbe exaggerates the long neck and this shape is complemented by the upright head-dress and although the face has practically disappeared, one can still see its outline on the right hand side, which shows that it must have been very small and probably

of the same proportions as the Lady at Fertagh. The carver was obviously not concerned with showing the deceased's identity through accurate portraiture, that was the primary function of the inscription, also having treated the body in such a symbolic formalized manner, a naturalistic head would have looked totally incongruous and jarring in contrast. In terms of naturalistic representation this sculpture falls far short of the other examples but in terms of graphic expression it succeeds. The two effigies, although the same size and having the same period of clothing, do not look very well together, this is probably due to the fact that they were carved individually, they are both too stiff and inflexible to compliment each other, which is unfortunate for this is an important aspect in the designing of double mensa tombs and should not be overlooked. For a relatively late piece of work this sculpture is rather plain and formal in design so I don't think it was done by one of the immediate O'Tunney family, but perhaps by one of their apprentices in the atelier, for it does show all the O'Tunney characteristics but without the usual O'Tunney flair for imaginative design and variety.

The final effigy, to be discussed, is the only single female effigy attributed to the O'Tunney atelier which has survived in fact. There is a fragment of a female effigy in the National Museum very similar to O'Tunney work but there is so little remaining, only the tubular folding from about the knee down to the feet, that it is almost useless to use in comparison. The effigy for discussion is that of Honorina Grace dated c. 1596 and is now standing in St. Canice's Cathedral against the south wall of the south aisle. The



Above Lady fragment National Museum.

Honorina Grace 1596.

effigy is carved in high relief and except for a damaged nose, the effigy is in very good condition.

Clothing description:-

The Lady is shown as a very formalized figure. Her robe falls in tubular folds to her tiny feet, which rest on a primitive socle. Her robe is formed in a barrel shape which is continued by the socle. Her hands rest on her chest, and are joined in prayer, touching only at the tips of the fingers. The Kirtle protrudes from underneath the very full poke sleeves of her robe. There are five rings on her fingers, distributed at random between her two hands, there is a ring on her thumb also. The 'poke' sleeves of her robe have a border of about one inch in thickness which meets in a point underneath the wrist and there is the same style border around the neck of the garment meeting in a V-shape at the chest. Her throat is covered by a stylized barbe which falls from an acutely turreted head-dress.

There is much repetition of angular shapes i.e. the pointed sleeve and collar borders and the diamond-like pattern of the barbe. This harmonizes the various shapes in the dress. The treatment of this figure is very pattern-like and mathematical. The vertical folds of the robe exaggerate the perspective when viewed from either end. The turreted head-dress, extremely stylized in design, has reticulated sides and a kerchief is shown between the points. The face, which is very small like that of Johanna Purcell in St. John's Priory, is very simple in representation and the open eyes look bulbous. It is treated with the minimum amount of detail, the sculptor being very

economical with the expression as if the face was no more important than any other part of the figure design. This simple face does not weaken the image for it is the powerful, dynamic impression left by the tubular folded robe and the intricately carved head-dress that give the figure her identity. And had the face been more realistic, it would not have contrasted so well with all the other parts of the structure.

The Lady has a buckled belt around her waist, the girdle of which, is ornamented with quatrefoils. As the robe is only slightly narrow at the waist, the purpose of the belt seems to be that of the optical illusion. Having the horizontal line of the belt at the waist makes one imagine a tension between it and the robe's folds but if one looks carefully, one can see that the tubular folds do, in fact, fall straight down uninterrupted. For this reason, the solidity of the gown is exaggerated by the belt which sits on top of the garment without any impression of weight. Its presence is purely symbolic and this gives it a surrealist quality. Because the belt does not have its usual conventional function but acts as purely ornamental here, it has a strange presence all its own and somewhat disquieting. This 'surrealist' belt falls vertically to about two inches short of the end of the robe and there is an interesting little celtic design of two interlacing circles, between the last quatrefoil and the three inch pattern which terminates the belt. Perhaps the carver was bored by the repeated pattern of quatrefoils and amused himself with this little addition. The style of folds at the foot of the dress are similar in stylization to those found in the Book of Kells but this style is universal and can be traced back to Byzantine symbolism.



Butler Tomb, Canice's Cathedral.
Ormond Artists.

Richard Butler, Viscount Mountjaret
1571.

The inscription which runs along one side of the tomb in the usual O'Tunney manner, reads as follows:-

HIC LACET HONORINA GRAS
FILIA JOHIS GRACE MILITIS AC
QUONDAM UXOR OLIVERI
SHORTALL DNI DE BALLILORCAN
Q OBIT 6DIE MESIS DECEMBER
AD.MCCCCC96

Here lies Honorina Grace,
daughter of John Grace, knight
and formerly wife of Oliver
Shortall, Lord of Ballylorcan,
who died 6th December 1596

For some strange reason the 96 of the date is inscribed in arabic rather than the roman numerals LXC. The date is carved in exactly the same style as the lettering on the Purcell tomb, but unfortunately their date has been destroyed. The only other effigy which uses the arabic numerals in similar fashion, is that of Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarret 1571 and this tomb stands near Honorina Grace's in St. Canice's Cathedral. The stylized form, bulbous eyes, stylized body proportions and similar stone finish connects these two effigies but the inscription on the Butler tomb uses different roman capitals mixed in with the Gothic type which is puzzling. This tomb has also been attributed to the O'Tunney atelier, but there are many contradictions in its style, for example, on the one hand the besagews at the side and parallel lower edges of the bascinet and visor point to O'Tunney influences. But on the other hand the more robust stout shape, unusual armour 'after the manner of England' and the distinct dip of the larned plate habergeon at the fork of the legs show the Ormond atelier's influence. The only conclusion I can come to is that an O'Tunney did some journey work in Dublin or England, or else a journeyman from foreign parts left his



Oskar Schlemmer

mark on the O'Tunney atelier. However, this connection cannot help in the aesthetic analysis of Honorina Grace's tomb.

I find the proportions of this effigy visually interesting, in terms of abstract design. Although the head is dwarfed by the immense proportions of the body, especially the huge rounded shoulders, the large turreted head-dress balances this out. There is a distinct harmony within the sculpture, the twin-turreted head-dress is balanced by the praying hands and the sweep of the curved tubular sleeves creates a circular motion which travels through the sleeves, up the V-neck collar and down through the hands and back again to the sleeves. This movement divides the effigy in half at the waist, but the massive folds of the gown and the detail of the decorated girdle attracts the eye away from all that activity. The carving tubular sleeves by contrasting dramatically with the vertical folds of the robe gives the figure a dynamic inner force, which is ironic when one considers the very rigid and formalized treatment of the figure. This dynamism gives the effigy an abstract feeling, which is like the sculpture of Oskar Schlemmer or even Henry Moore. The only difference being that they approach their work from the other direction. The medieval sculptor, has not been influenced by the sophisticated imagery of modern technology, so he does not have to purify his vision, to achieve a simple result. Whereas the modern-day sculptor must work back from his sophisticated visualizing and ^{the} purify of design which makes this effigy so attractive and gives it a presence which transcends all criticism by modern day criteria.



Virgin Mary & Child 1501.

O TUNNEY TOMB SURROUNDS

Originally tomb surrounds were monks acting symbolically as pall-bearers for the deceased, carrying him to his final resting place. The subsequent use of Apostles was a natural progression, considering that they have always figured predominantly in Church art whether it was a Romanesque apse or a Gothic Roadscreen. This practice of decorating the surrounds of tombs with mourners or weepers, as they are also known, became common in England and on the continent by the thirteenth century and presumably many of the earlier Irish tombs were similarly decorated. Unfortunately only a fragment of an early tomb surround in Athassel Priory remains today. However, the story is not the same with regards to the second period for there is a variety of examples remaining, in which the O'Tunney atelier features quite predominantly.

JERPOINT ABBEY

The earliest example of tomb surrounds signed by Rory O'Tunney is the After-tomb of Walter Brenach and Katherine Ponter dated 1501. These tomb surrounds do not take the usual form of Apostles set in niches and on the long south panel, the Virgin Mary is depicted with a lily in her right hand and the Baby Jesus sitting on her left knee. She is framed by a little niche but there are no colonettes defining it. The four rows of Gothic script, set on ribbon-like strips of moulding with the top row running in and out of Mary's niche behind her head, take up practically the whole side of the tomb. The use

of the ribbon-like band is quite ingenious in design as the stylized folds on the returns, become arrows and the last fold, being near the bottom right-hand corner of the panel, is square shaped.

Mary is seated on a chair, similar in type to those used in early European paintings of the Madonna. Being almost two-dimensional, she looks as if she is sitting on the edge of the chair. Unfortunately her face and that of Jesus are damaged, none-the-less one can still see that Christ is making a sign of blessing with his right hand. He too, being rather two-dimensional, looks as if he is slipping off Mary's lap but the remains of her left hand under his left arm, holds him in place and helps to counteract this. The lily in her right hand balances with the Baby on her left. Mary wears the usual type of gown, with the folds falling in a pattern reminiscent of celtic art, whereas the crown on her head, made up of vine-like leaves, is distinctly medieval in style. Her hair is very simply carved like waves of rope swirling down her back and acting as a background textured pattern to enframe both herself and the child. These waves of hair draw this attention to her shoulders and the child. Both the child and the lily stand out as being important symbols, signifying the Virgin Mary and Mother of Christ.

On the west end of the Alter-tomb is a very simple Crucifixion scene without the usual mourners, Mary and John, standing at either side of the cross. This omission of the two makes the panel look rather bare, but at the same time, the image of the Crucifixion is very strong and takes up most of the panel. The size and thickness of the cross itself is in direct proportion to the moulding on either

side. Because the arms of the cross are extended right out to the edges and the upright also, touches the top and bottom of the panel, the image is not lost somewhere in the centre, as Ormond carver's crucifixions are inclined to be. This simplified crucifixion, which has been reduced to the clearest symbols, has more power of presence than many of the more sophisticated versions of its contemporaries. One notices the big expressive hands, which make no attempt at showing pain, there is no need for everybody to know the drama of the crucifixion, and this symbol was only necessary to stimulate the imagination and so remind one of that which it represented. The over-sized loin cloth, jutting out on either side of the body is typical of O'Tunney work and helps to give some bulk to the small body of Christ, otherwise, he would have been completely dwarfed by the broad cross. The fold styling in the loin cloth is similar in treatment to the draped mantle of Johanna Purcell at St. John's Priory.

Here, the O'Tunneys show their strong emphasis on linking forms with the help of fold directions. The loin cloth, for example, is folded in such a way, that there is a continuous line of movement from the bottom left-hand fold up through the knot and down through the right-hand fold. By exaggerating the size of the cloth, the sculptor has lifted the rather stiff and lifeless image of Christ and given Him more movement. Similarly, if there had been no such loin cloth, the arms of the cross would have completely overpowered the image of Christ, as it is the protruding loin cloth softens the contrast between the narrow vertical and broad horizontal rectangles of the cross.



Side panel of tomb in South Chapel of North Transept.

There is little or no attempt at naturalism here, beyond the inclination of the head and the bended knees. But these touches do not give one the impression that the head is falling because of weight pressure nor do the bended knees look weak because of the heavy body, they are all parts of the symbolic pose of how Christ should look, and the medieval audience understood such symbols. Attempts at naturalism would only have distracted one's attention from the sacred 'idea' of the crucifixion and thus would have been destructive in the design. In this panel the O'Tunneys show the pure, unpretentious power of symbolic representation which combines the idea they wish to communicate with their own attempts at individual expressionism without jeopardizing this idea.

Nearby, in the south chapel of the north transcript are more tomb surrounds and although there is an inconsistency in the design there is no doubt that they are from the O'Tunney atelier. On the side panel are three figures framed in circular headed niches with plain flat colonettes separated by two panels of intricately carved foliage. The figures from left to right are:-

1. Saint Matthias with a corkscrew-like scourge;
2. Saint Thaddeus, with a cross-staff and book;
3. Saint Matthew, with a reversed knife and scroll;

The tradition was that the apostles were portrayed with the symbols of their employment during life of their martyrdom. These three figures are very stylized in design and were probably carved before the 1501 tomb of Walter Branach and Katherine Pohter. These

figures could well be among the O'Tunney's first attempts at portraying apostles. Although the treatment of the hair is extremely formal and at first all the apostles look the same, in actual fact, they are all different as a result of subtle changes in the grain of the hair, curves of the beards and shapes of the heads. The manner in which St. Thaddeus' beard curls flat towards the end is reminiscent of celtic art and rather like the saints in the Book of Kells. The fold pattern of the clothes, also shows celtic influence, but because the folds seem to meet clumsily in the centre and are awkward when changing direction, shows that the carver had not yet achieved the standard of his later work. His design solution is not graceful like the folds of the Virgin Mary's robe on the Branach tomb. As a result of this shortcoming, I find the image unsatisfactory. A decisive centre of focus is missing, which would have helped to unify the figure and because of this deficiency, the power of attraction is weakened. One is more aware of the carvers design problems than of the important image portrayed of the apostle.

All the apostles have big expressive hands except for St. Mathias whose left hand looks a bit mean whereas the positioning of St. Thaddeus' right hand holding the book, centred directly in line with his curling beard, looks totally relaxed and perfectly placed. One gets the distinct impression that the carvers knowledge and use of proportions in design improved as he worked from left to right. In later O'Tunney work one does not see the same imbalance created by the heavy fold of the mantel and the scourge being on the right-hand side of St. Matthias. The scroll



End panel of tomb in South Chapel of North Transept.

held in St. Matthew's right-hand is rather obscured by the folds of his robe and does not read very clearly. One can see that the carver has yet to find a satisfactory solution for his design problems.

None-the-less the apostles do have a certain charm in their clear, simple representation which makes them easily recognisable. The proportions of the apostles in relation to their niches is well thought out and one can see that they were designed for each other. The circular-headed niches complement the circular heads of the apostles and so act as a natural framing device. The vertical panels of foliage are exactly half the width of the niche, if they had been any bigger, they would probably have upset the successful balance between the intricate, contrasting foliage and rather plain and rigid figures.

On the end panel of this tomb are three figures that contrast strongly with the apostles just discussed. They are housed in similar niches but without the intervening panels of decoration. The three figures from left to right are:-

1. St. Catherine, with a small wheel in her right hand, a sword in her left and the remains of a crown on her head.
2. St. Michael, is winged, and carries the soul of the deceased man in a napkin hanging over his lower arms.
3. St. Margaret, also crowned, has a cross-staff thrust into the mouth of a dragon at her feet and is holding a book in her left hand.

These figures are most unlike those on the side panel, the shape of their faces, style of hair and crowns are more developed and resemble the Virgin on the Branach/Pohter tomb. The style of carving is much more confident and this can be clearly seen in the treatment of the clothing. St. Catherine has a very elaborate and unusual collar falling down on her shoulders as far as the pommel of her sword. The shape of the pommel reflects the shape of the collar and the blade of the sword acts as the centre fold of her gown, between her feet. The lefthand has beautiful long and graceful fingers which balances well with the pattern of the hair and also points towards the wheel which is partially hidden behind her gown. There is great activity within the figure because of the interaction between the varied folds of the robe, the wavy hair, expressive hands and martyr symbols. The result of which is that they all merge together to form an abstract pattern. It would seem that the carver was carried away by his love of carving and pattern-making. As a result the symbols, i.e. the wheel and sword, are weakened by this complicated inter-play of shapes. The distinct shape of the wheel helps to save it from obscurity but the sword would have been completely lost in the folds were it not for the big hand holding it in place. The carver has paid more attention to the pattern potential of his figures, rather than considering the portrayal of their identities.

St. Michael, on the other hand, is much less complicated, having the minimum of folds. Here the carver has paid more attention to the effect of the fold pattern in highlighting rather than obscuring the symbols. The centre of attraction is the little foetal-

like, soul of the deceased, sitting in the folds of the cloth. The composition of St. Michael is used cleverly to emphasize the little figure. The upper part of the wings curving down to the shoulders and the V-neck collar point towards the hands clasped in an attitude of prayer, which in turn acts as a roof for the soul. The curve of the cloth over the upper arms continues down through the folds of the napkin containing the little figure. Every shape and line is used to create a harmony within the figure. Even the celtic like folds at the feet, by gradually narrowing towards the centre, lead the eye back to the important figure of the soul. This figure itself, is in the same pose as St. Michael and although it is much simplified, it is like a small mirror reflection of St. Michael. Similarly the folds falling over the elbows help to draw the almost vertical rows of feathers in towards the body. St. Michael is an example of a very satisfactory solution to a difficult design problem and this figure shows the carvers good design sense at its best.

St. Margaret, like St. Catherine, has an immense variety of convex and concave folds in her clothing, which are inclined to detract from the visual impact of the symbols. The dragon's head could well have been part of her gown's folds and is distinguishable only by the eye and unmistakable staff in his mouth. Because her skirt folds lean towards the staff, as do the folds of her mantle, she looks as if she is being supported by it and this creates a slight imbalance within the niche. This accident or deliberate act adds a touch of humanity to the figure which gives it character and so makes it memorable.

The straight ropes of hair on her right shoulder draw the eye towards the staff, at the same time the fingers on her right hand point back in to the centre of the body and so draw the staff closer to it visually. The lower right arm functions in the same way bringing attention to the waistbelt which acts as the centre of focus of the figure. There is a continuous circular motion in the upper half of the body which moves through the right to the left arm, up through the hair and head and down again to the right hand. This creates a dynamic force within the figure which never allows the eye to rest in one spot for long. The elaborate fold pattern enveloping the feet helps to attract attention to the lower part of the figure and so prevents it from being overpowered by the circular motion of the upper part.

At first many of the folds in the design seemed superfluous and fussy but on closer analysis one finds that by removing or simplifying any of these folds, the balance within the design would have been upset. Even the typically celtic brooch adds an individual touch to the figure while simultaneously balancing and complimenting the fold patterns at her feet. The one main weakness within these figures is the weakening of the symbols through a lot of attention been given to the pattern potentiality of the clothing. The original function of the weepers was to represent the apostles as clearly as possible but the sculptors obviously couldn't resist the temptation of putting their own powers of design and skill of carving to use. Through their distinctive treatment of folds and little details i.e. brooches, hair styles and hands, they have created an almost abstract design pattern



End Panel of tomb in North Chapel of North Transept.

using the apostles as their original reference. Although, the carvers changed the criteria of the niche designs, the results are, in many ways, improved and definitely more interesting.

The difference between the apostles and saints on these two panels of the same tomb are quite a mystery and unfortunately because of the lack of historical background, one cannot be sure of their origins. Whether these panels are from two different tombs or two different people worked on the same tomb is unknown. At any rate both these panels are, without a doubt, from the O'Tunney atelier and that is the most important fact.

The final tomb surrounds from Jerpoint Abbey can be found in the North chapel of the north transept. These are on two parts of a tomb chest and carved with a series of niches containing figures of apostles. The slab at the head of the tomb contains figures of:-

1. St. Peter, holding two large keys in his right hand and a book in his left.
2. St. Andrew, holding a large saltire cross in front of him and wearing a brooch identical to that worn by St. Margaret above.
3. St. James Major, slightly damaged, holding a pilgrim's staff in his left hand, wearing a pilgrim's hat decorated with a cockle shell in front and holding a book in his right hand.

These apostles are very similar to those on the end panel of the last tomb discussed except that here, the niches have ogee-headed arches rather than the circular-headed variety.

Again these apostles show the carver's love of intricate fold designs, particularly in the case of St. Andrew and St. James Major. The large keys of St. Peter with intertwining handles are an O'Tunney Motif and because of their size they stand out clearly, unrivalled by the complicated fold patterns of the clothing. The hair and beard of St. Peter is very stylized, using a repeated curl-spiral pattern to make up the tonsure and the beard is like a more elaborate version of St. Thaddeus' on the tomb chest in the south chapel. Also the clasp holding the cloak together is similar to that of St. Matthew. Although this figure is more elaborate and developed than the apostles already discussed, the basic format is the same, for example, St. Matthias holds his twisted scourge in his right hand and a book in his left, like St. Peter. On this panel St. Peter has the simplest fold pattern of the three and his hands are beautifully designed. The right hand clasping the keys just beneath the heavy opening mechanism, looks powerful and has a presence all its own. One's eyes are continuously attracted to the keys and there is a circular motion between the keys and the inward curve of the large mantle over the right shoulder and despite the diagonal movement from the top of the keys down through the folds of the left hand and book, the figure is slightly one-side on St. Peter's right. Strangely enough, this imbalance does not take away from the overall image because the row of vertical folds balance and repeat the shape of the keys and so bind them together. There is just enough weight on the side of the keys to emphasize their importance and communicate their significance.

Because St. Andrew has such a large saltire cross, the use of a

very elaborate and abstract fold pattern does not over power its image. The arms of the cross act as two diagonal bisectors of the square area of the niche and so the apostle is divided into four parts. Immediately the eye is drawn in towards the centre by these arms to the bolt at the centre of focus and the little brooch directly above this, acts like an attracting mark or star for this point. Thus the brooch has an aesthetic as well as a practical function. The head peers out of the niche directly above the centre of the cross and in line with the complicated folds at the feet, which balance well with the apostle's face and stylized beard. The feet also balance with the hands. The lower triangular area created by the cross makes an interesting abstract pattern in itself. Each division is designed in such a way that it could survive as a separate unit. Even the upper triangle containing the ogee arch that frames the head beautifully, could survive separately without destroying its design qualities. Here is a fine example of how the figures and symbols have been designed in relation to the size and shape of the niche, actually they fit so well together that it is hard to imagine which came first, the niche or the contents. These figures at Jerpoint are the most three-dimensional of all the O Tunneys' tomb surrounds and for that reason are especially interesting.

Of these three figures, St. James Major is the least satisfactory. The first thing one notices when regarding this figure is the design of the folds out of which, emerges the hands and book. The repetition of sweeping curves down his right hand side, continually pushes the emphasis to his left. The long hair and beard of spiral curls gives

the face a strong imposing presence and so attracts attention to James Major's important identifying symbol i.e. his pilgrims hat. His serious face contrasts with the rather frivolous treatment of the clothing. All three of the apostles stare out with grave expressions exaggerated by their long falls, but only St. James Major looks unfriendly and formidable. This is probably due to his nose being missing.

As I've already stated, the curves of his cloak lead the eye towards his staff but this movement is momentarily broken by the fold over his left shoulder and travelling in a circular motion to the head, and down again to his right shoulder and arm. His right hand acts as a bridge between these two folds and the hand is like an extension of the folds, continuing the circular movement. When looking at the figures, the eye can never stop for a moment, but must always move with the folds. One is consciously aware of the subtle manipulation of the fold designs, by the carver, in order to give the image a sense of harmony, through well balanced contrasts of space, form and line.

The panel works extremely well when taken as a whole, for care has been taken to balance St. Peter's keys with St. James Major's staff and St. Andrew, with his diagonally centred cross, creates a natural division between the two. It is obvious that they were designed together rather than individually and so make for a more successful panel than the earlier side panel of apostles or the St. Michael panel on the last tomb. The heads of the figures fit comfortably into their ogee-niches, particularly St. James Major



Side Panel of tomb in North Chapel of North transept.

because of the shape of his hat. The spandrels decorated with gothic type foliage make an interesting contrast to the Celtic influenced figures, and this use of two distinctly different styles complement each other and help to keep a balance, which would have been upset if celtic interlacing had been used in the spandrels also. As it is, the carver, through his skillful almost inherent sense of pattern and design, has blended two different styles with interesting and successful results.

On the other side of this tomb chest are six apostles housed in similar niches. These figures are, from left to right:-

1. St. John, slightly damaged, cleanshaven, holding a chalice with the Holy Lamb rising out of it.
2. St. Thomas, holds a spear in his right hand and a banderole in his left.
3. St. James Minor, holds a downturned saw in his right hand and a book in his left.
4. St. Philip holds five loaves in his left hand protected by his right.
5. St. Bartholomew has a fleshers knife in his right hand and a book in his left.
6. St. Simon has a book in his right hand and a sparth in his left.

The first thing that one notices, when studying this panel, is that the garment folds are more simplified and secondly that there is more accent on the hands and faces than in the previous work. The head of St. John is so unmistakably like that of St. Michael on the other panel, that one can quite safely attribute them to the same artist. Again, the sculptor has paid minute

attention to the manner in which clothing and hands can be used to ⁽¹⁾emphasize the symbols of identity and (2) link up and unify the various areas of the figure. In the case of St. John, both hands are placed down the centre of the body in line with the head and circular-patterned folds at the feet. The zig-zag pattern of his cloak becomes two natural arrows drawing attention to the right hand in a sign of blessing and the left holding the chalice. The lower part of the right arm and its elbow, now damaged, would probably have created the same effect.

The diagonal position of St. Thomas' spear balanced by the diagonal folds falling from his left shoulder are reminiscent of the effect achieved by the saltire cross in St. Andrew's niche. The banderole sweeping around behind his head, bringing together the head, shoulders and spear top, is a far cry from the stiff scroll used in the case of the earlier St. Matthew. There is much more dynamic movement here because of the sweeping motion of the banderole complemented by the folds of the cloak. This gives the figure life and energy, through the clever use of contrasting shapes, for example, the ogee-headed niche and circular banderole, and the straight spear and curvaceous folds. Each apostle has been treated in similar fashion, exploiting the design possibilities to their full potential. St. James Minor's large impressive face, by balancing with the delicate folds at his feet, does not become top-heavy. The flesher's knife in St. Bartholomew's right hand does not over-balance his body because of its plain surface and particularly because the curve of the blade is cleverly fitted into the ogee-arch and so

the contrast is minimalized. Even in the case of St. Simon, the problem of being one-sided because of the large sparth is solved by giving the cloak plenty of weight on his right side.

By special preference, I have left St. Philip last. His beautifully designed hands immediatly attract the eye and there is a continuous flow of energy through them, while they guard the important loaves. The position and shape of the hands are balanced by the head and the elaborate, abstract folds at the feet, which in turn reflect the graceful line of the hands and fingers. The problem of portraying the rather uninteresting shape of the loaves which don't lend themselves to enlarging has been ingeniously solved by using the hands as the attracting device and so they become an indispensable part of the symbol. This emphasized even more by all the lines in the clothing converging on the hands. The hands and loaves, being designed for each other, become one symbol. This symbol is an example of the carvers skill at graphic design which compares well^{with} graphic symbols today.

In this panel, the sculptor has treated all the niches as part of a larger design. Through the careful positioning of symbols, hands and folds, he has succeeded in linking all the niches together. St. John's right hand points to St. Thomas' spear which in turn meets with St. James Minor's saw, at the foot of their niches. St. Philip is the most self-contained of all the apostles, but still the strong movement in the folds of the garment link him with St.

James Minor and Bartholomew. Finally the knife of St. Bartholomew is balanced by St. Simon's sparth. Comparing these surrounds with those of the Ormond atelier, one can see that it is not enough to use the repeated pattern of the ogee-headed niches. to create a sense of harmony in the panel. Special attention must be given to the inner relationship between the figures or else the repeating pattern of the niches only highlights this deficiency.

Because the Ormond Atelier paid more attention to the realism of their figures and so neglected ^{the} unifying design possibilities of them, their figures seem to float uncomfortably within the niche in an upsetting manner. The different foliage patterns in the spandrels shows the O Tunney carvers' use of variety, not always resorting to the most predictable and obvious design solutions.

James Schortal

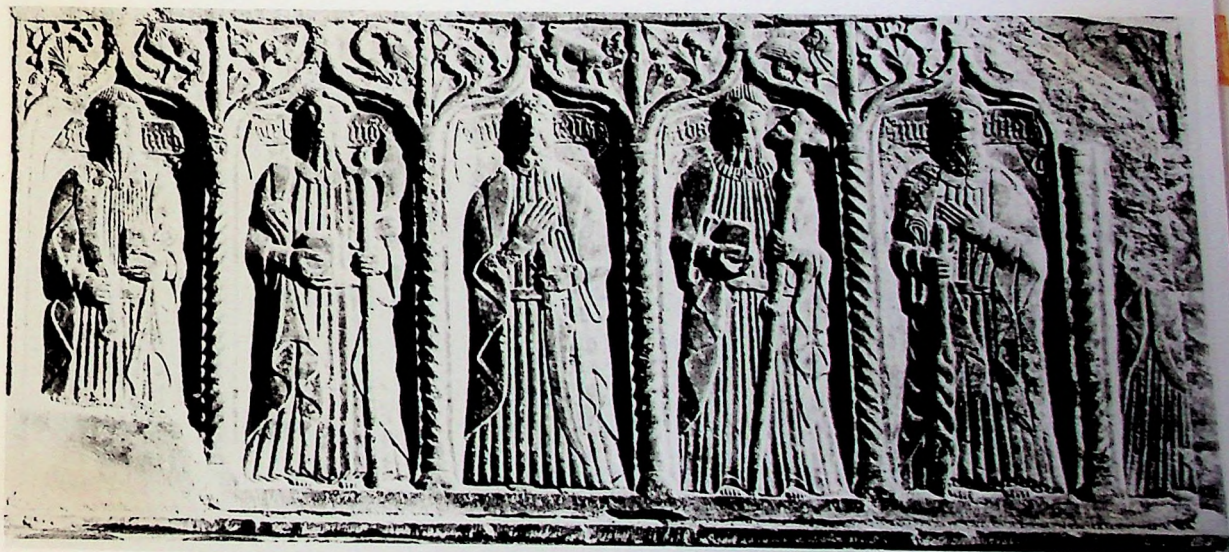
In sharp contrast to the tomb surrounds of Jerpoint Abbey are those surviving in fragments against the west wall of the north aisle and those between the monuments of John Grace and James Schortal, in the same aisle of St. Canices Cathedral. Despite this contrast, the typical O'Tunney characteristics are immediately recognisable and are listed here:-

- A. Architectural treatment of the colonettes dividing the niches
- B. Highly stylized clothing
- C. Spiral-like curls of hair and beard
- D. Order of apostles and their identifying symbols
- E. Banderoles with the apostle's names.



283 St Canice's, Kilkenny city. Fragments of figures of Apostles at the west end of the north aisle, and originally under the Schorthals tomb. 16th century.

nos. 1-4.



Fragments of Apostles between monuments of James Schorthal and John Grace
nos 5-9.

E.C. Rae (1) even goes so far as to attribute these surrounds and the crucifixion scene now serving as the end panel to Piers Butler 8th Earl of Ormonds tomb in the south transept of St. Canices' to the same sculptor and believes them to be the original surrounds of the tomb of James Schortal. The figures on the broken fragments against the west wall are from left to right:-

1. St. John, holding a ^{chalice} ~~spear~~ in his ^{left} ~~right~~ hand
 2. St. Thomas, holding a spear in his right hand
 3. St. James Minor, holding a saw in his right hand and a book in his left.
 4. St. Philip, holding five loaves in a napkin, draped through his clasped hands
 5. St. Bartholomew, holding a flesher;s knife in his right hand and a book in his left.
 6. St. Simon, has a sparth in his left hand and a book in his right
 7. St. Matthew, holding a scythe-like sword in his left hand
 8. St. Thaddeus, holding a cross-staff in his left hand and a book in his right
 9. St. Matthias, holding a twisted scourge in his right hand
- The last niche has only a small fragment of cloak and robe remaining.

One's first observation is that the shape of the ogee-headed niches and the foliage patterns are different in these two sets of fragments. Also, the finish of the stone on the former pieces is more worn and less fine than that on the latter. None-the-less

the style of carving shows that they were definately carved by the same artist. Judging from the rather flat two dimensional figures of the former pieces, this work is probably earlier. In the case of all the apostles, the bodies have taken on a more rectangular shape dictated by the broad niches and as a result the heads look too small. All the bodies fill right out to the edges of their niches and so the smaller more shallow area of the ogee headed arches, leaves little room for heads. As a result the figures are visually unsatisfactory, especially in the first fragments. Except for the narrow heads, these figures fit well into their niches, but the large area given to their bodies overpowers their symbols and so obscures their message. The style of clothing is extremely rigid and formal and lacks the flowing ease of the clothing at Jerpoint.

In the case of St. Thomas, the careful way in which the spear is balanced with the diagonal folds of his cloak, connected by the semi-circular sweep of the banderole, is weakened by the detracting effect of the strange little heads sitting on the tank-shaped body. The small arms also attract attention and so emphasize the badly proportioned design. St. Philip's manner of holding the loaves in a napkin, rather like the scroll in St. Michaels', helps to balance the figure. Unfortunately, the head of St. Philip, being long and narrow, does nothing to complement this balance and the stiff A-line folds of the gown are too severe a contrast to the loaves to alleviate this.

The figures on the panel between the monuments of James

Schortal and John Grace, would appear to be of a later period and although the broad bodies fill the niches completely, unlike the fragments on the west wall, the heads are broader and so look more comfortable on their bodies. The carver has chosen the easier solution of resorting to a familiar repeating pattern of A-line folds. This is probably due to lack of skill or confidence in experimentation as seen at Jerpoint. The result is that the apostles look stagnant and predicable. Even the variety of hair styles or of coiled folds in their cloaks, are not enough to over power the hypnotizing effect of the continuous repeat of vertical pattern. These figures are not as flat as the other fragments but still they do not impress one as three-dimensional figures but more as an abstract pattern which tends to merge into the background. One can read the symbols quite clearly but the attracting force of variety is missing which makes the Jerpoint Apostles so memorable.

However, the decorated spandrels are interesting because both Gothic-influenced foliage and Celtic-influenced zoomorphic pattern have been combined to achieve a light graceful feeling which is missing from the figures. The twisted moulding of the colonettes helps to soften the effect of even more vertical pattern and this attention to architectural detail shows the O'Tunneys influence of training as stonemasons. Even the apostles have an architectural quality about them, the figures are treated as patterns for stone embellishment rather than as symbolic apostles. In terms of decoration the designs are acceptable, but they fail in terms of symbolic representation because the design potential

is not used to highlight the symbols and emphasize their importance.

In my opinion, a design is successful when every part of it has a useful function and is important to the success of the idea communicated through that design. Therefore, any extra little details act as 'red-herrings' and tend to confuse the message. For this reason the banderoles in these niches, bearing the apostle's names, seem superfluous at first. Theirs is the function of the symbols of identification and there should be no need to use any extra means. Why the artist choose to use the banderoles is difficult to answer. The only reasons which seem logical are

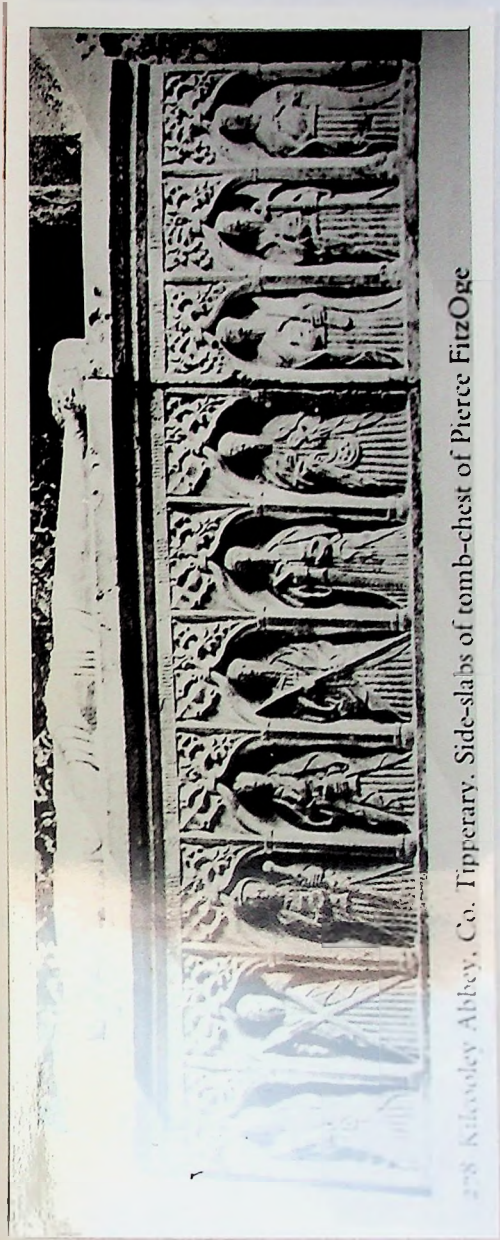
1. The carver's love of carving letters, and his wish to be different
2. More reasonably, to clarify the confusion which may have arisen among the viewers because of the different orders of apostles and identification symbols used by the different schools of carving in the area, namely the Ormond and Thurles atelier. The O Tunney carvers were not just skilled craftsmen but designers too and it would have been inconsistent for them to include this element into the design if it wasn't necessary.

The final piece attributed to this tomb chest by E.C. Rae is the crucifixion presently acting as the end panel of the Butler tomb, in the south transept. The style of dress, hair and beard, dimensions of the figures, type of cross and architectural detail of the moulding, are but a few of the similarities which justify



282 St Camree's, Kilkenny city. Crucifixion at head end of tomb of Piers Butler, 8th Earl of Ormond, and his wife Margaret FitzGerald. 16th century
Catalogue number 145

Rae's belief. Even the simple cross on the crucifixion scene at Jerpoint helps to identify this panel as also belonging to the O'Tunney atelier. Here the Christ figure is more elongated than at Jerpoint and also his feet touch the foot of the panel, this upsets the equilibrium, as the panel needs space at the base to balance with the area above the head. The result being that Christ looks as if he is sliding off the panel. The fact that the mourners Mary and John, are in line with his feet does not help to counteract this imbalance. The mourners look cramped and this is highlighted by the loin cloth looking squashed at their elbows. The Tudor roses above the cross also look cramped and are unnecessary to the design, as far as balance is concerned. This clutter of images is rather like the Russian icons that portray several different scenes of one story simultaneously, for when studying an icon ones first impression is that of overcrowding and confusion but each scene is detrimental to the story it illustrates and each figure and object has a function. The Tudor rose is symbolic of the English monarch to which the Butlers were loyal, but one rose or two, to create a balance, would have sufficed, to show this loyalty, four is over emphasizing the point. However, these eccentric design characteristics have a strange charm which is rather naive. One must remember that in this age of high technology our 'ways of seeing' have become very sophisticated and complex so that simple images may strike one as childish and simplistic, but that is a mistake one often makes when taking these images out of their own environments. In order to see them in their best light one must consider them in the right context and so, understand their function and meaning.



278 Kilkenny Abbey, Co. Tipperary. Side-slabs of tomb-chest of Pierce FitzOge

Piers Fitz Oge Butler

Among the best examples of O'Tunney tomb surrounds are those of Piers Fitz Oge Butler's tomb in Kilcooley Abbey dated 1526.

These figures are from left to right:-

1. St. Peter, with keys in his right hand and a book in his left
2. St. Andrew, with a large saltire cross
3. St. James Major, wearing a 'pudding bowl' pilgrims hat, decorated with cockle-shell, holding a pilgrim's staff in his left hand and a book in his right.
4. St. John, is beardless and holds a chalice, containing a dove, in his left hand
5. St. Thomas, holds a spear in both hands
6. St. James Minor, holds a saw in his right hand and a book in his left
7. St. Philip, holds five loaves in the folds of a napkin
8. St. Bartholomew, holds a flesher's knife in his left hand and a book in his right
9. St. Simon, holds a sparth in his left hand and a book in his right
10. Finally, St. Matthew holds a weapon with a scythe-like blade held downwards in his left hand.

All the apostles are housed in ogee-headed niches, the divisions of which are carved as colonettes. Immediately one can see the better sense of balance running through the niches and much consideration has been given to the relationship of subject matter to space and the importance of symbols standing out ^{cr}ystal clear.

Only that which is necessary to communicate the idea, is portrayed, Each apostle has a different style of hair and beard and if the faces seem expressionless, it is only because they have all got the same smiling benevolent expression which is suitable for apostles. The figures have a very solid architectonic quality which is dictated by the shape of the niches. The arch area leaves enough space for generous, well proportioned heads. Each figure has the symbol skillfully incorporated to achieve the best results.

The diagonal of St. Peter's keys is continued by the diagonal fold of his mantle and the intertwined key handles are balanced by the circular fold design. This fold is cleverly created by the way in which Peter's left hand clasps the book from underneath the mantle, hiding the hand altogether and so simplifying the image. St. Andrew peers out through the upper triangle of his cross in a rather comical pose which contrasts well with the plain vertical folds at his feet. St. James Major's Staff slants at almost the same angle as his mantle and so creates a harmony between them. His little purse is designed to fit comfortably into position just below his waist and because James Major has so many attributes, there is the danger of over-crowding his niche but the sculptor has managed to avoid this through simple but clever design solutions, such as, the pudding bowl hat and the shrewd positioning of the other symbols.

All the apostles could be discussed and analysed in similar fashion, but for fear of becoming boringly repetitive, I will discuss them more as a group. In these tomb surrounds the designer has

found the best design formula. The objects or symbols of identity all cause different design problems, which the artist solves in many varied and ingenious ways, for example;

- A. Enlargement, by enlarging Peter's Keys while, simultaneously taking care to keep them in proportion to the figure and niche, they become more than just mere keys but an extension of the figure itself.
- B. Reduction, Andrew's cross, realistically portrayed, would have been too big for the niche and figure, so it is reduced just enough to fit comfortably into the niche and so becomes an architectural extension of the colonettes and niche.
- C. Positioning of hands, by using St. Thomas' hands to position his spear diagonally, the visual impact of the inflexible spear is minimalized, this technique is used with similar results in the case of St. James Major and St. Bartholomew.
- D. Incorporation into folds, James Minor's saw is an awkward and ugly shape, but by lining it up with the folds of his robe, it becomes part of the clothing, while still retaining enough of its own identity to survive. (~~In the same way the scythe-like sword of St. Matthew reflects the concave folds of his robe, it becomes part of the clothing, while still retaining enough of its own identity to survive~~) In the same way the scythe-like sword of St. Matthew reflects the concave folds of his mantle and the staff of St. Simon's sparth runs into his vertical folds while the blade fits perfectly into the curve of the arch.
- E. Finally, Improvisation, this design solving technique shows the O'Tunney atelier's talent for adapting any object at their disposal, into graphic stylizations, to achieve successful results. The artist cleverly devised a natural home for the



Tomb surrounds of John Grace Tomb 1552.

five loaves by introducing a napkin. In the case of Peter and James Minor, the folds are adapted to reflect the key handles and also balance with the shape of the hand holding the book. All these techniques of solving design problems show how the sculptor combined disciplined training in stone masonry with an inherited knowledge of celtic as well as gothic pattern to produce an original and successful result.

John Grace

The tomb surrounds of John Grace's tomb in St. Canice's Cathedral are similar in many respects to those of the Kilcooley tomb but despite the fact that they are of a later date, the figures are more rigid and formalized. The order of apostles from left to right are:-


1. St. Peter holding keys in his right hand and a book in his left
2. St. Andrew with the customary saltire cross
3. St. John, beardless, holding a chalice, containing the Eucharist, in his left hand
4. St. James Major, wearing a pudding bowl hat with a cockle-shell decoration, a suspended patch, and pilgrim's staff in his right hand and a book in his left.
5. St. Thomas holding a spear between both hands
6. St. James Minor holding a saw in his right hand and a book in his left.

The apostles niches are neither as deep nor as concave as those at



Crucifixion scene from the tomb of John Grace. 1552.

Kilcooley. They also have more space within the niches at the sides of the figures. Generally speaking the figures and symbols are more two-dimensional than the Kilcooley apostles. St. John's chalice, which stood out in relief at Kilcooley, is practically flat here and an elliptical shape is used to give the illusion of depth. Also, the knotches on James Major's staff in Kilcooley were three-dimensional but here the carver has again resorted to a two-dimensional solution. The manner in which St. Thomas clasps his spear is weak and half-hearted compared to his counterpart at Kilcooley, the same applies to St. Andrew. This is mainly due to the hands being too small and the figures and symbols being too flat. Only the keys of St. Peter are bigger here, than in Kilcooley but, the complicated fold pattern running underneath their handles does nothing to compliment the symbol and only tends to clutter the design. Although, the use of banderoles verge on the superfluous in these niches, because they are blank and the niches so broad, they act as part of the overall pattern and balance with the weight of the heavy gowns by filling the blank area above the head. The symbols are simple and easily understood but they lack the conviction of the Kilcooley apostles and so, the surrounds look weak.

In comparison, the crucifixion on the end panel of this tomb is much more successful. The cross takes the usual O'Tunney format, having exaggerated horizontal and vertical limbs, which touch the moulding on all sides. Mary, on Christ's right-hand side, has over to her chest, and John to her right left, holds his mantle  in position with his right hand and has a book in his left. The arms and hands of Christ are exaggerated in length and size and so, he looks like he is embracing Mary and John, who are cleverly positioned in a natural niche between the curve of Christ's wrists and the rectangular blocks at the ends of the cross arms. The image is almost symmetrical

except for John's mantle, flung over his shoulder, and remaining suspended in mid-air, forever about to fall onto his right shoulder. This breaks up the predictability of an evenly balanced design, divided by the vertical cross-cum-axis. The placing of the flowers above the cross, neither in line with the heads of Mary and John or Christ's hands, makes an imaginary line from head to hand to flower, towards the central axis, and so, drawing attention to the important symbol of the crucifixion i.e. the cross.

The figure of Christ is portrayed using the minimum of details necessary to represent him. The stretched arms, outline of rib-cage and bent knees are symbols of the Crucifixion and agony of Christ, their function is not to re-enact the scene through realistic imagery but to remind the viewer of the original. The design of Christ's loin cloth is a typical O'Tunney characteristic and acts as a link between the two mourners, while simultaneously softening the contrast between the broad arms and narrow figure of Christ. Again, the carver uses every element of his subject, positioning them with great care, in order to give the panel rhythm and harmony. The diagonal folds of the mourners mantles complement the diagonals of Christ's arms and simultaneously these folds draw the eye towards the cross. The mantles terminating almost in line with the rectangular stump at the foot of the cross, help to emphasize Christ's feet. A zig-zag pattern is created through Mary's bent arms, the loin cloth and John's bent arms, connecting them in a very subtle way, of which one is hardly aware. Similarly, John's circular hair style reflects the shape of Mary's veil and so they are equally balanced. This panel has a pictorial and didactic quality which makes it so interesting



Surrounds of Honoring Grace Tomb . 1596 .

and because nothing has been over-looked or taken for granted in their design, the result is a pleasing and successful image.

The Purcell Family and Honorina Grace

The last two examples of tomb surrounds which have been attributed to the O Tunney atelier are;

- A. The Doublemensa Purcell tomb, date unknown, in St. John's Priory, Kilkenny
- B. The tomb of Honorina Grace, 1596 in St. Canices.

I have already discussed and compared these tombs, finding many similarities between the two females, but as far as the tomb surrounds are concerned, they could have been carved by two completely different sculptors. The apostles on Honorina Grace's tomb are almost identical to those on the tomb of John Grace. There are the same weak hands and unconvincing poses, the same attention given to architectural detail, and the banderoles are almost identical except that on the tomb of Honorina Grace, the names have been inscribed. They are so alike in fact that one could have put them on the same tomb.

On the other hand, the tomb surrounds of the Purcell tomb are more akin to those attributed to the James Schortal tomb, now lying in fragments against the walls of St. Canice's Cathedral. There is the same simple design, but in the Purcell tomb the figures have a friendlier, more comfortable expression. They have all the ingredients of O'Tunney apostles;



Tomb Surrounds of
Parcell family Tomb
1510-1540.

- A. Ogee-headed niches with architectural detail
- B. Order of apostles and symbols
- C. Banderoles with Saints' names
- D. Highly stylized clothing
- E. Spiral-like hair and beard curls

But these ingredients have been used to achieve completely different results

The order of apostles from left to right are:-

- 1. St. Peter, key in right hand and book in left
- 2. St. Andrew, saltire cross
- 3. St. James Major, pilgrim's staff in left hand and suspended pouch
- 4. St. John, beardless, with a chalice in his left hand
- 5. St. Thomas, spear held in right hand
- 6. St. James Minor, saw in right hand and a book in his left
- 7. St. Philip, holding five loaves in a napkin
- 8. St. Bartholomew with a flesher's knife in his right hand and a book in his left
- 9. St. Simon with a sparth in his right hand and a book in his left

Instead of the usual Pilgrim's pudding-bowl hat, James Major is wearing a bishops hat, but it still has the cockle-shell decoration on the front. The rest of the apostles have very rigidly stylized heads of hair which have the identical shape to James Major's hat and so create a uniform repeating pattern in all the niches. All the figures have basically the same clothing with only the slightest

variations. The symbols are represented in a very two-dimensional manner and there seems to be little or no attempt made by the carver to adapt either the shapes of the apostle's clothing or the symbols to compliment each other. It would seem that the carver was given a description of the apostles and how they are usually recognised and so after a cursory glance at O'Tunney work, he set about designing and carving his own figures. When design problems arose, such as a suspended pouch, loaves in a napkin or the extra long name of Bartholomew, which was difficult to fit on the banderole, he used very simple, unsophisticated and rather naive solutions. One can see the connection between James Major's pouch and other O'Tunney work but the result here is quite eccentric and incongruous. Similarly, the shape into which the loaves were placed probably evolved from the draped napkin, such as in Kilcooley Abbey, but here the carver has abstracted the shape so much that it has taken on a totally new identity. Finally, the letter spacing problem of St. Bartholomews name was solved by starting the name on the blade of his flesher's knife.

All these little idiosyncrasies have become the carver's trademark and so, make these surrounds more memorable, in many ways, than some of the more sophisticated design solutions of the other O'Tunney work. By solving his design problems in this way, the carver has, unwittingly, attracted special attention to himself and brought his own personality into his work and it is this obvious human involvement which makes these funny little figures so attractive. These surrounds remind me of earlier Irish carvings, such as the High Crosses, where the sculptor often added extra little faces, spirals or figures to the



Crucifixion Scene from the Purcell Tomb.

design in order to make it more interesting for himself when carving and also, probably, to surprise the viewer. As a design whose function it was to portray the apostles and their symbols without any other distractions, this tomb has failed. But as an example of the evolution of Irish sculptural design, from celtic originations and the human element involved, these tomb surrounds succeed.

An even more convincing example of the Celtic influence in this sculptor's work, is the crucifixion scene at the head of this tomb. Once again, there are all the usual ingredients of cross, mourners, Tudor roses etc. but the result could not be more contrasting. The head, arms, legs and torso of Christ are totally disproportionate and the loin cloth is long enough to wrap around three bodies. Mary stands erect staring straight out at the viewer, daring anyone to criticize the strange way in which her hands are clasped. John, standing in similar fashion, gives the scene a melodramatic flavour through his symbolic pose signifying grief. Christ's loin cloth merges with John and Mary's mantles, simultaneously linking the three figures together and repeating the diagonal lines of His arms. The exaggerated arms, again, appear to embrace the two mourners, who again are carefully positioned. The extravagant undulating folds of Christ's loin cloth, contrast most strikingly with the rigid bodies of the figures and the extremely stiff vertical folds of their robes. This contrast gives the figure of Christ and the panel, an unexpected dynamism, which has amazing attracting power which is totally unexpected. The four roses above the cross look most incongruous, being distinctly gothic in style and placed on square tile-like mounts, and only lining up on one side with Christ's

hand and Mary's head. They have the same distracting effect; as the design idiosyncrasies on the side panel and again, are charming even though not laudable in terms of sophisticated design.

This abstract, symbolic representation of human figures, is reminiscent of Celtic High Crosses such as the Cross of Moone, particularly the panel portraying Adam and Eve in the garden of Paradise. Also, the large, extended hands and arms of Christ remind one of the crucifixion scenes, such as that at Monasterboice. These surrounds are undoubtedly more developed and natural by comparison, but the results achieved through symbolism are the same.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Although, I have already listed some of my conclusions while discussing the individual works of the O'Tunney atelier's sculpture. There are still some important points that need emphasizing. One of these is the criteria by which the artistic merits and success of the sculpture are measured. Often the mistake is made of judging the sculptor's artistic merits by his ability to portray realistic images or skillfully execute perfectly dimensionalized and well balanced designs. But aesthetically successful work by this criteria soon become stagnant and boring without the elements of variety, ingenuity and talent. The sculptor, by remaining faithful to a rigid code of conventionalized interpretation, loses the charm of unexpected variety and personal expression in his work.

This in turn, raises the question of the function of effigies and particularly of their tomb surrounds, in terms of art and design. Is it their function to:-

- A. Communicate a sacred idea through clear, simple representation, refraining from the distraction of the artist's personal interpretation? or
- B. Primarily to decorate the tomb, interested in the subject's symbolism only as a design form?

This is where the catch 22 comes into effect, for if the Church's wishes were to be respected, the tomb surrounds, being purely didactic in purpose, would have been portrayed as clearly and simply as possible, with no distractions at all. But such design, by its very adherence to this criteria, defeats its own purpose. Such tomb surrounds,

because of their lack of character or evidence of human involvement, are not as attractive or outstanding as the more 'imperfect' interpretations of the surrounds such as those on the Purcell family tomb in St. John's Priory. As a result, they do not have the same powers of communication through attraction. Ironically, it is the humility of the sculptor's expression in his work, that gives it more power. As fellow human beings, we can communicate and identify with his work, because we can recognise our own limitations being reflected through his interpretation.

I have already stated several times that the O'Tunney carvers were not interested in naturalism or realistic representation but in abstract stylization and symbolism and it is important to realise that, it was this clever combination of symbolism and personal interpretation that has helped the survival of the O'Tunney sculpture as an example of good visual communication. The O'Tunneys' were possibly, not consciously aware of the harmony and power they were creating in their work. But undoubtedly, through their training in masonry, and experience as architectural embellishers and tomb sculptors, they developed an almost sixth sense^{and} subconsciously knew where to begin folds, enlarge symbols, or adapt objects. Similarly today, one will subconsciously accept or reject certain designs and images as being visually correct or not. Without realizing it, one is continuously contrasting and comparing visual signs all around, and it is only when one consciously analyses a work of art or sculpture, one begins to recognise and understand something of the inherent sense of pattern and design in every person. Whether this ^{faculty} factuality is inherent or environmentally cultivated, is impossible to deduce,

however, the important fact remains that there is a universal language of signs and symbols which defies time and culture. and it is this 'universality' in the O'Tunney sculpture which makes their images so successful today even. Undeniably the lapse of time and subsequent evolution of design, has slowed down this process of recognition, but the message still persists in spite of all.

Another reason why the O'Tunney sculpture is so unique and creative in its own respect, is because the carvers succeeded in combining their inherited tradition of Irish Art and Design with the later introduction of Norman culture. Having being well established as carvers long before the Norman influence finally took root, they were able to adapt both these cultures into a new and dynamic art form, which was unique in Europe. Being skilled craftsmen and experienced designers simultaneously, the O'Tunneys knew the material limitations of their stone and the design limitations (of their stone and the design limitations) of their subject matter and so by keeping both these factors in mind when designing, they created the best solutions.

The O'Tunney carvers' could be described as the graphic artists of the Irish Middle Ages and, although styles tend to date, their unmistakable love of carving and the sincerity and humility of their artistic expression, has succeeded in preserving their works original powers of attraction and visual communication. Unfortunately because of the strong Norman influence in this period of Irish art, their sculpture has not been fully accepted as Irish medieval art. When looking at the work of the Ormond and Dublin ateliers, I can understand this reasoning, for their work shows more Norman influence

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 1.

1. Gombrich E.H. 'The Story of Art' 12th Edition
United States of America Phaidon Press
1972 P.95

2. Ibid

3. Ibid

Chapter 2
1. Hunt John, 'Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture'
Dublin, Irish University Press, 1974. Vol. 1. p5.

Chapter 3.

1. All references to type of armour used have been taken from
John Hunt's 'Medieval Irish Figure Sculpture' See Chapter 2, 1.
2. All translations of tomb inscriptions have been taken from
John Hunt's 'Medieval Irish Figure Sculpture'
3. Rae E.C. 'Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the later Middle Ages'
Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquities of Ireland
1971 Part 11 P.1.
4. Hunt John 'Medieval Irish Figure Sculpture'
Dublin Irish University Press 1974 Vol. 1.

Chapter 4.

1. Rae E.C. 'An O Tunney masterpiece reconstituted'
'Old Kilkenny Review' 1966 Vol. 18 P.62-71
2. Ibid

GLOSSARY

- ANIMA - A cuirass of horizontal lames or tiles of metal secured by sliding rivets or riveted to a leather or canvas foundation, and therefore flexible
- BANDEROLE - Simulated banner or label, usually carrying a name or inscription
- BARBE - Linen band ^{worn} ~~iron~~ overhead and beneath the chin usually with a pill-box cap
- BASCINET - Steel head-piece of pointed egg-shape, later more rounded, with or without visor and aventail. In the sixteenth century, the 'Bascinet piece' was the skull of a helmet
- BESAGEW - A circular or oval metal disc, attached to shoulder or front of armpit by a lace, or suspended by a strap.
- BRIGANDINE - Body defence of small overlapping plates, usually riveted within a leather or canvas covering
- CHAPE - Metal termination to belt or sword - sheath
- CHAUSSE/
CHAUSON OR
CHAUSSON - Protection for upper legs
- CHEEK-PIECE - Portion of helmet protecting the cheek

- CORSELET - Body defence of plate, a half-armour
- COWTER - Plate protection for the elbow
- CUBITUS - Elbow joint
- CUISSE - Defence for the thigh
- GAD OR GADLING - Small plate covering knuckle joints of gauntlet
- GAMBESON - A quilted garment often worked into longitudinal strips, and worn under mail
- GAUNTLET - Mail Glove
- GORGET - Defence for the neck and throat
- GREAVE - Armour for the leg between knee and ankle
- HABERGEON - Mail shirt
- HALBERD - Pole arm
- HAUBERK - Flexible body-defense
1. A shirt of mail
 2. A pair of plates formed of lames or of simple brigandine form

- HEAD-DRESS - Reticulated - with head-like decoration.
- HILT - The whole hand or lower part of a sword including pommel
- LAMES - Narrow overlapping plates of metal
- METACARPAL-PLATE - Plate-defence for back of hand
- MUFFLER - Bag-like mail glove
- PISANE - Mail defence after the Irish fashion for neck and shoulder
- PLATE - Armour formed of large pieces of iron
- POINT - Lace
- POKE-SLEEVES - Full bag-like sleeves constricted at the wrist
- POLE ARM - Weapon mounted on long staff
- POLEYN - Plate defence for the knee
- POMMELL - Knob of sword-hilt
- QUATREFOIL - Four-leaved decoration

RONDELL - Circular form

SALTIRE CROSS- St. Andrew's Cross, equal sides

SOCLE - Bracket

SPARTH OR
SPARRE - Long handled axe

SPLINT - Narrow strip of plate armour

VAMBRACE - Armour for the lower arm

VISOR - Armour for the face

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bumpus Francis 'The Cathedrals of Northern France'
 London T. Werner Laurie Ltd.
- Carrington Rev., William 'The History and Antiquities of the
 Diocese of Ossary'
 Dublin Sealy 1905
- Chaumpney Arthur C. 'Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture'
 Irish University Press 1970
- Colmcille Fr O.C.S.D. 'History of Mellifont'
 Dublin Gill 1958
- Evans Joan 'Art in Medieval France'
 Oxford, at the Clarendon Press 1948
- Gombrich E.H. 'The Story of Art'
 Phaidon Press 1972
- Graves Rev., James, Prim A.J. 'The History, Architecture and
 Antiquities of the Cathedral Church
 of St. Canices, Kilkenny'
- Gwynn H. Hadcock R.N. 'Medieval Religious Houses in Ireland'
 London Longman 1970
- Harbison, Peter 'National Monuments of Ireland'
 Gill and Macmillan 1970
- Harbison, P. Potterton, H. Sheehy J. 'Irish Art and Architecture
 from Pre-history to the Present'
 Thames and Hudson 1978
- Hofstatter Hans. H. 'Art of the late Middle Ages'
 Harry Abrams INC N.Y. 1968

- | | | |
|-------------------------|--|------|
| Hunt, John | <u>'Medieval Irish Figure Sculpture'</u> | |
| | Irish University Press | 1974 |
| Husenbeth Frederick C. | <u>'Emblems of Saints by which they are distinguished in works of art'</u> | |
| | Norwich | 1882 |
| Knoop D. and Jones G.P. | <u>'The Medieval Mason'</u> | |
| | Manchester | 1933 |
| Laver James | <u>'A Concise History of Costume'</u> | |
| | Thames and Hudson | 1969 |
| Leask | <u>'Irish Churches and Monastic buildings'</u> | |
| | Dundalgan Press | 1966 |
| MacClintock | <u>'Old Irish and Highland dress'</u> | |
| | Dundalgan Press | 1950 |
| Muller Theodor | <u>'Sculpture in the Netherlands/Germany/France/Spain 1400 - 1500'</u> | |
| | Penguin Books | 1966 |
| Otway-Ruthuen A.J. | <u>'A History of Medieval Ireland'</u> | |
| | London | 1968 |
| de Paor Maire and Liam | <u>'Early Christian Ireland'</u> | |
| | | 1979 |
| Petrie George | <u>'Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland'</u> | |
| | Dublin | 1845 |
| Phelan Margaret | "An Amateur looks at the Ossary tombs with Apostolic surrounds" <u>'Old Kilkenny Review'</u> | |
| | | 1969 |
| Rae E.C. | "An O Tunney masterpiece reconstituted" <u>'Old Kilkenny Review'</u> | |
| | | 1966 |
| Rae E.C. | "Irish Sepulchral Monuments in the late Middle Ages" Part 1 & 2 <u>'Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquarians in Ireland'</u> | |

- | | | |
|--------------|---|------|
| Stalley R.A. | <u>'Architecture and Sculpture in Ireland 1150 - 1350'</u> | |
| | Gill and Macmillan | 1971 |
| Stokes G.T. | <u>'Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church'</u> | |
| | Hodder and Soughton | 1889 |
| Watt J.A. | <u>'The Church and the two Nations in Medieval Ireland'</u> | |
| | Cambridge University Press | 1970 |